The Begak (Ida’an) Language of Sabah
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ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan
de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
prof.dr. T. Sminia,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de faculteit der Letteren
op vrijdag 3 juni 2005 om 13.45 uur
in de aula van de universiteit,
De Boelelaan 1105

door

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Acknowledgements

The research of this book has been financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), whose grant (GW-350-70-001) is hereby gratefully acknowledged. I am grateful to the Economic Planning Unit of the Malaysian government for letting me conduct research in Sabah. I thank my Malaysian counterpart, the Sabah Muzium, for supporting this project.

I want to express my gratitude towards my promotor Geert Booij and my copromotor Marian Klamer for their faith in me and their support throughout the years. Shortly after I graduated, they wrote the research proposal and applied for the grant, thereby making it possible for me to work on this project. In later stages Geert Booij proved to be a quick and careful reader. Marian Klamer received a position at the University of Leiden soon after I started my research at the VU, but despite her own busy life including field work periods, she was always willing to answer my questions. Her comments on my work were always very sharp and thorough.

During my field work in Ulu Tungku I stayed in the house of Pius Paulus and Payna Bibos and their four children. They and their parents, who live next door, really made me feel at home and accepted me as a member of their family. Megsukur aku nong mayun ngod ka kito bay jadi peteray.

During my first fieldwork trip, Patrucia Pius and Kamisah Bibos transcribed large portions of recorded speech, while Lina Tiris and Rosnani Bessing helped me with the translation. During my second and third fieldwork trip, Payna Bibos and Aitim Apan were my consultants. Their patience with the sometimes long and tedious work of transcription, their enthusiasm for the work and their friendship made it very pleasant to work with them.

I thank all the people of Tungku for their hospitality and friendship. Many people contributed to this book by telling me a story, a recipe, or allowing me to record their conversation. I have good memories of the volleyball matches and of the days we went fishing or looking for clams in the river together.

In Kota Kinabalu, the people of the Summer Institute of Linguistics assisted me in many ways. I am grateful to Dave and Marsha Moody, who first invited me to work on Begak. They shared their preliminary notes and some transcribed texts with me for initial language learning and helped me with several administrative details. My special thanks are for Jong-Dae and Mi-Suk Lee, who graciously welcomed me into their house in Tungku on so many occasions, assisted me as a newcomer to the village and generously shared their corpus of recorded speech with me. I have good memories of the long rides to and from the village with their children. Alberta Stoaling let me stay in her apartment during the periods I was in Kota Kinabalu. Anna Leena Saikonen solved my computer problems on many occasions. Louis Rose made the detailed map of the Tungku area. I am grateful to all the members who kept me company climbing the hill, and on several holiday trips.

I am grateful to Lora Daukin, who has performed the long and tedious task of typing the transcriptions of the recorded speech. I am grateful to Reinoud Veenhof for making the maps of South-East Asia and Borneo.

I want to thank the members of the reading committee: Sander Adelaar, Aone van Engelenhoven, Paul Kroeger and Lourens de Vries for reading through the
manuscript. I especially want to thank Paul Kroeger and Sander Adelaar for their thorough and valuable comments, which greatly improved the quality of this book.

In Amsterdam, I shared my office first with Onno Huber en Mirjam Ernustus. When Mirjam left the VU we kept in touch and made many pleasant walking trips together. I am grateful for Mirjam’s help with the statistics of this book. A year later I shared my office with Corrien Blom and Lidewij van Gils, and later I moved to the office of Mieke Koenen, Gerard Boter and Nynke Vos. They made our office into a pleasant place to work. I thank the PhD-students and post-docs of the department for the conversations and the fun during the lunch break.

One of my colleagues I want to mention separately is Wilco van den Heuvel. We followed several courses together as undergraduate students. Later on we both developed an interest in language description and both decided to write a dissertation on an Austronesian language. For many years we worked together, learned from each other and shared our experiences of field work. Wilco read through and commented on most of the chapters of the manuscript. I thank my family for their love and support throughout the years.
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## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
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<th>1</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>NEG.I</td>
<td>Sentential negation with (n)inga’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>NEG.IM</td>
<td>Negative imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>NEG.P</td>
<td>Sentential negation with (a)pon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| AUX | Default auxiliary | NOM | Manner Nominalisation |
| AV | Actor Voice | NOM.ABST | 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 | Completeive 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

Languages referred to:
1. Ida'an and Begak
2. Eastern Kadazan
3. Tombonuo
4. Kimaragang Dusun
5. Bonggi
6. Koastal Kadazan
7. Timugon Murut
8. Lun Bawang
9. Melanau
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. Dengan 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). 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. 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. Harrison 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

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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:

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

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 Philippine (Tagalog, 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 Sahahan languages and the North Sarawak languages. Sahahan 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consonant fortition</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel coalescence (‘ablaut’)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>relics</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word stress</td>
<td>word-final</td>
<td>variable or penultimate</td>
<td>word-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of voices</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case marking on NPs</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of sets of pronouns</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word order</td>
<td>verb-initial and subject-initial, slight preference for verb-initial</td>
<td>verb-initial</td>
<td>verb-initial and subject-initial preference for subject-initial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ida’an</th>
<th>Begak</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ɔ)bhan</td>
<td>gban</td>
<td>‘forest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʈɔbbuk</td>
<td>tɔgbak</td>
<td>‘meet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibbu’</td>
<td>sigbu’</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ubba’</td>
<td>m-ugba’</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ida’an</th>
<th>Begak</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>panaw</td>
<td>panow</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikaw</td>
<td>ikow</td>
<td>‘2S.N you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takaw</td>
<td>takow</td>
<td>‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-taw</td>
<td>a-tow</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ɔ)taw</td>
<td>drow</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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4 The reverse, however, is not true. Begak does have /bb/ clusters as in ṭɔgbɔbbi’ ‘spit’, ᵃbbɔ’ 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 (Harisson and Harisson 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
CHAPTER 1

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 fieldwork 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 Patrucia Pius (born in 1988), Kemisah Bibos (born in 1973), Lina Tiris (born in 1968) and Rosnani Bessing (born in 1982). Patrucia 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 Patrucia 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 father\(^6\) 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 fieldwork, 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

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\(^6\) 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 decendence 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 (Harrisson and Harisson 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. Moody (1990) treats the present social organisation of the Ida’an in more detail; the remainder of this section focusses on the Begak.

Footnote 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 Madday also exists among the Begak. A translation of the Ida’an origin myth as found in the oldest document of Sabah is given in Harisson and Harisson (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 stilts 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. 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

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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 parungan ‘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 parungan ‘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 bston 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 gdirik ‘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 mangippus ‘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 rassay, 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 sandait 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 *sundait* '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 rhinosaurus 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 *mnñik *mnòwom or *mnñik *mnòtab ‘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 *gšrawo-rawo or *gšgšsur *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 *pangırrik* ‘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).
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 dtow* ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship Term of address</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>patray</td>
<td>'relatives'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goyan</td>
<td>'nuclear family'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>langgung</td>
<td>'siblings and blood relatives of the same generation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laktag</td>
<td>'remote relatives' (very infrequent word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama' (a)ma'</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina' (i)na'</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak (female, male), say (male)</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak kako</td>
<td>'oldest child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak ari</td>
<td>'youngest child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io'</td>
<td>'older sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai'</td>
<td>'younger sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inni' (in)ni'</td>
<td>'grandfather/grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak-wo', say</td>
<td>'grandchild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamman (kam)man</td>
<td>'uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minan (mi)nan</td>
<td>'aunt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganak yo', yi'</td>
<td>'first cousin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missan yo', yi'</td>
<td>'second cousin, etc'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganak k duo yo', yi'</td>
<td>'father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anak wo', say</td>
<td>'nephew, nice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'marriage: tamong way'

'langu' o langu'ku! | 'brother in law, sister in law, cousin of one's spouse'; Malay: ipar |

'bison' | 'relationship between the bride's parents and the bridegroom's parents; son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's parents.' Malay: besan
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age or status of addressee</th>
<th>Term of address</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>slightly older than speaker</td>
<td>yo’</td>
<td>‘older sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slightly younger than speaker</td>
<td>yi’</td>
<td>‘younger sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age speaker’s father</td>
<td>(kam)man</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age of speaker’s mother</td>
<td>(mi)nan</td>
<td>‘aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age of speaker’s grandparents</td>
<td>(in)na</td>
<td>‘grandfather/grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age of speaker’s grandchildren</td>
<td>wo’, say</td>
<td>‘my daughter, my son’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 choose 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 / 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, /'. Syllables are of the type V, VC, CV or CVC and the minimal word is bisyllabic. Consonant clusters only occur at syllable boundaries 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: \( \emptyset \)-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stop</td>
<td>[p] (p)</td>
<td>[t] (t)</td>
<td>[d̂] (c)</td>
<td>[k] (k)</td>
<td>[ʔ] (´)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stop</td>
<td>[b] (b)</td>
<td>[d] (d)</td>
<td>[d̂] (j)</td>
<td>[g] (g)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>[s] (s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>[m] (m)</td>
<td>[n] (n)</td>
<td>[ŋ] (ng)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>[l] (l)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>[r] (r)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>[w] (w)</td>
<td>[j] (y)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 /ʔ/, 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.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pl</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/bl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pio</td>
<td>bio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tɔlu/</td>
<td>dɔlu/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jolan</td>
<td>cuka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>karut</td>
<td>garut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lambus</td>
<td>rambang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minum</td>
<td>ninum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngam</td>
<td>ƞŋam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pl</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pŋom</td>
<td>tŋon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kɔron</td>
<td>kɔron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bl</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baul</td>
<td>daun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gaun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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 *dɔlayt, 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 dɔlay ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+front</th>
<th>-round</th>
<th>+back</th>
<th>+round</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-high, -low</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel /e/ only occurs in penultimate syllables, while schwa occurs anywhere except in final syllables. 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.

---

\footnote{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/.}
### PHONOLOGY

| (4) | /a/ vs /a/ | apag  | ‘wok’ |
|     | /a/ vs /o/ | lisang | ‘play’ |
|      | /l/ vs /l/ | dili  | ‘choose’ |
|      | /l/ vs /a/ | tiri   | ‘step mother/father/etc’ |
|      | /o/ vs /l/ | bätön | ‘harvest basket’ |
|      | /o/ vs /l/ | bulo  | ‘crop’ |

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

| (5) | /a/ vs /a/ | kamman | ‘uncle’ |
|     | /a/ vs /i/ | ikod   | ‘cough’ |
|     | /a/ vs /e/ | panow  | ‘go’ |
|     | /a/ vs /o/ | gohpi  | ‘late afternoon, evening, i.e. going to be night’ |
|     | /a/ vs /a/ | dallay | ‘maize’ |
|     | /a/ vs /i/ | butus  | ‘to smoke’ |
|     | /a/ vs /e/ | bera’ (-i-bara’) | ‘COM-say, said’ |
|     | /a/ vs /u/ | ulu    | ‘eight’ |
|     | /a/ vs /u/ | mang-urus | ‘AV-organize’ |
|      | /l/ vs /l/ | sillun | ‘roasted rice’ |
|      | /l/ vs /e/ | tindak | ‘step on’ |
|      | /l/ vs /o/ | sillun | ‘other’ |
|      | /l/ vs /a/ | zullun | ‘nail’ |
|      | /o/ vs /a/ | saggow (s-u-aggow) | ‘-DEP-catch’ |
|      | /o/ vs /e/ | konut (k-u-anut) | ‘-DEP-pull’ |
|      | /o/ vs /a/ | konut (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 båssing [bɔssiŋ] ‘squirrel’.
Exceptions to this generalisation are miro ‘they’, igbit ‘lift’, sərgkow ‘fight over something’, which are rendered [mɪro], [ɪɡbit] and [sərgkow] 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 [v] in closed final syllables, as in balatung [balaʔuŋ] ‘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 penultiminate syllables and /o/ in final syllables. The secondary vowels /e/ and /o/ in penultiminate 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 /el/, or of the root vowel /a/ and the Dependent infix -u-, resulting in the vowel /ol/. In other words, /el/ in penultiminate syllables is underlingly /ia/ and /ol/ in penultiminate syllables is underlingly /ia/, 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 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lapas</td>
<td>‘pass’</td>
<td>lopas</td>
<td>lepas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gani</td>
<td>‘harvest’</td>
<td>goni</td>
<td>geni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gambar</td>
<td>‘picture’</td>
<td>gombar</td>
<td>gembar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanut</td>
<td>‘pull’</td>
<td>konut</td>
<td>kenut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaluk</td>
<td>‘visit’</td>
<td>koluk</td>
<td>keluk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sala’</td>
<td>‘forbid’</td>
<td>sola’</td>
<td>sele’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The secondary vowels /el/ and /ol/ 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 /el/ or /ol/. 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 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuala</td>
<td>‘towel’</td>
<td>tola</td>
<td>‘towel’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waktu</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
<td>(w)oktu / waktu</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayar</td>
<td>‘wire’</td>
<td>oyar</td>
<td>‘wire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayang</td>
<td>‘movie’</td>
<td>oyang</td>
<td>‘movie’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jualan</td>
<td>‘things sold’</td>
<td>jolan</td>
<td>‘fried bananas’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8)  | Malay | gloss       | Begak | gloss |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pelihara</td>
<td>‘look after’</td>
<td>pepela’</td>
<td>‘look after’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajaib</td>
<td>‘miraculous’</td>
<td>delp</td>
<td>‘astonished’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>janji</td>
<td>‘promise, vow’</td>
<td>dendi</td>
<td>‘vow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiambat</td>
<td>‘end of the world’</td>
<td>kemot</td>
<td>‘end of the world’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 [mija] 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).

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

### 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 [tebpu] ‘sugar cane’ as *tebpu* in his orthography. This dissertation writes schwa as /a/ and [e] as /le/. 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 /’. Moody spells out the phonetic schwa’s at the beginning of cluster-initial words. For instance [’egban] ‘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 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 *wali* ‘eight’ instead of *olu*.
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’
   paif  ‘fish’

CV type syllables
(12) word gloss
   dila’  ‘tongue’
   basi  ‘bush knife’

CVC type syllables
(13) word gloss
   rindang  ‘wall’
   saltong  ‘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 [uran]. 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 tautomorphemic clusters have to share place features. There are three types of tautomorphemic 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. Examples of clusters of a nasal followed by a stop are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mp</td>
<td>timpu `promise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>intay `spy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nngg</td>
<td>anggar `lower leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>ambur `scatter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>p-ardu `NV-know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kg</td>
<td>kampus `out of breath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngk</td>
<td>angka `set time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kambing</td>
<td>`goat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bp</td>
<td>babpa `mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dt</td>
<td>sdtom `ant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gk</td>
<td>sãgkow `call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bb</td>
<td>bba `fireants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd</td>
<td>bidda `different'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>a-ppan `NV-bright'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>kamman `uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gg</td>
<td>sñagga `fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk</td>
<td>akkor `thinking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngng</td>
<td>ngngut `spin'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gb</td>
<td>sigbu `yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pk</td>
<td>pakpak `fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbuk</td>
<td>`meet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekpud</td>
<td>`broken (sticks, bones)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of words with geminates are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bb</td>
<td>b-bba `fireants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>a-ppan `NV-bright'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>kamman `uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gg</td>
<td>sñagga `fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk</td>
<td>akkor `thinking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngng</td>
<td>ngngut `spin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm</td>
<td>kamman `uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gg</td>
<td>sñagga `fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk</td>
<td>akkor `thinking'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /cl/ and /lf/ 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 cannot occur at the beginning of a bisyllabic word either, for example *bba-bing or *ddnopp 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.\textsuperscript{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 \(*tebu \, 'sugarcane'\) became \(t\, b\, p\, u\) in Begak, proto PMP \(*qalejaw \, 'day'\) became \(d\, t\, o\, w\) in Begak and proto PMP \(*be\, Rat \, 'heavy'\) became \(b\, g\, k\, a\, t\) in Begak. The four possible types of clusters in Begak can be represented as follows:

Figure 1: Consonant clusters

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Onset} \quad \text{Rhyme} \quad \text{Onset} \quad \text{Rhyme} \\
\text{(C)} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{(C)} \\
\text{Nucleus} \quad \text{Coda} \quad \text{Nucleus} \quad \text{Coda} \\
\text{[supralaryngeal]} \\
\end{array}
\]

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).\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.
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 [n̂nnong]. There are no minimal pairs of monosyllabic words where one item starts with a geminate and the other with a single consonant.

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

\[(19)\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
    mba' & 'where' & gkot \quad 'work' \\
    mbi & 'wherever' & bpuk \quad 'hair' \\
    ndow & 'child ghost' & bpow \quad 'a smell' \\
    gban & 'forest' & dhow \quad 'sun, day'
\end{array}
\]

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’ [gaben] or [gaben].

The question that these monosyllabic cluster-initial words raise is whether they are really monosyllabic. 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. 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.

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\[\footnote{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’.

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

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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:

Figure 2 Consonant clusters

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{σ} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{(Nucleus) Coda} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{(C)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{σ} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{(C)} \\
\end{array}
\]

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:

Figure 3 Consonant clusters

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{σ} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{[α]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{σ} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{(C)} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{(C)} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{(C)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PrWd} \\
\text{Foot} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{[α]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Prefix} \\
\text{Root} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Onset} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\text{Onset} \\
\text{Ryme} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\text{Nucleus Coda} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{(C)} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{(C)} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{(C)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[^9\text{For a description of glide insertion, see section 2.3.5.}\]
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)V(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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  \text{i} & \text{a} & \text{u} & \text{o} \\
  \text{i} & \text{x} & \text{siag} & \text{tiu'} & \text{pio} \\
  \text{e} & \text{deip} & \text{x} & \text{gend} & \text{x} \\
  \text{a} & \text{paît} & \text{x} & \text{maus} & \text{x} \\
  \text{u} & \text{tui} & \text{buat} & \text{x} & \text{tuo} \\
  \text{o} & \text{roît} & \text{x} & \text{koung} & \text{x} \\
  \text{ö} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} & \text{x} \\
\end{array}
\]

As the table shows, clusters of two identical vowels or combinations with schwa do not occur. 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).
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:

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:
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)  
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Begak} & \text{PMP} & \text{proto} \\
\text{sawo} & *\text{sawa} & \text{PAN} \\
\text{bowong} & *\text{bawang} & \text{PHN} \\
\end{array} \\

The sequence /uwu/ is very rare and is only attested in suwu ‘put food into someone’s 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)  
\begin{array}{l}
\text{kabụgbẹgẹ }‘\text{ridgepole’} \\
\text{talanguy} & ‘\text{ground lizard’} \\
\text{ləŋgati} & ‘\text{worm’} \\
\text{təŋgụ} & ‘\text{music’} \\
\text{ləmama} & ‘\text{sirih’} \\
\end{array} \\

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 m.weg-:
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bom</td>
<td>`bomb'</td>
<td>ni-bom</td>
<td>`COM-bomb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>`paint'</td>
<td>ni-cat</td>
<td>`COM-paint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit</td>
<td>`sew'</td>
<td>ni-lit</td>
<td>`COM-sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llit</td>
<td>`hard'</td>
<td>a-llit</td>
<td>`NV-hard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ttas</td>
<td>`high'</td>
<td>a-ttas</td>
<td>`NV-high'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 CV.CV-, 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 *tarugan* '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/ is 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 /el/ and /yl/.

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)  
\begin{align*}
  a-\text{kkob} & \quad \text{‘NV-stick, stuck’} \\
  a-\text{pio} & \quad \text{‘NV-good’} \\
  a-b\text{\text{-}r\text{-}6\text{-}gko} & \quad \text{‘NV-AV-price, pricy’} \\
  a-\text{\text{-}luan} & \quad \text{‘NV-AV.NV-go.out’}
\end{align*}

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 schwa\(^\text{11}\).

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 Tak\text{-}lan 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.
The vowel distribution in affixed words can then be summarized as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{PrWd} & \text{PrWd} & \text{PrWd} \\
\text{Foot} & a & a \\
/a/ & /a/ & /a/ & /a/ \\
/a/ & /a/ & /a/ & /a/ \\
a & a & /a/ & /a/ \\
/a/ & /a/ & /a/ & /a/ \\
/a/ & /a/ & /a/ & /a/ \\
/a/ & /a/ & /a/ & /a/ \\
/a/ & /a/ & /a/ & /a/ \\
\text{Prefix} & \text{Prefix} & \text{Root} \\
\end{array}
\]

### 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 g- is subcategorised for verbs starting with alveolar or labial consonants, as in (31).

(31)  
\[
\begin{align*}
g{-}\text{lindat} & \quad \text{‘run’} \\
g{-}\text{runi} & \quad \text{‘talk’} \\
g{-}\text{s\textsubscript{g}kow} & \quad \text{‘call’} \\
g{-}\text{dagang} & \quad \text{‘buy’} \\
g{-}\text{miran} & \quad \text{‘becoming surprised’} \\
g{-}\text{buay} & \quad \text{‘becoming long’} \\
g{-}\text{pio} & \quad \text{‘becoming good’}
\end{align*}
\]

The class prefix b\textsubscript{g}- 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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
b\textsubscript{g}\text{-arab} & \quad \text{‘AV-look for’} \\
b\textsubscript{g}\text{-undom} & \quad \text{‘AV-miss someone’} \\
b\textsubscript{g}\text{-kutu} & \quad \text{‘AV-pick (fruit)’} \\
b\textsubscript{g}\text{-guru} & \quad \text{‘AV-learn’} \\
b\textsubscript{g}\text{-kati} & \quad \text{‘AV-tease’}
\end{align*}
\]

The class prefix m\textsubscript{ng}- 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 g-, b\textsubscript{g}- and m\textsubscript{ng}- manifests itself in the following five derivations:

Table 3 Class prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function/class</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor Voice</td>
<td>g\textsubscript{g}</td>
<td>b\textsubscript{g}(g)-</td>
<td>m\textsubscript{ng}-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner nominalisations</td>
<td>n\textsubscript{g}</td>
<td>n\textsubscript{g}(g)-</td>
<td>n\textsubscript{g}(ng)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent nominalisations</td>
<td>p\textsubscript{g}</td>
<td>p\textsubscript{g}(g)-</td>
<td>p\textsubscript{g}(ng)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant Past</td>
<td>g\textsubscript{g\textsubscript{g}}</td>
<td>b\textsubscript{g\textsubscript{g}}(g)-</td>
<td>b\textsubscript{g\textsubscript{g}}(ng)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>i\textsubscript{g}</td>
<td>i\textsubscript{g}(g)-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.4.2. Nasal fusion

Nasal fusion is a morphophonological process that applies to most members of the m\textsubscript{ng}- class, except to the manner nominalisation prefix of that class: s\textsubscript{ng}(g)-, 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 *tiugal* ‘plant with a dibble’. The velar nasal /ŋ/ and the alveolar stop /t/ coalesce to produce the alveolar nasal /n/: *məng*tiugal. 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.

![Multi-linear representation](image)

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*-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(34)</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th><em>məng</em>- prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inum</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td><em>məginum</em></td>
<td>‘AV-drink’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inog</td>
<td>‘hear’</td>
<td><em>məgingog</em></td>
<td>‘AV-hear’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uppua’</td>
<td>‘laundry’</td>
<td>*məguuppua’</td>
<td>‘AV-laundry’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukos</td>
<td>‘cut in two’</td>
<td><em>məgukos</em></td>
<td>‘AV-cut in two’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *mang*- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th><em>mang</em>- Prefixation</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tabpong</td>
<td>'cut tree'</td>
<td><em>mang</em>tabpong</td>
<td>'AV-cut tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tugal</td>
<td>'plant with dibble'</td>
<td><em>mang</em>tugal</td>
<td>'AV-plant with dibble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiru</td>
<td>'teach'</td>
<td><em>mang</em>tiru</td>
<td>'AV-teach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabang</td>
<td>'help'</td>
<td><em>mang</em>tabang</td>
<td>'AV-help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawo</td>
<td>'propose for marriage'</td>
<td><em>mang</em>sawo</td>
<td>'AV-propose for marriage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukot</td>
<td>'ask'</td>
<td><em>mang</em>sukot</td>
<td>'AV-ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sngkow</td>
<td>'call'</td>
<td><em>mang</em>sngkow</td>
<td>'AV-call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salung</td>
<td>'catch'</td>
<td><em>mang</em>salung</td>
<td>'AV-catch'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some verbs have root-allomorphy only in the Completive Aspect, but not in the Actor Voice:
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 Completive Aspect as well: some speakers retain the labial of the root, while others delete it in that context. Examples are:

When nouns starting with a labial consonant /b/ or /p/ are prefixed with \textit{m\_ng-}, 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.

Dynamic verbal roots starting with /d/ 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: \textit{n-} is an allomorph of the Completive Aspect infix \textit{-i-}, while \textit{m-} is an allomorph of the Dependent infix \textit{-u-} and \textit{ng-} is an abbreviation of the Actor Voice prefix \textit{m\_ng-}. See section 2.6.1. on the shortening of inflected verbs.

Verbal roots with initial /d/ that take \textit{m\_ng-} are rare; the few verbs with initial /d/ are usually prefixed with \textit{g\_}: \textit{g\_danggar ‘AV-bump’}. Verbs starting with /g/ are usually prefixed with \textit{b\_} and cannot be prefixed with \textit{m\_ng-}.
Verbs starting with /l/ or /r/ prefixed with *m*Hng- do not display nasal fusion but trigger epenthesis of schwa between the nasal /ng/ 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)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>AV-form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>litong</td>
<td>‘glare’</td>
<td>m<em>Hng</em>litong</td>
<td>‘AV-glare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ligow</td>
<td>‘deceive’</td>
<td>m<em>Hng</em>ligow</td>
<td>‘AV-deceive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lippat</td>
<td>‘coax’</td>
<td>m<em>Hng</em>lippat</td>
<td>‘AV-coax’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leru</td>
<td>‘look after’</td>
<td>m<em>Hng</em>leru</td>
<td>‘AV-look after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>langgo</td>
<td>‘lay child down’</td>
<td>m<em>Hng</em>langgo</td>
<td>‘AV-lay child down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riks</td>
<td>‘examine’</td>
<td>m<em>Hng</em>riks</td>
<td>‘AV-examine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.2.2. The prefixes *b*Hng- and *p*Hng-

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

(42)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th><em>b</em>Hng--i- prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inum</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-inum (b<em>Hng</em>-inum)</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyok</td>
<td>‘request’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-uyok (b*Hng--i-uyok)</td>
<td>‘request’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssi</td>
<td>‘fill’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-ssi (b*Hng--i-uyok)</td>
<td>‘fill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-ay (b*Hng--i-oy)</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(43)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th><em>b</em>Hng--i-prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tulis</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-tulis (b*Hng--i-tulis)</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tassiug</td>
<td>‘invite’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-tassiug (b*Hng--i-tassiug)</td>
<td>‘invite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinam</td>
<td>‘try’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-tinam (b*Hng--i-tinam)</td>
<td>‘try’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suko</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-suko (b*Hng--i-suko)</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sellag</td>
<td>‘emping’</td>
<td><em>b</em>Hng-sellag (b*Hng--i-sellag)</td>
<td>‘emping, roasted half ripe rice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of derivations with \( p_{-\text{Ng}} \) are shown in (44):

(44)  \begin{array}{lcl}
      \text{root} & \text{gloss} & p_{-\text{Ng}} \text{- prefixation} & \text{gloss} \\
      \text{takow} & \text{‘steal’} & p{\text{\textit{nakow}}} & \text{‘thief’} \\
      \text{turug} & \text{‘sleep’} & p{\text{\textit{urug}}} & \text{‘sleeper’} \\
      \text{gkot} & \text{‘work’} & p{\text{\textit{gkot}}} & \text{‘worker’} \\
      \text{ata’} & \text{‘look’} & p{\text{\textit{gata’}}} & \text{‘view’} \\
      \text{alap} & \text{‘get’} & p{\text{\textit{galap}}} & \text{‘things got’} \\
      \text{indon} & \text{‘think’} & p{\text{\textit{gindon}}} & \text{‘thinking’} \\
\end{array}

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 \( k(L) - \) and in forms with \( C_N \)-reduplication after prefixation with \( g(L) - \) resulting in \( g(L)g(L) - \). Examples of consonant-initial verbs prefixed with \( k(L) - \) are shown in (45), and examples of vowel-initial verbs prefixed with \( k - \) are given in (46).

(45)  \begin{array}{lcl}
      \text{root} & \text{gloss} & k(L)\text{-prefixation} & \text{gloss} \\
      \text{lapas} & \text{‘pass’} & k{\text{\textit{lapas}}} & \text{‘has passed’} \\
      \text{luan} & \text{‘go out’} & k{\text{\textit{uan}}} & \text{‘has gone out’} \\
      \text{dallul} & \text{‘descend’} & k{\text{\textit{dallul}}} & \text{‘has descended’} \\
\end{array}

(46)  \begin{array}{lcl}
      \text{root} & \text{gloss} & k(L)\text{-prefixation} & \text{gloss} \\
      \text{ali’} & \text{‘go home’} & k{\text{\textit{li’}}} & \text{‘has gone home’} \\
      \text{iwas} & \text{‘return’} & k{\text{\textit{vas}}} & \text{‘has returned’} \\
      \text{issog} & \text{‘move’} & k{\text{\textit{so}}}{\text{\textit{g}}} & \text{‘has moved’} \\
\end{array}

(47)  \begin{array}{lcl}
      \text{root} & \text{gloss} & \text{reciprocal} & \text{gloss} \\
      \text{lapas} & \text{‘pass’} & g{\text{\textit{lapas}}} & \text{‘pass each other’} \\
      \text{rakop} & \text{‘wrestle’} & g{\text{\textit{akop}}} & \text{‘wrestle with each other’} \\
      \text{radtop} & \text{‘close’} & g{\text{\textit{adtop}}} & \text{‘close to each other’} \\
\end{array}

(48)  \begin{array}{lcl}
      \text{root} & \text{gloss} & \text{reciprocal} & \text{gloss} \\
      \text{usur} & \text{‘tell’} & g{\text{\textit{sur}}} & \text{‘talk with each other’} \\
      \text{atur} & \text{‘organise’} & g{\text{\textit{tur}}} & \text{‘organise with each other’} \\
      \text{ana’} & \text{‘arrow’} & g{\text{\textit{ana’}}} & \text{‘shoot arrow at each other’} \\
\end{array}

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 \( g(L) - \) 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 \( m_{-\text{Ng}-\text{ppom}} \) ‘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 \(\text{sigkow}^{\text{call}}\), this schwa is overwritten by the full vowel of the prefix, resulting in \(\text{sigkow}\) and \(\text{sugkow}\) 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 \(b_\text{AV}\)-.

This class prefix \(b_\text{AV}\)- appears as \(b_\text{g}\)- before vowel-initial or monosyllabic roots as in (49) and as \(b_\text{Q}\)- before consonant-initial roots as in (50).

#### (49) root gloss \(b_\text{AV}\)-prefixation gloss
- \(\text{lid}\) ‘search’ \(b_\text{Qg}\text{lid}\) \(\text{AV-search}\)
- \(\text{dtu}\) ‘far’ \(b_\text{Qg}\text{dtu}\) \(\text{AV-far}\)
- \(\text{arab}\) ‘look for’ \(b_\text{Qg}\text{arab}\) \(\text{AV-look for}\)
- \(\text{isud}\) ‘send’ \(b_\text{Qg}\text{isud}\) \(\text{AV-send}\)
- \(\text{usur}\) ‘tell’ \(b_\text{Qg}\text{usur}\) \(\text{AV-tell}\)

#### (50) root gloss \(b_\text{AV}\)-prefixation gloss
- \(\text{kaung}\) ‘clear land’ \(b_\text{Qkaung}\) \(\text{AV-clear land}\)
- \(\text{kati}\) ‘tease’ \(b_\text{Qkati}\) \(\text{AV-tease}\)
- \(\text{guru}\) ‘learn’ \(b_\text{Qguru}\) \(\text{AV-learn}\)
- \(\text{guring}\) ‘fry’ \(b_\text{Qguring}\) \(\text{AV-fry}\)

The prefix \(s_\text{AV}\)- marks manner nominalisation for the same verbal class. This prefix shows the same alternations as \(b_\text{AV}\)-. 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 \(s_\text{AV}\)-prefixation gloss
- \(\text{apuy}\) ‘cook’ \(s_\text{Qapuy}\) \(\text{manner of cooking}\)
- \(\text{tow}\) ‘know’ \(s_\text{Qtow}\) \(\text{manner of knowing}\)
- \(\text{rat}\) ‘bad’ \(s_\text{Qrat}\) \(\text{badness}\)
- \(\text{dtu}\) ‘far’ \(s_\text{Qdtu}\) \(\text{distance}\)
- \(\text{llun}\) ‘live’ \(s_\text{Qllun}\) \(\text{manner of living}\)
- \(\text{ssak}\) ‘ripe’ \(s_\text{Qssak}\) \(\text{manner of riping}\)
The prefix *sa*(ng)- marks manner nominalisation for those verbs that take *mang-* in the Actor Voice. Contrary to the Actor Voice prefix *mang-*, the nominalisation prefix *sa*(ng)- does not trigger nasal fusion. Instead, the nasal is deleted before consonant-initial roots. Example (53) illustrates the prefix *sa*(ng)- before vowel-initial and monosyllabic roots and (54) illustrates how the nasal is deleted before consonant-initial roots.

Now why does *sa*(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 *sa*(ng)- has two suppletive allomorphs from which speakers must choose: one allomorph *s* is attached to consonant-initial roots and the other allomorph *sa* 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 *ba*(rg)- marks the Distant Past for verbs of the class that take *bg*- in the Actor Voice, see section 7.7. for the semantics of this prefix. The final consonant of the prefix *ba*(rg)- 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 *ba*(rg)- is in most cases combined with the infix -i-.

**(52) root**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>sa(g)- prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaung</td>
<td>'clear land'</td>
<td><em>sakaung</em></td>
<td>'manner of clear land'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tata'</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
<td>*satata'</td>
<td>'manner of crying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buay</td>
<td>'long'</td>
<td><em>sabuay</em></td>
<td>'very long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pio</td>
<td>'good'</td>
<td><em>sapio</em></td>
<td>'very good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guru</td>
<td>'learn'</td>
<td><em>sguru</em></td>
<td>'manner of learning'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**(53) root**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>sa(ng)- prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ata’</td>
<td>'look'</td>
<td><em>sagata’</em></td>
<td>'manner of looking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>litt</td>
<td>'sew'</td>
<td><em>sagellit</em></td>
<td>'manner of sewing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gkot</td>
<td>'work'</td>
<td><em>sagagkot</em></td>
<td>'manner of working'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unu’</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
<td><em>sagunu’</em></td>
<td>'manner of killing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alap</td>
<td>'get'</td>
<td><em>sagalap</em></td>
<td>'manner of getting'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(54) root**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>sa(ng)- prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiru’</td>
<td>'teach'</td>
<td><em>sagtiru</em></td>
<td>'manner of teaching'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tannan</td>
<td>'fix'</td>
<td><em>sagtannan</em></td>
<td>'manner of fixing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarab</td>
<td>'burn field'</td>
<td><em>sagasarab</em></td>
<td>'manner of burning a field'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now why does *sa*(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 *sa*(ng)- has two suppletive allomorphs from which speakers must choose: one allomorph *s* is attached to consonant-initial roots and the other allomorph *sa* 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 *ba*(rg)- marks the Distant Past for verbs of the class that take *bg*- in the Actor Voice, see section 7.7. for the semantics of this prefix. The final consonant of the prefix *ba*(rg)- 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 *ba*(rg)- is in most cases combined with the infix -i-.

**(55) root**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>barag- -i- prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ubot</td>
<td>'treat with medicine'</td>
<td><em>baragubot</em> (barag-i-ubot)</td>
<td>'treated with medicine for a long time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuy</td>
<td>'cook'</td>
<td><em>baragapuy</em> (barag-i-apuy)</td>
<td>'cooked some time ago'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dtow</td>
<td>'day'</td>
<td><em>baragadlow</em> (barag-a-dtow)</td>
<td>'go and return on the same day'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The prefix t\(a\)(g)- marks Intensive forms of adjectives of the \(g\)- class. The examples in (57) show the prefix \(t\)(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 \(t\)(g)- prefixation gloss
gani ‘harvest’ bar\(a\)\(g\)eni (bara--i-gani) ‘harvested some time ago’
guru ‘learn’ bar\(a\)\(g\)iri (bara--i-guru) ‘learned for a long time’

The prefix \(p\)(g)- derives agent nouns from verbs of the \(g\)- class (see section 7.10.). The available data on this prefix are limited because it is not used very frequently. Derivations with \(p\)(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 \(p\)(g)- prefixation gloss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>(p)(g)- prefixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apuy ‘cook’</td>
<td>p(a)(p)uy</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pug</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p(a)(p)ug</td>
<td>‘bride price’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 -\(i\)-, -\(n\)- and \(i\)-; and the Dependent can be realised as -\(u\)-, -\(m\)-, 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 $\text{Zn}$- and $\text{Zm}$- respectively; vowel-initial stems are always prefixed with $ni$- and $m$- respectively; and stems starting with a liquid are prefixed with $n_{\text{Z}}$- and $m_{\text{Z}}$- respectively. I will first discuss infixation with $-i$- and $-u$-, after that I will discuss infixation with $-\text{Zn}$- and $-\text{Zm}$-, then I will treat the allomorphs $ni$- and $m$- and finally $n_{\text{Z}}$- and $m_{\text{Z}}$-.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{sgkow}$</td>
<td>$\text{sigkow}$</td>
<td>$\text{sgkow}$</td>
<td>'call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{s\text{mmu}^\prime}$</td>
<td>$\text{smmu}^\prime$</td>
<td>$\text{smmu}^\prime$</td>
<td>'command'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{zpput}$</td>
<td>$\text{supput}$</td>
<td>$\text{supput}$</td>
<td>'blow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{t\text{tipol}}$</td>
<td>$\text{tibpol}$</td>
<td>$\text{tubpol}$</td>
<td>'shoot with blowpipe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{t\text{issong}}$</td>
<td>$\text{tissong}$</td>
<td>$\text{tissong}$</td>
<td>'stuff'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\footnote{This output is very common cross linguistically, see Casali (1996) and De Haas (1988) for more examples.} This output can be predicted from the features of the input:

\begin{equation}
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
/i/ \\
/\text{high front -round}\
\end{array}
+ \begin{array}{c}
V \\
/\text{high front -round}\
\end{array}
= \begin{array}{c}
V \\
/\text{high front -round}\
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{equation}

\begin{equation}
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
/i/ \\
/\text{high back round}\
\end{array}
+ \begin{array}{c}
V \\
/\text{high back round}\
\end{array}
= \begin{array}{c}
V \\
/\text{high back round}\
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{equation}

\begin{equation}
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
/\text{low}\
\end{array}
+ \begin{array}{c}
V \\
/\text{high front -round}\
\end{array}
= \begin{array}{c}
V \\
/\text{-high -low front -round}\
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{equation}
As is clear from this description, vowel coalescence enlarges the vowel inventory of the language from four to six segments. 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 -m- in the Dependent. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sukot</td>
<td>sikot</td>
<td>sə̥mukot</td>
<td>‘ask, inform’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunu’</td>
<td>tinu’</td>
<td>tə̥mu’</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guring</td>
<td>giring</td>
<td>gə̥muring</td>
<td>‘fry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kattu</td>
<td>kitu</td>
<td>kə̥mutu</td>
<td>‘pick fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guru</td>
<td>giru</td>
<td>gə̥muru</td>
<td>‘learn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulis</td>
<td>tillis</td>
<td>tə̥mulis</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That this type of verb is infixed with -ə̥m- 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 -ə̥m- and -ə̥m- respectively, as in the forms below. Infixation with -ə̥m- or -ə̥m- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiru'</td>
<td>t'iri'</td>
<td>'teach'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikog</td>
<td>s'ikog</td>
<td></td>
<td>'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timpu</td>
<td>t'mi'nu'</td>
<td>'promise'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timbak</td>
<td>t'mi'nbak</td>
<td>'shoot'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giling</td>
<td>g'giling</td>
<td></td>
<td>'mill'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goblpi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'getting night'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*.-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mmog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gkot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'pump up, spray'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'sew'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 mana’ 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 root-allomorphs 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 infixedation 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 unstable roots and the other three are loan words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b)unu’</td>
<td>nuna/bina’</td>
<td>mana’</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)alos</td>
<td>neles/belos</td>
<td>malos</td>
<td>‘compensate, answer, revenge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)ayo</td>
<td>neyo/beyo</td>
<td>mayo</td>
<td>‘pay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p)anas</td>
<td>nenas/penas</td>
<td>manas</td>
<td>‘hot, heat up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakay</td>
<td>nekay/pekay</td>
<td>makay</td>
<td>‘use’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pikir</td>
<td>pk’nir</td>
<td>mikir</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasang</td>
<td>nesang/peasang</td>
<td>masang</td>
<td>‘fix, install’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roots starting with a liquid followed by a high vowel show variation between infixedation with -a- and -am- or prefixation with n- and m- respectively, as in (71).\(^{14}\) The forms with n- and m- can probably be best analysed as metathesized forms of -a- or -am-. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>litong</td>
<td>‘glare’</td>
<td>n’litong/l’mitong</td>
<td>m’litong/l’mitong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ligow</td>
<td>‘deceive’</td>
<td>n’ligow</td>
<td>m’ligow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ladut</td>
<td>‘upside down’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>m’ladut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lera’</td>
<td>‘look after’</td>
<td>n’lera’/l’mera’</td>
<td>m’lera’/l’mera’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lauy</td>
<td>‘flee’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>m’lauy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riksa’</td>
<td>‘examine’</td>
<td>n’riksa’/r’mska’</td>
<td>m’riksa’/r’mska’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riu’</td>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>m’ria’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 m’litong, n’litong ‘glare, spy’ and m’lera’, n’lera’ may flap and be pronounced as /r/, (see also section 2.4.2.1. for the same process after prefixation with m’ng(l’)-.)
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    |
     | tulud | `fly'  | t\_\textit{\text{m}}\_\textit{\text{t}}\_\textit{\text{u}}\_\textit{\text{u}}\_\textit{\text{d}} | `DEP-fly' |
     | tiru  | `teach' | t\_\textit{\text{m}}\_\textit{\text{t}}\_\textit{\text{t}}\_\textit{\text{u}} | `DEP-teach' |
     | tumis | `stirfy' | t\_\textit{\text{m}}\_\textit{\text{u}}\_\textit{\text{m}}\_\textit{\text{t}} | `DEP-stirfy' |

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: \textit{-arr-} infixation versus \textit{C\_r-} 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 \textit{-arr-} after the first consonant of the stem, as in (73). This first consonant may be a stem-forming prefix, as in \textit{p\_er\_ukos} `cut in two'. Stems starting with a liquid or with a vowel or monosyllabic stems undergo prefixation with \textit{g\_r-} followed by \textit{C\_r-} 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 | \textit{-arr-} infixation | gloss            |
     | k\_\textit{\text{d}}\_\textit{\text{t}}\_\textit{\text{u}}\_\textit{\text{t}} | `pinch' | \textit{k\_r-}\_\textit{\text{d}}\_\textit{\text{r-}}\_\textit{\text{t}}\_\textit{\text{t}} | `pinch each other' |
     | giay  | `hang down' | g\_\textit{\text{r-}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{i}}\_\textit{\text{a}} | `many hang down' |
     | tadnas | `chase' | t\_\textit{\text{r-}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{d}}\_\textit{\text{a}} | `chase each other' |
     | sukot | `ask' | s\_\textit{\text{r-}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{r}}\_\textit{\text{u}} | `ask each other' |
     | p\_\textit{\text{u}}\_\textit{\text{k}}\_\textit{\text{o}}\_\textit{\text{s}} | `SF-cut in two' | p\_\textit{\text{r-}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{r}}\_\textit{\text{u}}\_\textit{\text{k}}\_\textit{\text{o}}\_\textit{\text{s}} | `accidentally torn to pieces' |

(74) | stem  | gloss | \textit{g\_r-} prefixation and \textit{C\_r-} reduplication | gloss                       |
     | rakop | `wrestle' | g\_\textit{\text{g}}\_\textit{\text{r}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{k}}\_\textit{\text{o}}\_\textit{\text{p}} | `wrestle with each other' |
     | lapas | `pass' | g\_\textit{\text{g}}\_\textit{\text{r}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{p}}\_\textit{\text{a}} | `pass each other by' |
     | langu | `relative' | g\_\textit{\text{g}}\_\textit{\text{r}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{g}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{u}}\_\textit{\text{g}} | `be relatives of each other' |
     | luan | `go out' | g\_\textit{\text{g}}\_\textit{\text{r}}\_\textit{\text{a}}\_\textit{\text{l}}\_\textit{\text{u}}\_\textit{\text{n}} | `go out together' |
The fact that the infix -nr- 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)\(^\text{15}\). The same constraint bans infixation of -nn- and -nm- after a sonorant and causes the infix to metathesise, see the previous section. The reciprocal infix -nr- 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: g\(\_g\)adanggar. This may be a case of OCP: a sequence of two instances of /r/ is perhaps prohibited? On the other hand, tula’ ‘blame’ also contains a liquid but nevertheless it is infixed with -nr-: t\(\_n\)ula’ as the stem does not start with /l/. Apparently then, stems starting with a liquid have reciprocals with C\(\_\)o-reduplication and stems containing an /r/ sound may have a reciprocal of either form. A morphosyntactic description of reciprocals is given in section 7.2.; more details about C\(\_\)o-reduplication follow in the next section.

### 2.5. Reduplication

Begak has four types of reduplication: C\(\_\)o-reduplication, foot reduplication, full reduplication, and repetition with the adverb tu ‘also’. C\(\_\)o-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) súlat ‘read’ nag-súrúlat ‘pres.perf-read-pl’
    pilá ‘spit’ nag-pírúla ‘pres.perf-spit-pl’
    sáqot ‘dance’ nag-sáqóqot ‘pres.perf-dance-pl’
    kánta ‘sing’ nag-kántá ‘pres.perf-sing-pl’
    abót ‘arrive’ nag-abót ‘pres.perf-arrive-pl’

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

(ii) lîbot ‘surround’ nag-rilîbot ‘pres.perf-surround-pl’
    lôhid ‘kneel’ nag-rôlôhud ‘pres.perf-kneel-pl’
    litson ‘roast a pig’ nag-rîlitson ‘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. C₂-reduplication

Apart from a few exceptions, C₂-reduplication derives reciprocals from verbal or nominal stems. 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.

C₂-reduplication can apply to unaffixed roots as well as on prefixed stems. C₂-reduplication is very frequent with prefixed stems, but C₂-reduplication of unaffixed roots is rare. For ease of exposition I will discuss C₂-reduplication of unaffixed roots first. Consider the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(76)</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>C₂-reduplication</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bua’</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
<td><em>b₂bua’</em></td>
<td>‘various types of fruit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunu’</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td><em>b₂bunu’</em></td>
<td>‘kill each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butor</td>
<td>‘stare’</td>
<td><em>b₂butor</em></td>
<td>‘stare at each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisan</td>
<td>‘respective parents of the bride and bridaemroom’</td>
<td><em>b₂bisan</em></td>
<td>‘be bisan of each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pungol</td>
<td>‘fruit stalk’</td>
<td><em>p₂pungol</em></td>
<td>‘stick together/grow in a fruitstalk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamo</td>
<td>‘married couple’</td>
<td><em>g₂gamo</em></td>
<td>‘be a married couple’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satu</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td><em>s₂satu</em></td>
<td>‘only one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumpol</td>
<td>‘stick together’</td>
<td><em>k₂kumpol</em></td>
<td>‘really stick together’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taru</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td><em>t₂taru</em></td>
<td>‘put to each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiru’</td>
<td>‘teach’</td>
<td><em>t₂tiru’</em></td>
<td>‘teach each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C₂-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.

C₂-reduplication can also apply to affixed stems, reduplication with *g₂*-being the most frequent. C₂-reduplication of stems prefixed with *g₂*- 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 *-s₂-*, see section 2.4.6. In (74) above, the root is prefixed with *g₂-* to form a new stem. This new stem forms the bases for C₂-reduplication: the /g/ of the

---

16 Examples such as *b₂bua* ‘generic term for fruit’, *s₂satu* ‘only one’, *k₂kait* ‘pole used to to knock down fruit from a tree’, in which C₂-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 \(g\) 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 \(C\)-reduplication. Examples are given in (77). Again the consonant of the prefix is copied into the onset of the reduplicant. Replication of verbs prefixed with the Actor Voice Non-volitive prefix \(k(\omega)\)- is illustrated in (78).\(^{17}\)

(77) root | gloss | prefixation with \(b\)- followed by \(C\)-reduplication | gloss
--- | --- | --- | ---
ambur | ‘spread’ | \(b\)\(\omega\)ambur-bambur | ‘be spread all over the place’
iang | ‘separate’ | \(b\)\(\omega\)iang | ‘separate from each other’
agon | ‘strong’ | \(b\)\(\omega\)agon | ‘do very strongly’

(78) root | gloss | prefixation with \(k\)- followed by \(C\)-reduplication | gloss
--- | --- | --- | ---
ul’i | ‘go home’ | \(k\)\(k\)ul’i | ‘go to and fro’
lap | ‘get’ | \(k\)\(k\)lap | ‘really get’
inum | ‘drink’ | \(k\)\(k\)inum | ‘drank some time ago’
tian | ‘see’ | \(k\)\(k\)tian | ‘saw some time ago’
igbit | ‘lift up’ | \(k\)\(k\)igbit | ‘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 \(-\omega\)- infixation, reciprocals derived by \(C\)-reduplication, forms infixed twice with the Dependent infixes \(-u-\) and \(-\omega m-\), 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 \(C\)-reduplication which she could not describe. Further research is needed to determine the exact semantics. Consider

\(^{17}\) Forms prefixed with \(k\)- followed by \(C\)-reduplication could also be analysed as double prefixation with the Actor Voice Non-volitive prefix \(k(\omega)\)-; some intransitive vowel-initial verbs are prefixed with \(k\)- for example \(k\)-ul’i ‘\(AV NV go home\)’. If this form \(k\)-ul’i is prefixed again with the same prefix, the form \(k\)\(k\)ul’i is obtained. This form \(k\)\(k\)ul’i can be analysed as double prefixation or \(C\)-reduplication.
the following examples of foot reduplication of reciprocals with -\( \sigma \) -.

(79) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{stem} & \text{gloss} & -\sigma - \text{-infixation and} & \text{gloss} \\
\text{tuppuk} & \text{‘bunch’} & \text{t}z\text{appuk-}r\text{uppuk} & \text{‘be in bunches here and there’} \\
\text{*sagga} & \text{‘fight’} & \text{s}z\text{agga-raggga} & \text{‘constantly fighting with each other’} \\
\text{tipun} & \text{‘gather’} & \text{t}z\text{ipun-}r\text{pun} & \text{‘gather different species’} \\
\text{sawo} & \text{‘marry’} & \text{s}z\text{awo-}r\text{awo} & \text{‘propose and give bride price’} \\
\text{tiu’} & \text{‘hit’} & \text{t}z\text{iu’-}r\text{iu’} & \text{‘hit each other a bit (suit each other)’} \\
\text{kawong} & \text{‘disappear suddenly’} & \text{k}z\text{awong-}r\text{awong} & \text{‘many (fish) disappear suddenly’} \\
\text{*kudu’} & \text{‘show pity’} & \text{k}z\text{udu’-}r\text{udu} & \text{‘show pity’} \\
\text{rukot} & \text{‘ask’} & \text{s}z\text{rukot-}r\text{ukot} & \text{‘ask each other again and again’} \\
\end{array}
\]

These examples nicely show that foot reduplication copies the last two syllables of the stem, regardless of morphological boundaries. Only the /r/ of the infix -\( \sigma \) - 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) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{stem} & \text{gloss} & C_0 - \text{-reduplication and} & \text{gloss} \\
\text{ambur} & \text{‘spread’} & \text{b}z\text{ambur-}b\text{ambur} & \text{‘spread all over the place’} \\
\text{uli’} & \text{‘go home’} & \text{k}z\text{uli’-}k\text{uli’} & \text{‘go to and fro’} \\
\text{bunu’} & \text{‘kill’} & \text{b}z\text{unu’-}b\text{unu’} & \text{‘kill each other’} \\
\text{usar} & \text{‘tell’} & \text{g}z\text{usar-}g\text{usar} & \text{‘talk with each other’} \\
\text{gidu’} & \text{‘move’} & \text{g}z\text{gidu’-}g\text{gidu’} & \text{‘move constantly’} \\
\text{*tukkol} & \text{‘pile up’} & \text{t}z\text{tukcol-}t\text{ukkol} & \text{‘pile up stuffed without order’} \\
\end{array}
\]

These reduplicated reciprocals have the same semantics as reduplicated reciprocals derived with -\( \sigma \) -. 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 \( kz\text{-k-uli’-}k\text{-uli’} \) from uli’ ‘go home’, with the prefix k- in the reduplicant, and \( kz\text{-k-uli’-}k\text{-uli’} \), 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) \[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{stem} & \text{gloss} & -u- \text{-infixation, } -\text{am- infixation} & \text{gloss} \\
\text{gojo} & \text{‘big’} & \text{g}z\text{mojo-mojo} & \text{‘grow bigger and bigger’} \\
\text{tidog} & \text{‘straight’} & \text{t}z\text{idog-midog} & \text{‘grow straighter and straighter’} \\
\text{galpi} & \text{‘night’} & \text{g}z\text{alpi-molpi} & \text{‘getting very close to dawn’} \\
\end{array}
\]
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 the infixed in its turn with another allomorph of the Dependent, *-m-*, resulting in *gojo-mojo* `getting bigger'. This form can in its turn be reduplicated, resulting in *gojo-mojo-mojo*. Again, foot reduplication seems to be blind to morphological boundaries: only the /m/ of the Dependent infix *-m-* 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 *b₂gayam-ayam* from *ayam* `play', and in some other cases it is copied into the reduplicant and as in *b₂galud-galud* from *alud* `boat'. I have no explanation for this variation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(82)</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>prefixation and foot-reduplication</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alud</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
<td>b₂g-</td>
<td>b₂g-alud-galud</td>
<td>AV-go by boat for fun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilow</td>
<td>‘look down’</td>
<td>b₂g-</td>
<td>b₂g-ilow-ilow</td>
<td>AV-look down a little bit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayam</td>
<td>‘play’</td>
<td>b₂g-</td>
<td>b₂g-ayam-ayam</td>
<td>AV-make jokes about so’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamud</td>
<td>‘mix’</td>
<td>g₂-</td>
<td>g₂-lamud-lamud</td>
<td>AV-very mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limbas</td>
<td>‘take turns’</td>
<td>g₂-</td>
<td>g₂-limbas-limbas</td>
<td>AV-take turns’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ata’</td>
<td>‘look at’</td>
<td>m₂g-</td>
<td>m₂g-ata’-ngata’</td>
<td>AV-look at something for fun, not seriously’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilag</td>
<td>‘shine’</td>
<td>m₂g-</td>
<td>m₂g-ilag-ilag</td>
<td>AV-very shiny’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tassa’</td>
<td>‘CL.animal’</td>
<td>s₂-</td>
<td>s₂-tassa’-tassa’</td>
<td>‘only one CL’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂paya</td>
<td>‘everything’</td>
<td>s₂-</td>
<td>s₂-paya-paya</td>
<td>‘everything’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiru’</td>
<td>‘teach’</td>
<td>s₂-</td>
<td>s₂-tiru’-tiru’</td>
<td>‘NOM-all kinds of teaching’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ila’</td>
<td>‘split’</td>
<td>s₂-b-</td>
<td>s₂-b-ila’-bila-</td>
<td>‘one half only’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nio</td>
<td>‘respectively’</td>
<td>k₂-</td>
<td>k₂-nio-nio</td>
<td>‘everybody respectively’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ibod</td>
<td>‘go to and fro’</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-gibod-gibod</td>
<td>NV-go to and fro’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):
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’.

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.
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 -ri-, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>repetition</th>
<th>non-existing stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gurung-tu-gurung</td>
<td>*gurung</td>
<td>'a few people crying loudly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səlukat-tu-səlukat</td>
<td>*səlukat</td>
<td>'rummage about repeatedly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gərəkək-tu-gərəkək</td>
<td>*gərəkək</td>
<td>'many people laughing constantly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kərəkək-tu-kərəkək</td>
<td>*kərəkək</td>
<td>'burst of laughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kərup-tu-kərup</td>
<td>*kərup</td>
<td>'eat something crispy noisily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gərəhit-tu-gərəhit</td>
<td>*gərəhit</td>
<td>'talking loudly with each other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rəbow-tu-ribow</td>
<td>*ribow</td>
<td>'repeated noise of metal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gərəyong-tu-gərəyong</td>
<td>*gərəyong</td>
<td>'many people buzzing repeatedly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kour-tu-kour</td>
<td>*kaur, *kour</td>
<td>'taking repeatedly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kios-tu-kios</td>
<td>*kios</td>
<td>'turn around constantly in sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pus-tu-pus</td>
<td>*pus</td>
<td>'gasp for breath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pəli-tu-pəli</td>
<td>*pəli</td>
<td>'pace up and down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kios-tu-kios</td>
<td>*kios</td>
<td>'go to and fro'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baligid-tu-baligid</td>
<td>*baligid</td>
<td>'walk zigzagging'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>full inflected form</th>
<th>shortened inflected form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arab</td>
<td>b-arab</td>
<td>g-arab</td>
<td>’AV-search’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inum</td>
<td>m-ng-inum</td>
<td>ng-inum</td>
<td>’AV-drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyok</td>
<td>m-ng-uyok</td>
<td>ng-uyok</td>
<td>’AV-request’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aus</td>
<td>p-p-aus</td>
<td>p-aus</td>
<td>’UV.CAU.DEP-bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tas</td>
<td>p-p-tas</td>
<td>p-tas</td>
<td>’UV.CAU.DEP-high’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \[\text{Pog allu} \quad \text{[ingoln]} \quad \text{no (...)}
\]
\[
\text{pog allun ingos no}
\]
when NV-alive all yonder
‘When they were all alive, (…)’ [Masi Dolam]

(90) \[\text{Jadi. [kuhol] ino pa. [kuhol] rusok.}
\]
\[
\text{jadi kulos ino pa kulos rusok}
\]
so animal yonder PRT animal broken.
‘So this thing hey, this thing (lit. animal) is broken.’ [ConversationtriptoLD 183]

(91) \[\text{(...)} \quad \text{[puruh] pusod liun rumo Buad.}
\]
\[
\text{(...)} \quad \text{pusas pusod liun rumo Buad}
\]
\[
\text{(...)} \quad \text{reason navel woman 3s Buad}
\]
‘(…) because of the center of it: the woman Buad.’ [Bergas]

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
    suok ‘enter’ mɔŋɡ- suok ‘cause to enter’
    buay ‘long’ mɔŋɡ- buay ‘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: *-inum*  
derived stem: *p-inum*  
derivation: *m̂uŋg*p-inum

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

(3) | category | form | gloss | translation |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>root:</td>
<td>gabpi</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stem:</td>
<td>gobpi (-u-gabpi)</td>
<td>DEP-night</td>
<td>‘getting night, i.e. afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stem:</td>
<td>ĝmobpi</td>
<td>DEP-DEP-night</td>
<td>‘late afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derivation:</td>
<td>ĝmobpi-ĝmobpi</td>
<td>REP-DEP-DEP-night</td>
<td>‘really getting night, i.e. late afternoon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The root *gabpi* in (3) is infixed with the Dependent infix *-u-*, producing *gobpi*. The infixed root forms the new stem for infixation with the Dependent infix *-m-* (the allomorph of *-u-*) and subsequent reduplication, producing *ĝmobpi-ĝmobpi*. 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 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m̂zagkang</td>
<td>rāgkang</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̂zĩra’</td>
<td>(əra’)</td>
<td>‘maiden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monay</td>
<td>manay</td>
<td>‘young man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
The prefixes *p-* and *b-* have no function of their own and are just empty morphs. 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 *m*[-] and *p-*[-], and the Non-volitive prefixes *a-* and *k-*[-], which require transitive stems to be consonant-initial. Here are some examples of complex stems consisting of a vowel-initial (or monosyllabic) root prefixed with *b-* or *p-*.

The default is *p-*.

1. Monosyllabic roots augmented with schwa, such as *t*ot `oppress’, *a-*[-]p-*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-*[-]t*as `high’, *a-*[-]g*borg `broken’, *k-*[-]ul* `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 *p-*[-]p-*[-]t*as `make high’, *m*[-]a[-]i[-]p-*[-]ul* `return something’, but also *m*[-]a[-]i[-]p-*[-]in* `cause to drink’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>UV-Non-volitive</th>
<th>AV-Non-volitive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukow</td>
<td>a*p-ukow</td>
<td>k2*p-ukow</td>
<td>‘NV-wake up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arok</td>
<td>a*p-arok</td>
<td>k2*p-arok</td>
<td>‘NV-smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inum</td>
<td>a*p-inum</td>
<td>k2*p-inum</td>
<td>‘NV-drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gkot</td>
<td>a*p-gkot</td>
<td>k2*p-gkot</td>
<td>‘NV-work’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>UV-Non-volitive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awang</td>
<td>a*b-awang</td>
<td>‘NV-the door opens’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idlus</td>
<td>a*b-idlus</td>
<td>‘NV-take out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ungung</td>
<td>a*b-ungung</td>
<td>‘NV-tooth comes out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atak</td>
<td>a*b-atak</td>
<td>‘NV-drop’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causative verbs are formed by attaching *m*[-] and *p-*[-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-*.
Petitives are formed by attaching the discontinuous affix \( m\kappa(k)\)- to a stem. The final /k/ of the petitive prefix \( m\kappa(k)\) 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 \( m\kappa(k)\)-, while others are directly prefixed with \( m\kappa(k)\). Unstable verbs with root-allomorphy (see section 2.4.2.1.) also vary between \( m\kappa(k)\)- plus vowel-initial root-allomorph and \( m\kappa(k)\)- plus consonant-initial root-allomorph. In other words, prefixation with the stem forming prefixes causes consonant-deletion of the final /k/ of \( m\kappa(k)\)-:

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 \( n\kappa-\) or the complex stem with \( p-\) or \( b-\) is infixed with the allomorph \( -i-\) (see section 6.4.3.).

### 3.2.3. Affixes

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 \( -r-\), 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 \((p\delta)n\kappa-\) 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 m\_k\(ak\) in combination with -i- and the Distant past is expressed by the allomorphs g\(\alpha\), b\(\alpha\)g\(\alpha\) or b\_\(\alpha\)ng\(\alpha\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(9)</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor Voice</td>
<td>g(\alpha)</td>
<td>Actor Voice class prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b(\alpha)g(\alpha)</td>
<td>Actor Voice class prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m_(\alpha)ng(\alpha)</td>
<td>Actor Voice class prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem forming prefixes</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>Default stem forming prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>Middle prefix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-volitive Mood</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>Non-volitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k(\alpha)-</td>
<td>AV-Non-volitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>-u(-), allomorphs -(\alpha)u(-) and -m-</td>
<td>Dependent infix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complettive Aspect</td>
<td>-i(-), allomorphs -(\alpha)i(-) and ni-</td>
<td>Complettive Aspect infix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valency Changing Verb Morphology</td>
<td>m_(\alpha)ng(\alpha)</td>
<td>Causative Actor Voice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p_(\alpha)ng(\alpha)-i-</td>
<td>Causative Undergoer Voice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p(\alpha)-</td>
<td>Causative UV-Dependent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m_(\alpha)k(\alpha)-i-</td>
<td>Petitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-(\alpha)r-</td>
<td>Reciprocal infix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalisation of Verbal Stems</td>
<td>s(\alpha)g(\alpha), s(\alpha\ng\g\alpha)</td>
<td>Manner nominalisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s_(\alpha)ng\g\alpha\</td>
<td>Manner nominalisation of a causative verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l(\alpha)ng\g\alpha\</td>
<td>Prefix occurring on certain plant names</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p_(\alpha)ng\g\alpha\</td>
<td>Agent Noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k(\alpha)ng\g\alpha\</td>
<td>Abstract Noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other morphology</td>
<td>t(\alpha)g\g\alpha\</td>
<td>Intensive (adjectives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g(\alpha)_(\alpha)i-, b(\alpha)_(\alpha)i-, g(\alpha)_(\alpha)i-</td>
<td>Distant Past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 k\(\alpha\)mo ‘if’. Other function words are smaller than a foot, yet can be stressed, for example sob ‘as soon as’.

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  IS.G  -DEP-buy,UV  fish  
‘I am about to buy fish.’

(11)  
*Nong ku* dogang *səkkol.*  
nong  ku  -u-dagang  səkkol  
AUX  IS.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  IS.N  
‘I’m going home now.’

(13)  
*Aku muli’ gulo.*  
aku  m-uli’  gulo  
IS.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  
IS.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. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(15)</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verbal derivation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ulan</td>
<td><code>load</code></td>
<td>m₃k₂-k-ilan</td>
<td><code>request to load</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allan</td>
<td><code>make</code></td>
<td>m₃k₂-b-ellan</td>
<td><code>request to make</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilan</td>
<td><code>live</code></td>
<td>s₃n₃g₃-p-ellan</td>
<td><code>manner of causing to be alive, i.e. manner to turn on</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inum</td>
<td><code>drink</code></td>
<td>m₃ng₃-p-inum</td>
<td><code>drink</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabang</td>
<td><code>help</code></td>
<td>m₃k₂-tebang</td>
<td><code>request to be helped</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawas</td>
<td><code>clean</code></td>
<td>m₃ng₃-lawas</td>
<td><code>cause to be clean (said of land)</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(16)</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verbal derivation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tabang</td>
<td><code>help</code></td>
<td>g₂-t-₃-abang</td>
<td><code>AV--REC-help</code> <code>help each other</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukot</td>
<td><code>ask</code></td>
<td>g₂-s-₃-ukot</td>
<td><code>AV--REC-ask</code> <code>ask each other</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timbak</td>
<td><code>shoot</code></td>
<td>g₂-t-₃-imbak</td>
<td><code>AV--REC-shoot</code> <code>shoot each other</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k卓越</td>
<td><code>pinch</code></td>
<td>b₂-k-₃-略有</td>
<td><code>AV--REC-pinch</code> <code>pinch each other</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(17)</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>verbal derivation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>satu</td>
<td><code>one</code></td>
<td>s₃₃οr₃o₃(-s₃₃οr₃o₃-i-satu)</td>
<td><code>COM-REC--COM-one</code> <code>made one</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satu</td>
<td><code>one</code></td>
<td>s₃₃οr₃o₃(-s₃₃οr₃o₃-i-satu)</td>
<td><code>DEP--REC--DEP-ONE</code> <code>make one</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>人大常委</td>
<td><code>share</code></td>
<td>t₃₃οr₃o₃mmak</td>
<td><code>DEP--REC--DEP-share</code> <code>share together</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s₃₃οr₃ο₃-ι-i理事会)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawo</td>
<td><code>marry</code></td>
<td>s₃₃οr₃o₃(-s₃₃οr₃ο₃-i-sawo)</td>
<td><code>DEP--REC--DEP-marry</code> <code>cause to marry</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (m₃k₂-p₃k₃era’ `request to look after’ from p₃k₃era’, `look after which comes from Malay p₃lihara’ `look after’ ).
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-volitive prefix a-</th>
<th>prefix or infix</th>
<th>stem-forming prefix</th>
<th>root+ (-i- or -u-)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-joyk</td>
<td>ilan (-iulan)</td>
<td>'request to load'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-joyg</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>inum</td>
<td>'cause to drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-joyd</td>
<td>lapas</td>
<td>'pass each other'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>luan</td>
<td>'happen to go out'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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. The examples in (19) show how a- always occurs at the left edge of other affixation.

### (19) root gloss verbal derivation gloss

| luan | 'go out’ | a-joyd-uan | ‘happened to go out’ |
| lati | ‘understand’ | a-joyd-lati | ‘be able to understand’ |
| ʈɔŋŋgʊs | ‘swift’ | a-joyd-ʈɔŋŋgʊs | ‘becoming rather swift’ |
| ɡangit | ‘tangled up’ | a-joyd-ɡangit | ‘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 -joy- (for -i-) and -joʊ- (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 is 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 m\text{-}\text{ing}, for example, expresses not only causativity but also Actor Voice; the prefix p\text{-} expresses causativity and UV-Dependent; the discontinuous affix (p\text{\text{-}ing\text{-}i}) expresses causativity, Completive Aspect and Undergoer Voice. The prefix k\text{-} marks verbs for Non-volitive Mood and AV. The petitive discontinuous affix m\text{k\text{-}i}\text{-} 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\text{-}, 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 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 g-, b-, and m-. Verbs of the g- and b- classes may be transitive or intransitive. Most verbs affixed with m- are transitive, although exceptions exist. When g- or b- are affixed to stative verbs, the result is always an inchoative intransitive verb, but when m- 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 g- or b- is very productive and is possible with virtually all stative verbs, whereas prefixation of stative verbs with m- is less frequent.  

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

(20) g-tiri\textsuperscript{pun} `get together' m-niri\textsuperscript{pun} `gather something'  
g-tindak `stamp on the floor, for example during a dance' m-ni\textsuperscript{ndak} `tread on something on purpose'  
g-timbak `explode' m-nimbak `shoot something'  
g-sgkow `call someone (not necessarily urgent), beginning to call someone, inchoative' m-ngkow `call someone (urgent), in the process of calling someone'

(21) b-tallong `dive to find something' m-sallong `dive for pleasure'  
b-surung `disease getting worse' m-surung `push forward a wheel barrow'  
b-gulug `bring down objects in order to move them elsewhere' m-ngulug `work together to bring down objects, not necessarily to move them elsewhere'  
b-gs\textsuperscript{sur} `going to shove forward something (inchoative)' m-n\textsuperscript{gs}\textsuperscript{sur} `shoving forward something (in the process of shoving something forward)'

If a verbal root can be prefixed with two Actor Voice class prefixes, the g- or b- variant is often intransitive and the m- variant transitive, as in g-timbak `explode' versus m-nimbak `shoot'. In some cases, the difference is aspectual rather than one of valency. For example, the g- or b- variant may be inchoative and the m- variant describes an action that is just taking place, as in the pair g-sgkow `going to call' versus m-ngkow `calling'.
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.)

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 t\(a\)(g)- can only occur on adjectives and a few stative verbs. The Actor Voice class prefixes derive dynamic verbs from stative verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function/class</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor Voice</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>b(a(g))-</td>
<td>m(a(g))-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner nominalisation</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s(a(g))-</td>
<td>s(a(n(g))-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent nominalisation</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>p(a(g))-</td>
<td>p(a(n(g))-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant Past</td>
<td>g(a)-</td>
<td>b(a(a(g))-</td>
<td>b(a(n(g))-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t(a)-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A characteristic of the g\- class is that all its derivational prefixes end in schwa; all members of the b\(a\)- class end in a /g/ before vowel initial stems and in schwa before consonant initial stems. All members of the m\(a\)- class end in an assimilating nasal, except for the nominalising prefix s\(a\(n\(g\))- which has a nasal that deletes before a consonant-initial stem (see section 2.4.2. for nasal fusion or 2.4.4. for s\(a\(n\(g\)-) allomorphy). The following table shows the derivations of a the dynamic g\- verbs g\(a\)dagang ‘buy’ and g\(a\)runi ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function / class I</th>
<th>g\dangg ‘buy’</th>
<th>g\runi ‘talk’</th>
<th>sidom ‘black’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor Voice</td>
<td>g\dangg ‘buy’</td>
<td>g\runi ‘talk’</td>
<td>g\sidom ‘become black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner nominalisation</td>
<td>s\dangg ‘manner of buying’</td>
<td>s\runi ‘manner of talking’</td>
<td>s\sidom ‘so black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent nominalisation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p\runi ‘talkative person’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant Past</td>
<td>g\dangg ‘bought some time ago’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t\sidom ‘very black’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The derivations of the dynamic verb b\gapuy ‘cook’, and of the adjective t\tas ‘high’ are listed in Table 3.

Table 3 Derivations with roots of class II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function / class II</th>
<th>b\gapuy ‘cook’</th>
<th>t\tas ‘high’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor Voice</td>
<td>b\gapuy ‘cook’</td>
<td>b\t\tas ‘becoming high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner nominalisation</td>
<td>s\gapuy ‘manner of cooking’</td>
<td>s\t\tas ‘very high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent nominalisation</td>
<td>p\gapuy ‘the cook’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant Past</td>
<td>b\t\gapuy ‘cooked in a distant past’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t\t\tas ‘very high’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows the derivations of the dynamic verbs m\nguyok ‘request’ and m\ngata ‘look’. There are no dynamic verbs in the m\ng- class that can be prefixed with with t\ to derive a superlative.

Table 4 Derivations with roots of class III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function / class III</th>
<th>m\nguyok ‘request’</th>
<th>m\ngata ‘look’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor Voice</td>
<td>m\nguyok ‘request’</td>
<td>m\ngata ‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner nominalisation</td>
<td>s\nguyok ‘manner of requesting’</td>
<td>s\ngata ‘manner of looking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent nominalisation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>p\ngata ‘view’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant Past</td>
<td>b\ngiok ‘requested in a distant past’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Actor Voice</th>
<th>Undergoer Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volitive Mood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive Aspect</td>
<td>Class I g∅-</td>
<td>Ø, b- or p-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class II b∅g-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class III m∅g-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive Aspect</td>
<td>Class I g∅ -i-</td>
<td>-i- or its allomorphs ni- and -ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class II b∅g -i-</td>
<td>b--i- or p--i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class III m∅g -i-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>does not exist</td>
<td>-u- or its allomorphs m- and -m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-volitive Mood</td>
<td>k(ə)-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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                        |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anak</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>boganak</td>
<td>‘bear children’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tassam</td>
<td>‘vegetable’</td>
<td>mgnassam</td>
<td>‘cook vegetables’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gazzassam</td>
<td></td>
<td>gazzassam</td>
<td>‘grow vegetables’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asu</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>mnagasu</td>
<td>‘hunt with dogs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lansung</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
<td>gklansung</td>
<td>‘put nails in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alud</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
<td>begalud</td>
<td>‘ride a boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukong</td>
<td>‘craftsman’</td>
<td>gwtukong</td>
<td>‘work as a carpenter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Himmelmann 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 Incompletive Aspect, Compleative 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 Incompletive Aspect is characterised by the class prefixes \( g \), \( b \) and \( m \). The Actor Voice Compleative Aspect has an infix \(-i-\) in addition to the class prefixes and thus relates to the AV-Incompletive Aspect. UV-Compleative Aspect is formed with the Compleative 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-Incompletive. 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-Incompletive 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 \(-\rho-\) can be prefixed with the Non-volitive (inflectional) prefix \( a-\), as in \( a-k-\rho-anut \) ‘accidentally pulling each other’, from \( kanut \) ‘pull’ or infixed with the Completive Aspect (inflectional) infix \(-\gamma-\), as in \( s-\gamma-\rho-\gamma-\gamma-gbu’ \) ‘made yellow’ from \( sigbu’ \) ‘yellow’. The inflectional morphemes in these examples are attached after the reciprocal infix \(-\rho-\) 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 Compleative 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 Fehringer 2003 for an
alternative view). 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 \( s\cdot \), 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.

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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 *l warns but *llang ‘river’ *ban ‘forest’. 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 *uos ‘cut in two’, *isud ‘send, accompany’ and cannot start with a nasal or with a labial consonant. Just like dynamic verbs, stative verbs can be subminimal: *rod ‘difficult’ or bisyllabic starting with a consonant: *pio ‘good’, *rati ‘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. Unlike dynamic verbs, stative verbs (and nouns) can start with a nasal or with a labial consonant, for instance *muha ‘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 infixed 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 *b α -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) ḳ唤mon aku gədəladu bas.
     ḳ唤mon aku gə-dəladu bas
lately IS.N AV-wait bus
‘Lately, I was waiting for the bus/ I am just now waiting for the bus.’

(2) ḳ唤mon aku gədəladu bas.
     ḳ唤mon aku gə-i-dəladu bas
lately IS.N AV--COM-wait bus
‘Lately, I waited for the bus.’

(3) ḳ唤mon, bay dəladu ku bas.
     ḳ唤mon bay i-dəladu ku bas
lately PRF --COM-wait.UV IS.G bus
‘Lately, I waited for the bus.’

(4) *_ksesmon bay dəladu ku bas.
     ḳənnom bay dalud ku bas
lately PRF wait.UV IS.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 bus ‘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’, *tas but a-tas ‘high’, *ghog but a-ghog ‘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 unvoluntary change of state.

(5) (...)soggow kat rumo daun gapu’ no, layang, ratu’, matay.
   -DEP-catch.UV CDM 3s leaf decayed yonder fall fall dead
   ‘(... he caught a decayed leaf and fell dead.’ [Kobasi 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 muso, mata’ rumo akay llung gayo.
   satu muso 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 naretu’ ‘cause to fall’. Likewise, (10) is bad.

(9) *Rumo retu’.
   rumo -i-ratu’
   3S -COM-fall.UV
   ‘He fell.’ [Notebook]
Some stative verbs have a dynamic equivalent than can occur in the Complettive 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 Complettive Aspect infix; the reading ‘was good, has been good’ is not available for sayu ‘COM-good’; it can only mean ‘repair, fix’.

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 (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 unprefixd and means ‘stay’. The same verb in (13) is prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix a- and has an accidental meaning.

10) *Ali linnood nong pasang.
Ali -i-lunnod 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.’

11) Bay sayu 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?’

12) Kano ulun sillun guog di’ gkun sillun
if person other stay loc village other
sannang nong ilun lɔmigow.
sannang nong ilun -ɔm-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.’ [M-Suk3B 062]
A while ago I happened to stay alone 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 bɔmuy in (14) is unprefix and means ‘straight’, while its prefixed variant in (15) means ‘very straight’.

(14) 
Bągɔli-d ̃ kat rumo pug pangat barong-barong bɔmuy.
-look for 3s rod fishing line whoever-whoever straight
‘He looked for a fishing rod, anything straight.’ [Tudow 014]

(15) 
Aky akug rumo, ikug rumo da paling bɔmuy.
exist tail 3s tail 3s PR very straight
‘There was his tail, his tail was very straight.’ [Tudow 019]

Abɔmuy ̃ bio abuat.
-straight and -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 ̃ kɔmni ne aɔbpo amnis, 
- COM-pound UV 1PL/3G this NV-more sweet

Ngod agajo sɔkkol di sɔtabung 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 added sugar was very big).’ [Mt-SukSp 49]

Secondly, both stative verbs and adjectives can be turned into a dynamic verb by prefixation with the (Volitive Mood) AV-prefixes gɔ or bɔ-, depending on
the phonological shape of the stem (see section 2.4.1.). The effect of the AV-prefixes $g\tilde{o}$- or $b\tilde{g}\tilde{o}$- 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 $g\tilde{o}$- on the stative verbal root in (17a) marks inchoative aspect while the same verbal root in (17b) is unprefixed because the person in question is already dead.

(17) a. $G\tilde{o}lino$ ne bay sïdtu $g\tilde{o}$-matay sawit no.
   gadïno ne bay sïdtu $g\tilde{o}$-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 kokol 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 $b\tilde{g}$- of $b\tilde{g}$-llus ‘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 cleaver hunter.

(18) a. $B\tilde{g}$llus key ikow nnong!
   $b\tilde{g}$-llus key ikow nnong
   AV-stuck FOC 28.N here
   ‘Just get stuck here! (Context: a person does not want to cross the river while flood is rising.)’

   b. Ninga’ labpo buli m$\tilde{g}$any, bay allus allom balay no.
      ninga’ labpo buli ma-laay bay a-llus allom balay ino
      NEG,1 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 $g\tilde{m}$ulok ‘act young’ in (19a) is derived from an adjective with the AV-prefix $g\tilde{o}$- and has voluntary semantics as compared to its unprefixed equivalent in (19b). The verb $b\tilde{g}$lltas ‘high’ in (20a) is prefixed with an AV-prefix to give it an inchoative reading as compared to its unprefixed variant in (20b).
(19) a. *Rumo mala’ gəmulok masong.*
   rumo mala’ gə-mulok masong
   3S want AV-young still
   ‘She still wants to be young (Context: an old person wearing young clothes).’
   [Notebook]

   b. *Liu ino begko, paling tana’ pula’ bio duo.*
   liu ino begko paling tana’ pula’ bio duo
   female yonder also very low ten and two

   *pula’ bio tellu, mulok pa.*
   pula’ 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 bəgətas.*
   a-sirung sidtu bəgə-tas
   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

   ‘Her house was high.’ (Context: description of the palace of princess Dayangpulkli)
   [Dayangpulkli 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-Incompletive 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 *rəma’* ‘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 *rəma’* refers to someone who is falling and cannot choose the place where he will come down.
The verb *tugban* 'collapse' in (22) is affixed with the Dependent infix -(m)- 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) Tugban key turug-turug.
    -m-tugban key turug-turug
    -DEP-collapse FOC sleep-RED
    '(She) laid down for a nap (..).' [Kebasip43]

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' mārgkang no sidu mangan,
    pog kukka' mārgkang ino sidu mangan
    when recovered child yonder merely AV.eat

    bio bay kunnu.
    bio bay -u-kunnu
    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 *t(u)*-forms intensive forms of adjectives but not of any other lexical categories.

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

5 On the basis of the fact that stative verbs such as *tukal* 'thin' and *gojo* 'big' can be affixed with Dependent morphology (*tumukal* 'grow thin' and *gojo* 'grow big'), we would expect that for instance *tuo* 'old' can also bear Dependent morphology, but most other stative verbs cannot. I have no explanation for the fact that only some stative verbs can be affixed with Dependent morphology while other items cannot.
There is one exception: \(t\dot{a}g\ul{\textit{uli}}\) ‘back into the original state’ from the verbal root \ul{\textit{uli}}\ ‘go home’, but all the other derivations are from roots expressing property concepts. Although the prefix \(t\dot{a}\) has only limited productivity, it is an argument for assuming a subclass of adjectives.

Fifthly, the prefix \(s\dot{a}\) 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.

\(G\dot{a}nta\)’ \(d\dot{a}\ p\dot{i}o\ s\dot{a}\dot{m}\dot{\textit{ng}}k\dot{\textit{ot}}\) \(M\dot{a}n\dot{u}\).  
\(g\dot{a}nta\)’ \(d\dot{a}\ p\dot{i}o\ s\dot{a}\dot{m}\dot{\textit{a}}-\dot{\textit{g}}k\dot{\textit{ot}}\) \(M\dot{a}n\dot{u}\)  
‘Manuel works very well. (lit. Manuels manner of working is very good.)’

\(J\dot{a}d\dot{i} \ a\dot{k}u\ m\dot{a}\dot{l}u\) \(g\dot{\textit{g}}\dot{\textit{us}}\dot{\textit{ur}}\) \(n\dot{g}d\) \(s\dot{\textit{p}}\dot{a}\dot{t}a\dot{y}\) \(a\dot{m}a\)’ \(k\dot{u}(\dots)\)  
\(j\dot{a}d\dot{i} \ a\dot{k}u\ m\dot{a}\dot{l}u\) \(g\dot{\textit{g}}\dot{\textit{us}}\dot{\textit{ur}}\) \(n\dot{g}d\) \(s\dot{a}\dot{p}\dot{a}t\dot{a}y\) \(a\dot{m}a\)’ \(k\dot{u}\) \(18\dot{N}\)  
‘I want to tell how my father died (\dots).’ [Helen 001]

“\(E\), \(u\dot{l}l\dot{o}\) \(n\dot{e}\ \k\dot{\textit{d}}\dot{o}\) \(s\dot{\textit{g}}\dot{\textit{m}}\dot{\textit{m}}\dot{\textit{i}}\) \(s\dot{a}\dot{p}\dot{a}\)’ \(n\dot{O}\)?”  
“\(e\) \(u\dot{l}l\dot{o}\) \(n\dot{e}\ \k\dot{\textit{d}}\dot{o}\) \(s\dot{\textit{g}}\dot{\textit{m}}\dot{\textit{m}}\dot{\textit{i}}\) \(s\dot{a}\dot{p}\dot{a}\)’ \(i\dot{n}\) \(E\textit{XCL}l\) why this friend \(N\dot{O}\dot{M}\)-sweet \(w\dot{a}\dot{t}\dot{e}\) \(y\dot{O}\dot{N}\)  
“Hey, my friend, why is the water so sweet?” [Kalihambang 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 lnnod modifies noun ulun ‘person’, and sentence (31) in which the relative clause g3luat pait no ‘who sells this fish’ modifies the noun ulun ‘person’.

(29) Aku malu’ g3g-usur bio ulun kubol no.
aku malu’ g-g-usur bio ulun kubol ino
IsN  want AV.REC-tell and person fat yonder
‘I want to talk to the fat man.’

(30) (...)sa’ kanu ulun l3mod no gittan tali no.
sa’ u-kanu ulun l-nnod 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’ g3g-usur bio ulun g3luat pait no.
aku malu’ g-g-usur bio ulun g-luat pait ino
IsN  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 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-knew.UV really OBL mother yonder PRT
‘Ali, for instance, knows his mother very well.’ [Conversationkokoko2 087]

(34) Ganta’ da m3gata’ tun rumo nong nakon.
ganta’ da m3gata’ tun rumo nong nakon
very PR AV-look very 3S OBL 1.SA
‘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 t3g(g)-.
Stassen (1997) and Wetzer (1996) observe that languages that lack obligatory morphological tense marking on verbs tend to express property concept 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 llung ‘river’.

Unlike dynamic verbs, underived nouns cannot be affixed. 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).

\[(35) \quad \text{Balay Babu di.} \]
\[\text{balay Babu adi} \]
\text{house Babu over.there} \]
\[\text{‘Babu’s house.’} \]

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(36) \textit{Anak ku te.} \hfill \textit{anak ku te} \\
child 1.S.G this \\
\textit{My child}'

Secondly, noun phrases can express the argument of a verb, as the noun \textit{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 \textit{bulud Barigas} ‘hill of Berigas' is the complement of the preposition \textit{di}'.

(37) \textit{Di' bulud Barigas.} \hfill \textit{di' bulud Barigas} \\
\textit{LOC hill Berigas} \\
\textit{At the Berigas Hill}'

Thirdly, nouns take typical adnominal modifiers, such as demonstratives (38) or classifiers, for instance \textit{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 \textit{inggos} ‘all' as in (41).

(38) \textit{Asu ino.} \hfill \textit{asu ino} \\
\textit{dog yonder} \\
\textit{This dog}'

(39) \textit{Duo tassa' asu.} \hfill \textit{duo tassa' asu} \\
two CL\_animal\: dog \\
\textit{Two dogs}'

(40) \textit{Duo dtow.} \hfill \textit{duo dtow} \\
two day \\
\textit{Two days}'

(41) \textit{Inggos ayug rumo.} \hfill \textit{inggos ayug rumo} \\
all friends 3$S$ \\
\textit{All her friends}’

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

\subsection*{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 Incompletive Aspect, see section 6.3.
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’. Contrasst 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 are you doing?’ (lit what is your work?)  

(44) *Rumo pagon màng-a-gkot*  
rumo p-agon màng-a-gkot  
3s siSTRONG 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 Buad made a plan to go.’  

(46) *Pon pio akkor mo ne.*  
pon pio akkor mo ne  
NEG.Good plan 2s.G this  
‘Your plan/thinking is not good.’  

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 an 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)  D.era’ ton nong balay.
  Dara’ ton nong balay
  young.lady TOP OBL house
  ‘As for Young Lady, she was at home.’ [Monay bio Dera’ 039]

(48)  Jadi dongay rumo m-ɔn dik nong balay no.
  jadi -u-dangay rumo m-ɔ-anik nong balay ino
  so -DEF-proceed 3S DEF-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)  M-gkay key beg te nong nakon!
  m-ɔ-gkay key beg te nong nakon
  DEP-give UV FOC bag this OBL 1.S.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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Meaning if used as independent noun/verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ttas</td>
<td>'above, top'</td>
<td>'high' (adjective)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alag</td>
<td>'beneath'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allom</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
<td>the adjective <em>allom</em> means 'deep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avan</td>
<td>'outside'</td>
<td>'sky' (noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔŋaŋ</td>
<td>'front'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukud</td>
<td>'back'</td>
<td>'back' (body part, noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səbila'</td>
<td>'side, other side'</td>
<td>'half' (from the dynamic verb <em>ila</em> 'split')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibang</td>
<td>'left'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konan</td>
<td>'right'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔŋa'</td>
<td>'middle'</td>
<td>'halfway' (noun or stative verb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tɔŋbuk rumo lawas.  
arrive 3S OBL top hill yonder EXIST meet.3S clear  
'He arrived on top of the hill; he discovered a clear (area).’ [Monay bio Dera’ 012]

(55) Pog sawot rumo di’ tɔŋa’ dalan no, (..)  
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) Lɔŋɔŋŋɔp kat kɔrok no sɔŋuok allom balay no.  
immediately CDM bird yonder -DEP-enter.3S 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.
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* ‘in the direction of’.

(58) *Kiron ino sija’ suran ku, nong Monay bio Dγra’.*

until merely story 1.S.G OBL young.man and young.lady

‘Until here only is my story about Young Man and Young Lady’ . [Monay bio Dera’094]

(59) *Ratu’ rumo sakko di’ awan di, rαnna’ nong buta’,* 

fall 3S from LOC sky over.there descend OBL earth

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: *Sapakkong 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) *Lappap kat Sapakkong m-apos Kalibambang*

lappap kat Sapakkong m-apos 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.’ [Sepakkongg7]

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:

(57) *ukat* ‘hear say’

kiron ‘until’

sakko ‘from’

suru ‘in the direction of’
`Since we first (lit. began to) came home from fishing until now I have never heard our child cry.' [Renggon 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person and number</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>nakon</td>
<td>nong nakon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>ikow</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>niun</td>
<td>nong niun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>rumo</td>
<td>rumo</td>
<td>rumo</td>
<td>nong rumo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P inclusive</td>
<td>kito</td>
<td>kito</td>
<td>naton</td>
<td>nong naton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P exclusive</td>
<td>kɔɔnɪ</td>
<td>kɔɔnɪ</td>
<td>nاتهم</td>
<td>nong nاتهم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mayu</td>
<td>mayu</td>
<td>mayun</td>
<td>nong mayun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>(m)ɪɪro</td>
<td>(m)ɪɪro</td>
<td>(m)ɪɪro</td>
<td>nong (m)ɪɪro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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* an be used pronominally, adnominally and adverbially. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ate</em></td>
<td>te/ne</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>contrastive, closer to the speaker than to the addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ano</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>close to both speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ino</em></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>‘yonder’</td>
<td>far away from speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>udi</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>furthest away from speaker yet visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>adi</em></td>
<td>di</td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
<td>furthest away from speaker and unvisible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]

g. Ate ano ino udi adi samba’.
    ate ano ino adi adi samba’
    this that yonder the one overthere pink
    ‘This one/that one/yonder one/the one there/the one overthere is pink.’

Adnominally used demonstratives follow the headnoun:
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-Sak2 241]

(67)  
a.  Mba’  baya’  Babu?
mba’  baya’  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  b-adung  *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]
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)  
\[ \text{sob akay bulud, tan Monay, panow kat Monay ddi’}. \]  
\[ \text{sob akay bulud tan monay panow kat monay ddi’}. \]  
when hill see 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 *mpong an ddi’* above, the items in (72) can be used adverbialey 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)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>long</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close to speaker, in the direction of the speaker</td>
<td>tui</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close to speaker and addressee</td>
<td>tunong</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close to speaker, in the direction of the speaker</td>
<td>te-te</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far away</td>
<td>di-di</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(73)  
\[ \text{Rottop key tui!} \]  
\[ \text{-u-rottop key tui} \]  
\[ \text{-DEP-close FOC here} \]  
‘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)  
\[ \text{Anak asu no mäng-ukow kəmo akay asu} \]  
\[ \text{anak asu ino mäng-ukow kəmo akay asu} \]  
child dog yonder cv-wake.up if exist dog  
\[ \text{sillun sowot tunong} \]  
\[ \text{sillun -u-sawot tunong} \]  
other -DEP-arrive here  
‘The puppy wakes (us) up if another dog comes here.’ [Mi-Suk3B 135]

(75)  
\[ \text{Te-te/ di-di pasod pait.} \]  
\[ \text{te-te/ di-di pasod pait.} \]  
\[ \text{here/ there-m RED many fish} \]  
‘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 sa‘ ‘one’ instead of with sa‘ ‘one’ or with the numeral prefix s₇.

(76) sa‘/satu 1 pulu' bio pat, etc 14
duo 2 duo pulu’ 20
t₇lu 3 t₇lu pulu’ 30
pat 4 pat pulu’, etc. 40
limo 5 pat pulu’ bio sa’ 41
nom 6 pat pulu’ bio t₇lu 43
turu’ 7 pat pulu’ bio turu’ 47
olu 8 maratu 100
siway 9 duo ratu 200
pulu’ 10 t₇lu ratu 300
pulu’ bio sa’ 11 maribu 1000
pulu’ bio duo 12 duo ribu 2000
pulu’ bio t₇lu 13 t₇lu ribu 3000

(77) Pulu’ bio sa’
pu lu’ bio sa’
ten and one
‘Eleven’

(78) Maribu
ma-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 ma- or ka-. The prefix ka- is used in the context of counting persons or objects, as in (79).

(79) Ino anak k₇sa/k₇luo/k₇lu/k₇pat.
in o anak kass₇duo/k₇lu/k₇pat
yonder child first/second/third/fourth
‘This is the first/second/third/fourth child.’
Sentence (80) shows how ordinal numerals with mₐₐ modify future events, or other events expressed by a verb in the Dependent. Sentence (81) shows how an ordinal numeral with kₐₐ modifies events of the past or the present, expressed by a verb with any other inflection. The numeral tøllu 'three' has an irregular mₐₐ form mₐₐtøllu 'third' besides the expected mₐₐtøllu. Its form with kₐₐ is regular (kₐₐtøllu 'third').

(80) Nong mₐₐppos mₐₐtøllu.
    nong mₐₐ-ppos mₐₐ-tøllu
    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 pedhos. 129]

(81) Da nong kₐₐtøllu rumo gₐₐrungi.
    da nong kₐₐ-tøllu rumo gₐₐ-runu
    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, tøllu’… ‘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 kₐₐok mangan paray.
    bowon ton satu kₐₐok 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 g₂g₂usur-g₂g₂usur nong allom gkuₐₐ no,
    jadi da g₂g₂-usur-g₂g₂-usur nong allom gkuₐₐ ino
    so PR AV.REC-tell-RED OBL inside village yonder
    savot suran no d’ anan monay satu.
    savot suran ino d’ 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 s\(\text{ng}\)-

The numeral ‘one’ can be expressed as a free numeral or as a prefix. The numeral prefix s\(\text{-}\) ‘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 s\(\text{-}\) functions as a derivational prefix deriving manner nominalisations from verbal stems and is treated in section 7.9. The prefix s\(\text{-}\) has two allomorphs: the allomorph s\(\text{-}\) is used for consonant-initial classifiers as in (85) and s\(\text{ng-}\) for vowel-initial classifiers as in (86).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(85)</th>
<th>classifier</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>s(\text{-})</th>
<th>classifier</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>butuan</td>
<td>‘Cl.’ person</td>
<td>s(\text{-})butuan ulun</td>
<td>‘one person’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tassa’</td>
<td>‘Cl.’ animal</td>
<td>s(\text{-})tassa’ asu</td>
<td>‘one dog’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(86)</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>s(\text{ng-})</th>
<th>measure noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pppung</td>
<td>‘fist’</td>
<td>s(\text{ng-})pppung kkan</td>
<td>‘one fistfull of cooked rice’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmuk</td>
<td>‘cooking tin’</td>
<td>s(\text{ng-})mmuk paray</td>
<td>‘one cooking tin full of unhusked rice’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikar</td>
<td>‘acre’</td>
<td>s(\text{ng-})ikar buta</td>
<td>‘one acre of land’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(87)</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>meaning if used as independent noun</th>
<th>type of nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sila’</td>
<td>‘rice grain’</td>
<td>default/objects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butuan</td>
<td>‘body’</td>
<td>persons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tassa’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>animals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p(\text{ju}))</td>
<td>‘stem of plant or tree, buttocks’</td>
<td>plants, trees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l(\text{ng})batu’</td>
<td>butu means ‘stone’</td>
<td>fruit, eggs, other round objects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lissog</td>
<td>‘seed, pit’</td>
<td>tiny round objects such as tablets, ricegrain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatta’</td>
<td>‘drip’</td>
<td>drop of liquid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tidong</td>
<td>‘wild banana’</td>
<td>one piece (finger) of bananas or maize</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulus</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>cloth that is not yet sewn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlab</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>flat things such as a piece of zink, wooden planks, plywood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapad</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>banana leaf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Numerical 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. Numerical 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) *Tâlu doow*
tâlu doow
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. It is even used to refer to people, as in (90). This generic usage of *sila’* often occurs in casual speech.

(90) (..) *summa’ nong kənuy no po-dâlu’*
(..) *-u-sâmmu’ nong kənuy ino po-dâlu’*
(..) *-DEP-command.UV Obl. eagle yonder UV.CAU.DEP-descend*

* anak duo sila’ nnon.
anak duo sila’ nnon
child two CL.generic here
‘(..) and he commanded the eagle to take down (lit. cause to descend) his two children here.’ [Dayangpakhi 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.
### 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 *s-* and modify other nouns. The Begak measure nouns are here categorised following Van den Berg (1989)

#### Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s₂-minggu</td>
<td>‘one week’</td>
<td>duo minggu</td>
<td>‘two weeks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-dow&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>‘one day’</td>
<td>duo dow</td>
<td>‘two days’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-bulan</td>
<td>‘one month’</td>
<td>duo bulan</td>
<td>‘two months’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-tahun</td>
<td>‘one year’</td>
<td>duo tahun</td>
<td>‘two years’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Metrics, areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s₃-ing-ikar</td>
<td>‘one acre’</td>
<td>duo ikar</td>
<td>‘two acre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-gelon</td>
<td>‘one gallon’</td>
<td>duo gelon</td>
<td>‘two gallon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-litar</td>
<td>‘one liter’</td>
<td>duo litar</td>
<td>‘two liter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-kilo</td>
<td>‘one kilo’</td>
<td>duo kilo</td>
<td>‘two kilo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Volumes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s₂-kadut</td>
<td>‘one rice sack’</td>
<td>duo kadut</td>
<td>‘two rice sacks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-botol</td>
<td>‘one bottle’</td>
<td>duo botol</td>
<td>‘two bottles’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-mital</td>
<td>‘one tin’</td>
<td>duo mital</td>
<td>‘two tins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-balatok</td>
<td>‘one basket’</td>
<td>duo balatok</td>
<td>‘two baskets’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₃-sanggani</td>
<td>‘one mug’</td>
<td>duo sanggan</td>
<td>‘two mugs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-sanggan</td>
<td>‘one basin’</td>
<td>duo sanggan</td>
<td>‘two basins’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s₂-bila’</td>
<td>‘one half, side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-p-ukos</td>
<td>‘one cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-balig</td>
<td>‘one swarm of birds’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Parts of plants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s₃-p-bana’</td>
<td>‘one fruitstalk’</td>
<td>duo p-bana’</td>
<td>‘two fruitstalks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-balig</td>
<td>‘one rice ear’</td>
<td>duo balig</td>
<td>‘two rice ears’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-punggol</td>
<td>‘one fruitstalk’</td>
<td>duo punggol</td>
<td>‘two fruitstalks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s₂-tuppuk</td>
<td>‘one bunch’</td>
<td>duo tuppuk</td>
<td>‘two bunches’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others are: *s₂-ginis* ‘a sort of’; *s₂-rɔppɔ* ‘one armspan’; etc. Measure nouns follow the same syntax as classifiers. Sentence (96) shows how the numeral plus classifier

---

<sup>10</sup> The form *s₂-dow* ‘one day’ forms an exception to the rule that vowel-initial roots or roots consisting of just CVC are prefixed with the allomorph *s₃-ing(2)* instead of with *s₂*. 
"s-p'anna‘ 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.

\[ (96) \text{[..] ratu’ bua’ niug no } s-p’anna’ \]
\[ (96) \text{[..] ratu’ bua’ niug ino } s-p’anna’ \]
\[ (96) \text{[..] fall fruit coconut yonder one-fruit.stalk} \]
‘One fruitstalk of coconuts fell down.’ [Kebasis34]

\[ (97) \text{Tepuk } ku \text{ s-anggan ngod aka malu’ mangan.} \]
\[ (97) \text{-i-tapuk } ku \text{ s-anggan ngod aka malu’ mangan} \]
\[ (97) \text{COM-stay.behind.UV 1.SG one-basin because 1.S.N want AV.eat} \]
‘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.

\[ (98) \text{inggos ‘all’} \]
\[ (98) \text{dadan ‘all of them’} \]
\[ (98) \text{silut ‘each’} \]
\[ (98) \text{iro ‘X and company’} \]
\[ (98) \text{barong ‘whoever’} \]
\[ (98) \text{suku ‘the whole category’} \]

The words inggos and dadan 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 dadan ‘all’.

\[ (99) \text{Inggos } k\text{-mmi } baya’ \text{ nong Itin.} \]
\[ (99) \text{Inggos } k\text{-mmi } b-a\text{-ya’ } nong Itin \]
\[ (99) \text{all 1P.E.N/G MID-follow OBL Itin} \]
‘We all joined Itin.’ [ConversationtriptoL 139]

\[ (100) \text{Anak rumo dadan liun.} \]
\[ (100) \text{anak rumo dadan liun} \]
\[ (100) \text{child 3S all woman} \]
‘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) *Kɔmmɔn*, *aku* *penow* *di’* *anan* *iro* *Nani.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kɔmmɔn}, & \quad \text{aku} \\
\text{i-panow} & \quad \text{di’} \\
\text{anan} & \quad \text{iro} \\
\text{Nani} & \quad \text{Just now I went to Nani and company’s place.}
\end{align*}
\]

*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 bɔg-apuy da gɔ-lindut*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{whoever} & \quad \text{person AV-cook PR AV-run} \\
\text{kebing} & \quad \text{kuron ino.} \\
\text{-i-kabing} & \quad \text{kuron ino} \\
\text{-COM-hold.in.hand.UV} & \quad \text{pan yonder} \\
\text{‘Whoever was cooking ran (to the palace of the Sultan still) holding his cooking pan.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kɔmnop</th>
<th>‘each’</th>
<th>bɔkɔmnop</th>
<th>‘go to each place’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tagub</td>
<td>‘whole’</td>
<td>mɔtagub</td>
<td>‘go through the whole place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukup</td>
<td>‘enough’</td>
<td>sɔmukup</td>
<td>‘make enough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasod</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
<td>gɔpasod</td>
<td>‘become numerous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tittoy</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>gɔtittoy</td>
<td>‘become smaller’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentence (104) illustrates how *kɔmnop* ‘each’ is unaffixed and occurs before the noun it modifies. Sentence (105) illustrates how *bɔkɔmnop* is used as a dynamic verb.

(104) *Akay pudol kɔnop tɔllu si’la’ tɔdu’ mo ne*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akay} & \quad \text{pudol kɔnnop tɔllu si’la’ tɔdu’ mo ne} \\
\text{exist} & \quad \text{itchy.sore each three CL.generic finger 2s.g this} \\
\text{‘There is a pimple (on) each of your three fingers.’} & \quad \text{[Mi-Suk3A 278]}
\end{align*}
\]

(105) *Di’ bpung miro sowot tu sowot*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{di’} & \quad \text{bpung miro -u-sawot tu -u-sawot} \\
\text{LOC} & \quad \text{former.time 3p -DEP-arrive too -DEP-arrive} \\
\text{mɔng-ppom} & \quad \text{bɔkɔnop balay.} \\
\text{mɔng-ppom} & \quad \text{bo-ɔnop balay} \\
\text{AV-spray} & \quad \text{AV-each house} \\
\text{‘They used to come frequently to spray every house.’} & \quad \text{[Mi-Suk3A 007]}
\end{align*}
\]
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.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l l l}
\textbf{Day} & \textbf{Literal translation} & \textbf{Gloss} \\
\texttt{ari satu} & ‘day one’ & ‘Monday’ \\
\texttt{ari duo} & ‘day two’ & ‘Tuesday’ \\
\texttt{ari t\texttt{tu}} & ‘day three’ & ‘Wednesday’ \\
\texttt{ari pat} & ‘day four’ & ‘Thursday’ \\
\texttt{ari limo} & ‘day five’ & ‘Friday’ \\
\texttt{ari nom} & ‘day six’ & ‘Saturday’ \\
\texttt{ari minggu} & ‘day (of the) week’ & ‘Sunday’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

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

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l l l}
\textbf{Day} & \textbf{Literal translation} & \textbf{Gloss} \\
\texttt{bulan satu} & ‘month one’ & ‘January’ \\
\texttt{bulan duo} & ‘month two’ & ‘February’ \\
\texttt{bulan t\texttt{tu}} & ‘month three’ & ‘March’ \\
\texttt{bulan pat} & ‘month four’ & ‘April’ \\
\texttt{bulan limo} & ‘month five’ & ‘May’ \\
\texttt{bulan nom} & ‘month six’ & ‘June’ \\
\texttt{bulan turu’} & ‘month seven’ & ‘July’ \\
\texttt{bulan olu} & ‘month eight’ & ‘August’ \\
\texttt{bulan siway} & ‘month nine’ & ‘September’ \\
\texttt{bulan pala’} & ‘month ten’ & ‘October’ \\
\texttt{bulan pala’ bio sa’} & ‘month eleven’ & ‘November’ \\
\texttt{bulan pala’ bio duo} & ‘month twelve’ & ‘December’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

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

\[(110) \quad \text{kuumon} \quad \text{a while ago', 'just now'}
\text{mutap} \quad \text{tomorrow'}
\text{gulo} \quad \text{'first'}
\]

\[(111) \quad \text{Multi' gulo aku.}
\text{m-ulii' gulo aku}
\text{go.home first 1s,n}
\text{'I'm going home now.'}
\]

Adverbs of certainty are given below:

\[(112) \quad \text{kambor} \quad \text{'perhaps'}
\text{asar} \quad \text{‘certainly'}
\]

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

### 4.8. Aspectuals

The three aspectuals are listed below:

\[(113) \quad \text{da} \quad \text{‘sequence, progressive aspect’}
\text{sa'} \quad \text{‘sequential aspect’}
\text{bay} \quad \text{‘already’}
\]

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.

\[(114) \quad \text{Bay} \quad \text{bpos khami mangan, sa' sowot rumo bazaus pait.}
\text{bay} \quad \text{bpos khami mangan sa' -u-sowot rumo bag-aus pait}
\text{PRE after 1p,n AV.eat SQ -DEP-arrive 3s,n AV-bring fish}
\text{‘We had already finished eating, (when) he was just arriving to bring fish.’}
\text{[Mi-Suk1 676]}
\]
Bay marks perfective aspect:

(115) Nong təmulak barong ssin bay beiyo.
    nong -əmulak (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 panong alud no kito da kagom.
kemo da p-unong alud ino kito da kagom
if PR SF-finish boat yonder P.LN/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) mala’ ‘want, about to, so that’ (118) mil ‘ever’
    kalay ‘not want, so that not’
    atow ‘know, be able, (not) happen to’
    kəlap/alap ‘get, succeed in’
    səmbay ‘must’
    səmbir ‘must’
    sangan ‘in the process of’
    bpos ‘finished, after’
    buli ‘can’

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
1.S.N NEG.P ever go LOC Kota Kinabalu

‘I have never been to KK (Kota Kinabalu).’
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) Mang-bpot Duga’, ninga’ akay Tudow muli’.

Mang-bpot Duga’ ninga’ akay tudow muli’
AV-wait-for.someone Duga’ NEG.1 EXIST male.cameleon DEP-go.home
‘Duga’ waited for (Mr. Cameleon), (but) there was no Cameleon coming home.’

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 pungka, 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:

---

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.
The following particles are additive particles:

(124)  

tu  ‘too’

bagko  ‘also’

(sijja)  ‘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 bąssing-bągitom ino (..)
jadi m-aus kat rumo koy atay bąssing-bągitom 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 pa-kąssu key suran.
jadi kito pa-kąssu key suran
so 1P.L/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
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) \[ \text{D}w \text{ ano } \text{aku } \text{gisang } \text{bio } \text{N}w \text{eneng} \]
\[ \text{dtow } \text{ano } \text{aku } \text{ga-lisang } \text{bio } \text{Neneng} \]
\[ \text{‘Today (lit. that day) I am playing with Neneng.’} \]

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

(132) \[ \text{Putti, } \text{ssom, } \text{lujan } \text{bio } \text{lissant.} \]
\[ \text{putti } \text{ssom } \text{lujan } \text{bio } \text{lassot} \]
\[ \text{banana citrus.fruit durian and langsat} \]
\[ \text{‘Bananas, citrus fruits, durians and langsats.’} \]

*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) \[ \text{Putti } \text{gam, } \text{ssom } \text{gam, } \text{lujan } \text{gam, } \text{bio } \text{lissant.} \]
\[ \text{putti } \text{gam } \text{ssom } \text{gam } \text{lujan } \text{gam } \text{bio } \text{lassot} \]
\[ \text{banana or citrus.fruit or durian or and langsat} \]
\[ \text{‘Bananas or citrus fruits or durians or langsats.’} \]

### 4.12.2. Coordinating conjunctions

The following conjunctions coordinate clauses (not NPs):
The following example illustrates the use of coordinating conjunctions *ngod* 'because' and *suga* 'but'.

(135)  
\[
\text{Jadi aku salalu m\=ang-ata' di' rinding di,} \\
\text{so 1S.N always (M) AV-look LOC wall over.there} \\
\text{because PRF used.to 1S.N AV-look watch yonder} \\
\text{but NEG.P EXIST more hour yonder} \\
\text{'because I am used to looking at the clock, but the clock is not there anymore.'} \\
\text{[Mi-Suk4 038]}
\]

4.12.3. Subordinating conjunctions

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

(136)  
\[
\text{pog 'when, after'} \\
\text{sob 'at the moment that'} \\
\text{k\=\=\=mo 'if, when'} \\
\text{kidon 'when (future)'} \\
\text{bilo 'when (from Malay bila)'}
\]

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

(137)  
\[
Pog \ pata' \ rumo \ nong \ t\=\=bpang, \ n\=\=ong \ asu \ \\
Pog \ \ p-ata' \ rumo \ nong \ t\=\=bpang \ n\=\=ong \ asu \\
\text{when SF-look,UV 3S OBL well here dog} \\
\text{rolled.up-RED sleep inside well yonder} \\
\text{'After he looked in the well, here was a dog rolled up sleeping in the well.'} \\
\text{[Payow Mas 009]}
\]
Sentence (138) illustrates the use of the conditional/temporal conjunction kəmo ‘if’:

(138) jadi kəmo da -i-tagay kito nong kito
so if PR -COM-salt.UV IP.LN/G AUX IP.LN/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 gadaang pait di’ kadday.
   Pius PR AV-buy fish LOC shop
   ‘Pius is just about to buy 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 gɔlunguy di’ llung.
   Elvin gɔ-ุง-guy di’ llung
   Elvin AV-swim LOC river
   ‘Elvin is swimming in the river.’

(4) Elvin aratu’ nong allom llung.
    Elvin a-ɾatu’ nong allom llung
    Elvin NV-fall ONL. 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 *mang\text{\textregistered}era* ‘look after’ appears in the Actor Voice.

(5) \textit{Ino rumo kiron suran ku nong iro}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\row{inonder} \row{3S} up.to story \row{1.SG OBL COL}
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
gino \row{Pud} [\textit{mang\text{\textregistered}era} ultrang.] \\
gino \row{Pud} mang\text{\textregistered}era ultrang \\
wife and children Pud AV-look.after snake
\end{tabular}

‘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 *mangukul* ‘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) \textit{Pon pandu ku ulun [mangukul Ali]}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\row{apon p-andu} ku ulun mang-ukul Ali \\
\row{NEG.P SF-know.UV 1.SG person AV-beat Ali}
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
good for: ‘I do not know the person who beat Ali.’ \\
not good for: ‘I do not know the person whom Ali beat.’
\end{tabular}

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, (*degang* ‘bought’) the gap would be understood as actor of the relative clause, which is semantically odd.

(7) \textit{Minum, nan, ano kuy [degang ama ku digabpi].}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\row{m-inum minan ano kuy i-dagang ama ku digabpi} \\
\row{DEP-drink.UV aunt that cake -COM-buy.UV father 1.SG yesterday}
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘Drink, aunty! This is some cake that my father bought yesterday.’ [Conversationharvest 061]
\end{tabular}

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. *Ala pis paray [titu kito ne].
   a-lapi paray i-tutu kito ne
   NV-flatten.UV rice.plant -COM-pound.UV 1.P.1.N/G this
   ‘The rice that we have just pounded has become flat.’ [setlag 010]

b. *Ala pis paray [mang-tutu kito ne].
   a-lapi paray mang-tutu kito ne
   NV-flatten.UV rice.plant AV-pound 1.P.1.N/G this
   * ‘The rice that is pounding us has become flat.’

   Or if there is a pause between paray and mang-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 *grait* ‘pronounce’ and *mnilung* ‘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 grait batal no].
   tuso aku ga-rait battal ino
difficult 1.S.N AV-pronounce word yonder
   ‘It is difficult for me to pronounce this word.’ [Mi-Suk3B 010]

b. *Tuso [ikow mnilung tumpa’] ngod akay.
   tuso ikow mang-silung tumpa’ ngod akay
difficult 2.S.N AV-put.on shoes because EXIST
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 *bətal 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-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. *Bətal* no *tuso* [nong *ku* *roit* _].
   bətal ino tuso nong ku -u-rait
   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 mōng-gkay tullang bakas nong asu.*

but husband 1.S.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 (Himmelmann 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. However, (13c) shows that the recipient *Rudi* is not a term and cannot be promoted to subject.

\[(13) \text{ a. } Nasrun \, m\_g\_g\_g\_k\_y\_y \, buk \, nong \, Rudi. \]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Nasrun} & \text{AV-give} \\
\text{buk} & \text{book} \\
\text{nong} & \text{OBL} \\
\text{Rudi} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Nasrun gives a book to Rudi.’

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{b. } & \text{buk } \text{no } \text{bay } \text{bigkay} \, \text{Nasrun} \, \text{nong} \, \text{Rudi.} \\
\text{buk} & \text{yonder} \\
\text{ino} & \text{PRF} \\
\text{bay} & \text{-COM-give.UV} \\
\text{bigkay} & \text{Nasrun} \\
\text{Nasrun} & \text{book} \\
\text{nong} & \text{OBL} \\
\text{Rudi} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘This book has been given to Rudi by Nasrun.’

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{c. } * & \text{Rudi} \, \text{bay} \, \text{bigkay} \, \text{Nasrun} \, \text{buk} \, \text{no.} \\
\text{Rudi} & \text{yonder} \\
\text{bay} & \text{PRF} \\
\text{bigkay} & \text{-COM-give.UV} \\
\text{Nasrun} & \text{book} \\
\text{buk} & \text{yonder} \\
\text{no.} & \text{OBL} \\
\text{Rudi} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘*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

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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:

\[(i) \text{ a. } Bay \, \text{bigkay} \, \text{Nasrun} \, \text{buk} \, \text{no} \, \text{nong} \, \text{Rudi.} \\
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{bay} & \text{-i-b\_g\_k\_a\_y} \\
\text{bigkay} & \text{Nasrun} \\
\text{Nasrun} & \text{book} \\
\text{buk} & \text{yonder} \\
\text{no} & \text{OBL} \\
\text{nong} & \text{Rudi} \\
\text{Rudi} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘This book has been given to Rudi by Nasrun.’

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{b. } & \text{*Bay} \, \text{bigkay} \, \text{Nasrun} \, \text{Rudi} \, \text{buk.} \\
\text{bay} & \text{-i-b\_g\_k\_a\_y} \\
\text{bigkay} & \text{Nasrun} \\
\text{Nasrun} & \text{book} \\
\text{Rudi} & \text{Rudi} \\
\text{buk} & \text{buk} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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 a 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 tginam ku mgangannan kudor no bagku.
digabpi bay -tn-tinam ku mng-tannan kudor ino bagku
yesterday PRF -COM-HY.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
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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 lead 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-languy ‘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 Dixons 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. focuses 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 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) g₃dagang pait di’ Dægon. (Subject - Verb - Object)
    Pius PR AV-buy fish LOC Dengan
    ‘Pius is buying fish in Dengan.’

   b. (Da) g₃dagang Pius pait di’ Dægon (Verb - Actor - Undergoer)
    da g₃-dagang Pius pait di’ Dægon
    PR AV-buy Pius fish LOC Dengan
    ‘(..) Pius is buying fish in Dengan, (..)’

(16) a. Pait ino degang Pius di’ Dægon (Subject - Verb - Object)
    pait ino -i-dagang Pius di’ Dægon
    fish yonder -COM-buy UV Pius LOC Dengan
    ‘This fish was bought by Pius in Dengan.’

   b. (Bay) degang Pius pait di’ Dægon (Verb - Actor - Undergoer)
    bay -i-dagang Pius pait di’ Dægon
    PRF -COM-buy,UV Pius fish LOC Dengan
    ‘Pius has already bought fish in Dengan.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-verbal slot</th>
<th>verbal slot</th>
<th>Actor slot</th>
<th>Undergoer slot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor: Nom</td>
<td>AV-verb</td>
<td>Actor: Nom</td>
<td>Undergoer: Acc/Obl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer: Nom</td>
<td>UV-verb</td>
<td>Actor: Gen</td>
<td>Undergoer: Acc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person and number</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>nakon</td>
<td>nong nakon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>ikow</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>niun</td>
<td>nong niun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>rumo</td>
<td>rumo</td>
<td>rumo</td>
<td>nong rumo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P inclusive</td>
<td>kito</td>
<td>kito</td>
<td>naton</td>
<td>nong naton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P exclusive</td>
<td>(k)mìmi</td>
<td>(k)mìmi</td>
<td>namon</td>
<td>nong namon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mìyu</td>
<td>mìyu</td>
<td>mìyu</td>
<td>nong mìyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>(m)ìro</td>
<td>(m)ìro</td>
<td>(m)ìro</td>
<td>nong (m)ìro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, *kkak* 'cooked rice' is a full NP and is therefore not casemarked.

(18) a. *Aku g*ąppot *kkak.*
   *Aku* ḡą-łppot *kkak*
   1.S.N AV-wrap cooked.rice
   'I am wrapping cooked rice.'

b. (...) *g*ąppot *aku kkkak, (...)*
   ḡą-łppot *aku kkkak*
   AV-wrap 1.S.N cooked.rice
   'I am wrapping cooked rice.'

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 b*ągarab *(nong)* *niun.*
   *Lina* ḡą-arab *(nong)* *niun*
   *Lina* AV-look.for *(OBL)* 2.S.A
   'Lina is looking for you (Acc/Obl).'

b. (...) *b*ągarab *Lina *(nong)* *niun, (..)*
   ḡą-arab *Lina *(nong)* *niun*
   AV-look.for *Lina *(OBL)* 2.S.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* '1/me', is also the subject of the sentence.

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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 nebut 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 paditos rumo, paditos tu aku.  
bay paditos rumo paditos tu aku  
PRF ill 3S ill too 1S.N  
‘She (was) already ill, I (got) ill too.’ [Conversation dogs 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.
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. If only subject s 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

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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!’.

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

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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 m-uppu’ gulo ulan ku.
    nong ku m-UPPU’ gulo ulan ku
    AUX 1.S.G DEP--launder.UV first clothes 1.S.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-damus gulo anak ku ate
    AUX 1.S.G -DEP--bathe.UV first child 1.S.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 1.S.G -DEP--help.UV 2S.A
    ‘For me (Gen) to help you (Acc).’

(27) Ikow nong lontik k[uo] kampung nong allom gkun no.
    ikow nong -u-lantik katuo kampung nong allom gkun no
    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).

(28) a. Pasod ulan nong mo m-uppu’
    pasod ulan nong mo m-uppu’
    many clothes AUX 2S.G DEP--launder.UV
    ‘You (Gen) have got many clothes to wash!’ [Notebook]

b. Pasod ulan nong ikow m-uppu’
    pasod ulan nong ikow m-uppu’
    many clothes AUX 2S.N DEP--launder.UV
    ‘You (Nom) have got many clothes to wash!’

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

‘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) [AssaI.171]

b. Ino mo pio nong mo sowo.
ino rumo pio nong mo -u-sawo

‘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 kunman key ja’ ano.”
dadi kəmo rumo nnong key ku kunman 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”.’
[Dayangpuki takes revenge 55]

(31) (...)nong ikow may bowong puti’ no,
AUX 2s.n DEP-take.UV onion white yonder

‘You take the garlic (lit. white onion),’

sa’ ikow iₐ₃₇₆₆ bowong puti’ no.
sa’ ikow iₐ₃₇₆₆ bowong puti’ ino

‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme 3 Pronominal case marking in clauses with <em>kat</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>verb slot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV-verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV-verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.**

‘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) **bussul ton bulud a-p-ukos kat llung.**

‘A *bussul* is a hill that is cut off by a river.’ [Notebook]
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) \begin{align*}
\text{Panow} & \text{ ikow, akay ulang sakko di’ konan mo (..)} \\
\text{go} & \text{ 2S.N \textit{exist} snake from LOC right 2S.G} \\
\langle \text{Suppose} \rangle & \text{you (Nom) are walking and there is a snake coming from the right of you (..)} \quad \langle \text{Leiwon 001} \rangle
\end{align*}

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 *gālissi* ‘peal’, however, appears in the genitive, although it is the subject, because it is preceded by *kat*.

(36) \begin{align*}
\text{Jadi} & \text{ gālissi kat ku key dalay no.} \\
\text{jadi} & \text{ gā-lissi kat ku key dalay ino} \\
\text{so} & \text{ AV-peel CDM 1S.G FOC maize yonder} \\
\langle \text{So I} \rangle & \text{started peeling the maize.} \quad \langle \text{Mi-Sak2 029} \rangle
\end{align*}

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 runo m-nik nong balay no.
jadi -u-dangay runo m-q-nik 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.
inon suran nong anak doto apen 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.
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(41) Muyu ne tugus m\textsuperscript{ng-g}kay kinnas nong namon. 
\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{PNG} this go on \textit{AV}give \textit{side.dish} OBL 1\textsuperscript{P.E.A}

‘You always give us food.’ [MiSuk1 364]

(42) \textit{Bera’ rumo nong Gias: “aku ton”, (...)}
\textit{-i-bar\textsuperscript{a}} rumo nong Gias aku ton
\textit{-COM-say.\textsuperscript{UV} 3s OBL Gias 1\textsuperscript{S.N} TOP}

‘He said to Gias, “as for me,” he said, (...)[Payow Mas 024]

In less careful, fast speech, the preposition \textit{nong} can be omitted, as in sentences (43) and (44), where the third argument \textit{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.
an\textit{O} \textit{-i-bgk\textsuperscript{a}} nakon tissing tiud
\textit{-COM-give.\textsuperscript{UV} 1\textsuperscript{S.A} ring coconut.shell}

‘This is what (they) gave me, a coconut shell ring.’ [Berigas 018]

(44) \textit{Bera’ rumo nakon “anak allom t\textsuperscript{sr}ray mo ne gapol”}.
\textit{-i-bar\textsuperscript{a}} rumo nakon anak allom \textit{t\textsuperscript{sr}ray mo ne gapol}
\textit{-COM-say.\textsuperscript{UV} 3s 1\textsuperscript{S.A} child inside belly 2\textsuperscript{S.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, \textit{di’}, is also omitted in fast, less careful speech, especially in the very frequent expression \textit{panow Lahad Datu} ‘go Lahad Datu’, as in (45a).\textsuperscript{10} This expression stands for ‘go to Lahad Datu’, as in (45b).

(45) a. Sau’ penow Lahad Datu.
Sau’ \textit{-i-panow Lahad Datu}
\textit{-COM-go Lahad Datu}

‘Sau’ went to Lahad Datu.’ [Notebook]

b. Sau’ penow di’ Lahad Datu.
Sau’ \textit{-i-panow di’ Lahad Datu}
Sau’ \textit{-COM-go LOC Lahad Datu}

‘Sau’ went to Lahad Datu.’

Even if the preposition \textit{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

\textsuperscript{10} Most people go to Lahad Datu on a regular basis, as it is the nearest town where people go for shopping and business 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-bágkay mija’ –i-ballan 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 bagisud nong Bessing panow di’ Lahad Datu.
Benson bag-isud nong Bessing panow di’ Lahad Datu
Benson AV-send OBL Bessing go LOC Lahad Datu
‘Benson drives Bessing to Lahad Datu.’

b. *Benson bagisud Bessing panow di’ Lahad Datu.
Benson bag-isud Bessing 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 mangwa’era’ in the last clause of (48b) is marked by nong.

(48) a. ‘M mang-sawo ikow, malu’ akay mangwa’era’ nakon, kamo rumo.
mang-sawo ikow malu’ akay mang-tera’ nakon kamo rumo
AV-marry 2s.N want EXIST AV-look.after 1.s.A QTM 3s
‘Marry, so that there is someone looking after me’ she said (to her widowed father).’

[Dayangpukli takes revenge 006]
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 b-glid ‘look for’ and b-ganti ‘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 b-gppa ‘collapse’ takes a full NP complement without nong, the same is true for m-ngawang ‘open’, but m-ngusing and m-ngungut ‘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 gives 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. Kalu’ Julia mabang ulan miskin.
    kalu’ Julia mang-tabang ulan miskin
    desire Julia AV-help person poor
    ‘Julia wants to help the poor.’ (any poor people)

b. Kla’ Julia mabang nong ulan miskin.
    kla’ Julia mang-tabang nong ulan miskin
    desire Julia AV-help OBL person poor
    ‘Julia wants to help the poor.’ (only the very poor)

The reading of sentence (iii) is that Julia helps whoever is poor whereas sentence (iib) 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.
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 Givon (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 (Himmelmann 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 kǝrok.*
    *day-RED young.man -DEF-hunt NEG.P EXIST NV-UV young.man bird*
‘Day after day Young Man hunted (but) Young Man did not catch any bird.’

(51) *Da buay Monay badung 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 gǝxoradas 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)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>uran</em></td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>panas</em></td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sawangita</em></td>
<td>‘bright/the sun shines right into your ‘eyes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lappat</em></td>
<td>‘thunder and lightning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rudtug</em></td>
<td>‘thunder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bgiot</em></td>
<td>‘flash’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(54)  
Malu’ *uran*,  
malu’ *uran*  
want *uran*  
‘It’s going to rain.’
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 pọsuog putti di’ tukud balay ku.*

exist many stem banana loc back house 1sg

‘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.*

pért 1sn top negp 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.*

yes sq yonder pért exist child 1sg 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) *Na aku ton pon akay anak gərunay.*

pért 1sn top negp exist child self

‘Well, as for me, I don’t have children who are really my own.’ [Anakku1 001]

(62) *Na aku ton pon akay anak gərunay.*

pért 1sn top negp exist child self

‘Well, as for me, I don’t have children who are really my own.’ [Anakku1 001]
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 bako *ina’*, aku ne pa panow
ninga’ ne bako *ina’* aku ne pa panow
NEG.1 this also mother 1.S.N this PRT go

sija’ mang-sagkop sapa’, inga’ *akay* aku panow.”
sija’ mang-sagkop sapa’ inga’ *akay* aku panow merely AV-fetch water NEG.1 EXIST 1.S.N go

‘No mother, I only went to fetch water, I really did not go (places).’

[Dayangpukiti 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 sakkol.*
an programma
that sugar
‘That is sugar.’
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.

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.
(69) a. Mba’ bayâ’ Payna?
mba’ bayâ’ 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 bâtuán.
anak ku pat bâtuán
child 1S.G four CL.person
‘My children are four.’

(72) Asu ku tâllu tassa’
asu ku tâllu 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 lâhpo ‘more’, as in (73). It is absent in (74).
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Basi no (lɔhpo) kadong (masong) sakko basi adi.

basi no lɔhpo kadong masong sakko basi adi
‘This bush knife is shorter still than the bush knife over there.’ [Mi-Suk 1 352]

Lɔhpom ku kɔ-bpung mɔŋgannak Francisko atow

lɔhpom ku kɔ-bpung mɔŋgannak Francisko a-tow
‘I think Francisko’s wife knows your language earlier than we because she is together with you.’ [Mi-Sak3B 031]

Questions with an implicit comparative are formed with bio ‘and’:

Jadi sɔnukot kat ku key ɣay gajo,

jadi -ɔn-sukot kat ku key nay gajo
so -DEP-inform. UV

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-Sak3B 237]

Bera’ miro kɔnuni gajo.”

-bira’ miro kɔɔnuni gajo
-Com-Say. UV

3p 1p.E.N/G
big

‘So they said “We are bigger”.’ [Mi-Sak3B 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. 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
5.7.2. Open questions

In open questions, the interrogative pronoun normally stands in first position:

(79) Nay bâgepuy kulat no?
    nay bâg-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, mådtop key lancuk no.
bay tuong må-ð top 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) Kåno da tidog dtow, bågapuy ikow kkan.
kåno da tidog dtow bågapuy ikow kkan
if PR high sun AV-cook 2s.N cooked.rice
'When it is noon (lit. high sun), you cook rice!' [Tutul bso 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 Tepatow.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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Actor Voice</th>
<th>Undergoer Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Volitive Mood</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive Aspect</td>
<td>Class I (g)-</td>
<td>(\emptyset, b)- or (p)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class II (b)g-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class III (m)(\ng)-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive Aspect</td>
<td>Class I (g)(-i)-</td>
<td>(-i)- or its allomorphs (ni)- and (\neg)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class II (b)g(-i)-</td>
<td>(b)-(i)- or (p)-(i)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class III (m)(\ng)(-i)-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>does not exist</td>
<td>(-u)- or its allomorphs (m)- and (\neg)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-volitive Mood</strong></td>
<td>(k(\emptyset))-</td>
<td>(a)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Himmelmann 2004) or volitive mood versus non-volitive mood (Kroeger 1993) in Tagalog. Schachter and Otanes (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 Incompletive Aspect, in the Completive Aspect or in the Dependent, which is a kind of neutral aspect. The Actor Voice is expressed by one of the three class prefixes g-, b- or m-, 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 Completive Aspect is expressed by the infix -i- or one of its allomorphs while the Incompletive Aspect is unmarked. Completive 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 Incompletive 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 Completive Aspect, as the Dependent is a neutral aspect. 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 Completive 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 k- 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-Incompletive Aspect and (2) the AV-Completive Aspect.

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.
Verbal Inflection

(1) Jam Li mə́tə́gbuk duktur.
    Jam Li mə́ng-tə́gbuk duktur
    Zam Lee AV-meet doctor
    'Zam Lee is seeing a doctor.'

(2) Jam Li mə́nibuk duktur.
    Jam Li mə́ng-i-tə́gbuk duktur
    Zam Lee AV--COM-meet doctor
    'Zam Lee saw a doctor.'

The following example contains a verb in the UV-Compleitive Aspect.

(3) (Bay) tə́gbuk Jan Li duktur.
    (bay) -i-tə́gbuk Jan 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) Tə́gbuk Jan Li ssin.
    tə́gbuk Jan 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) (...Tə́gbuk kat runo key mə́nijar no.
    -u-tə́gbuk kat runo key mə́nijar 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 kə́tə́gbuk ssin.
    Jam Li kə́-tə́gbuk 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) a-tə́gbuk Jam Li ssin.
    a-tə́gbuk 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 (*kɔdang ‘buy’, *kɔdalud ‘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 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 portmanteau morphs: mɔŋ- is AV Incompletive; (pɔ)nɔ- is UV-Completive and pɔ- is UV-Dependent. Causative verbs cannot appear in the AV-Completive or UV-Incompletive (see chapter 7). 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 g-, b-g- and m-ng-

The Actor Voice in Volitive Mood is characterised by prefixation with one of the class prefixes g-, b-g- or m-ng-. 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 g-, as in (8); the class prefix b-g- 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 m-ng-, as in (10). Note that the domain of m-ng- overlaps with that of g- (coronals) and with b-g- (vowel-initial or monosyllabic stems).

(8) g-lingut ‘run’  (9) b-g-arab ‘look for’
g-lunguy ‘swim’  b-g-lid ‘search’
g-nupi ‘dream’  b-g-issud ‘bring’
g-sdgkow ‘call’  b-g-sundom ‘miss someone’
g-dagang ‘buy’  b-g-guru ‘learn’
g-tindak ‘step on’  b-g-undom ‘miss someone’
g-lasi ‘peel’  b-g-sundom ‘clear land’
g-runi ‘talk’  b-g-sundom ‘bark’

(10) m-ng-asso ‘read’
m-ng-ukos ‘cut’
m-nggal (m-ng-tagal) ‘plant with dibble’
m-nasrhab (m-ng-sarab) ‘burn ricefield’
m-natadas (m-ng-tadadas) ‘chase’

The semantic difference and difference in valency of the verbs in the three classes is less clear. The classes of g- and b-g- contain predominantly action verbs which may be intransitive or intransitive. Many, though not all of the transitive verbs of these classes express a low degree of affectedness; i.e. the patient of the
sentence is not very much affected by the action. Moody (1991) adequately describes \textit{b\textgreek{g}}- and \textit{g\textgreek{p}}- 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 \textit{m\textgreek{n}}- 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 \textit{g\textgreek{p}}-, while (13) is transitive:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item[(11)] \textit{Mutap satu kito g\textgreek{lumba}}'.
  \begin{verbatim}
  mutap satu kito ga-lumba'
  tomorrow one IP.LN/G AV-race
  \end{verbatim}
  'The day after tomorrow we will race.' [Tutulp111]
  \item[(12)] \textit{Pog "nat" k\textgreek{m}o tutul, g\textgreek{lindut} kat payow}.
  \begin{verbatim}
  pog "na!" kamo tutul ga-lindut kat payow
  when EXCL QM watersnail AV-run CDM deer
  \end{verbatim}
  'When the watersnail said “now!” the deer ran.' [Tutulp113]
  \item[(13)] \textit{Suga' k\textgreek{m}o ino da g\textgreek{rabut} nipon}.
  \begin{verbatim}
  suga' kamo ino da ga-rambut nipon
  but if yonder PR AV-pull.out tooth
  \end{verbatim}
  \begin{verbatim}
  pio pasor, apon padtos bagko,
  pio pasor apon padtos bagko
  good because NEG.P ill also
  \end{verbatim}
  'But when he pulls out teeth he is good (at his job) because it does not hurt.' [Conversationkoko1 105]
\end{enumerate}

The verb \textit{b\textgreek{guang}} ‘bark’ in (14) is intransitive, while examples (15) through (17) contain transitive verbs from the \textit{b\textgreek{g}}- class:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item[(14)] \textit{Asu ino b\textgreek{guang} nong babpa’ balay Gias}.
  \begin{verbatim}
  asu ino bag-uang nong babpa’ balay Gias
  dog yonder AV-bark OBL mouth house Gias
  \end{verbatim}
  'Immediately the dog started to bark near the front of Gias' house.' [Payow Mas 046]
\end{enumerate}

The following examples show transitive verbs wit \textit{b\textgreek{g}}- in the AV.

\begin{enumerate}
  \item[(15)] \textit{Sawot tunong ano Adil b\textgreek{gisud} namon}.
  \begin{verbatim}
  sawot tunong ano Adil bag-isud namon
  arrive here that Adil AV-send IP.EA
  \end{verbatim}
  'Adil brought us until here.' [Conversation kokol 036]
Examples (18) through (20) illustrate a few m̥ng- verbs, which are all transitive:

(18) Suga’ ino kalay ku di k̖mo m̥ngallan npon m̥ng.
suga’ ino kalay ku adi k̖mo m̥ng-allan npon m̥ng

(19) Ulun pasod n̥ng m̥ng-takow mangan putti.
ulun pasod n̥ng m̥ng-takow mangan putti

(20) Arji m̥ng-gbuk duktur pakar masong.
Arji m̥ng-gbuk duktur pakar masong

As mentioned in section 3.5., a handful of verbal roots can be prefixed with either m̥ng- in one sense of the root; or with g̥ or b̥g̥- in another sense of the root. In most cases, the m̥ng- variant is transitive or expresses an inchoative sense, whereas the g̥ or b̥g̥- variant express an intransitive or ongoing activity. Sentence (21a) contains such an intransitive verb g̥-timbak ‘explode’ prefixed with g̥-, whereas its equivalent m̥ng-timbak ‘shoot’ prefixed with m̥ng- in (21b) is transitive. The verb ḡ̥ngkow ‘call’ in (22a) expresses an ongoing action whereas its equivalent m̥ngkow ‘call’ in (22b) expresses an inchoative event.

(21) a. Ahir rumo, da ragob apuy, g̥-timbak t̊ray p̊lanuk.
    ahir rumo da ragob apuy g̥-timbak t̊ray p̊lanuk
    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 m̥ng-timbak p̊swaw, t̊n ku sipag.
    akay tu ulun m̥ng-timbak p̊swaw t̊n 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]
6.2.2. The derivational use of the Actor Voice class prefixes

Although g-, b- and m- can hardly be semantically distinguished in the context of inflection on dynamic verbal stems, their functional difference is more evident in derivation. The prefix m- derives exclusively causative transitive verbs from stative verbal roots and adjectival roots, whereas g- and b- derive inchoative intransitive verbs.\(^4\)

\begin{verbatim}
(23) a- gloss m- gloss
   a-gbog 'broken' m-\text{gbog} 'break something'
   a-mud 'afloat' m-\text{mud} 'to float something'
   a-nsur 'crushed' m-\text{nsur} 'crush'
   a-bpob 'smoked' m-\text{bpob} 'smoke something'
\end{verbatim}

\(^4\) In these examples the stative verb is clearly primary and the dynamic verb with m- 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 \text{*atot} but a-p-\text{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 m- form derived or whether the dynamic m- 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.
As these derived verbs are transitive, they can also occur in the UV-Completer Aspect and in the Dependent, whereas intransitive dynamic verbs derived from stative verbs through prefixation with g- or b- cannot occur in the UV-Completer Aspect or in the Dependent.

As was mentioned in section 4.2.2., g- and b- turn stative verbal roots and adjectival roots into dynamic verbs. The following lists show the semantic effect of g- and b- 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 b- to receive an inchoative sense, as in (25) whereas stative verbs starting with a coronal or labial consonant are prefixed with g-, as in (26).

(25) Non-volitive prefix a- gloss AV-prefix b- gloss

| a-ttas | 'high' | b-g-τtas | 'become high' |
| a-mmis | 'sweet' | b-g-μmis | 'become sweet' |
| a-ssak | 'ripe' | b-g-ςσακ | 'become ripe' |
| a-bpuk | 'dizzy' | b-g-βπυκ | 'become dizzy' |
| a-dtu' | 'far' | b-g-δτυ’ | 'go far away' |
| a-tag | 'dry' | b-g-ταγ | 'be drying' |
| a-llun | 'alive' | b-g-λλυν | 'live, keep oneself alive' |

(26) stem gloss AV-prefix g- gloss

| lnnod | 'drown' | g-λnnod | 'almost drowning' |
| matay | 'die' | g-μταy | 'almost dying' |
| siop | 'ready' | g-ςιoπ | 'getting ready' |
| pio | 'good' | g-πιo | 'becoming better' |
| lundung | 'lazy' | g-λυνδυνγ | 'becoming lazy' |
| mulok | 'young' | g-μυλοκ | 'want to be/become young' |
| puti’ | 'white’ | g-πυτι’ | 'become white' |

Sentences (27) and (28) illustrate dynamic verbs derived from adjectival roots by prefixation with g-. All these verbs receive an inchoative sense if prefixed with an AV-prefix.
Sentences (29) and (30) show how psych verbs can receive a stronger sense if prefixed with an AV-prefix. If the verb *lbpom* is used without AV-morphology, it means ‘to think, to guess’, but if prefixed with *g-* or *b-* it means ‘to accuse someone’. Similarly, *lumon* means ‘be silent’, but *g*lumon 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. *(..) g*lbpom miro key.*
    *g*-lbpom miro key
    ‘(..) they just accuse/suspect (her of it).’ [Conversationkoko3 152]

    b. *lbpom ku b*gko miro di b*gusus karito no.*
    labpom ku bagko miro di bag-usur di karito no.
    think.UV 1.S.G also 3P over.there AV-COM-bring car yonder
    ‘I guess they went by car (lit. taken the car).’ [ConversationtriptoLD 143]

    Ali lumon
    'Ali is silent.'

    b. *G*lumon tun ikow!
    g-lumon tun ikow
    AV-silent really 25.N
    ‘You are really purposely silent about it!’

Sentences (31) through (33) illustrate some verbs consisting of an adjectival root and a prefix *g*- or *b*-.* These verbs receive an inchoative and or volitional sense if
prefixed with an AV-prefix. The prefix \textit{b\={a}g-} in (33) turns the the root \textit{llun} ‘alive’ into a dynamic verb meaning ‘live’ instead of the stative ‘alive’.

(31) a. \textit{Ulan ku bay b\={a}g-tug.}
\textit{ulan ku bay} AV-dry

‘My clothes are already drying.’

b. \textit{Ulan ku bay atug.}
\textit{ulan ku bay} AV-dry

‘My clothes are already dry.’

(32) a. \textit{\textit{Aro mo} panow b\={a}g\textit{-d\={t}u’}, \textit{k\={a}mo Pangian.}}
\textit{aro mo panow} AV-far QA \textit{Pangian}

‘Don’t you go far away’, said the Sultan’s Wife. [Mengera’Kusur].

b. \textit{Balay iro \textit{Itun} a\textit{-d\={t}u’ sakko} tunong.}
\textit{balay iro} AV-far QA \textit{Itun} and her family NV-far from here

‘The house of Itun and her family is far from here.’

(33) a. \textit{\textit{M\={a}rgkang} no (\ldots) b\={a}g\textit{-llun} tu garunay rumo.}
\textit{m\={a}rgkang} yonder AV-live too self NS

‘The child (\ldots) kept herself alive.’ [Dayangpukli 010]

b. \textit{\textit{Langati} seggow ku digabi \textit{di} allun masong.}
\textit{langati} COM-catch.UV ISG yesterday over.there NV-live still.again

‘The rainworms I caught yesterday are still alive.’ (Context: fishing) [Notebook]

More examples of dynamic verbs derived from stative verbal roots and adjectival roots through prefixation with \textit{g\={a}} or \textit{b\={a}g-} can be found in section 4.2.2.

All three AV-prefixes derive denominal verbs. The denominal verbs derived with the prefix \textit{m\={a}ng-} tend to be contain more (syntactically) transitive verbs and tend to have a higher degree of affectedness than denominal verbs derived with the prefix \textit{g\={a}} or \textit{b\={a}g-}. For instance, the verb \textit{g\={a}-tassam} means to grow vegetables whereas the verb \textit{m\={a}ng-tassam} (\textit{m\={a}ng-tassam}) means ‘look for edible leafs that can be used as vegetable’, or ‘make a vegetable dish of certain edible leafs’. But again, this is just a tendency.
The mung-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 mung-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.

The denominal verbs in (36), (37) and (38) form the verbal complement of another verb panow 'go' or mtaubang 'help', but they can occur independently as a main verb in another context.

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The term factitive is used by Van den Berg (1989:198) to describe similar verbs.
The derived verbs can be transitive and intransitive. Whether they are prefixed with $g\%$ or $b\%$, depends on the phonological shape of the root, but not on the semantics. The list of verbs derived with $g\%$ contains transitive and intransitive verbs and so does the list of $b\%$. 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 $g\%t\%gunggu'$ from the noun $t\%gunggu$ 'gong'; (43) contains two verbs derived from the nouns $d\%llay$ 'maize' and $igkang$ 'maizefield' respectively.

(41) Ulun no pon $g\%baju$.
ulun ino apon $ga-baju$
"The person does not wear a shirt." (Context: in a session of clairvoyance) [Ama Kupedtos 275]

(42) Mulay-mulay rumo $g\%t\%gunggu'$.
mula-mula rumo $ga-t\%gunggu$
begin-RED 3S AV-gong
'(...) in the beginning (they) play the gong.' [Russay 005]

(43) K\%mo kito malu’ $g\%d\%llay$.
komo kito $ma\%llay$ k\%mo
if 1P.N/G want AV-maize if
$dl'$ bpung $s\%ra\%it$ k\%m\%mi no $b\%g\%igkang$.
di' bpung $sa-ra\%it$ k\%m\%mi ino $ba\%g\%igkang$
LOC former.time NOM-pronounce 1P.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 b\textsuperscript{g}:

(44) \textit{B\textsuperscript{g}apuy} \textit{kat} \textit{rumo} \textit{key.}  
\textit{bag-apuy} \textit{kat} \textit{rumo} \textit{key}  
\textit{AV-fire} \textit{CDM 3S FOC}  
'She started to cook.' [Bowon Bura' 203]

(45) \textit{Inggos io'} \textit{ku ne b\textsuperscript{g}ai'} \textit{nong nakon.}  
\textit{inggos io'} \textit{ku ne bag-ai'} \textit{nong nakon}  
\textit{all older.sibling ISG this AV-younger.sibling OBL 3S.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) \textit{Dadi rumo pun, di’ bpuung b\textsuperscript{g}ar\textsuperscript{uk}.}  
\textit{dadi rumo pun di’ bpuung b-garuk}  
\textit{so 3S too (M) LOC former.time AV-flute}  
'So he also used to play the (nose) flute.' [Nine princesses 082]

(47) \textit{Jadi panow kat kalibambang, b\textsuperscript{g}alud.}  
\textit{jadi panow kat kalibambang bag-alud}  
\textit{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 \textit{g\textsuperscript{-}}, \textit{b\textsuperscript{g}-} or \textit{m\textsuperscript{n}g\textsuperscript{-}}. 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 \textit{g\textsuperscript{-}} and \textit{b\textsuperscript{g}-} on the one hand and \textit{m\textsuperscript{n}g\textsuperscript{-}}- on the other. Stative verbal roots affixed with \textit{g\textsuperscript{-}} or \textit{b\textsuperscript{g}-} receive an inchoative interpretation, while prefixation with \textit{m\textsuperscript{n}g\textsuperscript{-}}- causativises them. \textit{G\textsuperscript{-}} and \textit{b\textsuperscript{g}-} derive transitive and intransitive verbs from nominal roots, while many denominal verbs with \textit{m\textsuperscript{n}g\textsuperscript{-}} are transitive.

### 6.3. The Undergoer Voice Incomplete

The Undergoer Voice is characterised by the absence of the class prefixes \textit{g\textsuperscript{-}}, \textit{b\textsuperscript{g}-} or \textit{m\textsuperscript{n}g\textsuperscript{-}}. The UV-Incomplete 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 \textit{p\textsuperscript{-}} or \textit{b\textsuperscript{-}}-. The prefix \textit{p\textsuperscript{-}} is the default stem forming prefix for vowel-initial or monosyllabic roots, while \textit{b\textsuperscript{-}} forms stems of verbal roots with middle semantics.

UV-Incomplete forms do not always have the same volitive mood
semantics as the AV-Incompletive forms described in the section above. In certain
temporal subordinate clauses, the UV-Incompletive forms are similar in meaning to
their AV-equivalents. In main clauses, however, UV-Incompletive 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-Incompletive forms. AV-Incompletive forms consist of a root
prefixed with a class prefix; AV-Completive forms consist of a root prefixed with a
class prefix and the Completive Aspect infix \(-i\)-. UV-Completive forms either
consist of a consonant-initial root without class prefix, affixed with a Completive
Aspect affix; or of a vowel-initial root prefixed with a semantically empty, stem
forming prefix \(b\)- or \(p\)- and infixed with the Completive Aspect infix; ergo UV-
Incompletive 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-Incompletive 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 \(g\)\(^*\)- or \(b\)\(^*\)\(_g\)-, 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) \[\text{Dagang ku pait di’ pasor buy:UV 1s:G fish LOC market} \]

\(\text{‘I am buying fish at the market.’} \) (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 UV-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’ i ro duo no di’ ttas.
when spy,UV 3s there COL two yonder LOC top
‘sWhen 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, tabpu.
when lick,UV paddle yonder sweet PRT sugarcane
‘sWhen (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) (læbpom ‘guess’) and (21b) (ttan ‘see’) above. Examples are listed below:

(50) UV gloss AV gloss
     gɔdiam ‘remember’ bɔ-gɔdiam ‘remember’
     liwag ‘forget’ gɔ-liwag ‘forget’
     lati ‘understand’ bɔ-gɔ-latiti, kɔ-latiti ‘give a meaning to’
     læbpom ‘guess’ gɔ-læbpom ‘accuse’
     tti ‘see’ kɔ-tti ‘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.
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). Sentence (52) illustrates how the UV-verb tɑgbu̯k ‘meet’ means to come across if unprefixed, whereas the same root means ‘intentionally meet’ if prefixed with the AV-class prefix m̄ng-, as in (20) above. This verb is transitive just like its AV-equivalent.

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 unprefixed 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.

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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 m̄ng- 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 m̄ng- 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 uulu kusakko nong niug.
   (a-)təbpas uulu ku sakko nong niug
   (NV-)fall.down head 1SG from OBL coconut
   ‘(My) head fell off the coconut’. Context: someone is camping outside
   and uses a coconut as a pillow. {Notebook}

b. Siti məng-təbpas kalambu.
   Siti məng-təbpas kalambu
   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 ləbpọ səkkol no.
    bay tittoy tapuk ləbpọ səkkol ino
    PRF small stay.behind more sugar yonder
    ‘There is already only a little sugar left.’ {Mi-Suk2 415}

b. Aku səmbay mənrapuk ləŋkumman ttak asu no.
   aku səmbay mənrapuk ləŋkumman ttak asu ino
   1SN 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 mənrapuk ‘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 \textit{p-} in combination with other affixes, the \textit{p-} has no meaning, as it only creates a stem. Therefore the prefix will be glossed as \textit{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 \textit{p-} too, probably because the slightly Non-volitive semantics of unaffixed stems or roots with \textit{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 \textit{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).

\begin{verbatim}
(56) Sob payas Monay gadino bowon no,
sob p-ayas monay gadino bowon ino,
when SF-look.up.UV young.man in.yonder.way sparrow yonder
dak ayak tillab nong atay Monay.
da ayak tillab nong atay monay
PR EXIST shock OBL liver young.man
‘When Young Man looked up in this way, he remembered (it) with a shock (there
was a shock in his liver).’ [Bowon Bura’ 222]
\end{verbatim}

Some other forms attested in this construction are given in (58). These verbs remain transitive and volitional when occurring with \textit{p-}.\footnote{The Begak phonology deletes root-initial consonants after prefixation with \textit{m-} and \textit{m\text{\textcircled{ng}}}- (see section 2.4.2.1.); therefore it is unclear which verbs in the lists below are actually vowel-initial roots inflected with \textit{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 \textit{p-} definitively does not belong to the root.}

\begin{verbatim}
(57) Sob pata’ miro, sob p-akot rumo
sob p-ata’ miro sob p-akot rumo
when SF-look.UV 3p when SF-work.UV 3s
anak rumo ne pa m\text{\textcircled{ng}}-uat, t\text{\textcircled{mm}}mil.
anak rumo ne pa m\text{\textcircled{ng}}-uat t\text{\textcircled{mm}}mil
child 3s this PRT AV-get.up cool
‘When they looked, when she touched her child to get it up, it was cold.’
\end{verbatim}

UV-Incompletive verbs in main-clauses with \textit{p-} are similar in semantics to the Non-volitive forms. The verbs in (59) are verbs of perception that are ambiguous between

\begin{verbatim}
(58) UV with \textit{p-} gloss AV gloss
\textit{p-ila’} ‘cut in two’ \textit{m\text{\textcircled{ng}}-ila’} ‘cut in two’
\textit{p-inum} ‘drink’ \textit{m\text{\textcircled{ng}}-inum} ‘drink’
\textit{p-adik} ‘raise something’ \textit{m\text{\textcircled{ng}}-adik} ‘raise something’
\textit{p-ukag} ‘open’ \textit{m\text{\textcircled{ng}}-ukag} ‘open something’
\end{verbatim}
an (in)ability reading and a non-volitional, unintentional reading when prefixed with *p*-.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UV</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>AV</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>p-ata’</em></td>
<td>‘look’</td>
<td><em>mang-ata’</em></td>
<td>‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-ayas</em></td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
<td><em>bag-ayas</em></td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-atas</em></td>
<td>‘happen/able to spot’</td>
<td><em>mang-atas</em></td>
<td>‘look around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-ayok</em></td>
<td>‘happen/able to smell’</td>
<td><em>mang-ayok</em></td>
<td>‘smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-andu’</em></td>
<td>‘happen/able to recognise, know someone’</td>
<td><em>mang-andu’</em></td>
<td>‘get to know’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* signifies 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 *mang* or the UV-Dependent prefix *m*, makes these verbs causative. The other examples of (61) are items of this category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UV with <em>p</em></th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>AV</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>p-gkot</em></td>
<td>‘able to work’</td>
<td><em>mang-gkot</em></td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-kan</em></td>
<td>‘able to eat’</td>
<td><em>mang-kan</em></td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-ukow</em></td>
<td>‘wake up’</td>
<td><em>mang-ukow</em></td>
<td>‘wake someone up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-udtung</em></td>
<td>‘be cut off’</td>
<td><em>mang-udtung</em></td>
<td>‘cut off something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-indang</em></td>
<td>‘torn’</td>
<td><em>mang-indang</em></td>
<td>‘tear something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-unong</em></td>
<td>‘finished’</td>
<td><em>mang-unong</em></td>
<td>‘finish something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-ungol</em></td>
<td>‘break off’</td>
<td><em>mang-ungol</em></td>
<td>‘break off something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-upud</em></td>
<td>‘finished’</td>
<td><em>mang-upud</em></td>
<td>‘finish something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p-angas</em></td>
<td>‘torn out’</td>
<td><em>mang-angas</em></td>
<td>‘tear out’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subu</th>
<th>masong</th>
<th>pukul</th>
<th>pat</th>
<th><em>g2dino</em></th>
<th>Bo-Woo</th>
<th>bay</th>
<th><em>pukow</em>, morning still again hour four in yonder way Bo-Woo Sf Wake up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

‘It was still morning around four o’clock (when) Bo-Woo woke up.’ [Mi-Suk1 703]
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 their 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 m-ang-.

(64) Bobo no pon tangka’, tan no, bay pangas.
    bobo ino apon tangka’ tan no, bay p-angas
    ‘This bag does not last, do you see, it is already torn out.’

(65) Aku malu’ màngangas ssom no.
    aku malu’ m-ang-angas ssom ino
    ‘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 m-unggol, m-unggol ‘break off something’, for example breaking off the stalk of a plant.

(66) Pála’ aku punggol niug nong kilid
    pála’ aku p-unggol niug nong kilid
    ‘My shirt is soaked in sweat (lit. laundered in sweat).’

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 puppa’ kat gassang ku.
    baju ku ne p-uppa’ kat gassang ku
    ‘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
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 \textit{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.

\begin{verbatim}
(68)  O!  Akay nong b\textae{}uan gam?
o akay nong b\textae{}uan 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]
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(69)  Suga' rumo antang pon pata'
suga' rumo antang apon p-ata'
but 3s like NEG.P SF-look.UV
kan ngod ulan akubol.
kan ngod ulan 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]
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(70)  Bay pata'.
bay p-ata'
PREF SF-look.UV
'Speaker2: 'It is already visible.' [Conversationcorn 729]
\end{verbatim}

In summary then, the phonologically independent stem consisting of the root prefixed with \textit{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 \textit{p-} may be intransitivised, and function as an anti-causative.

\subsection{The middle prefix \textit{b-}}

The third way to express the UV-Incompletive is with a phonologically independent stem consisting of the root and the prefix \textit{b-}. The prefix \textit{b-} is prefixed before vowel-initial roots of certain verbs that express position as in (71), motion (72), and anti-causatives (73).\footnote{The prefix \textit{b-} is just a stem forming affix that creates phonologically independent stems, which are interpreted by default as UV-Incompletive Aspect. The prefixes \textit{p-} and \textit{b-} have no meaning in combination with other affixation, such as Completive Aspect, Causative, Petitive or Non-volitive affixes. Nevertheless, as \textit{b-} is more selective than \textit{p-} as to what roots it combines with; therefore I will gloss \textit{b-} with 'Middle', although it has no Middle semantics in}
VERBAL INFLECTION

Verbal inflection.

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 $m\_ng$-, 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 $m\_ng$- 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) $b$ or /b/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AV</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$b_ng$-antis</td>
<td>have one’s eyebrows depilated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m_ng$-arat</td>
<td>cut someone’s hair, shave someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m_ng$-ztitu</td>
<td>‘be circumcised’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m_ng$-ztit</td>
<td>‘circumcise someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m_ng$-atin</td>
<td>‘change clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m_ng$-atit</td>
<td>‘about to change clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m_ng$-ulo</td>
<td>‘plant (no difference’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may just be an idiosyncracy 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: $pili$ ‘splitting something’ versus $bili$ ‘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.
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 \( b-\text{adtik} \). If the same root is prefixed with any other prefix, for example with the Dependent prefix \( m-\), \( \text{madtik} \), 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.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>AV Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( b-)dtat</td>
<td>‘be open (eyes)’</td>
<td>( m\text{ng-}2\text{-}dtat )</td>
<td>‘open one’s eyes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( b-)dtong</td>
<td>‘be closed (eyes)’</td>
<td>( m\text{ng-}2\text{-}dtong )</td>
<td>‘close one’s eyes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( b-)awang</td>
<td>‘opens (a door)’</td>
<td>( m\text{ng-}awang )</td>
<td>‘open something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( b-)alap</td>
<td>‘get caught’</td>
<td>( m\text{ng-alap} )</td>
<td>‘get something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( b-)ungung</td>
<td>‘fall out by itself (tooth)’</td>
<td>( m\text{ng-}ungung )</td>
<td>‘take out a loose tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( b-)issi’</td>
<td>‘torn (cloth)’</td>
<td>( m\text{ng-issi’} )</td>
<td>‘tear a cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( b-)ambur</td>
<td>‘scattered, spread all over the place’</td>
<td>( m\text{ng-ambur} )</td>
<td>‘scatter something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( b-)ugas</td>
<td>‘be washed somehow’</td>
<td>( b\text{ng-ugas} )</td>
<td>‘wash something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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.

---

\[\text{(74) \,
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Badtik} & \text{kat} & \text{Rajo} & \text{Mambang Sentana}’; \\
\text{b-adtik} & \text{kat} & \text{rajo} & \text{Mambang Sentana}’ \\
\text{MID-raise.up} & \text{CDM} & \text{king} & \text{Mambang Sentana}’ \\
\text{sidtu} & \text{g-adlap} & \text{kasu’} & \text{no.} \\
\text{sidtu} & \text{g-adlap} & \text{kasu’} & \text{ino} \\
\text{merely AV-twinkle} & \text{foot} & \text{yonder} \\
\text{‘King Mambang Sentana’ ascended (to heaven); his feet were merely twinkling.’} & \\
\text{[Dayangpukli 177]} \\
\end{array}\]
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) \[ \text{Jadi buay gulo aku badung gada-lud.} \]
\[ \jedi buay gulo aku b-adung ga-da-lud \]
‘So I’ve been sitting and waiting first for a long time.’ [Mi-Sak4 013]

(77) \[ \text{Badung!} \]
\[ \text{b-adung} \]
‘Sit down!’

(78) \[ \text{Ino baya’ da b-stog mare-gkang no tota’} \]
\[ \text{ino bayaa’ da b-a-tog marekang ino -u-tata’} \]
‘At that moment, the child stopped crying.’ [Bowon Bura’ 198]

(79) \[ \text{Panas tun pa, biud-biud a’} \]
\[ \text{p-anas tun pa b-iud-b-iud a’} \]
‘Its really hot! Move up, move up!’ [Conversation harvest 172]

Most verbs that are prefixed with *b-* are intransitive but have a transitive, causative equivalent with *m-a*. 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 *m-a* adds an undergoer to the argument structure of the verb, resulting in *m-a-adung ‘sit on something’* or *m-a-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 *m-a-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. \[ \text{Sa’ m-uat mare-gkang no gedino (…).} \]
\[ \text{sa’ m-uat meregkang ino gedino} \]
‘Then she woke up the child in this way, (…)’ [Menger’ Kusurp157]

b. \[ \text{Da niwat rumo anak rumo, da p-ausu.} \]
\[ \text{da ni-uat rumo anak rumo, da pa-tusu} \]
‘After she had woken up her child, she breastfed it.’ [Menger’ 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.

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 the 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 $beg$-ugas 'wash something'. The verb $b$-iang 'different' in (83) has transitive equivalents $n$-iang 'COM-separate' or $m$-iang-tang 'AV-separate', but is used intransitively here. The verb $b$-dtat 'open eyes' in (84) is prefixed with $b-$ because the eyes of the dogs referred to by the speaker opened up by themselves.
6.3.4. Verbs prefixed with a combination of the AV-prefix $g\alpha\tau$ and $p$- or $b$-

We have already seen in section 4.2.2, that stative verbs prefixed with an AV-prefix $g\alpha\tau$ or $b\alpha\tau$, receive an inchoative reading. Verbs that become intransitive if prefixed with $b$- or $p$- can also be prefixed with the AV-prefix $g\alpha\tau$, resulting in a verb with anti-causative and inchoative semantics ($g\alpha\tau-p$) or middle and inchoative semantics ($g\alpha\tau-b$). In any case, the resulting verb is intransitive. A few inchoative anti-causative and middle verbs are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$g\alpha\tau-p$</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>$g\alpha\tau-b$</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$g\alpha\tau-p$-unong</td>
<td>'become finished'</td>
<td>$g\alpha\tau-b$-altik</td>
<td>'begin to ascend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g\alpha\tau-p$-unggod</td>
<td>'begin to break off'</td>
<td>$g\alpha\tau-b$-awang</td>
<td>'begin to open (door)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g\alpha\tau-p$-upad</td>
<td>'become finished'</td>
<td>$g\alpha\tau-b$-issi</td>
<td>'begin to tear (cloth)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g\alpha\tau-p$-indang</td>
<td>'begin to tear (book)'</td>
<td>$g\alpha\tau-b$-issog</td>
<td>'begin to move'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences (86) and (87) illustrate the prefix combination $g\alpha\tau-p$- and example (89) is an (elicited) sentence with $g\alpha\tau-b$:

(86) *Niug no $g\alpha\tau-p$-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) *Niug ino $g\alpha\tau-p$-udtung tiu’ lassun,*

coconut yonder $AV-MID$-cut.off hit poison

(88) *Kamo uran, rumo bugas.*

kamo 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]

(89) *Biang gkun Berigas, biang gkun Buad.*

Biang gkun Berigas biang gkun Buad

$MID$-separate village Berigas $MID$-separate village Buad

suga’ $b$-kako $s$-ratu ina’ ama’;

suga’ bakako $-s$-ratu 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]
(87) Suran muyu ne pon atow g$punong!
suran muyu ne apon atow ga-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 g$pupud betari no.
bay da ga-pupud betari ino
PRF PR AV-finished battery yonder
'The battery is already getting finished.' [Mi-Suk1 657]

(89) Rajo Mambang Santana', bay g$badik.
rajo Mambang Santana' bay ga-b-adik
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 g$p- or g$b- 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 m$ng- in the AV receive inchoative semantics when prefixed with g$p- or g$b-. The verb g$-tindak 'explode' in (21a) above could be treated as a derived inchoative verb, equivalent to the examples with g$p- or g$b-. Similarly, the verb g$tuttug in (89) is perhaps a derived inchoative verb of its transitive equivalent from (51) above.

(90) Da g$tuttug bulu no sawot nong
da ga-tuttug bulu ino sawot nong
PR AV-fall.out fur yonder arrive OBL
amatay tu bagko asu di.
amatay tu bagko 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 g$p-, b$-, or m$ng-. 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 static verbs
consisting of a unaffixed root, verbs prefixed with p- or b- or can be prefixed with the AV-prefix g> to derive a dynamic verb with inchoative semantics.

6.4. Complette Aspect

Complettive Aspect is expressed in the UV by one of the allomorphs -i-, -ni- or ni- and in the AV by one of the AV-class prefixes g>, h>g-) or m>g- in combination with -i-. It has already been mentioned that the Complettive 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 Complettive 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', k>mon '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 center has been established, most verbs expressing successive actions appear with other inflection than Complettive Aspect, mostly in the Dependent. Only those forms that mark the boundaries of an episode in a text appear in the Complettive Aspect. See King (1991) and Boutin (1991) for an elaborate description of the past tense (the equivalent of the Begak Complettive Aspect) in the related languages Tumbonuo and Bonggi respectively. I will now illustrate some AV-Complettive forms and UV-Complettive forms separately, beginning with the AV-forms.

6.4.1. The AV-Complettive Aspect

Although the Complettive 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-Incompletive and the AV-Complettive form are homophonous for verbal stems with /i/ as its prefinal vowel:
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.

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).

Sentence (94) is from a myth about a supernatural being. The verb ḅəgenak ‘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.
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.

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) **Nian 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 drow adi.**
    ngod bay i-titu’ ina’ mo drow 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-atop* 'winnow', is in the Dependent again.

(99) Pog nipung kɔm̥mi paray no maus
    pog ni-pung kɔm̥mi paray ino m-aus
    when COM-take.with.fist.UV 1P.E/N/G paddy yonder DEP-bring.UV
    muli’ nong balay, nong mubor
    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’ m-atop paray no.
    pog ni-ubor sa’ ma-top 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.
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.

The following sentential complement of the verb palla 'afraid' contains an UV-Completive verb that describes a future event.

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. 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.

Other examples of UV-Completive Aspect forms referring to future events occur in temporal subordinates:

(ii) Kemo da livat 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) Kassu’ key pa Tingkas mba’ ne key
    -u-kassu’ key pa Tingkas mba’ ne key
    -DEP-soon FOC PRT Tingkas where this FOC
    pepuy 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?’
[Conversation.harvest 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.
sug’ 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.’ [Interview.Inni 316]

The prefix combination b--i- seems to be just a variant of ni- as in (107):

(107) Bay piro dtow pon bigas mo kananan!
bay piro dtow pon b--i-ugas mo kananan
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 nilit ku.
   baju ku bay siop ni-nilit 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-nilit 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 b-f-nilit ku.
   baju ku bay siop b-g-nilit 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 stative verbs through prefixation with AV-morphology in combination with Completive Aspect may be transitive or intransitive. Examples are verbs such as b2gibot (b2g--i-ubot) ‘receive medical treatment) in (92) and b2genak (b2g--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 bajum mo ne?
    Esi, bay -i-sabun mo bajum mo ne?
    Elsi, PRF -COM-soap.UV 2s.G shirt 2s.G this
    ‘Elsi, have you put soap on your shirt?’

(110) Judi kano da tegay kito nong kito
    jadi kano da -i-tagay kito nong kito
    so if PR -COM-salt.UV IP.LN/G AUX IP.LN/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.’
    [Tinhu’ 003]

Recall from section 4.2.2. that stative verbs cannot be inflected with Completive Aspect morphology as it transitivizes 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-Compleitive Aspect.

6.4.5. Summary

Summarising, the Compleitive 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 Incompleitive Aspect while most UV-verbs occur in the Compleitive Aspect. Compleitive 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 Compleitive Aspect. AV-verbs can be found mainly in conversations. UV-Compleitive Aspect verbs occur frequently in procedural texts, in conversations, or in narrative texts where they mark the end of an episode. Compleitive 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 Incompleitive and Compleitive 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-Incompleitive verbs, UV-compleitive 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 Compleitive 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 -m-. The most frequent intransitive verbs of motion that take Dependent marking are shown in table (111) while (112) shows some verbs of bodily functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(111) root</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ali’</td>
<td>muli’</td>
<td>‘go home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lambus</td>
<td>lombus</td>
<td>‘go on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niik</td>
<td>nnik</td>
<td>‘go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dullu’</td>
<td>dummullu’</td>
<td>‘descend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranna’</td>
<td>runna’</td>
<td>‘come down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssob</td>
<td>ssob</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aya’</td>
<td>ayya’</td>
<td>‘join, follow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lian</td>
<td>lian</td>
<td>‘go out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suok</td>
<td>suok</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(112) root</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rim</td>
<td>mrim</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tata’</td>
<td>tota’</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guad</td>
<td>guaad</td>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhi’</td>
<td>mabhi’</td>
<td>‘spit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gussang</td>
<td>gussang</td>
<td>‘sweat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences (113) and (114) illustrate the use of the Dependent affix in intransitive verbs of movement and sentences (115) and (116).
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).

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 *lqppap* ‘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 *maabput* ‘DEP-bite’ in (119), for example, is not introduced by adverbials itself, but depends on the adverbials in the first clause of the sentence. See section 9.5.1. for a description of the adverbial elements such as *lqppap*, and section 9.6.1. for discourse particles.

(119) *Lqppap* kat boyo key gadino, soggow
immediately CDM crocodile FOC in.yonder.way -DEP-catch.UV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kasu’</th>
<th>P-landuk</th>
<th>malap</th>
<th>kasu’</th>
<th>P-landuk no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>mousedeer</td>
<td>DEP-bite.UV foot mousedeer yonder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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, *lmaua* ‘let go’ is not introduced anymore.

(120) *Jadi* pog anu gadino, malap kat
jadì pog anu gadino m-alap kat
so when whatever in.yonder.way DEP-get.UV CDM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boyo</th>
<th>key</th>
<th>lmaua’</th>
<th>anggur</th>
<th>P-landuk no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boyo</td>
<td>key</td>
<td>-am-lua’ anggur</td>
<td>P-landuk no.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crocodile FOC -DEP-let.go.UV shin mousedeer yonder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘So after this, the crocodile caught it and let go of the mouse deer’s shin.’

[Boyo bi Pelanuk 027]

Similarly, the Dependent verb *maus* ‘bring’ signalled by the discourse particles *kat* and *koy*, whereas the second verb of the sentence, *mangkay* ‘give’, depends on the adverbs/discourse particles of the previous clause.
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 m-aus ‘give’ does not depend on adverbials or discourse particles, but on the AV-verb b-gaus ‘bring’ from the first juxtaposed clause.

(122) Aku b-gaus pait m-aus muyun.
aku bag-aus pait m-a-gaus muyun
15.N AV-bring,UV fish DEP-give,UV 2P.A
‘I have brought you some fish.’

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.

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14 See section 10.3. for a more elaborate description of juxtaposed purpose clauses.
VERBAL INFLECTION

(123) Nong ku m-uppu’ ulan ku.
nong ku m-uppu’ ulan ku
AUX 1.SG DEP-launder.UV clothes 1.SG
‘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-damus gulo anak ku ate
AUX 1.SG -DEP-bathe.UV first child 1.SG 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 2.SG -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 *kšmi* ‘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 kšmi m-iang.
suku a-ssak ino nong kšmi m-iang
all NV-ripe yonder AUX I.P.E.N/G DEP-separate.UV
‘All the ripe (rice) has to be/us usually separated by us.’ [Mi-Suk5Ap42]

b. Suku assak no kšmi m-iang.
suku a-ssak ino kšmi m-iang
all NV-ripe yonder I.P.E.N/G DEP-separate.UV
‘All the ripe (rice) has to be/us usually separated by us.’ [Mi-Suk5Ap42]

c. Suku assak no bay niang kšmi.
suku a-ssak ino bay ni-iang kšmi
all NV-ripe yonder PRF COM-separate.UV I.P.E.N/G
‘All the ripe (rice) was 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)  *Pasodulan nong ku mappu’*
pasod ulan nong ku m-uppu’
many clothes AUX 1.S.G DEF-launders.UV
‘The clothes I have to wash are many/I have to wash many clothes.’

(128)  a. *Na, siag nong ku m2lit ate sigbu’.*
na siag nong ku m-llit ate sigbu’
PRT cloth AUX 1.S.G DEF-sewing.UV this yellow
‘Na, the sarong I am about to sew/sewing here is yellow.’ [Mi-Suk5Ap7]

b. *Na, siag ni-llit ku ate sigbu’.*
na siag ni-llit ku ate sigbu’
PRT cloth COM-sewing.UV 1.S.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)  *Kšno sellag lengog pon buli (nong) tomos buay.*
ksam sellag -i-langog apon buli nong -u-tamos buay
as for emping -COM-soak.UV NEG can AUX -DEF-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 mšugal.*
pog bpos -i-kaung sa’ ikow da buli mng-tugal
when after -COM-clear.land.UV SQ 2.S.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 -ɔm- tidong dɔlɛy no.
nong mo -ɔm- tidong dɔlɛy ino
AUX 2s.G -DEP-com.cob.UV maize yonder
'You usually cob the corn.' [begigkang 015]

(132) Buli tu nong gəmɛnɛd, dɔlɛy.
buli tu nong -ɔm-geud dɔlɛy
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 transitivising effect on intransitive verbs: verbs of motion remain intransitive when they occur in the Dependent.

Some stative verbs and nouns denoting properties can be infixed 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>stem + Dep-affix</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gabpi</td>
<td>'night'</td>
<td>gabpi</td>
<td>'afternoon, getting night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gojo</td>
<td>'big'</td>
<td>gojo</td>
<td>'becoming big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokit</td>
<td>'crazy'</td>
<td>sokit</td>
<td>'becoming crazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukal</td>
<td>'skinny'</td>
<td>tukal</td>
<td>'becoming skinny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔnɔnɔ</td>
<td>'corpulent'</td>
<td>kɔnɔnɔ</td>
<td>'become corpulent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent morphology can be affixed recursively in certain derivations, as shown in the examples gajo and gabpi. First, the adjectival root gajo is infixed with the allomorph -u-, resulting in gojo. Subsequently, the stem gojo is infixed with the allomorph -ɔm-, resulting in gəmɛojo. 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 dɔllu’ ‘descend’ take on the meanings ‘immediately’ or ‘very carefully’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>double infixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gajo</td>
<td>gojo</td>
<td>'becoming big'</td>
<td>g-ɔm-jo</td>
<td>'becoming bigger and bigger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabpi</td>
<td>gobpi</td>
<td>'evening'</td>
<td>g-ɔm-ɔbpi</td>
<td>'late afternoon; soon getting night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapas</td>
<td>lopas</td>
<td>'pass by'</td>
<td>l-ɔm-opas</td>
<td>'pass by immediately'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɔllu</td>
<td>dɔllu</td>
<td>'descend'</td>
<td>d-ɔm-ullu</td>
<td>'descend carefully'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few nouns can be turned into an inchoative intransitive verb by prefixing it with the AV-prefix g- and infixing it with -u-. For example:
Note that only the combination of $g\varphi$- and -$u$- is grammatical for these nominal stems. Derivation with either only the AV-prefix $g\varphi$ or only with the Dependent infix -$u$- is ungrammatical. The combination of $g\varphi$- 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 $k\varphi$ or $ak\varphi$ in the Actor Voice and by $a$- in the Undergoer Voice. The AV-non-volitive prefix $k\varphi$ 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 $k\varphi$; 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. 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 potentiive reading seems to be less important. But the choice of the

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15 See also Dell (1983) for an elaborate description of the Tagalog equivalent of the Non-volitive Mood.
verbal inflection

terminology remains difficult.

Although the AV-Non-volitive forms with $k\rightarrow$ differs from the UV-Non-volitive forms with $a\rightarrow$ only in voice, their functions are specialised to some extent. The AV-variant with $k\rightarrow$ does not exist for many transitive verbs except for verbs of perception; whereas the UV-variant with $a\rightarrow$ 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 (Himmelmann to appear b).

6.6.1. AV-Non-volitive verbs with $k(\cdot)$

The prefix $k(\cdot)$ has two allomorphs. The allomorph $k\rightarrow$ is used for all consonant-initial stems, whether transitive or intransitive, whereas the allomorphs $k-$ 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 $k\rightarrow$ (see section 3.2.2.2., and section 6.3. of this chapter).\textsuperscript{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 $k(\cdot)$ are not numerous. The prefix $k(\cdot)$ on these verbs are ambiguous between completion and accidental, involuntary action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(137) AV-Non-volitive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>UV</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>AV-Volitive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$k\rightarrow$-tan</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\rightarrow$-p-arok</td>
<td>'smell'</td>
<td>p-arok</td>
<td>'smell'</td>
<td>$m\rightarrow$-p-arok</td>
<td>'smell on purpose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\rightarrow$-p-andu</td>
<td>'know a person'</td>
<td>p-andu</td>
<td>'know a person'</td>
<td>$m\rightarrow$-p-andu</td>
<td>'get to know a person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\rightarrow$-p-atong</td>
<td>'spot, look around'</td>
<td>p-atong</td>
<td>'spot, look around'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\rightarrow$-k-ingog</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
<td>kingog</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
<td>$m\rightarrow$-k-ingog</td>
<td>'listen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\rightarrow$-lap</td>
<td>'get'</td>
<td>a-lap</td>
<td>'get'</td>
<td>$m\rightarrow$-lap</td>
<td>'get, fetch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\rightarrow$-tubid</td>
<td>'afford'</td>
<td>a-tubid</td>
<td>'afford'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k\rightarrow$-inum</td>
<td>'had a drink, had breakfast'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$m\rightarrow$-inum</td>
<td>'drink, have breakfast'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The AV-Non-volitive prefix $k\rightarrow$ was judged to be grammatical in a few ordinary transitive verbs of some elicited sentences, for instance $k\rightarrow$p-\texttt{gkot} 'able to work',

\textsuperscript{16} Exceptions are $k\rightarrow$-inum 'have had a drink' which is in contrast with $k\rightarrow$p-\texttt{inum} 'able to drink', $k\rightarrow$-tan 'see' instead of the expected $*k\rightarrow$p-\texttt{tan}, and $k\rightarrow$-ingog 'hear' instead of $*k\rightarrow$p-\texttt{ingog}. 
but $k\varphi$- 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 $k\varphi$:

(138)  
\textsc{Neli}  
\textit{k\vphi patong.}  
\textsc{Neli}  
k\vphi-p-atong  
\textsc{Neli}  
\textit{AV.NV-SF-look around}  
‘Nelleke is able/happens to see (the ripe cucumbers under the leaves).’ [Notebook]

(139)  
\textsc{Ikow}  
\textit{k\vphi parok}  
ges  
\textit{no?}  
iwow  
k\vphi-p-arok  
ges  
in\vphi  
\textsc{2S.N}  
\textit{AV.NV-SF-smell}  
gas  
yonder  
‘Do you smell that gas?’ [Notebook]

(140)  
\textsc{Ama’}  
\textit{Yo \vphi bopom}  
ku  
\textit{\vphi ttan.}  
\textsc{ama’}  
\textit{Yo \vphi bopom}  
\textit{ku \vphi ttan}  
\textsc{father}  
\textit{Yo think.UV}  
\textsc{1S.G}  
\textit{AV.NV-see}  
‘Yee Woo’s father has seen it, I think. (talking about the Russay ritual).’ [Gerusay 008]

(141)  
\textsc{Aku}  
\textit{bay}  
in\vphi  
\textsc{1S.N}  
\textit{PRF AV.NV-drink}  
‘I have already had breakfast.’

The prefix $k\varphi$, then, gives verbs of perception and certain other transitive verbs an interpretation that is ambiguous between completion, ability or accident.

\subsection*{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 \textit{tattas} is normally used to express the voluntary action of unstitching clothes when a person is sewing and its AV-equivalent is \textit{m\vphi nattas} (\textit{m\vphi ng-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)  
\texttt{(.).}  
sodtong  
pait,  
sawot  
nong  
lagbang  
no,  
\texttt{(.).}  
-u-sodtong  
pait,  
sawot  
nong  
lagbang  
in\vphi,  
\texttt{-DEP-shoulder.UV}  
fish,  
arrive  
\texttt{ont}  
shoe.plateau  
yonder,
The root \textit{kgkut} ‘swallow’ in (143a) can be used in a voluntary sense if prefixed with the a Volitive Mood affix, as in (143b) where \textit{lugkut} ‘swallow’ describes the volitional swallowing of a boat by a river monster. Both verbs are still transitive.

(143) a. \textit{Alkgkut ku tullang pait.}  
\textit{a-lgkut ku tullang pait}  
\text{NV}^{swallow,UV} \text{is.g bone fish}  
‘I accidentally swallowed a fish bone.’

b. \textit{Lppap kat pait ino mapa', lugkut,}  
\textit{lappap kat pait ino m-apa' -u-lgkut}  
\text{immediately CDM fish yonder DEP-hinder,UV -DEP-swallow,UV}  
\text{kumman alud ino bio apuy no gzdino.}  
\text{kumman alud ino bio apuy ino gadino}  
\text{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 \textit{atssong} in (144) is intransitive, contrary to its dynamic variant \textit{m2atssong} ‘stuff something’ which is prefixed with the AV-Volitive prefix \textit{mang-}.

(144) \textit{Atssong irung ku, tia' szesma.}  
\textit{a-tssong irung ku tia' szesma}  
\text{NV}^{stuff,UV} \text{nose is.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 \textit{alkkob} ‘get stuck’ in (145a) is prefixed with \textit{a-} to give it an involuntary reading; it has become intransitive. The same root occurs in (145b), infixed with the Dependent infix -\textit{u-} to mark it as a voluntary action ‘to plant’ and is still transitive.

(145) a. \textit{Alkkob k\textit{\textsf{w}}ito nong allom paut.}  
\textit{a-lkkob karito nong allom paut}  
\text{NV}^{stick,UV} \text{car obl inside mud}  
‘The car got stuck in the mud.’

b. \textit{Ino rumo lukkob di:}  
\textit{ino rumo -u-lkkob adi}  
\text{yonder 3s -DEP-stick,UV over.there}
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 \textit{p-} or \textit{b-}, the involuntary meaning is intensified. The same is true for verbs prefixed with \textit{a-}. The verb \textit{apukow} `accidentally wake up' with \textit{a-} suggests that the person was waken up by the rain, whereas the verb \textit{pukow} `wake up' in (62) above is neutral: the person just wakes up. Similary in (147), the verb \textit{apunong} is used when something is accidentally finished, whereas \textit{punong} `finished' is neutral.

\begin{verbatim}
(146) G abolished no kingo ku rada usuran. Apukow aku.
gabpi ino k-ingog ku rada usuran a-p-ukow aku
night yonder NV hear SG DEP fall rain NV-SF wake.up SG

\textit{‘Last night I heard rain fall. I accidentally woke up.’} [My-Sukp?] 
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(147) Digabpi Linus bio Jimin di m\textit{ung} ap\textit{pom}.
digabpi Linus bio Jimin adi manga-pptom
yesterday Linus and Jimin over.there NV-spray

suga’ a-p-unong lassun dukut di, but NV-SF finish poison weed over.there

\textit{‘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.’} [My-Suk3A 166]
\end{verbatim}

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 \textit{p\texttt{kkan}} and \textit{ap\texttt{kkan}} hardly differ in meaning.

\begin{verbatim}
(148) a. Suga’ mulo ku ton da apon p\textit{\texttt{kkan}} ku.
suga’ mulo ku ton da apon a-p\textit{\texttt{kkan}} ku
but crop SG TOP PR NEG.P SF-eat.UV SG

\textit{‘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. S\textit{\texttt{a}}bob mulo bilo ruumo apon ap\textit{\texttt{kkan}} ruuno.
s\textit{\texttt{a}}bob mulo -i-bulo ruumo apon a-p\textit{\texttt{kkan}} ruuno
because crop -COM-plant.UV 3S NEG.P NV-SF-eat.UV 3S

\textit{‘Because she would not be able to eat the crop she had planted.’} [KarutHp16]
\end{verbatim}
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. Kammon abungung npon Yee-Woo nong alag no.
       just.now NV-MID-pull.out tooth Yee-Woo obl. beneath yonder
       ‘Just now Yee-Woo’s tooth from under came out.’ [Mi-Sak4 070]

   b. Npon rumo satu te pon dan bungung.
      npon rumo satu te pon dan b-ungung
      tooth 3s one this NV-MID-pull.out
      suga’ bay tabpu’ tu ganti rumo di.
      suga’ bay tabpu’ tu ganti rumo adi
      but pref grow too replace 3s over.there
      ‘This one tooth has not come out yet, but its replacing (one) has already grown.’ [Mi-Sak4 162]

6.6.3. The variant ak-

The AV-Non-volitional prefix k-$\bar{\u{a}}$- has a variant ak-$\bar{\u{a}}$-. It is not clear to me whether this form is just a variant of k-$\bar{\u{a}}$- or whether it should be analysed as a combination of a- and k-$\bar{\u{a}}$-. According to my consultants, it is just a matter of preference whether a speaker chooses k-$\bar{\u{a}}$- or ak-$\bar{\u{a}}$- 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 ak-$\bar{\u{a}}$- form is related to Tagalog na-ka- and ma-ka- and to Kimaragang no-ko-, which has eroded to a- and ak-$\bar{\u{a}}$-. The verb a-k-$\bar{\u{a}}$-luan ‘go out’ in (150) has a slightly more involuntary reading than its equivalent k-$\bar{\u{a}}$-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 ak-$\bar{\u{a}}$- as a combination of a- and k-$\bar{\u{a}}$- is that I have heard two or three instances of an inchoative AV-verb prefixed with a-, such as (i):

   (iii) a-g-$\bar{\u{a}}$-ngos beko laud
        NV-AV-swift also wind
        ‘The wind is also getting much stronger’ [Conversationselectingseed 312]

The adjective t$\bar{\u{a}}$ngos ‘swift’ in (i) is prefixed with the AV-Volitive prefix g-$\bar{\u{a}}$- 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 k-$\bar{\u{a}}$-. But the cooccurrence of Non-volitive a- and Volitive g-$\bar{\u{a}}$- was not attested elsewhere in the corpus and the form ak-$\bar{\u{a}}$- is rare.
world and became a true person against her will.

(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 is (151) 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
k₂-tubid 'be capable, afford' without prefix a- and the verb a-k₂-tubid 'be capable, afford' with prefix a- in one breath.

If I am capable, I will join working in the ricefield.' [Conversationselectingseed359]

(Who) knows whether I will be capable.' [Conversationselectingseed 360]

More research is needed to find out whether a₃⁻ is just a pronunciation variant from
k₂ where the /a/ sound is a historic relic or whether it is really composed of a- and k₂.
### 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice marking</th>
<th>affix</th>
<th>type of verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>g-/m-</td>
<td>a. volitional doer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g-/m-</td>
<td>b. possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g-/m-</td>
<td>c. arguments of verbs of manner of motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g-/m-</td>
<td>d. emitter (of sound and light)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g-/m-</td>
<td>e. inchoative argument (of non-motion verbs, controllable or with causation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV in Volitive Mood but AV in Non-volitive Mood</td>
<td>-u-</td>
<td>f. arguments of verbs of directed motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV</td>
<td>-u-</td>
<td>g. performer of body position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-u-</td>
<td>h. arguments of states; psych verbs (if non-volitional)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $g\gamma$, $b\gamma$- or $m\gamma g\gamma$-, as in (153).
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-Incompletive 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 m•-ng-, the form with m•-ng- 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).

Verbs expressing a possessor relation or a part-whole relation take AV-morphology; examples are b•g-ama’ ‘call/have a father’, b•g-ina’ ‘call/have mother’, b•g-io’ ‘call/have older brother or sister’, g•-langu’ ‘call/have in-law’, g•-m•ruay ‘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: g•-lindut
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`run', gɔ-langay `swim', gɔ-b-ɔ-ngngut `spin', gɔ-laug `jump up and down'. There are exceptions though: why is t-ŋn-alud `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 as unergatives. Examples are gɔ-dilap `twinkle', mɔng-ilaq `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 gɔ-puti `become white', gɔ-pasd `become numerous', bɔg-a-tus `become high', bɔg-a-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-aray `stand', b-un `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: \( kɔ-b-uəəy \) ‘able to stand up’, \( kɔ-b-uəat \) ‘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 \( b-ədəŋg \) ‘sit’ is ‘\( məŋg-ədəŋg \) ‘sit on something’. An undergoer has been added here. But an actor is added in virtually all other cases: \( b-uət \) ‘get up’ versus \( məŋg-uəat \) ‘make someone get up’ and \( b-issog \) ‘move’ versus \( məŋg-issog \) ‘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 \( bəat! \) ‘get up!’ or ‘\( ədəŋg! \) ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(155)</th>
<th>AV-Non-volitive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Dependent (or other)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k-uli'</td>
<td>‘gone home’</td>
<td>( m-uli' )</td>
<td>‘go home’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-ləmbus</td>
<td>‘gone on’</td>
<td>ləmbus (l-u-əmbus)</td>
<td>‘go on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-ənık</td>
<td>‘gone up’</td>
<td>m-ənık</td>
<td>‘go up’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-əssəb</td>
<td>‘have come’</td>
<td>m-əssəb</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-issəg</td>
<td>‘moved’</td>
<td>b-issəg</td>
<td>‘move’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-lənən</td>
<td>‘gone out’</td>
<td>lənən-uən</td>
<td>‘go out’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-riu'</td>
<td>‘bathed’</td>
<td>mə-riu'</td>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-əlauy</td>
<td>‘fled’</td>
<td>mə-əlauy</td>
<td>‘flee’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 label ‘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 la*po nong allom tahun nom pulu' bio olu
kurang la*po nong allom tahun nom pulu’ bio olu

less more oih. inside year six ten and eight

_ka*ssob_ baji Muda sakko Lahad Datu.

_ka-ssob_ baji Muda sakko Lahad Datu

‘Around the year ’68 Haji Muda from Lahad Datu came.’ [Sejarap38]

b. *Kidon ikow m*assob bagku tunong?*

_kidon ikow m-*ssob bagku tunong

_when.fut 28:N DEP-come new here

‘When will you come again?’ [Notebook]

(157) a. *Iro B*assing bay kuli’ sakko di’ KK.

_iro B*assing bay k-ul’i sakko di’ 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 _k_ 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. *K*ɔnik _tu_ b*agko Kɔbasi di’ t*tas di.

_kɔ-nik _tu_ b*agko Kɔbasi di’ t*tas adi

_AV,NV-ascend too also Kebasi LOC top over.there

‘Kebasi succeeded too in climbing up the house.’ [Kebasip39]

b. *Jadi d*ongay _rumo m*ɔnik nong balay no.*

_jadi _u-dangay _rumo m-*ɔnik 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 *kpanyow* ‘go’ is marked with *k-* and describes (in)ability to do something.

(159) *Kpanyow.*

*Kpanyow.*

‘We were not able to go.’ [Jadi 088]

Verbs of position prefixed with *k*- 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 *k-b-uat* ‘AV.NV-get up’ has a strong abilitative interpretation here, but it can possibly be understood as completive.

(160) *Na, bayu* ku da *kbuat,* *mali* *zmidu,*

*Na, bayu* ku da *k-b-uat* malu’ -em-sidu

‘Na, by the time (lit. place) I was able to get 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

*sawot* ‘just arrived’ *sawot* ‘arriving’

*sawot* ‘just entered’ *sawot* ‘entering’

*lattos* ‘just crossed the river’ *lottos* ‘crossing the river’

*tugban* ‘collapse’ *tugban* ‘lie down’

*r* *tina* ‘come down uncontrollably’ *runna* ‘descend’


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. *Sawot kat tikung-karow.*

-u-sawot kat tikung-karow

‘The Tikung Kerow bird arrived.’ [Rengon 031]
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-.

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).
b. Abpu’ milo ku gkot anak ku.
an-bpu’ milo ku gkot anak ku.
NV-spill milo 1.S.G work child 1.S.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 1.S.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-lhun ina’ rumo matay
so father 3s NV-live mother 3s dead
‘So her father was alive, her mother was dead.’ (Context: about an orphan.) [Dayangpakhi takes revenge 003]

b. Pog lakkang sukkib rumo ne,
pog lakkang sukkib rumo ne
when remove.UV lid 3s this
amatay key bgkog Tuttul.
a-matay key bgkog 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. Sug’a Sengoyan bay ddi’ key, bay lannod.
suga’ sengoyan bay ddi’ key bay lannod
but monkey PRF there FOC PRF drowned
‘But Monkey was already there, he had already drowned/was already drowning.’ [Kahambang bio Sengoyan 061]

b. Ino bay’a mangannak Taip malu’ tun
ino bay’a mangannak Taip malu’ tun
yonder place wife Taip want really
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(169) unaffixed root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>Compleative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>panow</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>ponow</td>
<td>penow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulo</td>
<td>‘plant’</td>
<td>mulo</td>
<td>bilonilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buow</td>
<td>‘chase birds’</td>
<td>muow</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butus</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bama’</td>
<td>‘chew betelnut’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>bema’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantun</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səmbayong</td>
<td>‘worship’</td>
<td>əmsmbayong</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suwu’</td>
<td>‘feed someone by putting food into his mouth’</td>
<td>suwu’</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kuman. 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 mənə-kkan in the AV, m-kkan in the Dependent, sənə-kkan as a nominalisation. The Non-volitive form a-pə-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 lngkumman 'cooked food' and pɔŋgangan ‘ingredients’.

The verb may ‘take’ has the roots: ay, which is used in the Actor Voice mɔŋ-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 bɔŋ-–i-oy.

The verb alap ‘get’ also has a suppletive root. The root alap is used in the Actor Voice mɔŋ-alap, in the UV-Dependent m-alap, in the UV-Completer 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 sɔŋ-alap. The AV-Non-volitive form is kɔl; apparently the first vowel of the root disappears before the prefix k(ɔ)-, which does not happen in other roots.

The verb malu’ ‘want’ is not inflected. The form kɔlu’ ‘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 kɔlu’ always occurs in the genitive if pronominal. As both verbs and nouns can take a genitive argument, the word class of kɔlu’ is not clear. Another derivation is kɔŋɔlu’ ‘desire’, the longer form of kɔlu’.

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 tɔgalan ‘weed’ in the Dependent and (170b) shows the same verb in the Completive Aspect.

(170) a. Nong tɔŋɔgalan malu’ lawas.
    nong -ɔŋ-–u-tɔgalan malu’ lawas
    AUX -DEP–DEP-weed.UV want clear
    ‘(We have) to weed it to make the land clear.’ [Begigkang 006]

b. Pog bpos tɔŋɔgelan no da lawas.
    pog bpos -an–i-tɔgalan no 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 gɔlanud ‘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 gɔ- is sometimes absent although synchronically, it belongs to the stem.
(171) a. Nong galomud sija’ pait atta’ no bio lado.  
Nong -am-u-galamud 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 galomud sija’ pait atta’ no bio lado.  
Nong -u-galamud 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 sakkol gam bio santan.  
Sa’ -u-lamud sakkol gam bio santan  
SQ -DEP-mix.UV sugar QM and coconut.juice  
‘Then add sugar and santan.’ [Misuk6p129]  

Other unstable verbs that are sometimes but not always doubly infixed are  
ba-k-g-laking ‘hold someone on his back’, ba-k-dilap ‘twinkle’ ba-l-adut ‘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 sa-gabpi ‘one night’. The noun  
sa-gabpi ‘one night’, is infixed with the two allomorphs -am- and -u- of the  
Dependent or with the two allomorphs -n- and -i- of the Completive Aspect,  
resulting in the transitive verbs sa-m-gobpi and sa-n-gebpi ‘let something stand for  
one night’, literally ‘cause to be one night’.  

(172) a. Biasa rumo kamu ulun tunong  
Biasa rumo kamu ulun tunong  
usually (M) 3s if person here  
mong-allan lano no, nong sa-n-gobpi.  
mong-allan lano ino nong sa-am-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. Kamo sa-n-gobpi, sapa’ rumo ne di’ alag.  
kamo sa-n-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 sɔrangga ‘insect’, for example, is turned into a transitive Begak verb with Completive Aspect morphology. It is obligatorily infixed twice: sɔɔɔɔrɔngga ‘spray with insecticide’, because sɔɔɔɔrangga sounds morphologically complex. Either the /sɔ/ sequence sounds like the prefix sɔ- or the /ɔɔ/ sequence sounds like the infix -ɔɔ-. 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 \textit{b}ng-. Section 7.6. will treat the prefix \textit{m}ng-, section 7.7. the \textit{‘Distant Past’} prefix \textit{b}ng--; section 7.8. will describe the Intensive prefix \textit{t}ng--.

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. describes abstract nouns and section 7.12. briefly comments on nouns with the historical prefix \textit{ln}-.

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 \textit{s}ng-- which is a portmanteau morph 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 \textit{-\textit{nr}-} and the second is Ca-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
Reciprocal morphology has several other semantic functions besides reciprocity. Section 7.2.3. describes the secondary functions of reciprocal morphology.

### 7.2.1. Reciprocal verbs 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 -\(r\)-, as in (1), whereas vowel-initial stems and stems starting with a liquid form reciprocals by C\(\theta\)-reduplication of the prefixed stem. The stem can be prefixed with several prefixes, depending on the semantic class of the verb, before undergoing C\(\theta\)-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 \(k(\varnothing)\) before undergoing C\(\theta\)-reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>AV-form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>-(r)- infixation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k(\text{dtut})</td>
<td>b(\text{a-dtut})</td>
<td>‘pinch’</td>
<td>k(\text{-a-dtut})</td>
<td>‘pinch each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(\text{ati})</td>
<td>b(\text{-ati})</td>
<td>‘tease’</td>
<td>k(\text{-ati})</td>
<td>‘tease each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t(\text{adas})</td>
<td>m(\text{aadas})</td>
<td>‘chase’</td>
<td>t(\text{-a-adas})</td>
<td>‘chase each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s(\text{ukot})</td>
<td>m(\text{aukot})</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>s(\text{-a-ukot})</td>
<td>‘ask each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n(\text{unik})</td>
<td>k(\text{-unik})</td>
<td>‘(AV.NV) ascended’</td>
<td>k(\text{-a-uni})</td>
<td>‘ascended together’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a(\text{ndu’})</td>
<td>m(\text{a-nda’})</td>
<td>‘get to know’</td>
<td>p(\text{-a-ndu’})</td>
<td>‘know each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u(\text{kos})</td>
<td>m(\text{a-kos})</td>
<td>‘cut in two’</td>
<td>p(\text{-a-ko})</td>
<td>‘accidentally gone to pieces’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>AV-form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>g(\varnothing)- prefixation and C(\theta)-reduplication</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r(\text{akop})</td>
<td>m(\text{a-gakop})</td>
<td>‘wrestle’</td>
<td>m(\text{a-gakop})</td>
<td>‘wrestle with each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l(\text{apas})</td>
<td>l(\text{apas})</td>
<td>‘DEP-pass’</td>
<td>l(\text{apas})</td>
<td>‘pass each other by’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>AV-form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>g(\varnothing)- prefixation and C(\theta)-reduplication</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a(\text{na’})</td>
<td>m(\text{a-gana’})</td>
<td>‘arrow’</td>
<td>m(\text{a-gana’})</td>
<td>‘shoot each other with arrow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u(\text{sur})</td>
<td>h(\text{a-gusur})</td>
<td>‘tell’</td>
<td>h(\text{a-gusur})</td>
<td>‘talk with each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r(\text{uk})</td>
<td>m(\text{a-ruk})</td>
<td>‘share plate’</td>
<td>m(\text{a-ruk})</td>
<td>‘share a plate together’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(\text{put})</td>
<td>m(\text{a-apput})</td>
<td>‘tie up’</td>
<td>m(\text{a-apput})</td>
<td>‘be tied up in each other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although these two operations are formally quite different, their function is identical. The reciprocal infix and the C2-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 g-, b2g- or mng- 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 b2kati ‘tease’ is marked with nong. The reciprocal verb k2rati ‘tease each other’ in (6b) does not take an object.

(6) a. Elvin b2kati nong Mimi.
   Elvin b2-kati nong Mimi
   Elvin AV-tease OBL Mimi
   ‘Elvin teases Mimi.’

   b. Elvin bio Mimi k2rati.
   Elvin bio Mimi -r2-kati
   Elvin and Mimi -REC-tease
   ‘Elvin and Mimi tease each other.’

   c. Elvin k2rati bio Mimi.
   Elvin -r2-kati bio Mimi
   Elvin -REC-tease and Mimi
   ‘Elvin and Mimi tease each other.’

The reciprocal verb in (7) is formed with C2-reduplication instead of infixation with -r- but has the same syntax. The object of m2ng m2n2ng ‘help working on the land’ is marked with nong. The reciprocal verb g2g m2n2ng ‘help each other working on the land’, however, does not take an object.
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).

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 -ə- with, but this hypothetical root is not attested without reciprocal infix -r-. 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. Likewise, the verb srigkow ‘grab from each other, fight over something’ in (12) is a natural reciprocal event that cannot take place without reciprocity.  

(10) Jadi ino mulay rumo Bakas bio Asu sragga':
    jadi ino mulay rumo bakas bio asu -sr-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 bagko tamaripun ayug rumo.
    panow kat tutul ne bagko -sr-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 srigkow gula' batu.
    Mimi bio Neneng -sr-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 -sr- can be affixed with all other inflectional morphology, for example with the AV-prefix g-.  

Prefixation with the AV-prefix g- 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 gsr'-abang ‘help each other’ in (8) could be replaced by t-r-abang without any change in meaning. Similarly, the verb gsr'ragga’ in (13) does not differ in meaning from (10) above, which is from the same text.  

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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-r-ripun means gather many people.

2 The verb srigkow seems to be pronounced with /el/, but it does not contain a stem vowel /a/ and an -i- infix which have coalesced. The /el/ is probably a variation in the pronunciation of the vowel /il/; therefore I will write it with /il/.

3 Note that the AV-class prefix for reciprocals is always g-, which is the AV-class prefix which marks low transitivity. The high transitivity prefix mang- occurs on the non-reciprocal, transitive variants.

4 One of the consultants also felt that prefixation with g- 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 tpanang.
   Ali bio Siti -ar-tunang
   Ali and Siti -REC-engaged
   ‘Ali and Siti are engaged.’ (The engagement was some time ago.)
The following reciprocal verb is inflected with AV-Completive Aspect morphology:

(14) *Da gaa-rewo Monay bio liun ino.

Reciprocals formed with C₃-reduplication cannot bear extra AV-inflection for several reasons. In the first place, the C₃-copy of certain forms is already a copy of an inflectional prefix, for instance the AV-prefix g₃- or the Middle prefix b₃-. 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 C₃-reduplication already contain two root-syllables and two schwa-syllables (g₃-g₃-, b₃-b₃-, k₃-k₃-), 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 a₃- as in (16).

(15) *(..)da gaa-issur gatang iro mo₃-gkang (..)

When a reciprocal verb derived from a transitive verb is infixed with the Dependent infix -u₃- 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 gaa-runang.
   Ali bio Siti gaa-₃-tunang
   ‘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 sawo\textsubscript{imbung} 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 kakait ‘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 infixed 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\textsubscript{1} malu\textsubscript{1} m\textsubscript{1}nawo\textsubscript{1} suran k\textsubscript{1}mon\textsubscript{1} di.
aku\textsubscript{2} malu\textsubscript{2} m\textsubscript{2}ng-sawo\textsubscript{2} suran k\textsubscript{2}mon\textsubscript{2} adi
\[1S.N\] want AV-continue story just.now over.there
‘I want to continue the story of a while ago.’ [Mi-Suk\textsubscript{1} 664]

b. Jadi\textsubscript{1} ino \textsubscript{1} lati \textsubscript{1} pantun \textsubscript{1} miro sawo\textsubscript{1}imbung \textsubscript{1} ino.
jadi\textsubscript{2} ino \textsubscript{2} lati \textsubscript{2} pantun miro g\textsubscript{2}o-a\textsubscript{2}r-sawo\textsubscript{2}imbung \textsubscript{2} 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\textsubscript{1} kakait sawo\textsubscript{1}imbung ku.
nmong\textsubscript{2} kakait -\textsubscript{2}a\textsubscript{2}r-i-sawo\textsubscript{2}imbung ku
here pole -COM--REC--COM-continue.UV 1S.G
‘Here are the poles that I joined together.’ [Conversation koko\textsubscript{1} 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 sawo\textsubscript{1}rawo ‘marry with each other’ from sentence (14) above.\textsuperscript{5} Again, the UV-reciprocal is transitive as UV-verbs demand a distinct undergoer. The plural entity is the undergoer.

(18) Makkor\textsubscript{1} kat\textsubscript{1} iro\textsubscript{1} koy\textsubscript{1} baganak, sawo\textsubscript{w}o\textsubscript{w}o\textsubscript{w},
m-akkor\textsubscript{2} kat\textsubscript{2} iro\textsubscript{2} koy\textsubscript{2} bag-anak -\textsubscript{2}a\textsubscript{2}r--u-sawo\textsubscript{2}o\textsubscript{w}o\textsubscript{w}o\textsubscript{w}.
DEP-plan.UV CDM COL FOC AV-child -DEP--REC--DEP-marry.UV

lukka’\textsubscript{1} kusay, lukka’\textsubscript{1} liun\textsubscript{1} ino sawo\textsubscript{w}o\textsubscript{w}o\textsubscript{w}.
lukka’\textsubscript{2} kusay\textsubscript{2} liun\textsubscript{2} ino -\textsubscript{2}a\textsubscript{2}r--u-sawo\textsubscript{2}o\textsubscript{w}o\textsubscript{w}o\textsubscript{w}.
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.

\textsuperscript{5} The root sawo\textsubscript{w}o can have two senses. The first sense is ‘proposed for marriage’ as in the Actor Voice-form mawo. The reciprocal form s\textsubscript{w}a\textsubscript{w}o 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*-ohbang ‘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 *t*robang and also its Dependent equivalent have two arguments: a plural actor argument, which is now also the controller, and the complement clause.

(19)  
```
Jadi trobang kat bacak pasod ino tunggung  
so -REC--DEP-help,UV CDM bird many yonder -DEP-carry,UV
```  
Monay ne, maus tamlud nong awan.
monay ne m-aus -om-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 *t*mrobang ‘help each other’ with its single infixed equivalent *t*robang ‘help each other’ above:

(20)  
```
Muli' kat kammí key, tnmrobang  
m-ulí' kat kammí key -om-ar-u-tabang
DEP-go.home CDM I.P,E,N,G POC -DEP--REC--DEP-help,UV
```  
```
bágko maus paray atta ino m-ulí' tunong.
bágko m-aus paray a-ita' ino m-ulí' 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-suk5Ap44].
```

The UV-Dependent reciprocal *tnm*rummak ‘share’ in (21b) is derived from the ditransitive verb *tnm*mak ‘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 mnmmnak nong nakon  
rumo kalay mng-tmmnak nong nakon
3s not.want AV-divide.in.two OBL 1s.A
```  
```
bua' rambutan ino.  
bua' rambutan ino
fruit rambutan yonder
`He does not want to share the rambutans with me.’ [Mi-Suk2 246]
b. Sa’ tɔnɔrɔnɔmɔnymɔ mɔyu biɔ iro ine’ Selakai.
   Sa’ -bon-ɔ-t-umɔnymɔ mɔyu biɔ iro ine’ Selakai
   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-Sukbp32]

UV-forms of reciprocals formed with Ca-reduplication were not attested,
possibly because the reduplicated prefix gəgɔ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Reciprocal</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>satu</td>
<td>‘be one’</td>
<td>s-ɔr-atu</td>
<td>‘be together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapas</td>
<td>‘pass’</td>
<td>gəgɔ-lapas</td>
<td>‘pass each other by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dtu</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
<td>gəgɔ-dtu</td>
<td>‘live far from each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawot</td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
<td>s-ɔr-awot</td>
<td>‘reach each other (figurative sense, in communication)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giay</td>
<td>‘hang down’</td>
<td>g-ɔr-lay</td>
<td>‘hang down together by many’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 gəgɔ-dtu ‘far from each other’ in (23b) is an intransitive verb
argument(s) is/are ikow biɔ 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 șa-ga-du’ bio Korea no?
dadi ikow ne di’ gkun mo șa-ga-du’ bio Korea ino
so 28.N this LOC village 28.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. Diğabpi 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 șa-sawot.
suran miro apon -š-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 saro tu ‘be together’ in (25a), derived from the numeral satu ‘one’, is intransitive and its sole argument is a plural entity. The verbs saranro tu ‘put together (Dependent) and saranro tu ‘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 șaratu bio Rajo Tunggal.
da -š-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 ɔnɔrumọ inggos.
   nong rumo -m-ɔ-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-susk ino bio a-ta’ ino
   rice.plant NV-ripe yonder and NV-unripe yonder
   inga’ ɔnɔretu kəmni.
   ninga’ -m-ɔ-n-i-satu kəmni
   NEG1 -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 ɔmɔrubpa’ ‘put together’ is
the inherently reciprocal ɔʃɔpba’ ‘be together’, which lacks a non-reciprocal
equivalent.

(26) Niug bio sakkol bio bəgkas
   niug bio sakkol bio bəgkas
   coconut and sugar and husked.rice
   -i-təbung ku inggos ɔmɔrubpa’.
   -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 ɔʃəgo ‘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 ɔmɔrogo.
    tuso nong -m-ɔ-ʃəgo
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 karitting, gaga-gkot ppi*.  
 miro -or-karitting gaga-gkot ppi  

They are forming a chain, holding each other's hand.' [Mi-Suk2 259]

Another example is *or-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 *m=tundan*, which means 'to follow the person from behind', for example in a situation where the police is chasing a thief. The verbs *katang* 'line up' in (30) lacks a non-reciprocal equivalent.

(29) *Ceking nong ne kan, duo*  
 ceking nong ne kan duo  
 checking (E) here this isn't? two

*karito t=tundan dtow adi ne.*  
 karito -or-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) *Katang kito, nong kito mapus dalan no.*  
 -or-katang kito nong kito m-upus dalan ino  
 -REC-line.up I.P.L/N/G AUX I.P.L/N/G DEP-finish.UV road yonder

'Let's line up until the end of the road (lit. until the road is finished),'[Tutulp113]

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 *gagassur* '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 *gassur* 'shove forward’ which is used in ordinary situations, as in (31b). The verb *gagassuan* 'cause to go outside’ is more or less synonymous with *gagassur* 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 *gagassuan* is transitive. Apparently, the reciprocal morphology does not only express collectivity here, but also has a causativising effect.
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* *-sə-sərambin* *bio* *anak* *rumo* *ne*  
’Siti constantly holds her child in her arms (and never puts it away).’ [Notebook]

b. *Siti* *sidtu* *mənəmbin* *anak* *rumo* *ne.*  
*Siti* *sidtu* *mənəmbin* *anak* *rumo* *ne*  
’Siti just holds her child in her arms (but puts it away once in a while).’

c. *Siti* *ninga’* *malu’* *mənəmbin* *ləbpo, pələ.’  
*Siti* *ninga’* *malu’* *mənəmbin* *ləbpo* *pələ’*  
’Siti does not want to carry the child in her arms anymore, she is afraid.’  
[Conversationkoko2 009]

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* *gəgərayug* *bio* *aku* *antang* *la’.*  
*Bay* *buay* *tu* *gəg-ayug* *bio* *aku* *antang* *la’*  
’I have been friends for a long time already with ..er..like Ia’.’  
[Teratab 010]
Ina’ bi minan Mipay gɔg-abit.

mother and aunt Mipay AV.REC-nickname

‘Mother and aunt Mipai share an abit-nickname.’

Akay liun gɔgumur bi ak (...).

akay liun gɔg-emur bi aku

EXIST woman AV.REC-age and 1s.N

‘There is a woman who has the same age as I have (...).’ [Notebook]

Pon buli kamo akay abur gɔgɔbat bio kito.

apon buli kamo akay abur gɔgɔ-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 atɔɾambus, 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, atɔɾambus kamphetamine no?

panas ino a-ɔɾ-tambus kamphetamine mo

hot yonder NV.REC-pierced feeling 2s.G

‘What about the heat, are you feeling hot through and through now?’

[Conversationologs 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 tɔɾingkat in (38) is derived from the noun tɔŋkat ‘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 *t*aringkat.*
    *ina’ ku akay dapur ino *t*aringkat.
    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 *kanut* 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 *bo-kanut* is illustrated in (39b) for contrast.

(39) a. *Yang p*onting pon nong *kanut.*
    *yang p*onting apon nong -*t*-u-kanut
    ‘What is important is that it should not start to pull.’ (Context: sewing sleeves
    onto a shirt) [Notebook]

   b. *Ullo, ikow mangaka’ nakon bo-kanut* *katting?*
    *ullo ikow mong-aksi’ nakon bo-kanut* *katting*
    ‘Why, are you forcing me to pull the line?’ [Notebook]

Similarly, the verbs *ratton* and *sambung* 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 *ratton* is inherently
reciprocal (*ratton does not exist), while the verbal stem *sambung* can be used as a
dynamic transitive verb.

(40) *Pog pata’ no, bay *ratton, bay *sambung* bagku.*
    *pog p*ata’ mo, bay -*t*-ratton bay -*t*-sambung 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.’
    [Lekpad gaud. 049]

The AV-variant of the reciprocal *sambung* 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)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gepag</td>
<td>'arrange'</td>
<td>gəndərepag</td>
<td>'arrange many things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tusun</td>
<td>'order'</td>
<td>təssun</td>
<td>'ordered'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>rənəmi</td>
<td>'order things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səmbung</td>
<td>'answer, join’</td>
<td>səmbung</td>
<td>'answer each other; be of one piece’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵃndi</td>
<td>'vote'</td>
<td>gəndi</td>
<td>'many people vote’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atur</td>
<td>'organise'</td>
<td>gəgatur</td>
<td>'organise together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulu</td>
<td>'blame'</td>
<td>təlula</td>
<td>'blame each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tundan</td>
<td>'follow’</td>
<td>təndan</td>
<td>'follow each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs of motion with reciprocal morphology, as in (42), may take on reciprocal, collective or iterative semantics:

(42)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nnik</td>
<td>'go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵃlul</td>
<td>'go home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapas</td>
<td>'pass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savot</td>
<td>'arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luan</td>
<td>'go out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-ə-nnik</td>
<td>'ascended together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-ə-kul</td>
<td>'go to and fro’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gəgə-lapas</td>
<td>'pass each other by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ə-avot</td>
<td>'reach each other (in communication)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gəgə-luan</td>
<td>'(many people) giving (cause to go out)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stative verbs with reciprocal morphology, as in (43), may take on reciprocal, collective or middle semantics:

(43)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>satu</td>
<td>'be one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gə-gə-lu</td>
<td>'live far from each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵃgon</td>
<td>'strong, do strongly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəb-ə-gon</td>
<td>'do very strongly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adop</td>
<td>'face to face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəb-gədop</td>
<td>'sit face to face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butor</td>
<td>'stare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəb-ətor</td>
<td>'stare to each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmbus</td>
<td>'pierced’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə-ə-ambus</td>
<td>'through and through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəwɔŋ</td>
<td>'suddenly disappear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-ə-awong-rawong</td>
<td>'many suddenly disappear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many Begak intransitive verbs and adjectives are infixed with the reciprocal infix -ə- but lack a form without -ə-. Most of these forms have collective or iterative semantics:
(44) *tidong təridong ‘earth torn because of drought’
*tutu’ tətutu’ ‘ordered’
*kukkus kərakkus ‘fall off, lose completely (sarong)’
*kəmis kərəmis ‘crushed, flat’
*dtup gəgəltup ‘betelnut split in two’
*titup təritup ‘popping of rice grains’
*sawang sarawang ‘cut open the bushes at the border between rice fields’
*tinib tətinib ‘(houses) being close to each other’
*rətətətən ‘(once broken) bones or sticks joined together, of one piece’
*sətətən ‘(trees whose branches) touch each other’
*tədənk tətədənk ‘many fish bite’
*tətəm tətəm ‘have goose bumps’

Reciprocal morphology creates verbs from nouns with collective, reciprocal, chaining or middle semantics:

(45) təuppuk ‘bunch’ t-ər-uppuk-t-ər-uppuk ‘in several bunches’
pəŋgəl ‘fruit stalk’ pəpəŋgəl ‘grow in a fruit stalk (eg. rambutan)’
təŋkat ‘level’ t-ər-ŋkat ‘levelled’
kaʊlu ‘desire’ kəkəlu’ ‘in love with each other’
kətətəting ‘chain’ k-ər-젼ting ‘form a chain with each other’

The corpus contains only one example of a reciprocal derived from a dynamic, intransitive verb: tərərangug ‘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 -ər- and Cər-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 \((m\{\text{ng}\})\) and only occur in the Incompletive Aspect. Dependent causatives are derived with \(p\{\text{ng}\}\); UV-Completive Aspect causatives are derived with a discontinuous affix consisting of the prefix \((p\{\text{ng}\})\) and the Completive Aspect infix \(-i\).\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>AV</th>
<th>UV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive Aspect</td>
<td>((m{\text{ng}}))</td>
<td>-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive Aspect</td>
<td>((p{\text{ng}}))</td>
<td>-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>(p{\text{ng}})</td>
<td>-i-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *\(p\{\text{ng}\}\). The Dependent causative synchronically consists of \(p\{\text{ng}\}\) only. The AV-causative morpheme \(m\{\text{ng}\}\) probably consisted historically of \(p\{\text{ng}\}\), prefixed with the AV-prefix \(m\{\text{ng}\}\), resulting in \(m\{\text{ng}\}p\{\text{ng}\}\). 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 \(n\{\text{ng}\}\). The Completive Aspect UV-causative discontinuous affix \((p\{\text{ng}\})\) was historically transparent: the verbal root was prefixed with the causative morpheme \(p\{\text{ng}\}\) 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 \(-\text{m}n\), resulting in \(p\{\text{ng}\}n\text{-m}R-i\text{-OOT}\). Synchronically the first syllable \(p\{\text{ng}\}\) is dropped most of the time, resulting in \(n\text{-m}R-i\text{-OOT}\). The fact that the Dependent causative consists of \(p\{\text{ng}\}\) only, without Dependent infix \(-u\) or \(-\text{m}n\), forces a portmanteau morph 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:

Figure 1 the valency of causatives derived from intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAUSE</th>
<th>&lt;actor, Event&gt;</th>
<th>CAUSE</th>
<th>&lt;actor, Event&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>luán ‘go out’</td>
<td></td>
<td>lawas‘clear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AV: SUBJECT D. OBJECT AV: SUBJECT D. OBJECT
UV: NON-SUBJ SUBJECT UV: NON-SUBJ SUBJECT
Causer Causee Causer Causee

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 kəmni ‘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. Ləmuən kat rumo sakko nong pəsu rumo ne.
    -nt-luan kat rumo sakko nong pəsu 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 kəmni bagko da məŋəluən ulan.
    jadi kəmni bagko da məŋə-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. Pəluən key sssin mo!
    pə-luan key sssin mo
    UV.DEF.CAU-g0.out FOC money 2s.G
    ‘Spend your money!’ (for example to buy a car.)

d. Dadi da nəliwan kəmni
    dadi da nə-ɬ-i-luan kəmni
    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 *mang*- and the UV-causative prefix *pun*- have a long and a short form: *mang*- and *ng*- in the AV-form and *pun*- and *n*- in the UV-form respectively. The short forms seem to be just pronunciation variants. Sentence (47) shows the short form of the AV-causative:

(47) (...bay gajo anak no, malu’ ngpiskul tunong, 
PRF big child yonder want AV.CAU-SF-school here 

kamo malu’ Siti ngguog anan Siti. 
kamo malu’ Siti mangguog 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-Completable Aspect causative is rarely used, but occurs in the following example:

(48) Anak rumo da tunong anan ku pani piskul ku. 
anak rumo da tunong anan ku pani piskul 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.’ [Anaku1005]

The UV-Dependent causative prefix *pun*- can be reduced to *p*- before roots starting with schwa. The verb *punpan ‘show’ in (49), for instance, is prefixed with *p*- only. The reduction of the expected *p*- may be a case of haplology. There is no semantic difference between the long and the short form.

(49) Mnnik key te ttas, punpan nakon. 
m-nnik key ate ttas punpan nakon 
DEP-go up FOC this top UV.CAU.DEP-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 *nipiskul ‘send to school’*. The long form *pnnipiskul ‘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 *nipiskul ‘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. \(\text{P}2\text{lapas key lori no!}\)
\[\text{p}2\text{-u-lapas key lori ino}\]
\[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. \(\text{P}2\text{lapas key lori no!}\)
\[\text{p}2\text{-lapas key lori ino}\]
\[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 \(\text{rusok ‘broken’}\). The Completive Aspect UV-causative verb \(\text{nalewas ina}\) in (52) is derived from the adjective \(\text{lawas ‘clear’}\) (as said of a field). The undergoer arguments of both verbs \(\text{mulo ‘crop’}\) and \(\text{umo ‘rice field’}\) respectively, are not human and thus unmarked.

(51) a. \(\text{Ullo ne muyu ne mang\text{-rusok mulo?}}\)
\[\text{ullo ne muyu ne mangas-rusok mulo}\]
\[why this 2P.N/O this AV.CAU-broken crop]\)
\[‘Why are you destroying (my) crop!’ [Conversationcorn 245]\]

b. \(\text{K\text{rito no rusok.}}\)
\[\text{k\text{rito ino rusok}\}
\[car yonder broken]\)
\[‘Yonder car is broken.’\]

(52) a. \(\text{Bay \text{nalewas ina’ bio ama’ ku digabpi.}}\)
\[\text{bay \text{n}-i-lawas ina’ bio ama’ ku digabpi}\]
\[PRF UV.CAU.COM--COM-clean mother and father 1S.6 yesterday]\)
\[‘My mother and father have already cleared (the land) yesterday.’ [Notebook]\]

b. \(\text{Bay \text{lawas umo miro.}}\)
\[\text{bay lawas umo miro}\]
\[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 \(\text{nong}\), just like post-verbal undergoer-subjects or direct objects.
of ordinary transitive verbs. The following example illustrates this.

(53) a. *Lati* rumo *m*ọg*k*ak*ak* ino, *rumo* *m*ọg*k*am*il
lati rumo m*ọg*kak*ak* ino rumo m*ọg*kam*il
understand 3s AV.CAU-cool.down yonder 3s AV.CAU-cool

*nong* suku ulun baya’ go-russay ino.
*nong* suku ulun b-aya’ go-russay ino
obl. all person MID-join AV-sing.and.dance yonder
‘The meaning of this *k*ak*ak* 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’ t*am*il.*
aku malu’ *sapa’ t*am*il*
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 *ul*’ ‘go home’. The verb *puli’* shows that schwa-initial roots are sometimes prefixed with *p*- only instead of with *p*- to obtain a Dependent causative.

(54) *S*ambay *nong* *puli’* gaud ddi’.
*S*ambay *nong* p-*ul*’ gaud ddi’
must AUX UV.DEF.CAU-go.home paddle there
‘He had to return that paddle’. [Lekpud gaud. 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* nɔdɪllu’ polis ukat anak Kantung di.
*Bay* nɔ-ɪ-dɪllu’ polis ukat anak Kantung di
PRF UV.CAU.COM-DESCendent police hearsay child Kantung over.there
‘The police made Kantung’s daughter descend (from the van) so they said.’
[Conversationcorn 545]

(56) *N*agiwog *rumo* anak *rumo!*
*n*ag-i-wog *rumo* anak *rumo*
UV.CAU.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’, *s*ɔdiwɔr
‘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 mango-kayan nong ulun matay ino
towel instrument AV.CAU-clothe.dead.body OBL person dead yonder

məngəbaju, məngəsədiwor, məngəsingol.
məngə-baju məng-sədiwor məng-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.’ [InterviewInniÁ 016]

(58) **Aku** mərgkang masong, bay nəheno təgajo ku.
     aku mərgkang masong bay nə-i-bano təgajo ku
‘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 pən–i-gaji ku
     but yonder niece.or.nephew 1.S,G UV.CAU,COM–COM-salary 1.S,G
     ‘But it is my nephew whom I paid salary to.’ [Balayku 002]

**Pənəgeji** ku pat ratu.
**Pən–i-gaji** ku pat ratu
UV.COM.CAU–COM-salary 1.S,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.
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, voluntarily acting person who has control over the action, the petitive prefix \textit{mpKat} 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 \textit{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:

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. The undergoer of the original transitive verb the causative

Note: 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 \textit{inggo} ‘hear’. This sentence is ungrammatical, because the causee \textit{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 mɔŋgɔ-p-inum ubot nong ai’ rumo ne.
rumo mɔŋgɔ-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) Kɔmmon ne, bay nɔpinum ku ubot
kɔmmon ne, bay ɾə-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) Pɔpinum ku key
pɔ-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 nɔpinog 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.

\[(64) \text{ } \text{nong } \text{ku } \text{pawillung } \text{gulo } \text{baju } \text{anak } \text{ku } \text{te.} \]

AUX ISG UV.CAU.DEP-clothe first shirt child ISG 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.

\[(65) \text{ } \text{Ino } \text{bay } \text{naboesso} \]

ino bay na-b-i-asso

yonder PRF UV.CAU.COM-MID--COM-read

nong iro Bisaya’ no kanmon.

nong iro Bisaya’ ino kanmon

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 causand are humans, as in the following example. The causee of the AV-causative magisawo ‘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’.

\[(66) \text{ } \text{Jadi } \text{ino } \text{gaway } \text{kammi, panow magisawo nong anak} \]

jadi ino gaway kammi panow magisawo nong anak

so yonder goal 1P.E.N/G go AV.CAU-marry OBL child

kammi ne nong anan muyu.

kammi 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 \(*m\text{\textperiodcentered}v\text{\textperiodcentered}ng\text{\textperiodcentered}v\text{\textperiodcentered}bayo\) from the ditransitive stem \(bayo\) \('\text{pay something to someone}\)'. This is probably because causativisation adds an argument to the already existing arguments of the verb; and in the case of \(*m\text{\textperiodcentered}v\text{\textperiodcentered}ng\text{\textperiodcentered}v\text{\textperiodcentered}bayo\) \('\text{cause to pay}\) the result will be a verb with four arguments: \(\#A\text{causes }B\text{ to }C\text{ to }D\).\(^{11}\) 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 causand of the next causative, for example, are left unexpressed, because they have already been mentioned in the previous clause.

\begin{verbatim}
(67)  Akay gaud kəmmi papidtam kəmo, rumo.
       EXIST paddle P.ENS/G UV.CAU.DEP-SF-borrow QT M 3S
     (We) have a paddle that we will lend (to you) (lit. cause to borrow).'

[Le\textkatakana pl gaud. 016]
\end{verbatim} 

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.

\subsection*{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 \(bayo\) \('\text{pay}\)': \(m\text{\textperiodcentered}v\text{\textperiodcentered}qqyo\) \('\text{request to pay}\)', see section 7.4. The petitive of \(bayo\) \('\text{pay}\) has three arguments, because the agent (requester) and beneficiary are the same person: \(\#A\text{requests }B\text{ to pay }C\text{ (to A)}.\) 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.
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derived transitive verbs. Causes 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 mongaikan ‘feed’ and mongunu ‘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 kəmti ‘we exclusive’, the unexpressed causee ‘the village head’ and the causand surat ‘letter’.

(68) a. Kəmti panow di’ Syarikat kəkellan surat.
   kəmti panow di’ Syarikat kək--i-allan surat
   1P,N/ENG 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. Məkəbəllan 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.’ [Conversationcorn 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 Tessor makakilan sawit.
    aku key panow anan Tessor makak--i-ulan sawit.
    1.S.G FOC go place Tessor AV.PET--COM-load oil.palm
    ‘I will go to Tessor to ask him to load our sawit.’

b. Tessor bagulan sawit.
    Tessor bag-ulan sawit.
    Tessor AV-load oil.palm
    ‘Tessor 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 makakcop
    mutap Sindan panow makak--i-cop
    tomorrow Sindan go AV.PET--COM-stamp

    makak--i-sain borang nong karani
    makak--i-sain borang nong karani
    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 lamera ‘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 his is not the case in this sentence. The causee mayun ‘you’ is is expressed by an accusative pronoun instead of an indirect object; while the causand anak kmuni 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) Kmuni ton panow makaparera’ muyun nong anak ku ne.
    kmuni ton panow maka-porera’ muyun nong anak ku ne
    1.P.E.N/G TOP go AV.PET-look.after 2.P.A OBL child 1.S.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 (məkətebang) ‘ask for help’ + verbal complement, as in (72).

(72)  (...mənəgəy payow di kubad)

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 gən nitu”, kəmo rumo, “məkəpətikkan.

Sentences (74) and (75) also illustrate petitives whose causer is co-referent with its causand. The causer and causand of (74) is mərəgəkəng ‘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. Mərəgəkəng no məkəsəmbin.

‘The child wants to be carried in the arms (of his mother).’ [Notebook]
b. Lidi m₃mbin anak rumo ne.
   Lidi m₃ng-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 m₃nguyok lilla’. Da m₃k₃tewar.
   da m₃ng-uyok lilla’ da m₃k₃–i-tawar
   PR AV-request pity PR AV.PET–COM-treat.with.magic
   ‘He asked for pity. He asked to be treated with magic.’ [Patebulig019]

b. Nong ku towar nium.
   nong ku -u-tawar nium
   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 or 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 k₃r₃kam nong niun.
   Neli aku malu’ k₃–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 m₃k₃beyo ‘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’ t₃m₃n₃ niun.
   l₃ppap kat tow puti’ -₃m-tina’ m₃k₃l₃d₃n₃
   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 petite 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 $b \rightarrow g \rightarrow$

My corpus contains only a handful of examples prefixed with a combination of the two Actor Voice prefixes $b \rightarrow$ and $g \rightarrow$, 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 $\text{lati}$ means ‘understand’, whereas $b \rightarrow g \rightarrow \text{lati}$ means ‘explain’; $\text{suat}$ means ‘suitable’, whereas $b \rightarrow g \rightarrow \text{suat}$ means ‘to make suitable’: the experiencer has changed into an agent while the stimulus has changed into a patient.

(78) a. Pon abow kito $b \rightarrow g \rightarrow \text{lati}$ nupi.
apon a-tow kito $b \rightarrow\text{-lati}$ nupi
NEG.P NV-know,UV 1P,LN/G AV-AV-understand dream
‘We cannot explain this dream.’ [Bowon Bura 053]

b. Pon laiti ku nupi no.
apon laiti 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. Kamo ikow pon kalap $b \rightarrow g \rightarrow \text{suat}$ bio rumo (..).
kamo ikow apon k\$-lap $b \rightarrow\text{-suat}$ bio rumo
if 2\$N NEG.P AV,NN-get AV-AV-suitable and 3s
‘If you do not succeed in making it right with him (..).

Other examples with $b \rightarrow g \rightarrow$-are $b \rightarrow g \rightarrow \text{dalir}$ ‘think strongly about someting’ from $\text{dalir}$ ‘think’, and $b \rightarrow g \rightarrow \text{runi}$ ‘talk about something’.
7.6. The prefix \textit{m-}\textit{g-}

A handful of verbs are prefixed with \textit{m-}\textit{g-} in the Actor Voice instead of with \textit{g-}, \textit{b-}\textit{g-} or \textit{m-}\textit{ng-}. This prefix seems to derive verbs from nouns. It is unproductive. It occurs exclusively on \textit{m-}\textit{g-ilun} ‘be other people’ from \textit{ilun} ‘other people’, \textit{m-}\textit{g-langgung} ‘be relative’ from \textit{langgung} ‘relative’, \textit{m-}\textit{g-sukur} ‘be grateful’ from \textit{sukur} ‘grateful’, \textit{m-}\textit{g-ramay} ‘make a crowd’ from \textit{ramay} ‘crowd’, and \textit{m-}\textit{g-musu} ‘be enemies’ from \textit{musu} ‘enemy’.

(80) \textit{m-}\textit{g-ilun, m-}\textit{g-langgung.}
\textit{m-}\textit{g-ilun, m-}\textit{g-langgung}
\textit{ino apon ka m-}\textit{g-ilun, m-}\textit{g-langgung}
yonder 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) \textit{komo malu’ m-}\textit{g-ramay, kawin ino}
komo malu’ m-}\textit{g-ramay, kawin ino}
if want \textit{2p.N/O AV-crowd marry yonder}
\textit{t-}\textit{gunggu’ gam atow m-}\textit{ben gam, sakko nong m-}\textit{yun la. t-}\textit{gunggu’ gam atow m-}\textit{ben gam sakko nong m-}\textit{yun la}
gong QM or DEF-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 \textit{b-g-}, \textit{b-ng-} and \textit{g-}

The distant past prefixes \textit{b-g-}, \textit{b-ng-} and \textit{g-} 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 \textit{b-g-} are usually prefixed with \textit{b-g-} in the AV, while verbs prefixed with \textit{b-ng-} are usually prefixed with \textit{m-}\textit{ng-} in the AV, and verbs prefixed with \textit{g-} in the AV take \textit{g-}. As is also the case for \textit{m-}\textit{ng-}, the nasal of \textit{b-ng-} causes nasal assimilation with the following consonant of the stem. The Distant Past prefix is always combined with the Completive Aspect infix -\textit{i-}, except when the stem itself already contains a vowel /i/ as in \textit{tissug} ‘invite’.
Sentence (82a) contains a verb derived from a vowel-initial nominal root through zero derivation. It is prefixed with the allomorph *b*ɐŋ- as the verb is from the bɐŋ- class. Its semantics are similar to that of the AV-Completive Aspect verb in (82b). Sentence (83a) shows how verbs from the gɐ- class are prefixed with gɐ-. Sentence (84a) contains a verb from the mɐŋ- class.

(82) a. Babepuy gam muyu lisi manuk?

bep--i-apyu 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. Babepuy gam muyu lisi manuk?

bep--i-apyu gam muyu lisi manuk
AV.DSTP--COM-cook QM 2P/N/G egg chicken
‘Didn’t you cook chicken eggs?’ (There are no eggs on the table yet.)


kɔmni gɔd--i-dagang kaset di’ Indonesia
IP.EN/G AV.DSTP--COM-buy casette LOC Indonesia
‘We bought casettes in Indonesia.’ (Context: talking about their businessstrip of several weeks ago) [Ama’p186]

b. Bpos no, da gɐdlegang no, sa’ pusing

bpos ino da gɔ--i-dagang ino sa’ pusing
after yonder PR AV--COM-buy yonder SQ turn.around (M)

bep ko kɔmni ano mɔngay ano la.
bep ko kɔmni ano mɔng-ay ano la
also 1P.EN/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). [Conversationtrip,LD 045]

(84) a. Babu bay bɔŋgiyok nong iro om

Babu bay bɔŋ--i-uyok nong iro om
Babu PRF AV.DSTP--COM-request OBL COL uncle

bepkaung umo rumo ne.
bep-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 mɔngiyo k nong iro om

Babu bay mɔng--i-uyok nong iro om
Babu PRF AV--COM-request OBL OBL uncle
The implication of bəŋgiok ‘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 bəŋsellag ‘make emping’ is almost idiomatic. The following example is a standard question:

(85) Iro Payna pon bəŋsellag?
    iro Payna apon bəŋsellag
    ‘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) Bərmis iko,n naran mo nong buk no?
    bərmis i-tulis ikow naran mo nong buk no?
    ‘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 bərmis-si borang.ino.
    miro apon dan bərmis-ssi borang ino
    ‘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 məng-si borang.ino.
    miro apon dan məng-ssi borang ino
    ‘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 bərmisingum di’ balay.
    aku bay bərmis-inum di’ balay
    ‘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 *baran*matay ‘spirits of the dead’, for instance is derived from the stative verb *matay* ‘dead’, its meaning is ‘spirit of the dead’. Another example is *gar*buta ‘walk, go by foot’ from *buta* ‘earth’.

7.8. The Intensive prefix *t*₂*₂g*-

The prefix *t*₂*₂g*- 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 *t*₂*₂g*-, but more research is needed to find out why this is so.

Derivations with *t*₂*₂g*- can be used predicatively, but not attributively. The following examples illustrate the predicative use of *t*₂*₂g*-. Most examples of this section, and in fact most examples with *t*₂*₂g*- 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 t*₂*₂gay*an ano *bua*’ no padan.*
   bay *t*₂*₂gay*an 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. *T*₂*₂hu*at lagay rumo.
   *t*₂*₂hu*at lagay rumo
   INT-long rice.ear 3s
   ‘Its fruitstalk is very long.’
   [ConversationSelectingSeed316]

   b. *Bu*at lagay rumo.
   *bu*at lagay rumo
   long rice.ear 3s
   ‘Its fruitstalk is long.’

---

12 The word *baran*matay ‘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 *bar*₂*₂m*ata instead, which sounds like it is composed of the nonsense prefix *bar*₂*₂m*- and the stem ‘look at’. The bastard swear word *bar*₂*₂manu consists of the nonsense prefix *bar*₂*₂m*- and the stem *anu* ‘whatchemecallit’.
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(91) a. Ulun gadin ne bay tgas a-ttas iskul.
   ulun gadin ne bay tga-t-tas iskul
   person in.yonder.way this PRF INT-high school
   ‘People nowadays are very highly educated.’ [Notebook]

(92) Adoy ate pa Kebua’, tpio paras
   adoy ate pa Kebua’ t-pio paras
   EXCL this PRT Kebua’ INT-good appearance
   srambung no na anak-anak kan.
   s-rambung 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 t-‘gajo ‘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) Džunjil’ ku tu suga’ tga-jo-tga-jo sila’.
   -on-dili’ ku tu suga’ t-gajo-t-gajo sila’
   -COM-choose.UV 1S.G too but INT-big-RED grain
   ‘I did select (them) but (these) grains are all very big.’ [Conversationselectingseed 473]

Summarising, then, the prefix t-‘g-) intensifies verbs; it is not very productive and it
is often used in exclamations. The nominalising prefix s- 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 s- 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’.

More often yet, derivations with t- are used in exclamations. Example (92) shows
that some verbs in an exclamation are intensified with t- while other verbs are
intensified with the manner nominalisation prefix s-

b. Ulun gadin ne bay attas iskul.
   ulun gadin ne bay a-ttas iskul
   person in.yonder.way this PRF NV-high school
   ‘People nowadays are highly educated.’
The numeral function of \( s \) 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 \( s \) 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 be modified by one of those stative verbs. The following sentences illustrate how the stative verbs \( \textit{arat} ‘\textit{bad’}, \textit{pio} ‘\textit{good’} \) and \( \textit{rimot} ‘\textit{clean’} \) modify nominalised verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(94)} & \quad \text{Arat } s\tilde{\text{a}}\text{turug } m\tilde{\text{o}}\text{rgkang no.} \\
& \quad a\text{-rat } s\tilde{\text{a}}-\text{turug } m\tilde{\text{o}}\text{rgkang } \text{ino} \\
& \quad \text{NOM-bad } \text{NOM-sleep } \text{child } \text{yonder} \\
& \quad ‘\text{The children have had a bad sleep.’ } \text{[Notebook]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(95)} & \quad S\tilde{\text{a}}\text{ugas } \text{mo } \text{ne } \text{ganta’ } \text{da rimot.} \\
& \quad s\tilde{\text{a}}-\text{ugas } \text{mo } \text{ne } \text{ganta’ } \text{da rimot} \\
& \quad \text{NOM-wash } 2\text{SG this very } PR \text{ clean} \\
& \quad ‘\text{You wash (the dishes) very clean! (literally: your washing of the dishes is very clean!) } \text{[Mi-Suk2 007]}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{14}\) The prefix \( s\) is probably derived from proto Malayo-Polynesian \( *\text{isa} ‘\text{one’} \) (Zorc 1995). The relation of \( *\text{isa} \) with Begak \( s\) cannot be proven with historical material, but Begak has certain formal and semantics similarities with Malay \( s\), which is assumed to be related to \( *\text{isa} \). Certain Western Austronesian languages seem to have a similar prefix \( s\)- derived from \( *\text{isa} \). Eastern Kadazan uses the verbal prefix \( \text{song-} \) to indicate that many people are doing something at the same time (Hurlbut 1988:49,63). In Malay the prefix \( s\)- has a variety of functions, its meaning varying from ‘one’ to ‘the same’.

\(^{15}\) The Taiwanese language Tsou has a morpheme \( \text{hia} \), which has a similar function to Begak \( s\)-: 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).
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 sɔŋidtam mo kad?’ kamo aku.
    ngod sɔŋ-idtam mo kad kamo aku
    how NOM-borrow 2s.G card QTМ 1s.N

    ‘Muyu pon gɔsɔrago paras.’
    muyu apon gɔ-sɔrago paras
    2p.N/G NEG.P AT-identical appearance

    ‘How can you borrow (my son’s identity) card, I said. “You do not look alike”.’
    [Conversationcorn 511]

(98)  Ulun íno burod, ngod sɔŋgkot rumo?
    ulun íno burod ngod sɔŋ-ɔ-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 sɔdallay mo ne?
    ullo sɔ-dallay mo ne
    why NOM-slow 2s.G this

    ‘Why are you so slow? (Lit. why your slowness?)’ [Tutulp111]

Nominalisations derived from adjectives can modify another verb or clause. The nominalisation sɔgɔdu ‘manner of going far’ in (100) is derived from the adjective ɔdu ‘far and modifies the verb panow ‘go’.

(100)  Ullo sɔgɔdu’ mo panow inni’?
    ullo sɔg-ɔ-du’ 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 \( s \)-derivations are indeed nouns instead of verbs.

### 7.9.2. The syntax of nominalisations

The derivations on \( s \)- 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 \( s\)ang\( k\)kan ‘eating’ is functioning as the argument of the predicate \( p\)on \( p\)io ‘not good’. Sentence (101b) shows how an ordinary noun \( n\)an\( a\)m ‘taste’ forms the argument of the same predicate \( p\)io ‘good’. Sentence (101c) shows that the modifier \( p\)io ‘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 \( i\)kow ‘you’ appears obligatorily adjacent to the manner verb \( s\)annang ‘easily’.\(^{16}\) If \( s\)ang\( k\)kan in (101a) were a verb modified by \( p\)io ‘good’, the actor Monay would have to appear adjacent to \( p\)io, but it does not. Therefore, \( s\)ang\( k\)kan cannot be a verb but must be a nominal.

(101) a. \( P\)on \( p\)io \( s\)ang\( k\)kan \( M\)onay.
   apon \( p\)io \( s\)ang\( -\)kkan \( m\)onay
   \( N\)EG.\( P\) \( g\)ood \( N\)OM-eat \( M\)onay
   ‘Monay (was worried and) did not eat well. (Lit. Monay’s manner of eating was not good).’

   b. \( P\)on \( p\)io \( n\)an\( a\)m \( k\)inn\( a\)s \( i\)no.
   apon \( p\)io \( n\)an\( a\)m \( k\)inn\( a\)s \( i\)no
   \( N\)EG.\( P\) \( g\)ood \( t\)aste \( s\)ide.dish \( y\)onder
   ‘The taste of yonder side dish is not good. (Yonder side dish does not taste good).’

   c. \( K\)alay \( k\)u \( m\)angan \( k\)inn\( a\)s \( p\)on \( p\)io \( n\)an\( a\)m \( i\)no.
   kalay \( k\)u \( m\)angan \( k\)inn\( a\)s apon \( p\)io \( n\)an\( a\)m \( i\)no
   \( n\)ot.want \( 1\)S.\( G\) \( e\)at.\( A\)V \( s\)ide.dish \( N\)EG.\( P\) \( g\)ood \( t\)aste \( y\)onder
   ‘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.
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Example (102) illustrates how a nominalisation can form the argument of a transitive predicate. The verb \(k\text{n}-maku\) ‘bear’ appears in the AV-Non-volitive Mood. Its subject \(aku\) ‘I’ appears in the nominative and its object is formed by nominalisation \(s\text{a}-lamak\) ‘your stuffing (your) face’.

(102) \(Aku\) pon \(k\text{a}-maku\) \(s\text{a}-lamak\) \(mo\)!
aku apon ka-maku sa-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.
inon balay ku ne
yonder house 1S.G this
‘This is my house.’

b. Ino \(s\text{a}-bara\)’ ku muyun:
inon sa-bar’ ku muyun
yonder NOM-say 1S.G 2P.A

\(pon\) dan \(aku\) \(mahu\)’ \(m\text{a}-nawo\).
apon dan aku malu’ mong-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.’

Another proof of the nominal character of \(s\text{a}\)-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 \(s\text{a}\)-derivations (105), but not by verbs or verbal clauses. Apparently, \(s\text{a}\)-derivations are nouns.

(104) \(Aku\) \(n\text{g}\text{u}-usur\) nong niun \(ngod\) \(antang\) \(m\text{a}-n\text{g}\text{g}\text{p}\text{p}\text{t}\) paray.
aku ng-usur nong niun ngod antang mong-gp-paray
1S.G AV-tell OBL 2S.A how manner AV-tie.up paddy
‘I tell you the way to tie up paddy.’ [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 *mɔŋgɔŋkɔŋ* 'child(ren)' instead of the nominalisation *sɔ-turug* 'sleep' and likewise *ne* 'this' in (99) modifies most likely *mo* 'you' instead of *sɔ-dallay* 'slowness'. Therefore modification by demonstratives is not a good argument for the nounhood of *sɔ*-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 sɔŋgata’ mo nakon?*

ullo sɔŋ-g-a-ta’ mo nakon

‘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-a-ta’ 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 mɔŋgɔŋkɔt!*

kuat Babu mɔŋ-g-ɔŋkɔt
diligent Babu AV-work

‘Babu works diligently.’
b. Šakua mo mæng-gëkot! 
ša-kuat mo mæng-a-gkot 
NOM-diligent 25.G AV-work

'How diligently you are working!' [Mï-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 mæng-gëkot 'work' (see section 10.3.4. about manner). Similarly, šakuat modifies mæng-gëkot '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.

na nu ngod waktu ku bag-ami sawot tikung-kërow

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.' [Renggon 128]

In fact, the nominalisation šakuat 'diligently' in (108b) or štakas '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) Ulo, këdo, štakas-head [mo mëdi’ ano]rel 
ullo këdo ša-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 s- is nominal. The construction with a s- derivations modifying another predicate seems to be verbal on first sight, but turns out to be a construction where the s-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 s- has four allomorphs: s-, sg-, sng- and sng-. 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 sg- or sng-, whereas all consonant-initial stems take s-, irrespective of the morphological class they belong to. Causatives take sng-. 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 s-, vowel-initial stative verbal roots and adjectives are prefixed with the allomorph sg-, as is shown in (111). Manner nominalisations derived from stative verbal roots are prefixed with sg- or s- because they belong to the b(g)- or g- class if prefixed with AV-morphology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>AV prefix</th>
<th>nominalisation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>turug</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-turug</td>
<td>manner of sleeping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagki</td>
<td>‘pregnant’</td>
<td>g2-tagki</td>
<td>s2-tagki</td>
<td>manner of getting pregnant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rimot</td>
<td>‘clean’</td>
<td></td>
<td>s2-rimot</td>
<td>‘how clean, so clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pio</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>g2-pio</td>
<td>s2-pio</td>
<td>‘how good, so good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duu</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
<td>b2-duu</td>
<td>s2-duu</td>
<td>‘manner of going far, so far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssak</td>
<td>‘ripe’</td>
<td>b2-ssak</td>
<td>s2-ssak</td>
<td>‘manner of ripening, so ripe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of s(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 unprefixed.

(112) a. "E ullo ne kədə səgə-mmis sapa’ no?"
   "e, ullo ne kədə səgə-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.)
   [Kalibambahng bio Sengoyan 030]

b. Kumman gaud no, ammis kan, təhpə.
   kumman gaud ino ammis kan təhpə
   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.’
   [Kalibambahng bio Sengoyan 043]

(113) a. "ullo gam səbuay Gongan ne pon
   ullo gam sə-suay 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 QM 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 mənikir nu ne kulos ino.
   buay aku məng-pikir nu ne kulos ino
   long 1.SN 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 2.SG 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 unprefixed or UV-Non-volitive equivalent. For instance səgələtu’ ‘going far’ in (100), səkəuat ‘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
--- | --- | --- | ---
\( b\)-\( adung \) | `MID-sit` | \( s\)\( b\)-\( adung \) | `manner of sitting`
\( b\)-\( utuy \) | `MID-stand` | \( s\)\( b\)-\( utuy \) | `manner of standing up`
\( b\)-\( uat \) | `MID-get up` | \( s\)\( b\)-\( uat \) | `manner of getting up`
\( (k\)\( \)b\( -\)\( ay\)a\) | `(AV,NV)-MID-follow` | \( s\)\( b\)-\( ay\)a\) | `manner of following`

The following sentence illustrates a manner nominalisation of the root \( a\)\( ya\)a` ‘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) \( na\), ngod ne \( s\)\( a\)\( b\)\( a\)\( ya\)a` ku \( p\)anow \( b\)\( g\)ubot?
na ngod ne \( s\)\( b\)\( a\)\( ya\)a` ku \( p\)anow \( b\)\( g\)ubot
PRT how this NOM-MID-follow 1.SG 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
--- | --- | --- | ---
p-\( a\)gon | `SF-strong` | \( s\)\( p\)-\( a\)gon | `so strong`
p-\( u\)kow | `SF-get up` | \( s\)\( p\)-\( u\)kow | `manner of waking up`
p-\( u\)nong | `SF-finished` | \( s\)\( p\)-\( u\)nong | `manner of finishing`

The verb \( p\)-\( a\)gon `strong` (and also \( b\)-\( a\)gon or \( m\)-\( a\)gon, 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 \( s\)\( a\)\( n\)g-, 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 \( k\)\( \)\( a\)- if the verb expresses completed motion. Nominalisations of vowel-initial stems can thus have three alternative forms: a neutral one with \( s\)\( a\)\( n\)g-: \( s\)\( a\)\( n\)guli`, one with the prefix \( m\)-: \( s\)\( m\)-\( ul\)i` both meaning `returning`, and one with the prefix \( k\)\( \)\( a\)-: \( s\)\( k\)-\( ul\)i`, 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 \( s\)\( a\).\

\(^{18}\) Nominalisations of verbs of motion may be unstable because I have attested forms like \( s\)\( a\)\( n\)g-\( m\)nik and \( s\)\( a\)\( n\)g-\( ul\)i` instead of \( s\)\( m\)-\( ul\)i` ‘going,home’ or \( s\)\( m\)-\( m\)nik ‘going up’. The allomorph \( s\)\( a\)- is perhaps the default form for vowel-initial stems.
The examples in (118) show how nominalisations with *s*]ng-* do not differ from those with *m*:- both express a motion that is taking place or that will take place very soon:

(118) a. *Ngod s]ng]nik ano, kusay?*  
    ngod s]ng-a-nik ano kusay  
    how NOM-go.up that man  
    'How can (I) go up (the house), son?' [Kebasi’p38]

b. *Ngod s]ng]nik mo?*  
    ngod s]ng-a-nik 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 *s]ng-* 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.

    s]bob a-pon a-tow ku ngod s]ng-u]li’  
    because NEG,P NV-know.UV 15.G how NOM-go.home  
    '(..) because I did not know how to return.' (The speaker explains why she has not been able to visiting her parents for a long time). [Bowen Bura’214]

b. *Ngod s]kuli’ mo sakko di’ KK?*  
    ngod s]k-ul]i’ 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 *s]ng-* 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 *g*]-, *b*]- or *m*]- (see section 6.2.). Manner nominalisations of consonant-initial dynamic verbs are formed by prefixing the allomorph *s*]- 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 *b*]-verbs and *m*]-verbs: they are prefixed by *s*]- or *s]ng-* respectively. (120) lists some *g*]- verbs and their derivations, (121) lists some *b*]- verbs and their derivations and (122) shows some examples of the *m]ng-* class.
Example (105) above illustrated the use of a nominalisation with $g\dot{\text{a}}$- in a question starting with $ngod$ ‘how’, a nominalisation from the $b\dot{\text{a}}$- class can be found in (95) above and a nominalisation from the $m\dot{\text{a}}$- 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 $s\dot{\text{a}}-ng\dot{\text{a}}-$, whereas nominalisations of causative verbs whose root starts with a vowel are prefixed with the prefix combination $s\dot{\text{a}}-ng\dot{\text{a}}-$-$p\dot{-}$.

Nominalisations derived from dynamic (non-causative) verbs starting with a liquid /l/ or /r/, for example $l\dot{\text{a}}ra$ ‘look after’ are also prefixed with $s\dot{\text{a}}ng\dot{\text{a}}-$ instead of with $s\dot{\text{a}}ng\dot{\text{a}}-$. 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 $m\dot{\text{a}}ng\dot{\text{a}}-$. This verbal stem can be used as the base for nominalisations.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AV form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>nominalisation</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māngā-lara’</td>
<td>'AV-look after'</td>
<td>sāngā-lara’</td>
<td>'manner of looking after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māngā-p-inum</td>
<td>'CAU-SF-drink, cause to drink'</td>
<td>sāngā-p-inum</td>
<td>'manner of causing to drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māngā-p-alla’</td>
<td>'CAU-SF-frighten, cause to be afraid'</td>
<td>sāngā-p-alla’</td>
<td>'manner of frightening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māngā-p-uli’</td>
<td>'CAU-SF-go home, bring back'</td>
<td>sāngā-p-uli’</td>
<td>'manner of sending home'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māngā-p-allan’</td>
<td>'CAU-SF-be intoxicated, intoxicate'</td>
<td>sāngā-p-allan’</td>
<td>'manner of intoxicating'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentence (124) contains three manner nominalisations, all depending on the question word *ngod* 'how'. The first nominalisation is *sāpatay*, derived from the irregular verb *matay* 'die', which sometimes shows up as *patay* in derivations. The second nominalisation is *sānglun*, derived from the stative verb *lun* 'alive'. Note that the nominalisation has a dynamic interpretation 'live', as opposed to its stative verbal root 'alive'. The third nominalisation *sānglera’* is derived from a liquid-initial dynamic (non-causative) verb *lera* 'look after', which is a loan from Malay *pālihara* 'look after'. Sentence (125) contains a nominalisation derived from a causative verb *māngā-p-allan* 'cause to be intoxicated'.

(124) Jadi aku malu’ gāgusur ngod sāpatay ama’ ku
      jadi aku malu’ gāg-usur ngod sā-patay ama’ ku
      so I.S want REC-tell how NOM-die father I.S.G

      *bio ngod sānglun kāmmi*
      *bio ngod sāng-lun kāmmi*
      and how NOM-live 1P.E.N/G

      *sānglera’ ina’ ku namon kāss’ tittoy.*
      *sāng-lera’ ina’ ku namon kāssa’ tittoy*
      NOM-look.after mother I.S.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) “Nu nu ngod sāngpallon liun no!”
      na nu ngod sāng-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 Bara090]

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 *sāng*- and non-causatives with *sa*. 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 \( \text{p} \ Auditor-\)

The prefix \( \text{p} \ Auditor-\) 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 \( \text{p} \ Auditor-\text{angan} \) ‘food’, it derives an object noun that refers to the food, not to the eater.

(126) Da buyu dongay kat Dayangpukli mangun bagko
PR long -CDM-proceed CDM Dayangpukli m-angun bagko

\( \text{P} \ Auditor \ \text{ne, mala}^{\prime} \) akay \( \text{p} \ Auditor \text{-apanay miro}. \)
\( \text{P} \ Auditor \ \text{ne mala}^{\prime} \) akay \( \text{p} \ Auditor \text{-apanay miro} \)
sultan’s wife this want exist AGNOM-cook 3p
‘After a long time, Dayangpukli resurrected the Sultan’s Wife, so that they would have a cook.’ [Dayangpukli 240]

(127) Ali ton \( \text{p} \ Auditor \)
Ali ton \( \text{p} \ Auditor \)
Ali TOP AGNOM-talk
‘Ali is talkative (lit. is a talker).’

Some derivations with \( \text{p} \ Auditor-\) are similar to \( s \) nominalisations in that they take arguments. Sentence (128) illustrates how \( \text{p} \ Auditor \text{-alap} \) takes a undergoer argument \( \text{pait} \) ‘fish’; the nominal \( \text{p} \ Auditor \text{-gong} \) ‘as I heard it/ hearing’ in (129) takes a genitive actor-argument \( \text{ku} \) ‘I’.
The following nominalisation *pangata* ‘view’ is also an action nominal and takes an actor *rumo* ‘he’ and an undergoer *payow* ‘deer’:

(130) *Dalan rumo sala’, ngod pangata’ 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 *pang*- derivations:

(131) stem gloss *pang*- prefixation gloss

takow ‘steal’ *pangakow* ‘thief’
turug ‘sleep’ *pangurug* ‘sleepyhead’
gkot ‘work’ *panggkot* ‘hard worker’
atap ‘look’ *pangata* ‘view’
alap ‘get’ *pangalap* ‘someone who gets’
tindon ‘think’ *pangindon* ‘thinking’
anggangan ‘eat’ *pangangangan* ‘cooking ingredients’

Concluding, then, *pang*- can derive nominalisations whose exact function depends on the meaning of the verb.

### 7.11. The historical prefix *lang-*

The historical prefix *lang-* is an unproductive prefix. *Lang-* only exists in a few frequent nouns and a number of animated animal and plants names. The noun *langkuas* ‘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 *lang-kumman* ‘food’ and *laman* ‘sirih mix’, where the prefix seems to derive nouns from verbs, but this may be a coincidence.
7.12. Abstract nouns derived with the prefix k(ng)-

Certain abstract nouns are derived from (stative) verbal roots with the prefix k(ng)-. This prefix is probably not productive. It has two allomorphs: the full prefix k(ng)- 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 k(ng)-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kînglu</td>
<td>desire</td>
<td>lau</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kînglay</td>
<td>desire not to</td>
<td>kalay</td>
<td>not want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kîngbpuk</td>
<td>drunkenness</td>
<td>bpuk</td>
<td>dizzy, drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kîpuos</td>
<td>being spilt</td>
<td>puos</td>
<td>finished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sentences show a few other abstract nouns with prefix k(ng)-:

(134)  Ino kiron kîng-tow ku suran nong gkun.  
[in. swore.PRES.NOM.ABSTR until NOM.ABSTR-know 1.S.G story OBL village]  
‘Until here is my knowledge about the story of the village.’ [p13 ketua kampong]

(135)  Jadi iro gamo rænggon ton.  
[jadi swore.PRES.COL married.couple rænggon top ino]  
so  
[rumo kîng-ø-lun miro mangan pait sija'.  
[rumo kîng-ø-lun miro mangan pait sija']  
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.’  
[Renggon 080]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| pio m;
agara    | ‘good girl’         | ‘beautiful girl’|
| pio mon;
ay        | ‘good young man’    | ‘handsome young man’|
| lagas ul;
u         | ‘bald head’         | ‘bald-headed’   |
| pati ul;
u          | ‘white head’        | ‘old and grey’  |
| gojo ul;
u          | ‘big head’          | ‘big-headed’    |
| allang um;
or             | ‘hard age’          | ‘old (euphemism)’|
| saklot mato     | ‘read eye’          | ‘red-eyed’      |

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 garawo ‘breath, spirit’ (Malay: ‘nafas, semangat’). Some emotions are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| sannang at;
ay         | ‘easy liver’        | ‘at ease, happy’      |
| panus at;
ay         | ‘hot liver’         | ‘angry, impatient’    |
| sigak at;
ay         | ‘very happy liver’  | ‘very happy’          |
| allang at;
ay         | ‘hard liver’        | ‘bear a grudge’       |
| bakalias at;
ay          | ‘beating liver’     | ‘heart missed a beat’ |
| gatillab at;
ay          | ‘shocking liver’    | ‘remember with a shock’ |
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.
b. (..) _padotos_ (..) _ulu ku_1sg.
    _padotos_ _ulu ku_
sick head _1sg._
    ’(..) I’ve got (..) a headache. (Lit. my head hurts.)’  [Bowon Bura’ 124]

c. [ _ulu ku_1sg.]
    _ulu ku_1sg.
    sick
    ’I’ve got a headache (lit. my head hurts).’

(144) *a  
    Nancy ne [sak-kot karito].COMPOUND
    Nancy this red car
    ’Nancy’s car is red/ *Nancy is red-carred.’

b. Sak-kot [karito Nancy ne].sp
    sak-kot karito Nancy ne
    red car Nancy this
    ’Nancy’s car is red.’

c. [karito Nancy ne].sp sak-kot.
    karito Nancy ne sak-kot
    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 _garawo_ 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 san-nang key [atay rumo].sp
    da san-nang key atay rumo
    PR easy FOC liver _3s_
    ’Now she was at ease/happy.’ [Masi p178]

b. San-nang la [atay ku].sp
    san-nang la atay ku
    easy PRF liver _1sg._
    ’I am at ease/happy.’ [Tessor p231]

c Bulud [garawo ku].sp mala’ mangan lujan!
    bulud garawo ku mala’ mangan lujan
    hill breath _1sg._ want AV eat durian
    ’I really feel like eating durian!’
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 this big breath OBL child-RED 3s
'Siti loves her grand children very much.' [Conversation kok03068]  
b. *[Titik tambur]COMPOUND kat tikung-kerow.*
*titik tambur kat tikung-kerow*
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.' [Rengrong 059]  
c. *(...)tanda’ rumo [gajo gərawo]COMPOUND tun nong məgannak rumo.*
tanda’ rumo gajo gərawo tun nong məgannak 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 karito tun Nanci ne.*
gajo karito tun Nanci ne
big car real Nancy this
‘Nancy’s car is really big.’  
e. *Gajo tun karito Nanci ne.*
gajo tun karito 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 grawo cannot occur in preverbal position, as is shown in (147c). If the nouns grawo 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  
rumo da sannang atay sannang atay rumo  
3s PR easy liver easy liver 3s  

‘Now she was at ease/happy.’

b. Sannang [atay rumo],NP  
3S PR easy liver  

c. *[Atay rumo]NP da sannnang.  
atay rumo da sannnang  
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 grawo 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 $b\omega\rho\omega\omega$; section 7.6 briefly mentioned the prefix $m\omega\rho\omega$. The ‘distant past’ prefix $b\rho\omega\omega\omega\omega$ was treated in 7.7.; and section 7.8. described the intensive prefix $t\omega\omega$.

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 $s\omega$ in order to be modified by a stative verb. It was shown that $s\omega$-nominalisations are verbal internally, but nominal externally. Section 7.10. briefly described agent nominalisations; section 7.11. briefly mentioned historical derivations with $l\omega\rho\omega\omega$; 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Posthead modifier(s)</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Noun</td>
<td>-Adjective</td>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Pronoun</td>
<td>-Verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Possessor phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Relative clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]_{QP}  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]_{QP}  dtow ano kассу тург
     inggos duo anak ku dtow ano kассу тург
     all two child 1SG day that soon sleep
Both my two children went to sleep early today because the other day they played until they were tired.' [Mi-Suk3B 215]

   asu gayo tɔ that tassa’ ino mɔŋ-əbput
dog big three CL.animal yonder AV-bite
   ‘Those three big dogs bite.’

b. [Tɔ that tassa’]₉₉₃ [asu gayo no]₉₉₃ mɔŋ-əbput.
   tɔ that tassa’ asu gayo ino mɔŋ-əbput
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. Numerical 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. Numerical 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 ssətassa’ kərok, naran rumo kkak.
exist one-cl.animal bird name 3s crow
‘(Once upon a time) There was a bird, its name was Crow.’ [AmaNisahp001]

(6) Məgkay kat rumo key namon duo tassa’ anak asu no.
depl-give UV CDM 3s foc p.e.a two cl.animal child dog yonder
‘He gave us these two dogs.’ [MiSuk3B 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 ssərəribu’
that cooked.rice packed.lunch 2sG cooked.rice -com-turmeric UV
bio putti assak təlulu tiddong.
and banana NV-ripe three cl.banana
‘This is your packed lunch: yellow rice and three ripe bananas.’ [Kebasip41]

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 btəuan ‘person’ should be inserted. However, sentence (2) above was judged correct.
(8) Ttaran runo akay satu lumbi.
   see.UV 3S 1EXIST one fust
   ‘He saw that there was a fust.’ [Ama’Nisahp005]

(9) (...) nong tuam-tussug ulun pasod, duo, atow taulu *(b)tuan
   AUX -DEP-invite.UV person many two or three CL.person
   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 runo tassa’ allom taray runo
   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 ada,
when (..) DEP-go.home LOC place COL Meri over.there

nong m-fatag.

nong m-fatag
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 k’ammi di’ balay di’ iro anak ku di.*

panow k’ammi di’ balay di’ iro anak ku adi

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) *Kamo da akay iro t’alu gabpi, sa’ nong p’rom.*

kamo da akay iro t’alu gabpi, sa’ nong p’rom
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. 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 alun bay k’assu muli’.*

jadi inggos alun bay k’assu m-uli’
so all person PRF soon DEP-go.home

‘So everybody went home soon.’ [Mi-Suk2 026]

(15) *Aku malu’ mangan m’agunong t’angkuman man no inggos.*

aku malu’ mangan m’ag-unong t’angkuman 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 p’arakkot inggos no, k’amo rumo.*

nong ku p’arakkot inggos ino k’amo rumo
AUX 1S.G UV.CAU.DEP-stick all yonder QTM 3S

‘I will make everything sticky, she said.’ [Dayungpuki 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.
"Ikow ne pa," kamo, "naran bangso muyu dadan miskin," kamo.
2SN 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 (*dadang pano '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 saqkow suku anak-anak rumo.
ong -u-saqkow 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 *s* ‘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-bigkay rumo tissing mas puti’
SQ -COM-give.UV 3S ring gold white

*s-suku ayug-ayug rumo ne.
s-su-suku ayug-ayug rumo ne
one-all friend-RED 3S this

'She gave a platinum ring to all 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,
inon apun akay anak
yonder NEG.P EXIST child

*silut mangara’ anak ilun.
silut mangara’ 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]
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’, *sambbarang* ‘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 *m* ngi ‘*ma*-ya’ *m* ngi ‘*ma*-ya’
jadı barong ulun məng-i-num da m-a-yə məng-i-num
so whoever person AV-drink PR DEP-follow AV-drink

barong [pon mala’ *m* ngi ‘*ma*-ya’ pon nong *m* ə-gkay.
barong apon mala’ məng-i-num apon nong m-ə-gkay
‘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 kəmdong.
barong rattop ikow əm-ki-dong
whoever closeby 2s.n -DEP-wink.UV

barong a-dtu’ ikow kəmi-o-y.
barong a-dtu’ ikow əm-ki-o-y
whoever NV-far 2s.n -DEP-wave.UV
‘Wink whoever is closeby and wave to whoever is far away.’ [Conversationselectingseed 064]

The pronoun *barong* can also be used for inanimate entities:
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 kej ja?*

mbi kej ja

‘Whatever, wherever!’

*Mbi* or *mimbi* can be followed by a relative clause headed by the dummy noun *baya* ‘place’ or *anan* ‘place’:

(26) *Ga*·*lindut ikow, mbi baya*·*head* [mo rotu’ no,]·*rel*

*ga·lindut ikow mbi baya mo-u-ratu’ ino*

AV·run 28,N wherever place 28,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 təgai no.

*mimbi anan panow apon guog təgai 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 məŋgakay kad ilun.*

apon ka sannang ikow məngakay kad ilun

NEG.P PRT easy 28,N AV·use card other.people

‘You cannot easily use other people’s (identity) card.’ [Conversation corn 516]
In the following sentence it just means ‘somebody’:

(29) Dongay mərəgkang di, summu’
    -u-dangay mərəgkang adi -u- sócnnu’
    -DEP-proceed child over.there -DEP-command.UV

nong ilan, məllan.
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 gərəunay
Begak has an emphatic pronoun gərəunay ‘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 -r-.

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).

In (30), gərəunay is a modifier, whereas in (31) it functions as an independent noun with possessor rumo ‘his/her’.

(30) Na aku ton pon akay anak gərəunay tun-tun.
na aku ton apon akay anak gərəunay tun-tun
PRT I.S.N TOP NEG.P EXIST child self real-RED
‘Well, as for me, I don’t have children really of my own.’ [Anakku1 001]

(i) Sob da matay Gəragasi, gag-isun kat iro muli’
    sob da matay Gəragasi gag-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) Gəragga’ Kadakil gunay Təngkatput.
    go’-ər-sagga’ Kadakil gunay Təngkatput
AV-REC-fight hummingbird with songbird
‘Hummingbird and Songbird fought with each other.’ Moody (1993:53) (Ida’an)
The combination of the noun baktan ‘body’ and the emphatic noun garunay functions as a reflexive marker, as illustrated in (32).

(32) Kamo kito bag-ingot nong baktan kito garunay,

if 1P.LN/G AV-mind OBL body 1P.LN/G self

pon bag-ingot nong ulun kubad di (...) apon bag-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 baktan rumo garunay in (33a) is ambiguous between ‘self’ or ‘his own body’. The antecedent must precede the reflexive expression baktan rumo garunay 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. Ameke bagambar baktan rumo garunay.
Ameke ba-gambar baktan rumo garunay
Ameke AV-picture body 3S self
‘Ameke takes a picture of himself/of his own body.’

b. Bay gembar Ameke baktan rumo garunay.
bay i-gambar Ameke baktan rumo garunay
PRF -COM-picture.UV Ameke body 3S self
‘Ameke has taken a picture of himself/of his own body.’

c. Nong Ameke gombar baktan rumo garunay.
nong Ameke u-gombar baktan rumo garunay
AUX Ameke -DEP-picture.UV body 3S self
‘For Ameke to take a picture of himself/of his own body.’

d. *Baktan rumo garunay bay gembar Ameke
baktan rumo garunay bay i-gambar Ameke
body 3S self PRF -COM-picture.UV Ameke
‘Ameke has taken a picture of himself/of his own body.’
The reflexive expression *b*ɔ*tu*ɔn ɡ*ɔ*runay ‘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 Kemukun 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’.
    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.] [Paiyow 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?
    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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(38)</th>
<th>head</th>
<th>modifier</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sabun</td>
<td>məri’</td>
<td>‘soap’</td>
<td>‘bathing soap’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabun</td>
<td>mə̄guppu’</td>
<td>‘laundry soap’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lano</td>
<td>bągąqąq</td>
<td>‘oil AV-cook’</td>
<td>‘cooking oil’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musim</td>
<td>bə̄kaun</td>
<td>‘season AV-clear land’</td>
<td>‘clearing season’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musim</td>
<td>gə̄lakut</td>
<td>‘season AV-weed’</td>
<td>‘weeding season’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musim</td>
<td>mə̄nγal</td>
<td>‘season AV-plant with dibble’</td>
<td>‘planting season’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musim</td>
<td>bə̄gani</td>
<td>‘season AV-harvest’</td>
<td>‘harvesting season’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musim</td>
<td>gə̄iši</td>
<td>‘season AV-lay eggs’</td>
<td>‘lay season of chickens’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
anak makan child-? 'niece or nephew'
anak gapol child-twin 'twins'
anak tili' child-step 'step child'
inu' tili' 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
bowon bura’ ‘sparrow’ white-feathered ‘white feathered sparrow’
bowon silong ‘sparrow’ - ‘Malay parrot Psittinus cyanurus cyanurus’
bowon katudom ‘sparrow’ - ‘black sparrow’
bowon kbang ‘sparrow’ - ‘brown sparrow’
bowon bssir ‘sparrow’ - ‘dark brown sparrow’
bsising ‘squirrel’ - ‘black squirrel’
bssing talun ‘squirrel’ - ‘banana squirrel’
pait pagi ‘fish’ - ‘Malay: *ikan pari*, type of fish’
sujan llang ‘turtle’ ‘hard’ ‘certain species of river turtle with hard shield’
putti gaba’ ‘banana’ - ‘Malay: *pisang mas’
sakilo kayu ‘tuberic’ ‘wood’ ‘cassava’
ulang gayo ‘snake’ ‘big’ ‘python’
biag kkun ‘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 Indosego.
     da -u-gajo anak Dayangplukli Indosego
     PR -DEP-big child Dayangplukli Indosego
     ‘Dayangplukli Indosego’s child grew up.’ [Dayangplukli.Sulokp58]

Begak does not distinguish between alienable or in alienable 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
gō 1P.E.N/G LOC house 1LOC 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.

\[(45) \text{Jadi inggos iro langu’ rumo ne raman nong rumo.}\]
\[\text{jadi inggos iro langu’ rumo ne raman nong rumo so all COL in.law 3s this used.to OBL 3s}\]
‘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 possessive marker, illustrated in (46a). Compare this sentence with (46b) which contains the ordinary, original possessive construction.

\[(46) \text{a. } \text{Sa’ may bəgko rumo akay bəgkas.}\]
\[\text{sa’ m-ay bagko rumo akay bagkas} \]
\[\text{SQ DEP-take.UV also 3S EXIST husked.rice}\]
‘Then (we have to) take his husked rice.’ [Ama’ ku pedtos. 062]

\[\text{b. } \text{Sa’ may bəgko bəgkas rumo.}\]
\[\text{sa’ m-ay bagko bagkas rumo} \]
\[\text{SQ DEP-take.UV also husked.rice 3S}\]
‘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, adi 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ate</em></td>
<td><em>te/ne</em></td>
<td>'this'</td>
<td>contrastive, closer to the speaker than to the addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ano</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>close to both speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ino</em></td>
<td><em>no</em></td>
<td>'yonder'</td>
<td>far away from speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>idi</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>furthest away from speaker yet visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>adi</em></td>
<td><em>di</em></td>
<td>'over there'</td>
<td>furthest away from speaker and invisible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 pađtos.*
    *nipop* ate pađtos
    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

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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) \textit{Ano} buk mo gam?
\textit{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.)

\textit{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.

(50) \textit{Ino} kulos nong ttag sadtong mo!
\textit{ino} kulos nong ttag 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.)

\textit{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) \textit{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.)

\textbf{3} Moreover, *ano* ‘this’ and *ino* ‘yonder’ function as fillers and are sometimes difficult to distinguish from the original function of demonstratives:

(iii) \textit{Gadino} ino-no, pog ano,
gadino ino-ino pog ano
in this way yonder-RED when that
pog -i-panow kemmi adi masyurarat miro.
pog -i-panow kemmi adi masyurarat 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]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speaker</td>
<td>speaker addressee</td>
<td>speaker addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xa (white)</td>
<td>Xa</td>
<td>Xc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xb (no ear)</td>
<td>Xb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xc (green)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Xc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addressee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Situation A: (both consultants were unanimous, independently of each other)

(53) a. $g\text{glas}$ ate rana’ puti’.
glas ate rana’ puti’
glass this colour white
'This glass is white.'

b. $g\text{glas}$ ano pon akay pakkow.
glas ano apon akay pakkow
glass that NEG.P exist ear
'That glass has no ear.'

c. $g\text{glas}$ ino rana’ gaddung.
glas 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. $g\text{glas}$ ate rana’ puti’.
glas ate rana’ puti’
glass this colour white
'This glass is white.' (Glass is closer to speaker than to addressee.)
b. \textit{G\textsubscript{las} ano pon akay pakkow.}
glas ano apon akay pakkow
glass that NEG.P exist ear
'That glass has no ear.' (Glass is in between speaker and addressee.)

c. \textit{G\textsubscript{las} ino rana’ gaddung’}.
glas 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)

\textbf{55} a. \textit{G\textsubscript{las} ate rana’ puti’}.
glas ate rana’ puti’
glass this colour white
'This glass is white.' (Glass is close to both speaker and addressee.)

b. \textit{G\textsubscript{las} ano pon akay pakkow.}
glas ano apon akay pakkow
glass that NEG.P exist ear
'That glass has no ear.' (Glass is in the middle.)

c. \textit{G\textsubscript{las} udi rana’ gaddung.}
glas 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 \textit{udi} ‘there’ and \textit{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).

\textit{Ate} was used contrastively for the first, closest cup if it was closer to the speaker than to the addressee, but \textit{ano} ‘that’ was used instead if the first cup was close to both speaker and addressee. \textit{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. \textit{Ino} was used for the second or third cup which was further away from the speaker but not necessarily from the addressee. The forms \textit{adi} or \textit{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 \textit{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  
   day  that
   ‘Today’

b.  
   dtow  ino  
   day  yonder
   ‘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  manay  
   PR  go  any-clam
   ‘She went looking for clams that day.’ [Conversation kokot 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 | - | ne | ‘this’ | personal pronouns, proper names
Far away from the speaker | ino | no | ‘yonder’ | ordinary nouns
Far away from the speaker | adi | di | ‘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 *Dara’ 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 tagki’ *Dara’ *ne/*no.
    jadi tagki’ *Dara’ *ne/*ino
    so pregnant young lady this/*yonder
    ‘So Young Lady was got pregnant.’ [Monay bio Dera’ 007]

(60)  *Agus *ne/*no pun bagusur namon.
    *Agus *ne/*ino pun bag-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-a’ ya’ uni
    why 2S.N this/*yonder REP-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’ bagko aku *di/*no.
    da kukka’ bagko aku adi/*ino
    PR recoverd also 1S.N over.there/*yonder
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 runo *ne*, anak runo
manu Masi’ pindat runo ne anak runo
\[AV.eat\] Masi’ clam 3S this child 3S
\[di\] mangan pindat runo *di*.
adi mangan pindat runo 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 lkapud gaud no/*ne/*di, na bay tota’ runo.
sob lkapud gaud ino/*ne/*adi na bay -u-taa’ runo
\[when broken paddle\] yonder/*this/over.there PRT PRF -DEP-cry 3S
‘When the/*this/overthere paddle broke, well, he already cried.’ [Lekpud gaud. 014]

\[(66)\] Mara’ kat liun *ne/no/di (..)
mara’ 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’
\[why this river yonder\] NEGPL flood
‘Why is the river not flooded?’ [Conversation kokol 335]

\[(68)\] *Na, ngod ne sa-baya’ ku panow b2gubot?*
na ngod ne sa-baya’ ku panow b2g-ubot
\[PRT how this\] NOM-follow 1S.G go \[AV-medicine\]
‘Well, how can I go get medicine?’ [Conversation dogs 026]

*Ne* can modify the demonstratives *ino* ‘yonder’ or *ano* ‘that’.
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.  *Galino* ‘in yonder way’, *gadano* ‘in that way’, *gadate* ‘in this way’

The adverbs *galino* ‘in yonder way’, *gadano* ‘in that way’ and *gadate* ‘in this way’ are related to the demonstratives *ano* ‘that’, *INO* ‘yonder’ and *ATE* ‘this’. The adverb *gadano* refers to the present, whereas *galino* 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 gadano suran kito, suran kito nong suran bowon.*

so in.that.way story 1P.LN/G story 1P.LN/G OBL story sparrow

‘This is how our story (goes) our story about the White Sparrow.’ [Bowon Bura’ 001]

(71)  *Dadi muli’ kat rumo gadino, turug.*

so DEP-go.home CDM 3s in.yonder.way sleep

‘So he went home to sleep.’ [Dayangpukli takes revenge 056]

The form *gadate* ‘in this way’ is used contrastively in combination with one of the other forms:

(72)  *Galino kano Siti, gadate kano Lisa.*

in.yonder.way QTM Siti in.this.way QTM Lisa

‘Like this’ said Siti, ‘like that’ said Lisa.” [Conversation koko3 033]

The expression *gedino ne*, literally ‘in yonder way this’ is idiomatic and means ‘now’ or ‘nowadays’:

(73)  *Ulun gadino ne bay tagattas 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)nga*; 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 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’
2. *sa’* ‘sequential aspect’
3. *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, *biu’* marking perfective aspect, *sa’* marking anticipatory aspect and *ta’* marking continuative aspect. Apparently, Ida’an *biu’* 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.
In (3) the aspectual \textit{da} has neither inchoative nor progressive aspect, but seems to mark perfectivity. The difference with \textit{bay} 'already' is that \textit{bay} only marks perfectivity whereas \textit{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:

\begin{verbatim}
(3) \textit{L\textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha}\textup{\textsuperscript{-}l\textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha} kat rumo, da gajo asu ino,
        \textup{\textsuperscript{DEP}\textsuperscript{-}look.after,UV-RED} \textsuperscript{CDM} \textsuperscript{3S} PR big dog yonder
panow kat rumo mangasu.
panow kat rumo mang-asu
\textit{go} \textsuperscript{CDM} \textsuperscript{3S} AV-hunt.with.dogs
\end{verbatim}

'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 \textit{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, \textit{da} occurs in almost every clause to signal that the story line continues.

\begin{verbatim}
(4) \textit{Jadi} da gajo rumo b\textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha, da sawot da b\textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha
        \textit{so} PR big \textit{3S} also PR arrive PR mid-cease
        \textit{rumo} buow paray da sidtu b\textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha bowon rumo ne.
        \textit{rumo} buow paray da sidtu b\textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha bowon rumo ne
        \textit{3S} chase paddy PR just AV-play sparrow \textit{3S} this
\end{verbatim}

'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 \textit{da} occurs almost exclusively in clauses with verb-initial word order, probably \textit{da} occurs in clauses expressing thematic continuity (see section 11.2. on the function of the two word orders.) The aspectual \textit{da} occurs frequently in temporal subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction \textit{pog} 'when', as in (5):

\begin{verbatim}
(5) \textit{Pog} da mang-\textit{ila} rumo taray pait ino, akay ulun g\textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha
        \textit{pog} da mang-\textit{ila} rumo taray pait ino akay ulun g\textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha \textalpha
        \textit{when} PR AV-split \textit{3S} belly fish yonder EXIST person AV-speak
\end{verbatim}

'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 mərəŋkang no sa’ bɔguru-bɔguru gaɾuni.  
na mərəŋkang ino sa’ bɔ-guru-bɔ-guru ga-runí  
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 1.S.G 1.S.N SQ AV.NV-hear merely story 3P  
‘I do not know, I only just heard their story.’ [Conversationselectingseed 098]

(8) Pog nedtik, sa’ mila’ taray ino,  
pog ni-adtik sa’ m-ila’ taray ino  
when COM-raise.up.UV SQ DEP-split.UV belly yonder  
\[mɔsi-tu-\text{m}ɔsi\] takin-takin nong allom ne,  
m-ɔssi-tu-m-ɔssi takin-takin nong allom ne  
\[\text{DEP-fil.f} \text{-too-DEP-fil.uv}\] fragrant.leaves-RED OBL inside this  
sa’ mɔllit bagku.  
sa’ m-a-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-Incompletive 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 Incompletive 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)  
\textbf{Nnong key gulo, aku bay bɔŋ-ginum sapa’}.  

\begin{tabular}{l}
Nnong & key & gulo & aku & bay & bɔŋ-ginum & sapa’ \\
here & POC & first & 1.S.N & PRF & DPST & -drink water \\
\end{tabular}  

‘No thank you (lit. just here first) I have already drunk water.’ (Context: said by a person who is offered water) [Conversationharvest 055]

(10)  
\textbf{Pog pata’ mo toka bay tınsud tɔlaktur.}  

\begin{tabular}{l}
Pog & p-ata’ & mo & toka & bay & t-ı-tınsud & tɔlaktur \\
when & SF & look & 2.S.G & PRF & PRF & COM-plough.under.UV tractor \\
\end{tabular}  

‘When you look, so to speak, (your land) has already been ploughed under by the tractor.’ [Conversationdogs 325]

(11)  
\textbf{Bay turug kɔmmi; nidtu’ ku lampu, bay jam pulu’.}  

\begin{tabular}{l}
Bay & turug & kɔmmi & ni-dtu’ & ku & lampu & bay & jam & pulu’ \\
bay & turug & kɔmmi & ni-dta’ & ku & lampu & bay & jam & pulu’ \\
\end{tabular}  

‘We were already sleeping, I put off the lamp, it was already ten o’clock.’ [Conversationharvest 091]

(12)  
\textbf{Kɔmo umur mo sa’ tɔllu pula’ ləbpo, buli, kɔmo umur mo bay if age 2.S.G SQ three ten more can if age 2.S.G PRF}  

\begin{tabular}{l}
pat & pula’ & suru & tas & pon & buli & jomin & ləbpo & pəkərja. \\
pat & pula’ & suru & tas & pon & buli & -u-jamin & ləbpo & pəkərja \\
four & ten & direct & top & NEG.P & can & -DEP-guarantee.UV & more & worker (M) \\
\end{tabular}  

‘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 felicitious. *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)  
\textbf{Sa’ da nong togbun, sa’ da buli ulan pasod muli’.}  

\begin{tabular}{l}
Sa’ & da & nong & -u-togbun & sa’ & da & buli & ulan & pasod & m-uli’ \\
SQ & PR & AUX & -DEP-cover.UV & SQ & PR & can & person & many & DEP-go.home \\
\end{tabular}  

‘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 basaro*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{da bay panda’} & \text{miro logat malayu di.} \\
\text{PR PRF SF-know.person.UV 3P accent (M) Malay over.there} \\
\text{‘But they had already started to talk (to me), they had already recognised the Malay accent.’} & \\
\text{[Conversationcorn 685]} \\
\end{array}
\]

(15)  *Kamo da bay nibot, bittog ndow di.*

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{kam two forms for sentence negation: (a)pon and (n)inga*; one form for contrastive or nominal negation: pon ka; and two forms for negative commands: aro and batong. Sentence negation will be treated first, followed by contrastive or nominal negation and negative imperatives.}
\]

9.3. 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 inga* versus inga*. 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.

\footnote{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.

\[(16)\]
\[a.\quad \text{Siti \ apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ mangan \ bakas. \]
\[\text{Siti \ apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ mangan \ bakas. \]
\[\text{NEG,PN} \ AV \ eat \ \text{wild.pig} \]
\[\text{\textquoteleft Siti does not eat pork.'} \]

\[b. \quad \text{Apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ \text{Siti} \ mangan \ bakas. \]
\[\text{apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ \text{Siti} \ mangan \ bakas \]
\[\text{NEG,PN} \ AV \ eat \ \text{Siti \ wild.pig} \]
\[\text{\textquoteleft Siti does not eat pork.'} \]

\[c. \quad \text{?Apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ \text{mangan} \ Siti \ bakas. \]
\[\text{apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ \text{mangan} \ Siti \ bakas \]
\[\text{NEG,PN} \ AV \ eat \ \text{Siti \ wild.pig} \]
\[\text{\textquoteleft Siti does not eat pork.'} \]

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.

\[(17)\]
\[a. \quad \text{Koko no \ apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ (dan) \ nippom \ ku. \]
\[\text{koko ino \ apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ (dan) \ ni-ppom \ ku \]
\[\text{cocoa \ yonder \ NEG,PN} \ \text{yet} \ COM-spray.UV \ \text{I.S.G} \]
\[\text{\textquoteleft I have not (yet) sprayed yonder cocoa trees.'} \]

\[b. \quad \text{?Apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ (dan) \ koko no \ nippom \ ku. \]
\[\text{apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ (dan) \ koko ino \ ni-ppom \ ku \]
\[\text{NEG,PN} \ \text{cocoa \ yonder} \ COM-spray.UV \ \text{I.S.G} \]
\[\text{\textquoteleft I have not (yet) sprayed yonder cocoa trees.'} \]

\[c. \quad \text{Apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ (dan) \ nippom \ ku \ koko no. \]
\[\text{apon/ninga\textquotesingle} \ (dan) \ ni-ppom \ ku \ koko ino \]
\[\text{NEG,PN} \ \text{COM-spray.UV} \ \text{I.S.G} \ \text{cocoa \ yonder} \]
\[\text{\textquoteleft I have not (yet) sprayed yonder cocoa trees.'} \]
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.

\[(18)\]

\[a.\] Bu’a ssom no apon/ninga’ a-mmis.

\[b.\] Apon/ninga’ a-mmis bu’a ssom no.

\[c.\] ?Apon/ninga’ bu’a ssom no a-mmis.

\[\text{fruit citrus yonder NEG P/NEG.1 NV-sweet}\]

\[\text{‘Yonder citrus fruit is not sweet.’}\]

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 \(\text{(a)pon}\) and \(\text{(n)inga’}\) 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, \(\text{(a)pon}\) is at least three times as frequent as \(\text{(n)inga’}\), depending on the genre and on the individual speaker:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 Negation in conversation</th>
<th>Table 2 Negation in narrative text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conversation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Narrative text</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)pon</td>
<td>(n)inga’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)pon</td>
<td>(n)inga’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koko</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogs</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowon Bura</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayangpukli R.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monay bio Dera’</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3 Negation in procedural text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Procedural text</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ama’ ku pedtos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teratab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures suggest that negation with \(\text{(a)pon}\) is more basic than negation with \(\text{(n)inga’}\).

The phonology also suggests \(\text{(a)pon}\) is slightly more basic than \(\text{(n)inga’}\). If the short form \(\text{pon}\) is combined with certain frequent verbs, for example \(\text{atow} \ ‘\text{known’}, \ \text{akay} \ ‘\text{exist’}, \ \text{pon}\) loses its stress and its vowel /o/ is neutralised to schwa, resulting in \(\text{pnotow} \ ‘\text{not know’}, \) as in (19) and \(\text{pnotakay} \ ‘\text{not exist’} \) as in (20) respectively. However, the vowels in \(\text{(n)inga’}\) are never reduced to schwa.
(19)  
\[ \text{(apontow pənətow) ku kənnay ulun.} \]
\[ \text{NEG.P NV-know.UV 3S.G ORD-who person} \]
\[ '(Yes, he was a friend of Bornet), I don’t know who he was.' \]
\[ \text{[Conversation selecting seed 442]} \]

(20)  
\[ \text{Sawot gədino ne pon akay pənəkəj lbpo} \]
\[ \text{arrive in.yonder.way this NEG.P EXIST more} \]
\[ \text{nong kə-polla'} \]
\[ \text{nong kə-polla'} \]
\[ \text{AUX NOM.ABSTR-afraid} \]
\[ 'Until nowadays there is nothing anymore to frighten this people.' [Pat Liway 012] \]

(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)  
\[ \text{Suga’ kəmo ino da gərambut nipon} \]
\[ \text{suga’ kəmo ino da gə-rambut nipon} \]
\[ \text{but if yonder PR AV-pull.out tooth} \]
\[ \text{da malu’ tu pasor, apon pədhos bəgko.} \]
\[ \text{da malu’ tu pasor apon pədhos bəgko} \]
\[ \text{PR want too because NEG.P ill also} \]
\[ 'But when he pulls out teeth, (people) like him (the doctor), because it does not hurt.' [Conversation koko1 105] \]

Similarly, in the elicited sentence (22a), apon negates a habit, a state, whereas nginga’ in (22b) negates a specific action.

(22)  
\[ \text{a. Apon i̇gbit rumo tindog no.} \]
\[ \text{apon i̇gbit rumo tindog ino} \]
\[ \text{NEG.P lift.UV 3S pole yonder} \]
\[ 'He cannot lift yonder pole.' (Implication: he has never been strong enough or: he has tried it but did not succeed.) \]

\[ \text{b. Nginga’ i̇gbit rumo tindog no.} \]
\[ \text{ninga’ i̇gbit rumo tindog ino} \]
\[ \text{NEG.1 lift.UV 3S pole yonder} \]
\[ 'He cannot lift yonder pole.’ (Implication: he may be strong but this particular pole is too heavy, or: he does not even try but knows just by looking at it that he will not be able to lift it.) \]
Sentence (23) is an example of the usual way to negating states, especially emotions situated in the _garawo_ ‘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_ _garawo_ rumo.
    jadi antang apon _pio_ _garawo_ 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_ _garawo_ rumo.
    jadi antang _ninga_’ _pio_ _garawo_ rumo
    so like NEG.1 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 (_ninga_’ is too contrastive and therefore bad, as in (24b).)

(24) a. _Pon_ _palla_’ _ikow_?
    apon _palla_’ _ikow
    NEG.P afraid 2S.N
    ‘Aren’t you afraid?’ [Conversation kaddayp144]

    b. *_Ninga_’ _palla_’ _ikow_?
    _ninga_’ _palla_’ _ikow
    NEG.1 afraid 2S.N
    ‘Aren’t you afraid?’

Sentence (25) illustrates the slightly contrastive sense of _ninga_’. 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.

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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 _monebang_ niun?
    jadi _ninga_’ akay meng-i-tabang niun
    so NEG.1 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]
Another difference between *(a)p*on and *(n)inga’* is that *(a)p*on 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 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 *pəŋka* rather than as *pon ka*: the vowel /o/ of *pon* being reduced to schwa, as in (26).

### 9.3.2.1. Contrastive / nominal negation with *pon ka*

The following sentence shows that double negation is possible in Begak. Double negation receives a positive meaning:
ADVERBIALS AND OTHER MODIFIERS 

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.

(29) a. *aku pɔŋka pon atow muli*, *aku atow, (..)*
    *I do not know (how) to go home, I do know.* [Payow Mas 040]

(30) *Aro key ko tota*,
    *Do not cry!* [lekpud gaud. 044]

(31) “*E, aro key gubor pa,* kɔmo Kalibambang,
    “*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-Incompletive 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 gɔnsɔ.*
    *Don’t you worry.* [Masi’ 096]

b. *Ina*, *aro mo maya*, *kɔmmi panow mɔŋindat.*
    *Mother, don’t you join us, we are going to look for clams.* [Masi’ 073]
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 kuman.
    tassam ino bay bellos batong kuman
    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 *paŋka*. 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 kalap 'get' has a recipient and patient; (iii) they can bear some inflectional or derivational morphology.

\[(35)\] mala’ ‘want, about to, so that’  
kalay ‘not want, so that not’  
atow ‘know, be able, (not) happen to’  
kalap/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 mala’ ‘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 kəng- that derives nouns from verbal stems. Mala’ ‘want’ has several functions: it can be used as an independent verb as in (36):
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 pulanuk.

boyo ino malu’ mangan pulanuk

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* mængannak Taip *malu* tun

ino baya’ mængannak Taip malu’ tun

yonder place wife Taip want really

*a-lːнов ngod purus tægai gayo no.*

a-lːнов ngod purus tægai 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.’

(Conversation kokol 210] [She bowed forward in the river with a very heavy sunhat that was attached to her head.)

(39) Na, ino *baya* ku tu *malu* tu nəbput asu.

na, ino baya’ ku tu malu’ tu nə-abput asu

PRT yonder place 1SG too want too COM-bite.UV dog

‘Well, this is when I too was about to be bitten by a dog.’ [Conversation dogs 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 kamo da tegay kito nong kito togbas
so if PR -i-tagay kito nong kito -u-tugbas
sii bakas into malu' sidu pon bagwipow butong.
sii bakas into malu' sidu upon bagw-o-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 sambayong malu' bigkay
-u-summu' nong Ali sambayong malu' -i-bagkay
-DPR-command.UV OBL Ali pray want -COM-give.UV
Tuhan mangannak nong rumo pio mangara'.
Tuhan mangannak nong rumo pio mangara'
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. 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 ka 'I'.

(42) Udi gulo tammil di gulo, kalay ku dan sapa'.
udi gulo tammil adi gulo kalay ku dan sapa'
there first cold over.there first not.want 3.S.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-a-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.
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
(...) 1.P.E.N/G DEP-put,UV one box PRT

kalay ɔɔmuok kulos-kulos,
kalay -ɔɔ-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 mɔŋatak panas,
jadi kakkab ton tujuan kakkab ton mɔŋ-atak panas
so cool.down TOP aim cool.down TOP AV-drop hot

kalay tiu’ pɔdhos suku ulun bay’a ɔɔlisang no.
kalay tiu’ pɔdhos suku ulun bay’a ɔɔ-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. *Ato* ‘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 *bə*-*atow* ‘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.

dā apon a-tow ku lābpo
-PR -NEG.P -NV-know.UV -1.S.G -more
'I don’t know anymore.’ [Conversationdogs 251]

(49) *Ikow* *[apos] *bay *[apos] *atow.
īkow bay a-tow
2.S.N -PRF -NV-know.UV
'You already know.’ [Mi-Suk1 031]

*Ato* may take a sentential complement; in that case it means ‘know that’ [Sentence]’ (see section 10.2.1.). *Ato* 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).

barong akay ulun di’ KK a-tow məg-allan layo
whomever -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’:

ino bay’a da pio-pio sawot gə*dino
yonder place -PR good-RED -arrive in.yonder.way

dā a-tow panow.
da a-tow panow
-PR -NV-know.UV -go
'This is when (he got) better until now; he can walk (again).’ [Conversationdogs 074]

nā apon a-tow -u-gussang
-PRT -NEG.P -NV-know.UV -DEP-sweat
'Well, (I) could not sweat (lit. I did not know how to sweat).’ [Conversationdogs 064]

*Ato* ‘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 godino panas ku ne kan,
sawot godino panas ku ne kan
arrive in.yonder.way hot IS.G this isn’t it?

atow bagawa
a-tow bag-a-waw
NV-know.NV 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. klap/alap ‘get, succeed’

The verbal forms klap ‘AV.NV-get’ and alap ‘NV-get.NV’ are stative verbs and have an Actor Voice equivalent mang-alap ‘get’. The AV-verb mang-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 bagarab karo k, mangalap karo k” kamo rumo.
gam kito duo bag-arab karo k mang-alap karo k kamo rumo
QM 1P.EN/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 klap ‘get’ and alap ‘get’ can function as an independent verb:

(55) Jadi pog duo dtow,
jadi pog duo dtow
so when two day

da klap miro masi bakas tunggal pat tassa’.
da k-o-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 klap 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:
ADVERBIALS AND OTHER MODIFIERS

(56) (...) dullu’.  pon  alap  ku  dullu’.
-u-dullu’  apon  a-lap  ku  -u-dullu’
-DEP-descend  NEG.P  NV-get.UV  LS.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  kəmni  ga-dagang  tilom,
jadi  ino  la  ko-lap  tu  kəmni  ga-dagang  tilom
so  yonder  PRT  AV.NV-get  too  I.P.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’
bali  ‘can’
sambay  ‘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 | Undergoer |
| (asp) | (neg) | aux | Actor | UV-DEP verb | Undergoer |

(59) a. Aku pon buli mangan bakas.
aku apon buli mangan bakas
1.S.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 1.S.N AV.eat wild.pig
'I cannot eat porc.'

c. Taring no sambilay nong (mo) mαllay.
taring ino sambilay nong mo m-α-lay
bamboo yonder must AUX 2.S.G DEP-boil.UV
'The bamboo (shoots) must be boiled in water (by you).’ [Notebook]

d. Sambilay nong (mo) mαllay taring no.
sambilay nong mo m-α-lay taring ino
must AUX 2.S.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 pənəh ‘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 burye gəliput, pon mil tan mo?
jadi da gabpi da b-uruy gə-liput apon mil tan mo
‘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
[aku məngaṭa’ oyang.]s
aku məng-ata’ oyang
1.S.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 sədən. 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 mənən.
aku sangan mənən
1.S.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 uļu no]o nong sogkut.
sob bpos -en-kimbo uļu 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 bəguni]o panow gulo kito
da bpos kito bo-gani panow gulo kito
PR after 1.P.L/N/G AV-harvest go first 1.P.L/N/G

gələppot kkan mənən di’ ləng.
gə-ləppot kkan mənən di’ ləng
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.
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]₁₉, 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 bənom bəgko,
gusur anu sambir bənom bəgko
tell whatever must true also
pon buli kito bəg-usur pon bənomor.
apon buli kito bəg-usur apon bənomor
NEG.P can 1.P LN/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 dəlay.
buli tu nong -mən-geud dəlay
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 mənan payow.
aku apon buli mənan payow
1.S.N NEG.P can AV.eat deer
‘I cannot eat deer (meat).’ [Foodprohibitions 001]

(70) Manuk no pon buli togay.
manuk no 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]
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 *sambay* 'must' behaves syntactically just like *buli* 'can'. 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.

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 *sambay* 'must'. Sentence (74) shows an actor-subject and (75) an undergoer-subject before the auxiliary:

(74) *Mɔŋɡkang sambay mɔŋɡingog tiru* tɔɡajo.  
*Mɔŋɡkang sambay mɔŋ-ɡingog tiru* tɔɡajo  
*child must AV-hear teach parent  
‘Children must listen to the teaching of (their) parents.’ [Mi-Suk1 521]

(75) *Tɔring no sambay nong mɔlaj.  
Tɔring ino sambay nong m-ɔ-laj  
*bamboo yonder must AUX DEP-boil.UV  
‘The bamboo (shoots) must be boiled in water.’ [Notebook]

Sentences (76) through (78) illustrate *sambay* 'must' with a sentential complement. The ordinary word order for reduced complements with an AV-verb is invariably

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5 *sambay* 'must' has several pronunciation variants, depending on the speaker: *sambay* (with schwa), *sambay* or *simbay*. Nevertheless, these different vowels are not the result of infixation as a different pronunciation does not change the meaning of *sambay* '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’ sambay
    malu’ aku m-aya’ suga’ sambay
    want 1.S.N DEP-follow but must

    [kabalos gulo aku]
    ka-balos gulo aku
    AV.NV-compensate first 1.S.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) Sambay [muli’ gulo ikow di’ balay.]
    sambay m-ul’ gulo ikow di’ balay
    must DEP-go.home first 2.S.N LOC house
    ‘You have to go home first.’ [Leiewon 005]

The verb of the complement of (78) is in the Completive Aspect:

(78) Minsan tittoy sambay [kinnan ino manuk no.]
    minsan tittoy sambay kinnan ino manuk ino
    although small 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 bəko! ‘of course!’ (literally ‘must also’). Sambir ‘must’ may expresses 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 sambay ‘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
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She (the nurse) said "your blood is good, all of you( r body) is good, but you must meet a doctor." [Conversationcorn 785]

After one night the fever (just) has to recur.' (Meant: no doubt about it.) [Conversationdogs 125]

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 nil ‘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’, samboy ‘must’ and sambir ‘must’ are ambiguous between a deontic and epistemic reading ‘need to’ versus ‘have to’, ‘be able to’ versus ‘may’.

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: *lēppap* ‘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 *lēppap* ‘immediately’, the word order is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th><em>kat</em> (CDM)</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Focus particle</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Undergoer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

This word order is typical for auxiliaries. Moreover, *apon kat*, *mannu kat* or *lēppap 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 *lēppap* cannot be checked as they only occur in one construction. Here are two examples with *mannu*:

(81) *Sob* alukka’anak *Pñgian,*
sob a-lukka’anak *Pñgian*
when NV-born child sultan’s.wife

mannu-mannu *kat* anak *Pñgian* ton tota’.
mannu-mannu *kat* anak *Pñgian* ton -u-tata’
very-RED CDM child sultan’s.wife TOP -DEF-cry

‘As soon as the Sultan’s Wife’s child was born, immediately it started to cry loudly.’

[Karut 027]

(82) *Sob* taği’ *Dëra’*, 

*sob taği’ *Dëra’*
when pregnant young.lady very CDM young.lady AV-crave

mannu *kat* *Dëra’* go-langu.
mannu *kat* *Dëra’* go-langu

‘When Young Lady was pregnant, she craved very much for special food.’

[Monay bio Dera’ 005]

*lēppap* never occurs without *kat* and as a consequence, the combination *lēppap kat* is often reduced to *pakat*, *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) *lēppap* *kat* boyo key *gôdino*,

*lēppap* *kat* boyo key *gôdino*
immediately CDM crocodile FOC in.yonder.way

soggow kasu’

-saggow kasu’

-DEF-catch.UV foot
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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)
    1s.N NEG.P (yet/more) AV.NV-get (yet/more)
    gədagang (dan/ləbpo) səkkol (dan).
    ga-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) məngəppom (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.1 yet 1s.N DEP-go.home
    ‘I’m not going home yet.’ [Conversation koko1 452]

(88) Ama’ mo pong mengan dan, pong kali’ 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.’ [Conversationselectingseed175]

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).
Bay turu’ pulu’ dan ssin niyo 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 kokol 141]

The adverb masang means ‘still’ or ‘again’:

Suga’ bera’ duktur pon dan laman

suga’ -i-bara’ duktur apon dan -om-luan

ngod x-ray masang.

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.’ [Conversation dogs 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:

Jadi malu’ masi monguyok, tambo masi suku

jadi malu’ masi mong-uyok tambo masi suku

so want still AV-request add still all

ayug-ayug rumo ne bagko, bakas ino.

ayug-ayug rumo ne bagko 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).
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(93) *Akay anak tun gam iro di?*

akay anak tun gam iro adi

‘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

‘That night I really slept.’ [Conversation dogs 274]

(95) *Rumo da mongabput tun nong anak ku ne.***

rumo da mong-abput tun nong anak ku ne

‘It (the dog) really bit my child badly.’ [Conversation dogs 571]

(96) *Sa’ tun miro multi’ sakko di’ Indon di kan.***

sa’ tun miro m-uli’ sakko di’ Indon adi kan

‘They had only just returned from Indonesia, isn’t it?’ [Conversation koko3 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 bagko dda’ rumo kluar.***

ganta’ da bahayo bagko dda’ rumo kluar

‘It was very dangerous, her blood came out.’ [Conversation corn 910]

(98) *Pog bag-ugas rumo ganta’ da pio paras.***

pog bag-ugas rumo ganta’ da pio paras

‘When she will develop (lit. wash) (the photos) they will look very nice!’

[Conversation harvest 027]

It rarer cases it can also modify a dynamic verb, as in (99):

(99) *Ulun rayat ganta’ da mongingog sapaya’ uni to-gajo.***

ulun rayat ganta’ da mong-ingog sapaya’ uni to-gajo

person citizen very PR AV-hear all speak INT-big

‘The citizens listened very well 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) kəmə有意思的'm 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) Muta̱p bəguru masi kito, subu gam ino?
         mutap ba-guru masi kito subu gam ino
         tomorrow AV-learn still 1P.L/N/G morning QM yonder
         'Are we still going to study tomorrow, it is in the morning isn’t it?’
         [Conversation dogs 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 LS.N
         'I’m going home now.’

(103) Bəg-arab gulo puka’ manguyok anan iro anak.
         bag-arab gulo puka’ mang-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) kəmə有意思的 ‘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 nnung.
         kambor apon nnung
         perhaps NEG.P here
         'He is perhaps not here.’ [Conversation corn 002]
ADVERBIALS AND OTHER MODIFIERS

(106) Suga' asar kəmmon pio tun nasib kəmni.
     suga’ asar kəmmon pio tun nasib kəmni
     but really just.now good real luck 1P.E.NG
     ‘But a while ago we really had very good luck.’ [Conversationtripo.LD 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 kokot 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’
     bə̃ko ‘also’
     (sijja’ ‘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’
     (ka)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.
    bag-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) Șrawo kat Gongan bio Tuttul.
    șr-sawo kat gongan bio tut tul
    -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 șəna’ no.
    mannu-mannu kat ulun pasod no m-atak șənino
    very-RED CDM person many yonder 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.
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 analyze *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:

\[
\text{(114) Jadi da } \text{ino }\text{koy naran anak Pəngian.}
\]
\[
\text{jadi da } \text{ino }\text{koy naran anak Pəngian.}
\]
\[
\text{so PR yonder FOC name child sultan’s wife}
\]
\[
\text{bio Sərutan ton Monay.}
\]
\[
\text{bio Sərutan ton monay}
\]
\[
\text{and Sultan TOP young man}
\]
\[
\text{‘So this is the name of the child of the Sultan’s Wife and the Sultan: Young Man.’}
\]
\[
\text{[Bowon Bura’ 018]}
\]

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.

\[
\text{(115) Dadi da }\text{ pon tu Masi’ ton gubor,}
\]
\[
\text{dadi da apon tu Masi’ ton gubor}
\]
\[
\text{so PR NEG.P too Masi’ TOP noisy}
\]
\[
\text{maya’ key məngindat.}
\]
\[
\text{m-a-ya’ key məng-pindat}
\]
\[
\text{DEP-follow FOC AV-clams}
\]
\[
\text{‘So Masi’ did not protest (lit. was not noisy), she joined (them) looking for clams.’}
\]
\[
\text{[Masi dolam 013]}
\]

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 is of the story. The focus marker *key* marks the clause as new information.

(116) Taqbuah rumu llung anak-anak, *ta*omusuk *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 Manali: 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 gedino,  
pog a-lap rumo bowon puti ino gedino  
when NV-get.UV 3S sparrow white yonder in.yonder.way  
lappap *kat* rumo *key* missa’ nong allom kurung.  
lappap *kat* rumo *key* missa’ nong allom kurung  
immediately CDM 3S FOC DEF-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!  
buat 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* *mangkob* *sapa*.
    *banay* *ton anan* *mang-sagkob* *sapa*
    ‘As for *banay* (‘bamboo water jar’), it is a place to store water.’ [Boyo bio Pelanuk 023]

(120) *Mangindat* *ton mangay* *kimo di’ pasang.
    *AV-clam* *TOP AV-take* *oyster LOC sea*
    ‘As for *mangindat* (‘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*.
    *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*
    *but time yonder 1s*N hit checking because*
    *aku ton pakay sdiwor bio baju antang Bisaya’ no 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) Māngkang ino sidom-sidom, Arji ton.
man-gkang ino sidom-sidom 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’, *bāgo* ‘also’, *ja* ‘merely’ and *sidtu* ‘merely’ are additive particles. Additive particles mark events, states or entities that are somehow additive to something else. 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).
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(126) a. Tiu’ rumo pədəs antang tu adi.
   tiu’ rumo pədəs antang tu adi
hit ill manner too over.there
‘He fell ill too like yonder (person).’ [Tuo Bab 067]

b. Dadi bay mənɔwənor ilun tu nɔng rumo.
   dadi bay mənɔ-ə-nor ilun tu nɔng rumo
so PRF AV-insult other people too OBL 3s
‘So the other people insulted him too.’ [Tuo Bab 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) Kɔmo antang ino pənguso rumo, pio tu bəgko.
   kɔmo 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.’ [InterviewHnmi’ 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 mənɔaug bakas, mənɔaug kərok.
   mannu key mənɔ-taug bakas mənɔ-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
The dog got big, it also came across a deer. [Payow Mas 012]

Bagko can mean ‘again’ and it often occurs in combination with bagku ‘again (lit. ‘new’). In (131), the first occurrence of bagko in the sense of ‘again’ occurs without other particles while the second occurrence is combined with bagku ‘new’.

(131) Jadi da tettab Tarus payow no, da månik
jadi da -i-tattab Tarus payow ino da månik
so PR -COM-stab.UV Terus deer yonder PR DEP-go.up

payow no bagko, tettab kat Tarus key bagku
payow ino bagko -u-tattab kat Terus key bagku 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 Teras 009]

In (132) bagko 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 bagko nong mallan balay?
ullo bagko 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’ drow a’ iro sidtu’ gadino gadino
turu’ drow a’ iro sidtu gadino gadino
seven day yes 3P merely in.yonder.way in.yonder.way

gadino nong allom ino.
gadino nong allom ino
in.yonder.way OBL inside yonder

For seven days they (wont) 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]

Sidju ‘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).
Modal particles

Modal particles are particles that express the attitude of the speaker. 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.
jadı kulös ino pa kulös 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 then 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):

(138) La, gštindut sija.
la gštindut sija
“Literally, that thing (lit. animal) was, is definitely broken.” [ConversatriontriboctoLD 183]
Jadi mmiduo la maya’ sawot tunong.

So the two of us just went (by bus) until here. [Conversation trip to LD 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.

Ngod ka aku katoka salahong asu.

Because I, for example, am afraid of dogs. [Conversation dogs 459]

Ka can occur as in emphasis marker in imperatives as in (140), where it is probably a loan word from Malay kah.

May ka gaud no” kamo rumo.

“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 bukan. Its function is to check whether the interlocutor agrees:

Mänggok nong allom kabbun mo kan, ninga’ buli.

‘As for working in your garden, right, that is impossible.’ [Conversation com 128]

The particle (k)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 k)toka is considered to be very halus ‘refined’: very polite and careful. See also example (139) above.

Ino pa toka antang Kurit ne.

[Conversation trip to LD 142]
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 (*ap*on and *n*ingga’) differ only slightly in meaning and use. *Apon* is neutral and *ingga’* 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-Dependendent.

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 Søutan, [nong matak satu].
   dadi ino key akkor Sarutan nong m-atak satu
   so yonder FOC plan Sultan AUX DEF-drop.UV one
   ‘So this was the Sultan’s plan: to abandon one (of his children).’ [Dayangpuliki 005]

(2) [Møgindat], ton [møgay kimo di’ pasang].
   møng-pindat ton møng-ay kimo di’ pasang
   AV-clam TOP AV-take oyster LOC sea
   ‘As for møgindat (‘looking for clams’) (it means) to take oysters at sea.’ [Masi’ 072]

Verbs of perception such as ttkan ‘see’, kingog ‘hear’ take a sentential complement. Psych verbs such as malu ‘want’, kalay ‘not want’, pølla ‘afraid’, atow ‘know’, gødøm ‘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 Pøg sawot tunong ‘When (we) arrived here’ belongs to the complement clause instead of to the matrix clause.

(3) Kingog ku [ikow pødøs].
    k-ingog ku ikow pødøs
    AV,NV-hear 1S.G 2S.N ill
    ‘I heard you (are/were) ill.’ [Mi-Suk1 153]

(4) Jadi pølla’ aku [[pøg sawot tunong].
    jadi pølla’ aku pøg sawot tunong
    so afraid 1S.N when arrive here

    kambor paut dalan no bio dali].
    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:
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 \(\text{p}\text{alla}' \ 'afraid', as in (6):

\[(6) \quad \text{Martin} \quad \text{palla}' \quad [\text{seggow} \quad \text{polis}.]_s\]
\[\text{Martin} \quad \text{palla}' \quad -i-saggow \quad \text{polis}\]
\[\text{Martin is afraid that he will be caught by the police.' [Notebook]}\]

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 \(\text{nakon} \ 'me'\) is identical to the actor-non-subject argument \(\text{ku} \ 'I'\) of the matrix clause, it need not be deleted or omitted.

\[(7) \quad \text{Jadi} \quad \text{likkad} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{rumo} \quad \text{ngod}\]
\[\text{jadi} \quad -i-\text{lkkad} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{rumo} \quad \text{ngod}\]
\[\text{so} \quad -\text{COM-let.go.UV} \quad 1s.G \quad 3s \quad \text{because}\]
\[\text{p}\text{alla}' \quad \text{aku} \quad [\text{nebput} \quad \text{rumo} \quad \text{nakon}.]_s\]
\[\text{p}\text{alla}' \quad \text{aku} \quad \text{ni-abput} \quad \text{rumo} \quad \text{nakon}\]
\[\text{afraid} \quad 1s.N \quad \text{COM-bite.UV} \quad 3s \quad 1s.A\]
\[\text{So I let it (the dog) go, because I was afraid it would bite me.' [Mi-Suk1 483]}\]

## 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 \(\text{ukat}\) \ '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, Leppit ‘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 Leppit]s
-i bara’ rumo naran rumo Leppit
-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 mənakot nong nakon [anak ari ku
many person AV-inform OBL 1s.A child youngest 1s.G
kusay gam liun],
kusay gam liun
man QM woman
’Many people ask me (whether) my youngest child is a boy or a girl.’ [Mi-Sak2 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 mənakal’ ina’ rumo “(...) aro mo panow həgədu”.
da məng-sala’ ina’ rumo (...) aro mo panow həg-ə-du’
PR AV-sala’ mother 3s (...) NEG.IMP 2s.G go AV-far
‘His mother forbade him “don’t you walk too far away!”’ [Mengera’kusur]

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 kamo Monay “nay ikow ton?”*, kamo

so QTM young.man who 2sN 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 *kamo* comes before the quoted material, while in (13) it follows it:

(12) *Dadi kamo rumo “kito ton tuso.”*

dadi kamo rumo kito ton tuso

so QTM 3s 1p.LN/G TOP difficult

‘So she said “we are in trouble”.’ [Dayangpukhi takes revenge 012]

(13) “Mawo ikow, malu’ akay mäng-gâ’era’ nakon.” kamo rumo.

mawo ikow malu’ akay mäng-gâ’era’ nakon kamo rumo
AV-marry 2sN want EXIST AV-look.after 1sA QTM 3s

‘‘(Father, please re-)marry so that there is (someone who) looks after me!” , she said.’

[Dayangpukhi takes revenge 006]

Although *kamo* 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, *kamo* 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 *kamo*, whereas ordinary verbal complements cannot precede the complement taking predicate. Moreover, they can be broken up by the predicate. In sentence (14) *kamo* breaks up the cited sentence on a constituent boundary. Ordinary verbal complements are never broken up by the predicate.

(14) *Jadi “ngod aku ton” kamo Masi’, “malu’ key

jadi ngod aku ton kamo Masi’ m-uli’ key
so because 1sN TOP QTM Masi’ DEP-go.home FOC

kamo da anu sa’ ku may nian.”

kamo da anu sa’ ku m-ay nian

if pr whatever SQ 1sG DEP-take.UV 2sA

‘So “because I”, said Masi’, “will go home, and after a while I will take you (there).’

[Masi’ dolam 030]

The complement of *kamo* 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):
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) ḵno.
(…) -u-tata’, m-ittat ppi’ ḵno
(…) -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 imitate the movement).’ [Notebook]

(17) Ḵno da panas
ḵno da panas
if PR hot
nong missa’ nong kasu’ kito ne. (movement) ḵno.
AUX DEP-put.UV OBL foot 1.P.L/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 ḵno 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 ḵno it can be followed by a genitive pronoun instead of by a nominative pronoun. Therefore ukat can be analysed as an uninfectable verb or a noun. Just like ḵno, it can break up reported speech, as in (18).

(18) Ino nong goni ukat lomud kuman.
inonong -u-gani ukat -u-lamud kuman
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)  *'Bay barasi pa pokok kalapa sawit no’ kamo ukat.*

bay barasi pa pokok kalapa sawit ino kamo 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 Kantung and company going to Kota Kinabalu. As _ukat_ does not have a possessor here, it is left unspecified whether she obtained the information from Kantung himself or from a third party.

(20)  *Iro Kantung ukat penow di’ KK.*

iro Kantung ukat -i-panow di’ KK
COL. Kantung hearsay -COM-go LOC Kota.Kinabalu

‘Kantung 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 n2dili’ rumo panas h2tu’rumo.*

apon n2-i-duli’ rumo panas h2tuan rumo
NEG.P UV.CAU.COM--COM-care 3s hot body 3s

ngod ka ukat rumo panas a-tiu’ dtow.
ngod ka ukat rumo panas a-lu’ 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]

Nevertheless, _ukat_ can best be described as a marker of indirect evidence. Unlike _kamo_, it may occur in ordinary simple clauses and need not mark an embedded clause or direct speech complement clause.

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1 The verb _n2dili’_ ‘care about something’ is a backformation based on the loan word _p2duli_ ‘care’ from Malay, affixed with Begak UV-completive causative morphology _n2-i_. Loan words starting with _p_ often form the basis of backformations because the /p/ sounds are apparently interpreted as the Begak causative morpheme _p_. The AV-form of Malay _p2duli_ is _m2ng2duli’_.

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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 sentences: 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 $k\text{mo}$. 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 $k\text{mo}$, or even consist of non-verbal material.

Another evidential marker is $\text{ukat}$, 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-Incompleteive 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  
---|---
$\text{tinam}$ | 'try'
$\text{akkor}$ | 'make plan, intend'
$\text{timpu}$ | 'make appointment'
$\text{liwag}$ | 'forget'
$\text{g\text{\textasciitilde}dm}$ | 'remember'

(23) verbal root | gloss  
---|---
$\text{maku}$ | 'bear'
$\text{tangka}$ | 'bear'
$\text{tubid}$ | 'afford, be physically able'
$\text{igbit}$ | 'lift up, afford'
$\text{s\text{"u}n}$ | 'like'
$\text{tus}$ | 'have time or occasion'
$\text{raman}$ | 'used to'
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) Kəmmi mərin mənnan kudor no bagku.
    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. Digalpi bay tərin ku
    digalpi bay -ən-tinam ku
    yesterday PRF -COM-TRY.UV 1S.G
    mənnan kudor no bagku.
    məng-tannan kudor ino bagku
    AV-install mouse.trap yonder new
‘Yesterday I tried to install the mousetrap again.’

b. Digalpi bay tərin ku
    digalpi bay -ən-tinam ku
    yesterday PRF -COM-TRY.UV 1S.G

---

2 Some of the verbs in (24), such as səmmi ‘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 m3ditop.
pog bpos ino -əm-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-Sak3A 285]

b. Pog bpos ino təminam kat rumo key məŋ-əditop.
pog bpos ino -əm-tinam kat rumo key məŋ-ə-dtop
when after yonder -DEP-try.UV CDM 3S FOC AV-shine
‘After that he tried to turn on (the light).’ [Mi-Sak3A 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 1.S.N DEP-laugh but bear 1.S.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 -əm-tinam ku
yesterday PRF -COM-try.UV 1.S.G

   tənnan kudor no bagku.
-tən-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 -əm-tinam ku
yesterday PRF -COM-try.UV 1.S.G

   məŋ-tənnan kudor no bagku.
məŋ-tən-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 m-allan 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 mängallan tung.
   m-akkor kat iro mäng-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) Bštoog kat anak no tota’.
   b-š-toog kat anak ino -lutata’
   MID-cease CDM child yonder -DEP-cry
   ‘The child stopped crying.’ [mengera’kusurp160]

The following sentences illustrate undergoer control. The controller is the goal of the matrix verb:

(32) Aku malu’ mąmmu’ niun mängallan kuy.
   aku malu’ mąng-šammu’ niun mangular kuy
   1.S.N want AV-command 2.S.A AV-make cake
   ‘I want to tell you to make cake.’ [Mi-Suk3B 151]

(33) Sela’ ku anak ku gšisang dì’ awan
   -i-sala’ ku anak ku gš-lisang dì’ awan
   -COM-forbid UV 1.S.G child 1.S.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]
Some verbs of influence are ordinary verbs in one sense and control verbs in another sense. Ḇg-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 ḇg-aus g̱m̱ng-go nong P̱lanuk.  
Liman ḇg-aus g̱m̱ng-go nong planuk  
Elephant AV-bring AV-REC-hide obl.  
Elephant invited Mousedeer to play hide and seek (lit. hide each other).’  
[Liman bio Pelanukp1]

(36) Ḵmo ṯg̱j̱o Monay ḇg-aus m̱g-an go nong Ḏra’.  
Ḵmo ṯg̱j̱o Monay ḇg-aus m̱g-an go Ḏra’  
Young Man’s parents said ‘invite/make Young Lady to eat (of the water melon)’.’  
[Rengngon 130]

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) Nu, neus rumo aku mag-ramay.  
Nu ni-aus rumo aku mag-ramay  
Well, he invited me to make a feast (lit. make a crowd).’  
[Rengngon 130]

Similarly in (38) the complement clause follows the verb-initial word order and contains an actor in the nominative. However, s̱mmu ‘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 Ḵdo, s̱mmu’ m̱g-an go ku di  
O ḵdo -i-s̱mmu’ mang-an go ku adi  
Excl. friend -COM-command,UV wife 1S.G  
Over there
More research is for a proper analysis of constructions with bgaus ‘bring, invite’ and smmu ‘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 b₂kassow naton [b₂guru uni B₂gak.]₃
    miro ne b₂-kassow naton b₂-guru uni B₂gak
    3P this AV-disturb 1P.LA 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 a-gbog 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 g-p-unong B-gak, bin’ B-arigas.
      dadi da g-p-unong B-gak -i-bunu’ B-arigas
      so PR AV-SF-finish B-gak -COM-kill.UV B-arigas
      ‘So Begak started to become extinct, killed by Berigas.’ [Berigas 027]

b.  Dadi, da g-p-unong B-gak ngod bin’ B-arigas.
      dadi da g-p-unong B-gak ngod -i-bunu’ B-arigas
      so PR AV-SF-finish B-gak because -COM-kill.UV B-arigas
      ‘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-?gkay ‘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-?ssob  ‘come’
      m-?ninik  ‘go up’
      b?-ary  ‘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)  Tarse  penow [m-angay sapow di],
      Tarse -i-panow m-ang-ay sapow adi
      Tarse -COM-go AV-take roof over.there
      ‘(Context: building a house) Tarse 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:

\[
\text{lappap kat sangoyan kubad di panow [magbag],}
\]

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’:

\[
\text{bilo miro sawot gabpi na, da maya’ [maginum basog].}
\]

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]

\[
\text{Komoro rumo ‘Maya’ ikow nong nakon [muli].}
\]

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 mänik mänawa ‘go up to propose for marriage’, b-uruy g2-liput ‘stand go around’ refers to the russay ritual where people stand in a circle, b-adung g2-təgik ‘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)  
\[(a) \quad \text{Nong mo manit gulo kulit buduk no}\]  
\[\text{AUX 2s.g dep-peek.uv first skin taro yonder}\]  
\[
[\text{p\text{-rimot}},]  
\text{p\text{-rimot}}  
\text{UV\text{-CAU}\text{-DEP-clean}}  
\text{‘First you peel the taro (k\text{\text{-}ladi}) skin clean.’}  
\text{[Mi-Suk5Ap128]}  
\]

\[(b) \quad \text{Nong mo manit gulo kulit buduk no}\]  
\[\text{AUX 2s.g dep-peek.uv first skin taro yonder clean}\]  
\[
\text{Intended: ‘First you peel the taro skin clean.’}  
\text{[Mi-Suk5Ap128]}  
\text{Literal meaning: ‘First you peel the taro skin, which is clean.’}  
\]

Similarly, (48b) is ungrammatical because the lower verb is intransitive:

(48)  
\[(a) \quad \text{Aro mo dogang kinnas}\]  
\[\text{FOC 2s.g dep-buy.uv side.dish UV\text{-CAU}\text{-DEP-big}}\]  
\[
\text{kalay p\text{-rasok}}  
\text{kalay p\text{-rasok}}  
\text{not.want UV\text{-CAU}\text{-DEP-waste}}  
\text{‘Don’t buy too much fish or vegetables, so that it won’t be wasted (lit. don’t buy fish make big).’}  
\text{[Notebook]}  
\]

\[(b) \quad \text{Aro mo dogang kinnas gajo}, \text{kalay p\text{-rasok}}\]  
\[\text{FOC 2s.g dep-buy.uv side.dish big not.want UV\text{-CAU}\text{-DEP-waste}}\]  
\[
\text{‘Don’t buy too much fish or vegetables, so that it won’t be wasted.’}  
\text{[Lit. don’t buy fish make big.]}  
\]

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)  
\[(\text{Niug bio s\text{\text{-}k\text{\text{-}kol}} bio bagkas}}\]  
\[\text{niug bio sakkol bio bagkas}\]  
\[\text{coconut and sugar and husked.rice}\]  
\[
\text{tebung ku inggos}  
\text{-i-tabung ku inggos -COM-add.in.water.uv 1s.g all -DEP\text{-DEP-together.uv}}  
\text{‘I added the coconut, sugar and husked rice all (mixed) together (at the same time).’}  
\text{[Mi-Suk5Bp75]}  
\]
The verb in the lower clause cannot appear in the Completive Aspect:

(50)  

a. [Bay_ _tittok ku buduk no], [n-tumok],
    bay-i-tattok ku buduk ino no-i-tumok
    'I cut the taro into small pieces.'

b. [Bay bigas ku], [p-rimot buduk no],
    bay b-8-ugas ku p-8-rimot buduk ino
    'I wash the taro clean.'

c. [Nong mo _tuttok], [ba-gko pa-tumok],
    nong mo-u-tattok bagko pa-tumok
    [sa’ g-meud],
    sa’-o-n-geud
    'For you to cut (it) into small pieces, and then to turn it into porridge.'

The following examples shows that the undergoer can come after the second verb as well:

(51)  

Pog bpos ino, [sa’ miro _tattok],
    pog bpos ino sa’ miro u-tattok
    when after yonder sq 3p -DEP-cut.small.UV

[p-tumok bowong ino],
    pa-tumok bowong ino
    UV.CAU.DEP-small onion yonder
    'After that they cut the onion small.' [Mi-Suk5Ap p129]

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-,gkay ‘give’

Purpose clauses with m-,gkay ‘give’ introduce a recipient, beneficiary or addressee for verbs that lack this argument:

(52) Digabpi ikow bag~yas pait, [m.,gkay namon.]s
digabpi ikow bag~e-aus pait m-0,gkay namon
‘Yesterday 25,N AV-COM-bring fish DEP,give,UV IP,E,A
‘Yesterday you brought me fish.’ [Mi-Suk3B 045]

(53) Aku malu’ m~u,ulis surat [nong ku paus suru di’]
ak mu,ulis surat nong ku p-aus suru di’
gkun Korea]s [m.,gkay ayug ku]o suga’ pon katus.
gkun Korea m-0,gkay ayug ku suga’a apon ka-tus village Korea DEP,give,UV friend 15,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) m~u,gkay ‘give’
m~u,ayo ‘pay’
m~u,guyok ‘request’
m~u,ukot ‘ask’
g,kuat ‘sell’
m~u,maru ‘say’
b,guusur ‘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 m-,gkay ‘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 g,da,gang ‘buy’ is a two-place verb.

(55) a. Rudi g,da,gang buk, m-,gkay (nong) Nasrun.
Rudi g-0,da,gang buk m-0,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 g,da,gang buk, m~u,gersgkay (nong) Nasrun.
Rudi g-0,da,gang buk meng-0,gkay (nong) Nasrun
Rudi AV-buy book AV,give (OBL) Nasrun
‘Rudi buys a book for Nasrun/to give it to Nasrun.’
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-Incompletive 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-Incompletive or in the UV-Dependent, just like in other infinite clauses. Sentence (56) illustrates the word order where the subject follows the adjective:

\[(56) \text{Pon} \text{ ka } \text{sannang} \ [\text{ikow m} \text{ngakay kad ilun}]. \]

\[\text{apon ka} \ \text{sannang} \ \text{ikow m} \text{ngakay kad ilun} \]

\[\text{NEG.P} \ \text{PREF} \ \text{easy} \ 2 \\text{N} \ \text{AV-use} \ \text{card otherpeople} \]

‘You cannot easily use other people’s (id) card.’ [Conversation.com 516]

The subject-initial word order is illustrated in the following sentences. In (57) pagon ‘strong’ modifies the verb and in (58) siat ‘fast’ modifies the verb.
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) *marangkang satu bay (a)papor [ga-runi]s
    marangkang satu bay (a)papor ga-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 m-ssob tunong] ngod
    a-ligot aku m-ssob tunong ngod
    NV-late 1S.N DEP-come here because
    b-tisa’ gulo [aku m-missi’ pait]s
    b-tisa’ gulo aku m-missi’ 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 m-ssim]s
    a-kkak rumo m-ssim
    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 b-gapuy], ngod punong ges.
digabpi a-ligot aku b-ag-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 b-gapuy], ngod punong ges.
digabpi a-ligot aku b-ag-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. *Sgboy’a’ [kɔmmi kali’ di’ balay,].
sagboy’a’ kɔmmi k-ulí’ di’ balay
together 1P.E.N/G AV.NV-go.home LOC house
‘We came home together.’

b. Sgboy’a’ [kɔmmi muli’ di’ balay,].
sagboy’a’ kɔmmi m-ulí’ 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-Completable
despite the presence of the adjective adtu’ ‘far’:

(64) Da adtu’ [tilud miro,] 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 ngɔbuay ‘make long’ is the main verb of the sentence,
while the modified clause forms the complement of ngɔbuay ‘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.
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:
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.) kosa’ ikow k\(\theta\)ok
nu pun ne ikow k\(\theta\)-kossa’ ikow k\(\theta\)ok
what too this 2s.N NOM-since 2s.N bird

pon n\(\theta\)era’ ku soyu?
apon n\(\theta\)-era’ ku -u-sayu
NEG.P COM-look.after.UV 1SG -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.) [Bowan 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 g\(\dot{\alpha}\)g\(\dot{\alpha}\)ruk ‘share a plate’ in (70) and the verb g\(\dot{\alpha}\)l\(\dot{\alpha}\)put ‘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) *D\(\dot{\alpha}\)ra’ apon soyu m\(\dot{\alpha}\)nigal paray.
D\(\dot{\alpha}\)ra’ apon -u-sayu m\(\dot{\alpha}\)-n-tugal paray
young.lady NEG.P -DEP-good AV--COM-plant paddy
‘Young Lady did not carefully plant paddy.’

(ii) D\(\dot{\alpha}\)ra’ apon soyu m\(\dot{\alpha}\)nigal paray.
D\(\dot{\alpha}\)ra’ apon -u-sayu m\(\dot{\alpha}\)-n-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 \textit{gedtan} ‘sit side by side’ in (72) occurs after the clause it modifies:

(70) \textit{Buli gagə-ruk mangan, ulun da sawo.} \\
buli gagə-ruk mangan ulun da -ar-sawo \\
‘(Now they) can eat sharing a plate, (these) people are married.’ \textit{(Context: wedding ceremony of eating from the same plate.)} [geteratab 086]

(71) \textit{Gəliput məsaday nong balay, mba’ bayə’ jam mayu?} \\
Gə-liput mən-sadəay nong balay mba’ bayə’ jam mayu \\
‘(You) walked around in the house shining with a torch light ‘where is your clock!’’ \textit{(Context: grandmother was looking for the clock in the middle of the night.)} [Conversationharvest 085]

(72) \textit{Nong pəsadəng gedtan no tu.} \\
nong pə-sadəng gedtan no tu \\
‘They have to be seated side by side.’ \textit{(geteratab 101) (Context: wedding ceremony.)}

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 causes containing the verb \textit{gəkgəy} ‘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 monoclusal.
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.

\[
(73) \quad \text{a. Pap kat rumo rokop tu rokop} \\
\quad \text{lapappap kat rumo -u-rkop tu -u-rkop} \\
\quad \text{immediately CDM 3s -DEP-catch.UV too -DEP-catch.UV} \\
\quad \text{ulun [b\text{\textgreek{a}}-asi alud no,]$_s$ munu'.} \\
\quad \text{ulun b\text{\textgreek{a}}-asi alud ino munu'} \\
\quad \text{person AV-content boat yonder DEP-kill.UV} \\
\quad \text{‘Immediately he caught and caught the people who were filling the boat (with gold) and killed them.’ [Payow Mas 032]}
\]

\[
(74) \quad \text{b. *pap kat rumo rokop tu rokop} \\
\quad \text{lapappap kat rumo -u-rkop tu -u-rkop} \\
\quad \text{immediately CDM 3s -DEP-catch.UV too -DEP-catch.UV} \\
\quad \text{ulun [nissi alud no,]$_s$ munu'.} \\
\quad \text{ulun ni-sisi alud ino munu'} \\
\quad \text{person COM-content.UV boat yonder DEP-kill.UV} \\
\quad \text{# ‘Immediately he caught and caught the people who had been filled by the boat and killed them.’ Not good for: ‘Immediately he caught and caught the people who were filling the boat (with gold) and killed them.’}
\]

Similarly, the verb \text{gal\textgreek{g}kut} ‘swallowed’ in (74) is in the AV because the gap of the relative clause is the actor:

\[
(74) \quad \text{Mengan pait [gal\textgreek{g}kut nong bano rumo ne,]$_s$} \\
\quad \text{-i-mangan pait ga-\textgreek{g}kut nong bano rumo ne} \\
\quad \text{-COM-AV.eat fish AV--COM-swallow OBL husband 3s this} \\
\quad \text{‘(They) ate the fish that had swallowed her husband.’ [Tudow 116]}
\]
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 kabad no mądgay npon [bellan ru mo],
akay tu key kabad ino mąd-ay npon -i-ballan ru mo
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, alspi paray [titu kito ne],
pog -i-tutu a-lap a paray -i-tutu kito ne
when -COM-pound.UV NV-flatten paddy -COM-pound.UV 1P LN/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. Alspi paray [mntu kito ne (...)],
alap a paray mäng-tu kito ne
NV-flatten paddy AV-pound 1P LN/G this
# 'The rice that is pounding us is flattened.' Or if there is a break between paray and mntu: 'The rice is flat, (come on) let's pound it.'
Not good for: 'The rice we are pounding is flattened.'

If the gap of a relative clause 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 kaçe buk alun [nong ku sowo],
aku bay ka-tè buk alun 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.
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.

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 *pala*tik ‘plastic bag’ and a generic noun *baya* ‘place’. Sentence (79b) shows that the same sentence is grammatical if only the head noun *pala*tik ‘plastic bag’ is present, but this is most probably a possessor construction with two nouns *pala*tik *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 nɔriwok* rumo kulos-kulos
   suga’ bay na--i-suok rumo kulos-kulos
   but PRF UV,CAU,COM--COM-enter 3S animal-RED

   *nɔng allom* pala*tik bya’ kattung no.
   *nɔng allom* pala*tik bya’ 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 nɔriwok* rumo kulos-kulos
   suga’ bay na--i-suok rumo kulos-kulos
   but PRF UV,CAU,COM--COM-enter 3S animal-RED

   *nɔng allom* pala*tik kattung no.
   *nɔng allom* pala*tik kattung ino
   OBL inside plastic frog yonder
   #’But he has already inserted insects into the plastic bag of the frog.’
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 baga llun,],
apon sarag ku ino anan ku bag-a-llun
NEG P count.on,UV 1.S.G yonder place 1.S.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 nebyut asu,],
dalan gayo bya` ku ni-abput asu
road big place 1.S.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. 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` `place` is the more neutral word for `place`. Sentence (82) contains a relative clause of an indirect object with the head noun `llun` `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`.

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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.
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 bagaus ikow gaud [gittan mo bagalud]i.
na bag-aus ikow gaud gittan mo bag-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 Sarutan ton, ino ja' gkot rumo, bogamad
dadi Sarutan ton ino ja' gkot rumo bog-amad
so Sultan top yonder merely work 3S AV-sharpen

denop [gittan rumo mang-saditi] tway Pangian,
denop gittan rumo mang-saditi tay Pangian
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 m-uli’].
    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 642]

(88) Na, nu ngod, [waktu ku bagami’; sawot tikung-krow].
    na nu ngod waktu ku bagami’ sawot tikung-krow
    PR what because time 1S.G AV-baby.sit arrive bird.without.tail
    ‘Well, when I was baby sitting the Tikung-kerow bird arrived.’ [Renggon 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’, kamo, ‘akay
    gam ino akay abur ku kamo akay
    QM yonder EXIST companion 1S.G QTM EXIST

    [mang-tabang nakon bag-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:
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:

‘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:

‘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.
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 məng̊mumu’ niun m̥ng̊g̊erra’ ulang!?
   nay məng̊mumu’ niun m̥ng̊g̊erra’ ulang
   who AV-command 2.S.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 2.S.G -DEP-point,UV over.there
   ‘Well, what are you pointing at over there?’ [Bowon Bura’ 189]

(96) Nu liwat mo di’ Dəgon?
   nu -i-luat mo di’ Dəgon
   what -COM-sell,UV 2.S.G LOC Dengan
   ‘What did you sell in Dengan?’

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 ɡliwat ikow di’ Dəgon?
   nu ɡli-lat ikow di’ Dəgon
   what AV-COM-sell 2.S.N LOC Dengan
   ‘What did you sell in Dengan?’

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 pɔɔtɔs
     ai’ ku pɔɔtɔs
     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 mɔigikul niun?
     nay mɔŋ-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 mɔŋ-takow?
       mba’ baya’ mo mangan mba’ baya’ mo mɔŋ-takow
       where place 2S.G AV.eat where place 2S.G AV-steal
       ‘Where (lit. which place) do you eat, where do you steal?’
       [Dayangpulkit takes revenge 040]

(101)  ‘Mba’ baya’ mo nehput 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)?’ [Conversation.dogs398]
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 məŋgayo bil ino?*
    *nay anan mo məŋ-ayo bil ino?*
    *'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 məŋgallan no?*
    *nu gittan rumo məŋ-g-allan ino*
    *'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 məŋgayo bil buju no?'*
    *nu gittan mo məŋ-gay-o bil buju ino*
    *'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 məli?*
    *ullo ikow apon kəssu m-əli’*
    *why 2S.N NEG.P soon DEP-go.home*
    *'Why do you not go home soon?' [Dayangpukti 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 indigimous 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)  
\[ \text{Piro } \text{ragko } \text{ano?} \]
\[ \text{piro } \text{ragko } \text{ano} \]
\[ \text{how many price that} \]
\[ \text{‘How much does it cost?’} \]  [Mi-Sad 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)  
\[ \text{Ino } \text{rumo } \text{kakakka’ nakon: ulun } \text{ino.} \]
\[ \text{ino } \text{rumo } \text{ka-kukka’ nakon ulun ino} \]
\[ \text{yonder 3S AV-NN-recovered 1S.A person yonder} \]
\[ \text{‘This is the one who healed me: this person.’} \]  [Mungung Kebasan 167]

The next two sentences contain a cleft of an undergoer with a verb in the UV:

(109)  
\[ \text{Aku } \text{tuso } \text{sabob ino } \text{rumo} \]
\[ \text{aku tuso sabob ino rumo} \]
\[ \text{1S.N difficult because yonder 3S} \]
\[ [\text{simmu’ m seqannak ku marab}: atay b sissing.} \]
\[ \text{-i-sqannu’ seqannak ku m-arab atay b sissing} \]
\[ \text{-COM-command.UV wife 1S.G DEP-search.UV liver squirrel} \]
\[ \text{‘I am in trouble because this is what my wife told me to look for: the liver of a} \]
\[ \text{squirrel.’} \]  [Context: his wife is pregnant and craves for special food]  [Bowon Bura’ 153]

(110)  
\[ \text{Ano } \text{[bigkay nakon]: tissing tiud.} \]
\[ \text{ano } \text{-i-biggay nakon tissing tiud} \]
\[ \text{that -COM-give.UV 1S.A ring coconut.shell} \]
\[ \text{‘This is what (they) gave me, a coconut shell ring.’} \]  [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 ga-dagang rangkop rumo ne.
    jadi ino gittan rumo ga-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 bay’a
    pog turug monay ino bay’a
    when sleep young.man yonder place

    runna’ kat napi bagku anan rumo.
    -u-ronna’ kat napi bagku anan rumo
    -OP-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 bay’a da parsayo miro la.
    ino bay’a da parsayo 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.
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.’ [Dayangpuki takes revenge059]

(116) [Sob buay miro s rawo], g din o,

[sob buay miro -ar-sawo g din o
when long 3p -REC-marry in.yonder.way

’tubpu’ kat akkor Tuttul malu’ m ang-allan alud.
-u-tqepu’ kat akkor tutul malu’ m ang-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]

Këmo ‘if’ is homophonous with the topic introducer këmo ‘as for X’ and with the quote marker këmo.

(117) ‘[Këmo da punong alud no]

[këmo da p-unong alud ino
if PR SF-finish boat yonder

kito da kagom” këmo Kalibambang.

kito da kagom këmo kalibambang
1P,1NG 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 këmo madtan p-rityav nong]

[dadi këmo m-adtan p-rityav nong
so if DEP-cheep.only.once small.bird OBL.

konan no], 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 bilo ‘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,un 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) [Bilo bugkas tung ino] mata’ miro

bilo bugkas tung ino m-m-ata’ miro
when mid-opened tub yonder dep-look,un 3p

da bay’a miro ino da akay.
da bay’a 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’
god (ka) ‘because’
mansan ‘although’
sab ‘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’ kamo ina’ Assa’ ‘panow koy, anak, mang-sawo,
o kamo ina’ Assa’ panow koy anak mang-sawo
excl qtm mother assa’ go poc child av-marry
suga’ aro mang-sawo kamo ulun g-runi ddat.”
suga’ aro mang-sawo kamo ulun gruny 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 1.P LS/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 sanggan ngod aku malu’ mangan.
-i-tapuk ku sa-sanggan ngod aku malu’ mangan
-COM-stay.behind.UV 1.S.G one-basin because 1.S.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 dalan no
minsan akay ceking nong dalan 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 b’tuan rumo syukur.
lati suran ano minsan lumu b’tuan 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 saba’ ‘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 saba’ 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.
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.  

The conjunction *supaya* ‘so that’ sometimes occurs, pronounced as *supayo*, expressing purpose or goal, but it does not occur in relatively ‘pure’ Begak.

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.

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 *kamo* 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 *məqkay* ‘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.
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.: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-verbal slot</th>
<th>verbal slot</th>
<th>Actor slot</th>
<th>Undergoer slot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor: Nom</td>
<td>AV-verb</td>
<td>Actor: Nom</td>
<td>Undergoer: Acc/Obl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer: Nom</td>
<td>UV-verb</td>
<td>Actor: Gen</td>
<td>Undergoer: Obl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Undergoer: Acc
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
    ‘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 background information, is subject-initial and contains an AV-verb bəkaun̂g ‘collect and burn trees and branches after the first burning of newly cleared land’:

(2) Akay Pəŋəlîmo. Pəŋəlîmo bəkaun̂g
    akay pəŋəlîmo pəŋəlîmo bə-kəun̂g
    ‘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
    ‘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 Pəlanuk 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) Terus penow mangay sapow di.
    Terus -i-panow mong-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 atgbuk kəmmi ano, anu bangku’ no.
    jadi bay a-tgbuk kəmmi ano anu bangku’ ino
    ‘So we had already come across this, whatever it is called, this chair.’
    [Conversation triptoLD 019]

(6) Bay kuli’ Semerayang tunong.
    bay k-uli’ Semerayang tunong
    PRF AV NV go home Semerayang here
    ‘(But) Semerayang had already gone home here.’ [Conversation triptoLD 021]

(7) Jadi dalud kəmmi.
    jadi dalud kəmmi
    so wait 1 P E N G
    ‘So we waited.’ [Conversation triptoLD 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 manginum ‘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.
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 bagarab (nong) niun
   Lina bag-arab (nong) niun
   Lina AV-look.for (OBL) 2S,A
   ‘Lina is looking for you (Acc/Obl).’

b. (...)bagarab Lina (nong) niun (...)
   bag-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.
or proposal (12), in other words, an imperative in the second, first singular, or first plural inclusive person.

(10)  \[ \text{Kamo da tidog dtow, } bəg-apuy ikow kkan.} \]
\[ \text{When it is noon (lit. high sun), you cook rice!} \]  [Tutul bo GonganP1]

(11)  \[ \text{Ngata’ aku nong sapa’, kambor bay kagok.} \]
\[ \text{I’m having a look at the water, perhaps it’s boiling already.} \]  [Conversationdogs 382]

(12)  \[ \text{Suga’ mənik kito gulo mangan.} \]
\[ \text{‘But (let)’s go up (to the hut) first to eat.’} \]  [Conversationselecingseed 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.  \[ \text{Paray no bay geni ku.} \]
\[ \text{I have just harvested the rice.’} \]

b.  \[ \text{Bay geni ku paray no.} \]
\[ \text{I have just harvested the rice.’} \]

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)  \[ \text{Balay no bay tengob, } balay gku’.} \]
\[ \text{That house was already closed, it was a house where someone had passed away.’} \]  [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)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Anak } & \text{ ku } \text{ toka } \text{ lepas } \text{ nebput } \text{ asu}(...) . \\
\text{anak } & \text{ ku } \text{ toka } \text{-i-lapas } \text{ ni-abput } \text{ asu} \\
\text{child} & \text{ 1s.G } \text{ PRT } \text{-COM-pass.UV} \text{ COM-bite.UV} \text{ dog} \\
\text{‘My child, for instance, was once bitten by a dog (...)’} & \text{[Conversationdogs 563]} 
\end{align*}

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)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Tittoy } & \text{ kinnan } \text{ ku , } \text{ gəmuad.} \\
\text{tittoy } & \text{ kinnan } \text{ ku } \text{-i-gm-ad} \\
\text{small } & \text{ COM.eat.UV} \text{ 1S.G. } \text{-DEP-vomit} \\
\text{‘I had eaten a little bit, I vomited.’} & \text{[Conversationdogs 104]} 
\end{align*}

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)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Iro } & \text{ Palay } \text{ na-lepas.} \\
\text{iro } & \text{ Palay } \text{-i-lapas} \\
\text{COL.} & \text{ Pelai } \text{ UV.CAU.COM-COM-pass.by} \\
\text{‘Pelai and his family were allowed to pass.’} & \text{[Conversationcorn 558]} 
\end{align*}

(18)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Pog } & \text{ sawot } \text{ anan } \text{ kəmni } \text{ simmu'} \text{ bərandong.} \\
\text{pog } & \text{ sawot } \text{ anan } \text{kəmni } \text{-i-simmu'} \text{ bə-randong} \\
\text{when } & \text{ arrive } \text{ place } \text{ F.E.N/G } \text{-COM-command.UV} \text{ AV-stop} \\
\text{‘When (the police) arrived at our place, (we) were told to stop.’} & \text{[Conversationcorn 559]} 
\end{align*}

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)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Ikow } & \text{ gam } \text{ lagkat } \text{ pait } \text{ no}(...)! \\
\text{ikow } & \text{ gam } \text{-i-lagkat} \text{ pait } \text{ ino} \\
\text{2s.N } & \text{ QM } \text{-COM-swallow.UV} \text{ fish yonder} \\
\text{‘So you were swallowed by the fish (..)!’} & \text{[Tudow 096]} 
\end{align*}
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 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’.

\[
(20) \quad \text{Panow} \quad \text{kat} \quad \text{kɔɔmni} \quad \text{di’} \quad \text{bas.}
\]

\[
\text{panow} \quad \text{kat} \quad \text{kɔɔmni} \quad \text{di’} \quad \text{bas}
\]

\[
\text{go} \quad \text{CDM} \quad \text{I.P.E.N/G} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{bus}
\]

\[
\text{Pog} \quad \text{sawot} \quad \text{kɔɔmni} \quad \text{ddi’} \quad \text{bay} \quad \text{lagbi’}.
\]

\[
\text{pog} \quad \text{sawot} \quad \text{kɔɔmni} \quad \text{ddi’} \quad \text{bay} \quad \text{lagbi’}
\]

\[
\text{when} \quad \text{arrive} \quad \text{I.P.E.N/G} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{PRF} \quad \text{full}
\]

‘We went to the bus, when we arrived there it was already full.’

[Conversation kokol 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:

\[
(21) \quad \text{a. } \text{“Aku} \quad \text{da biag!} \quad \text{aku} \quad \text{da biag!” kamo Sɔɔrutan.}
\]

\[
\text{aku} \quad \text{da biag} \quad \text{aku} \quad \text{da biag} \quad \text{kamo Sɔɔrutan}
\]

\[
1.S.N \quad \text{PR} \quad \text{full.of.food} \quad 1.S.N \quad \text{PR} \quad \text{full.of.food} \quad \text{QTM} \quad \text{Sultan}
\]

‘I am full! I am full’ said the Sultan.’ [Dayangpuklip55]

\[
\text{b. } \text{Da biag} \quad \text{key suku ayug rumo, (..)}
\]

\[
\text{da biag} \quad \text{key suku ayug rumo}
\]

\[
\text{PR} \quad \text{full.of.food} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{3S}
\]

‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order</th>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Pragmatic function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb-initial:</td>
<td>AV: marked</td>
<td>None: unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb-Actor-Undergoer</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thematic continuity (if embedded in a context)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imperative (if not embedded in a context)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UV: unmarked</td>
<td>Thematic continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject-initial:</td>
<td>AV: unmarked</td>
<td>None: unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject-Verb-Object</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UV: marked</td>
<td>Background / state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contrast/contrastive topic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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, know, 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).

(22)  

\begin{verbatim}
(22)  Nu nepuy Neneng?
nu ni-apuy Neneng
what COM-cook.Nu Neneng
‘What did Neneng cook?’
\end{verbatim}

Hypothetical answers are:

---

1 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 bəqepuy lisi manuk.
rumo bəq-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. Bəqepuy rumo lisi manuk.
bəq–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, ṭərhəkik '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 mnəŋikul nong ai’ mo?
nay mnəŋ–i-ukul nong ai’ mo
who AV–COM-beat OBL younger.sibling 2s.g
'Who beat your younger sibling?'

Hypothetical answers are:
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.
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The question-and-answer pairs in (26) differ 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 newsworthyness 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 māngellan bangku’ no?  
nay māng-i-allan bangku’ ino  
‘Who made that chair?’ [Mi-Suk2 116]  

(28)  
Bangku’ no bellan ku gərənay.  
bangku’ ino -i-ballan ku gərənay  
‘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 preferentially 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme 2 Tail-head linkage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subordinate clause</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>step 1: UV-Completive Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>step 2: UV-Completive Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>step 3: UV-Completive Aspect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentence (30) is the first step in the procedural text about how to make pickled meat or fish:

(29) *Mulay-mulay rumo kito mangurad*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ssi bakas no tumok-tumok.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

‘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)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jadi kamo da tittok kito,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jadi kamo da -i-tumok kito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so if PR -COM-cut.to.pieces.UV 1P.1,N/G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘So after we have cut (it) to pieces,’

*(Tail)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nong kito togay ssi bakas no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nong kito -u-tagay ssi bakas ino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX 1P.1,N/G -DEP-salt.UV content wild.pig yonder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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)**  
\begin{verbatim}
Jadi kìmo da tegay kito,
jadi kìmo da i-tagay kito
so if PR -COM-salt.UV  I.P.1.N/G
'So after we have salted (it),'
\end{verbatim}

**(Tail)**  
\begin{verbatim}
nong kito togbas ssi bakas ino,
nong kito -u-tagbas ssi bakas ino
AUX 1.P.1.N/G -DEF-drain.UV content wild.pig yonder
'we drain the wild pig meat,'
\end{verbatim}

**Tail**  
\begin{verbatim}
malu' sidu pon bagšpow butong.
malu' sidu apon bagšp-hotow butong
want merely NEG.P AV-smell rotten
'so that it does not smell rotten.' [Timba' 003]
\end{verbatim}

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Relative topicality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active/Direct</td>
<td>Agent &gt; Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverse</td>
<td>Agent &lt; Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Agent &lt;&lt; Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antipassive</td>
<td>Agent &gt;&gt; Patient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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 then 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 minutes, one folk story of 50 minutes and a procedural text/explanation of 40 minutes. 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 \textit{kat} (see section 9.6.1.1.). These typical verb-initial clauses followed by the core development marker \textit{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 \textit{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 costumes, for instance, a speaker did not explain about Begak marriage costumes 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 \textit{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 \textit{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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Conversation</th>
<th>Narrative</th>
<th>Procedural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>196 (51%)</td>
<td>96 (34%)</td>
<td>121 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV</td>
<td>185 (49%)</td>
<td>189 (66%)</td>
<td>280 (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>381 (100%)</td>
<td>285 (100%)</td>
<td>401 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ($X^2 = 20.1704, p<0.001$, all $p$-values with Bonferroni adjustment) and from Procedural text ($X^2 = 35.7885, p < 0.001$). Procedural text and Narrative text did not differ from each other ($X^2 = 0.7935, p > 0.1$).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 godino,
    pog a-lap rumo bowon puti’ ino godino
when NV-get.UV 3s sparrow white yonder in.yonder.way

lappap kat rumo key missa’ nong allom kurung,
lappap kat rumo key m-issa’ nong allom kurung
immediately CDM 3s FOC DEP-put.UV OBL inside cage

lamera’ bowon ano maus multi’.
-lm-era’ bowon ano m-aus m-ul’
-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 ana’ rumo rumo kəlap bowon.
rumo bio ana’ 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 mangallan panggung anan mangan,
da kubad da məŋ-allan panggung anan məŋan
PR rest PR AV-make platform place AV.eat
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.

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 lobar putti no, pat sila’, nong
nong -u-labak putti ino pat sila’ nong
AUX -DEP-put.UV banana yonder four CLGEN AUX

makos putti no put sila’, sa’ lobar.
m-ukos putti ino pat sila’ sa’ -u-labak
DEP-cut.UV banana yonder four CLGEN 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word order</th>
<th>Subject- initial</th>
<th>Verb- initial</th>
<th>no subject</th>
<th>auxiliary construction</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>61 (31%)</td>
<td>25 (13%)</td>
<td>110 (56%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>196 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV</td>
<td>29 (16%)</td>
<td>91 (49%)</td>
<td>47 (25%)</td>
<td>18 (10%)</td>
<td>185 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90 (24%)</td>
<td>116 (30%)</td>
<td>157 (41%)</td>
<td>18 (5%)</td>
<td>381 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. ($X^2 = 42.6504, p<0.001$ with Bonferroni adjustment). Sentences without subject or with auxiliary construction were left out of consideration.

Table 5 Word order in Narrative text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word order</th>
<th>Subject- initial</th>
<th>Verb- initial</th>
<th>no subject</th>
<th>auxiliary construction</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>32 (33%)</td>
<td>26 (27%)</td>
<td>38 (40%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>96 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV</td>
<td>20 (11%)</td>
<td>101 (53%)</td>
<td>33 (17%)</td>
<td>35 (19%)</td>
<td>189 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52 (18%)</td>
<td>127 (45%)</td>
<td>71 (25%)</td>
<td>35 (12%)</td>
<td>285 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ($X^2 = 26.5622, p<0.001$ with Bonferroni adjustment). Sentences without subject or with auxiliary construction were left out of consideration.

Table 6 Word order in Procedural text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word order</th>
<th>Subject- initial</th>
<th>Verb- initial</th>
<th>no subject</th>
<th>auxiliary construction</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>37 (31%)</td>
<td>15 (12%)</td>
<td>69 (57%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>121 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV</td>
<td>16 (6%)</td>
<td>49 (17%)</td>
<td>52 (19%)</td>
<td>163 (58%)</td>
<td>280 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52 (13%)</td>
<td>63 (16%)</td>
<td>121 (30%)</td>
<td>163 (41%)</td>
<td>401 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \( (X^2 = 23.4073, \ p < 0.001 \text{ with Bonferroni adjustment}) \). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RD</th>
<th>Actor AV</th>
<th>Undergoer AV</th>
<th>Actor UV</th>
<th>Undergoer UV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-referential: left out of consideration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>138 (71%)</td>
<td>82 (45%)</td>
<td>101 (58%)</td>
<td>87 (47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;3</td>
<td>56 (29%)</td>
<td>99 (55%)</td>
<td>73 (42%)</td>
<td>98 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>196=2=194</td>
<td>196=15=181</td>
<td>185-11=174</td>
<td>185 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RD</th>
<th>Actor AV</th>
<th>Undergoer AV</th>
<th>Actor UV</th>
<th>Undergoer UV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-referential: left out of consideration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>88 (93%)</td>
<td>35 (42%)</td>
<td>156 (84%)</td>
<td>94 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;3</td>
<td>7 (7%)</td>
<td>49 (58%)</td>
<td>30 (16%)</td>
<td>95 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>96-1=95</td>
<td>96-12=84</td>
<td>189-3=186</td>
<td>189 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RD</th>
<th>Actor AV</th>
<th>Undergoer AV</th>
<th>Actor UV</th>
<th>Undergoer UV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-referential: left out of consideration</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>71 (59%)</td>
<td>44 (60%)</td>
<td>90 (52%)</td>
<td>165 (59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;3</td>
<td>29 (41%)</td>
<td>53 (40%)</td>
<td>83 (48%)</td>
<td>115 (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>121-21=100</td>
<td>97-24=73</td>
<td>280-107=173</td>
<td>280 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type of NP</th>
<th>Actor AV</th>
<th>Undergoer AV</th>
<th>Actor UV</th>
<th>Undergoer UV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero (non-referential)</td>
<td>2 (0.5%)</td>
<td>15 (8%)</td>
<td>11 (5%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero (referential)</td>
<td>103 (52.5%)</td>
<td>52 (27%)</td>
<td>61 (31%)</td>
<td>51 (27.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>56 (29%)</td>
<td>14 (7%)</td>
<td>88 (45%)</td>
<td>22 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23 (11%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51 (27.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full NP</td>
<td>35 (18%)</td>
<td>92 (47%)</td>
<td>25 (14%)</td>
<td>61 (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>196 (100%)</td>
<td>196 (100%)</td>
<td>185 (100%)</td>
<td>185 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AV has significantly more zero referential Undergoers than Actors (F(1,3) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type of NP</th>
<th>Actor AV</th>
<th>Undergoer AV</th>
<th>Actor UV</th>
<th>Undergoer UV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero (non-referential)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>12 (13%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero (referential)</td>
<td>58 (40%)</td>
<td>11 (11%)</td>
<td>53 (28%)</td>
<td>42 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>34 (35%)</td>
<td>9 (9%)</td>
<td>108 (57%)</td>
<td>10 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13 (14%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full NP</td>
<td>23 (24%)</td>
<td>51 (53%)</td>
<td>26 (14%)</td>
<td>100 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>96 (100%)</td>
<td>96 (100%)</td>
<td>189 (100%)</td>
<td>189 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-squared = 23.185, df=1, - p value 1.471e-06.
Table 12 Nominal reference in procedural text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type of NP</th>
<th>Actor AV</th>
<th>Undergoer AV</th>
<th>Actor UV</th>
<th>Undergoer UV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(non-referential)</td>
<td>21 (17%)</td>
<td>24 (20%)</td>
<td>107 (38%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 (referential)</td>
<td>49 (40%)</td>
<td>19 (16%)</td>
<td>101 (36%)</td>
<td>98 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>33 (33%)</td>
<td>4 (4%)</td>
<td>36 (20%)</td>
<td>8 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quote</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>18 (19%)</td>
<td>71 (58%)</td>
<td>16 (5%)</td>
<td>155 (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>121 (100%)</td>
<td>121 (100%)</td>
<td>280 (100%)</td>
<td>280 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: *bɔŋapuy* ‘cook (food), *mangan* ‘eat’, *gadiriŋ* ‘slash (land)’, *mɔŋɔŋkɔr* ‘work’, *bɔkɔt* ‘knock down (fruit) with a pole’. All items found in the narrative were tokens of *bɔŋapuy* ‘cook’ and *mangan* ‘eat’. The items found in the procedural text were all tokens of *mɔŋɔŋkɔr* ‘cause to bathe’, *mɔŋɔnmɔŋ* ‘shoot’, *mɔŋɔŋkɔŋ* ‘bury’, *mɔŋɔŋkɔr* ‘feed’, *mɔŋɔŋpap* ‘sweep (the floor)’, *mɔŋɔŋɔŋ* ‘lay down (dead body)’, *bɔŋapuy* ‘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 mɔŋɔŋkɔr* ‘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 pre-verbal 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 AVverbs 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 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 Rânggon* ‘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) *kâdo* 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) *Bâg-usur masong aku balik.*  
*bag-usur masong aku balik*  
AV-talk still.again 1.S.N return  
‘I will talk once more again.’

(2) *Suran ku ne suran nong iro gamo Rânggon.*  
*suran ku ne suran nong iro gamo Rânggon*  
story 1.S.G this story OBL. COL married.couple Civet  
‘My story is a story about Mr. and Mrs. Civet.’

(3) *Ino suran nong kulos bâgko.*  
*ino suran nong kulos bagko*  
yonder story OBL. animal also  
‘This is also a story about animals.’

(4) *Panow kat iro gamo Rânggon.*  
*panow kat iro gamo Rânggon*  
go CDM COL married.couple Civet  
‘Mr. and Mrs. Civet went.’

(5) *Da panow, penow iro gamo Rânggon.*  
*da panow -i-panow iro gamo Rânggon*  
PR go -COM-go COL married.couple Civet  
‘They went, Mr. and Mrs. Civet went.’

(6) *Miro ton, malu’ panow mâniud.*  
*miro ton malu’ panow mang-siud*  
3P TOP want go AV-creel  
‘They wanted to go fish with a creel.’
(7) Jadi iro gamo Ranggon ton, akay anak.
jadi iro gamo Ranggon 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, tgbuk miro Palanuk.
jadi sob i-panow miro tgbuk miro Palanuk
so when com-go 3p meet.UV 3p Mousedeer

‘So when they went, they came across Mousedeer.’

(9) Lppap kat iro gamo Ranggon.
lappap kat iro gamo Ranggon
immediately col col married.couple Civet

maus g runi Palanuk.
maus g runi Palanuk
def-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’ g lisang? malu’ m gramay?”
nu ikow malu’ g lisang malu’ m gramay
what 2s.N want AV-play want AV-feast

“What, do you want to make a feast?”

(11) “Malu’, kamo Palanuk.”
malu’ kamo Palanuk
want at Mousedeer

‘“Yes, I would like to”, said Mousedeer.’
1. ANIMAL STORY

(12) "Nu lisang atow mo?"
nu lisang a-tow mo
what play NV-know.UV 2s.G
"What play do you know?"

(13) "Nu, biluk. Suga’ ngod saba biluk ku kamo pon akay
na biluk suga’ ngod sa-biluk ku kamo apon akay
PRT dance but how NOM-dance 1s.G if NEG.P exist
abur ku gadaisang?"
abur ku ga-lisang
companion 1s.G AV-play
"Well, dancing. But how can I dance if I do not have a companion playing?"

(14) Ikon atow ano, titik-tambur? kamo Palanuk.
ikon a-tow ano titik-tambur kamo Palanuk
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) ‘Kado, atow.’
kado a-tow
friend NV-know.UV
“My friend, I know’.

na suba’ ga-lisang kito kamo Palanuk
PRT try(M) AV-play 1p.in/G QTM Mousedeer
‘Well then, try, let’s play’, said Mousedeer.’

(17) ‘Nu, titik-tambur ikon, kado’
na titik-tambur ikon kado
PRT play.with.sticks-drum 2s.N friend
“Well, you will play the drum, my friend”
kamo Palanuk nong tikung-kerow;
kamo Palanuk nong tikung-kerow OBL bird.without.tail
‘said Mousedeer to Tikung-kerow.’

(18) Tikung-kerow ton karo.
tikung-kerow ton karo.
bird.without.tail TOP bird
‘A Tikung-kerow is a bird.’
(19) “Aku biluk”
akubiluk
I.S.N dance
“I will dance”.

(20) “Na buli” kano tikung-krow,
na bulikano tikung-karow
PRT can QTM bird.without.tail
“Well, that’s fine.” said Tikung-kerow.’

(21) Jadi apon dan miro gulisang ino, tota’ anak Ranggon.
jadiponnadanmirogulisangino–utata’anakRanggon
soNEG.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) Loppap kat Palanuk muat anak Ranggon sakko
lappapkatPalanukm-uatanakRanggonsakko
immediatelyCDM MousedeerDEP-get.up.UV childCivetfrom

di’ ubut di’ sa’ mługgo.
di’tubutadi’sa’mługgo
LOCswinging.cradleover.thereSQDEP–DEPtosleep.on.the.floor.UV
‘Immediately Mousedeer took Baby Civet up from the swinging cradle and layed it to sleep on the floor.’

(23) Mługgo tu paturug assar,
mługgotupaturugassar
DEP–DEP–lay.to.sleep.on.the.ground.UVtooCAU–DEPsleepfloor
‘Mługgo means to put (a baby) to sleep on the floor.’

(24) Jadi, na gulisang kat tikung-krow bio Palanuk.
jadinaigulisangkat tikung-karowbioPalanuk
soPRTAV-playCDMbird.without.tailandMousedeer
‘So, well, Tikung-kerow and Mousedeer played.’

(25) Titik-tambur kat tikung-krow, biluk kat Palanuk.
titik-tamburkat tikung-karowbilukkatPalanuk
play.with.sticks-drumCDMbird.without.taildanceCDM Mousedeer
‘Tikung-kerow played the drum and Mousedeer danced.’

(26) Biluk Palanuk ton lotta-lotta’ sija’.
bilukPalanukton–u-lattu–u-lattu’sija’
danceMousedeertop–DEP-leap.REDmerely
‘Mousedeer’s dancing was only jumping up and down.’
1. ANIMAL STORY

(27) *Lottu*-lottu’ kat Pžalanuk.
   -u-lattu’-u-lattu’ kat Pžalanuk
   DEP-leap-RED CDM Mousedeer
   ‘So Mousedeer jumped up and down.’

(28) Da buay Pžalanuk lottu’, atindak rumo ulu anak Ranggon.
   da buay Pžalanuk -u-lattu’ a-tindak rumo ulu anak Ranggon
   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 ībpu’.
    sob tindak rumo ībpu’
    when step.on.UV 3s leak
    ‘When he stepped on Baby Civet’s head, it got pierced.’

(30) Sob ībpu’ ulu anak Ranggon ne, tērus matay.
    sob ībpu’ ulu anak Ranggon ne tērus matay
    when leak head child Civet this straight dead
    ‘When it was pierced, Baby Civet’s head, it died immediately.’

(31) Na, ngod ībpo no kōlo?” kōmo rumo nong tikung-kerow.
    na ngod ībpo ino kādo kamo rumo nong tikung-kerow
    PRT how more yonder friend QTM 3s obl. bird.without.tail
    ‘Well, how do go about now, my friend?’, he said to Tikung-kerow.’

(32) ‘Ullo?’
    ullo
    why
    ‘Why?’

(33) ‘Na da matay ano, anak Ranggon ton.’
    na da matay ano anak Ranggon ton
    PRT PR dead this child Civet TOP
    ‘Well, it is dead, Baby Civet’.?

(34) ‘Na, pon atow ku. Ngod ikow bilak.”
    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’ Pžalanuk. “Ninga’ aku bilak
    na -i-bara’ Pžalanuk ninga’ aku biluk
    PRT -COM-say.UV Mousedeer NEG.I 1s.N dance
kumo ikow pon titik-tambur” kumo.
kamo ikow apon titik-tambur kamo
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 gurragga’ gurragbis.
jadi da mulay iro duo no gurragga’ gurragbis
so PR begin COL two this AV-REC-fight AV-REC-blame
‘So those two started to quarrel and blame each other.’

(37) Satu mungbis suru anan satu, satu
satu mung-tagbis suru anan satu satu
one AV-blame direct place one one
no da mungbis suru anan satu no.
ino da mung-tagbis suru anan satu ino
yonder PR AV-blame direct place one yonder
‘One blamed the other and the other blamed the first.’

(38) Lappap kat tikung-kerow muli’.
lappap kat tikung-kerow m-uli’
immediately CDM bird.without.tail DEP.go.home
‘Immediately Tikung-kerow went home.’

(39) Jadi koy, mukir-mukir kat Palanuk, ngod kakan anan rumo
jadi koy m-pukir-m-pukir kat Palanuk, ngod kakan anan rumo
so FOC DEP-think-RED CDM Mousedeer how AV.NV-come.across 3S
kumo da muli’ iro gamo Ranggon ne.
kano da m-uli’ iro gamo Ranggon 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 labs, ino anak iro
kalay labs ino anak iro
not.want more yonder child COL
gamo Ranggon matay no.
gamo Ranggon matay ino
married.couple Civet dead yonder
‘He did not want anymore, the child of Mr. and Mrs. Civet was dead.’
Immediately Mousedeer took a cloth and wrapped (the baby) in it.

He wrapped it in cloth, tied its feet, tied its arms and layed it back in the swinging cradle.

He laid it back in the swinging cradle and ran away (lit. ran to flee).

After a long time, Mr. and Mrs. Civet came home; they had caught fish.

Mr. and Mrs. Civet came home; they had caught fish.
sija', bio mangan kaba' bio mangan pashaow.
sija' bio mangan kaba' bio mangan pashaow
merely and AV.eat crab and AV.eat river.prawn
'So as Mr. and Mrs. Civet, this was their way of living, they just eat fish, crab and river prawn.'

(47) Pog kuli', sagay suran, bgapuy kat
pog k-uli' sagay suran bgapuy kat
when AV.NN-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 bgapuy no da mangan.
bpos miro bgapuy ino da mangan
after 3p AV-cook yonder PR AV.eat
'AAfter 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 mang-ukow anak no mang-tusu, malu' i-mangan tu
da mang-ukow anak ino mang-tusu malu' i-mangan tu
PR AV-wake.up child yonder CAU AV-drink.milk want -COM AV.eat too
bgyko anak no suku uso alap miro ne.
bgyko 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' Rangon liun mgyakow
jadi da malu' Rangon liun mang-ukow
so PR want Civet woman AV-wake.up
anak rumo ne mágkus,
anak rumo ne mág-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’ Rángon kusay, ino bano rumo ne, ‘ullo
-i-bara’ Rángon kusay ino bano rumo ne ullo
-COM-say UV Civet man yonder husband 3s this why

'Mr. Civet, her husband, said,'

margkang ino, anak kito ne’ kamo Rángon kusay.
margkang ino anak kito ne kamo Rángon kusay
child yonder child 1P.LN/G this QTM Civet man

'why this child, our child', said Mr. Civet,'

K osa’ mulay kito muli’ sakko margaso ino
kossa’ mulay kito m-ali’ sakko marg-uso ino
since begin 1P.LN/G DEP go home from AV gather food yonder

'since we first (lit. began to) came home from gathering food'

sawot gadin ino pon mil kingog ku anak kito ne
sawot gadin apon mil k-ingog ku anak kito ne
arrive in this way NEG P ever AV.NV hear 1S.G child 1P.LN/G this

'till now, I have not yet heard our child cry'

tota’, kamo Rángon kusay,
-tu-tata’ kamo Rángon kusay
-DEP-cry QTM Civet man

'said Mr. Civet.'

(52) Bera’ Rángon liun ‘n margkang asar gadin,
-i-bara’ Rángon liun margkang asar gadin
-COM-say UV Civet woman child really in this way

'Mrs. Civet said “the child is really like that,”

saya ino margkang no,
saya ino margkang ino
good yonder child yonder
‘it is a good boy/girl,’

pio sa-turug rumo, ngod akay b-gami’,
pio sa-turug rumo ngod akay b-gam-i
good NOM sleep 3s because exist AV baby sit
’she sleeps well, because there is someone babysitting.’
(53) ‘Suga’ mba’ koy Palanuk?’ kamo Ranggon kusay.
  suga’ mba’ koy Palanuk kamo Ranggon 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 bágko ino Palanuk multi’
  ullo bágko ino Palanuk m-uli’
  why also yonder Mousedeer DEP-go.home
  kito bay pon akay tunong?
  kito bay apon akay tunong
  1P.L/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 bágami’ nong mágkang no.
  ino rumo ni-arab kito bág-amí’ nong mérágkang ino
  yonder 3S COM-search.UV 1P.L/N/G AV-baby.sit OBL child yonder
  ‘He is the one we found to watch the baby.’

(57) Suga’ sayu tu bágko Palanuk ne,” kamo Palanuk liun ne.
  suga’ sayu tu bágko Palanuk ne kamo Palanuk liun ne
  but good too also Mousedeer this QTM Mousedeer woman this
  ‘But Mousedeer is nice’, said Mrs. Civet.’

(58) Sábob na, pon tota’ bágko anak kito,”
  sábob na apon -u-tata’ bágko anak kito
  because PRT NEG.P -DEP-cry also child 1P.L/N/G
  kamo Ranggon liun.
  kamo Ranggon liun
  QTM Civet woman
  ‘Because, well, our child does not even cry’ said Mrs. Civet.’

(59) Jadi, muat kat Ranggon liun ino
  jadi m-uat kat Ranggon liun ino
  so DEP-get.up.UV CDM Civet woman yonder
1. ANIMAL STORY

anak rumo ne, asar da màng-tusu.
anak rumo ne asar da màng-tusu
child 3s this really PR CAU AV drink.milk

’Soh Mrs. Civet took up her child and sure she (began to) breast feed it.’

(60) Sob pata’ miro, sob p-ŋgkot rumo
sob p-ata’ miro sob p-ŋgkot rumo
when SF-look.UP 3p when SF-work.UP 3s

anak rumo ne pa màng-uat, ñamnil.
anak rumo ne pa màng-uat ñamnil
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.UP yonder

anak miro ne, sa’ p-去年同期
anak miro ne sa’ p-去年同期
child 3p this SQ CAU.DEP drink.milk.UP 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, Rànggon kusay, mìŋŋkang no pon malu’
ullo ne ino Rànggon kusay mìŋŋkang ino apon malu’
why this yonder Civil man child yonder NEG.P want

mìŋũsu bio ulu bay ñamnil, bio pon atow gì-ŋgitudu’?”
mìŋũsu bio ulu bay ñamnil bio apon a-tow gì-ŋgitudu’?”
AV drink.milk and head PRF cool and NEG.P NV know.UP 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.UP first

‘Try to look at it first!’

Ràŋnika’ gulo!” kàmo Rànggon kusay.
-ŋnik’a gulo kàmo Rànggon kusay
-DEP-examine.UP (M) first QYM Civil 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!’ kamo Ranggon liun**
te! kamo Ranggon liun
excl qtm Civet woman
‘“Hey!” said Mrs. Civet.’

(66) **Bay matay pa anak iro gamo Ranggon ton!”**
bay matay pa anak iro gamo Ranggon ton
PRF dead PRF child COLL 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 2sg that trace oblique head yonder
**kə̀bong ulu anak iro gamo Ranggon!”**
kə̀bong ulu anak iro gamo Ranggon
hole.in.head head child COLL married.couple Civet
“Do you see that trace on the head? Our child has a hole in its head!”

(69) **“Nu səbəb?”**
nu səbəb
what because
“How come?”

(70) **“Tow?”**
tow
know.uv
“I don’t know?” (lit. know?)

(71) **Kamo Ranggon liun,**
kamo Ranggon liun
qtm Civet woman
1. ANIMAL STORY

"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 a no.
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 1.P.LN/G -DEF-burry.UV FOC child COL

gamo Rənggon ton.
gamo Rənggon ton
married.couple Civet TOP

“O, well, we will bury our child”.

(74) Sa’ kito marab Pəlanuk.
sa’ kito m-arab Pəlanuk
SQ 1.P.LN/G DEP-search.UV Mousedeer

“Then we will look for Mousedeer.”

(75) Kito manu’ tu Pəlanuk.” kəmo iro gamo Rənggon.
kito m-unu’ tu Pəlanuk kəmo iro gamo Rənggon
1.P.LN/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 buried 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 kəlo!"
  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' du', pon malu' rottop,
  suga' Pəlanuk ton gə-runi sakko di' du' 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,'

(81) Ulo anak iro gamo Rənggon di.
  unlo anak iro gamo Rənggon 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 Rənggon.
  -i-bunu' mo ino kəmo iro gamo Rənggon
-DEP-close 2S.G yonder QTM COL married.couple Civet
  'You killed it!' said Mr. and Mrs. Civet.'

(84) "Ninga' pa kəlo!"
  ninga' pa kədo
NEG.I PRT friend
  'I did not, my friend!''

(85) 'Binu' mo, ikow nong kənumi munu'.
  -i-bunu' mo ikow nong kənumi m-unu'
-DEP-close 2S.G 2S.N AUX 1P,E,N,G DEP-kill.UV
  'You killed it, and we are going to kill you!'
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 Rengog fish has red eyes.

They went to the river, and came across Rengog.

A Rengog is a fish.
APPENDIX A: BEGAK TEXTS

(92) “*Ullo aku pon sakkot mato,*
ullo aku apon sakkot mato
why 1S.NEG.P red eye
tibo iro gamo Ranggon nakon!”
i-tubo iro gamo Ranggon 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 Pjanuk,
jadi apon jadi miro məng-bunu’ nong Ralanuk
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 pasawow, sawot nong Rəngog,
məng-bunu’ nong pasawow sawot nong Rəngog
AV-kill OBL prawn arrive OBL small.river.fish.with.red.eyes
‘killed Prawn, until (killing) Rengog.’

(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 Rengog’

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 məngaso, tepuk miro anak miro ne.
miro panow məng-asu 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 kulî’ iro gamo Ranggon.
jadi k-uli’ iro gamo Ranggon
so AV.NV-go.home COL married.couple Civet
‘So Mr. and Mrs. Civet went home.’
They did not succeed in taking revenge, because their child had died because of their own fault.

Well, they poisoned some Rengog fish.

They caught some small Rengog fish because that was their food.

Only until here is my story of Mr. and Mrs. Civet.

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 teguak-wak. At the end of the myth, the speaker lists her own genealogy, by means of example only.

(1) Ano gusur aku niun akay Păngalimo, ano usur aku niun akay Pangalimo
that talk 1S.N 2S.A EXIST commander
‘This is what I will tell you: there was a Commander.’

(2) Păngalimo ba-kaung umo, maŋ-gkot umo.
Pangalimo ba-kaung umo maŋ-ggkot 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 b-kaung umo tidog dtow, jadi da b-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’ tegwak-wak sakko tas langit.
ratu’ bua’ tagwak-wak sakko tas langit
fall fruit tegwak-wak from top sky
‘a tegwak-wak fruit fell from the sky.’

(4) Savot nong buta’ no nong kilid rumo ne. savot 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’ tegwak-wak no, buruy ulan. agbog bua’ tegwak-wak ino b-uruy ulan
NV-break fruit tegwak-wak yonder MID-stand person
‘The fruit broke (open) and a person stood up.’

(6) Sugkow kat ktuò ino. -u-sugkow kat katu ino
-DEP-call.UV CDM leader yonder
‘The leader called.’
(7) Sugkòw kat Panggalimo.
-u-sugkòw kat panggalimo
-DEP-call.UV CDM commander
‘The commander called.’

(8) Pog sugkòw Panggalimo. sëmukot nay naran.
pog -i-sugkòw panggalimo -am-sëmukot nay naran
when -COM-call.UV commander -DEP-inform.UV who name
‘When the Commander called, he asked (the person) what his name was.’

(9) Bera’ rumo naran rumo Lëppit.
-i-bara’ rumo naran rumo Lëppit
-COM-say.UV 3s name 3s Thunderstorm
‘He said his name was Thunderstorm.’

(10) Jadi bua’ kayu baya’ rumo mäya’ no
jadi bua’ kayu baya’ rumo mäya’ no
so fruit tree place 3s DEP-follow yonder
‘So this fruit where he went (followed);’

bua’ tegwak-gwak baju rumo.
bua’ tegwak-gwak baju rumo
fruit tegwak-wak shirt 3s
‘this tegwak-wak fruit was his shirt.’

(11) Jadi da neus Lëppit nuli’ di’ balay,
jadi da ni-aus Lëppit m-ului’ di’ balay
so PR COM-bring.UV thunderstorm DEP-go.home.UV LOC house
‘So (he) took Thunderstorm home.’

mësukot ulun pasod ‘nay ulun ino?’
mëng-sëmukot ulun pasod nay ulun ino
AV-inform person many who person yonder
‘and many people asked “who is this person?”’

(12) Bera’ Panggalimo di ulun
-i-bara’ panggalimo adi ulun
-COM-say.UV commander over.there person
‘The Commander said told (them that he) was a person’

sakko ttas langit, kaållu’ nong sakabuta’
sakko ttas langit kaållu’ nong sakabuta’
from top sky AV-NV-descend OBL here.on.earth
‘from high in the sky, (who had) descended to earth.’
(13) Ino naran Lappit.  
inonaranlappit  
yonder name thunderstorm  
‘This was his name: Thunderstorm.’

(14) Jadi sawot di’ balay, pasod ulun nnong mənabu.  
jadisawotdibalaypasodulunnnongmənabu  
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 Pəŋgilimo ino Lappit mənawo.  
-su-mumu’katpənggilimoinolappitmənawo  
-DEP-command.UVCDMcommanderyonderthunderstormAV-marry  
‘The Commander told Thunderstorm to marry/propose for marriage.’

(16) Bera’ Lappit guog rumo mənara’ məng-zaa’ pasod  
-i-bara’lappitguorgumoŋ-bara’məng-zaapaso  
<COM-say.UVthunderstormstay3SAV-saymaidenmany  
‘Thunderstorm said that he stayed, he said to the many girls’  
o, kəbpung rumo atow sakko tata langit di.  
inokəbpungrumoatowsakkötsalingatid.  
yonderAV.NV-former.time3SNV-know.UVfromtopskyovertop.there  
‘He knew in advance from above the sky.’

(17) Bəgilow rumo məngata’ nay-nay  
bəgilowrumoməng-ata’nay-nay  
AV-look down3SNV-lookwho-RED  
‘He looked down to see’  
ulun nong alag no mba’ kəlu’ rumo.  
ulunnongalagino mbakəlu’rumo  
persontoBFileInfoobeneathyonderwhere3S  
‘which person from down under he wanted (lit. who was his desire).’

(18) Bera’ Lappit ino kəlu’ rumo.  
-i-bara’ lappitinokəlu’rumo  
<COM-say.UVthunderstormyonderdesire3S  
anak Pəŋgilimo no.  
anakpənggilimino  
childcommanderyonder  
‘Thunderstorm said this was the one he wanted: the Commander’s daughter.’
(19) *Jadi tarus rumo kawin.*

so straight 3s marry

’S he married immediately.’

(20) *Pog kewin rumo, pon buay-buay rumo kewin, tągki’.*

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.’


when pregnant wife thunderstorm over.there DEP-say.UV CDM 3s

‘When Tunderstorm’s wife got pregnant,’

*nong P.nągdimo no ‘tamong, mągannak ku bay tągki’.*

nong P.ŋaŋdimò ino tamong mągannak ku bay tągki

‘he told the Commander: ‘Father-in-law, my wife is already pregnant.’

(22) *Suqa’ aro muyu sugkow naran.

but NEG.IMP 2P/N/G -DEP-call.UV name

‘But don’t you call the name (of the child).’

(23) *Ullu pon bui bera’ ku g.ąsgkow naran.

why NEG.P can -COM-say.UV 1s.G AV-call name

‘Why have I told you not to call its name?’

(24) *Sąboh kammi 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.

so yonder name 3s Thunder

’S this is his name: Thunder.’

(26) *Anak ku allom tąray no sa’ tąllu 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, “tágki’ mångannak ku bagku.”
PR born thunder pregnant wife IS.G again
‘When Thunder was born: “my wife is pregnant again.”’

(28) Pog tágki‘ bagku, “na tamong!”
when pregnant again PRT parent.or.child.in.law
‘When she got pregnant again (Thunderstorm said) “Well father-in-law,”’

(29) Tålbu bulan tágki’ mångannak ku key suga’
three month pregnant wife IS.G FOC but
‘My wife is three months pregnant, but’

(30) Aro muyu sugkow naran.
NEG.IMP 2P.N/G -DEP-call.UV name
‘Don’t you call his name.’

(31) Aku go-sgovgkow naran.
IS.N AV-call name
‘I will call his name.’

(32) “Nay naran?”
who name
‘What is his name?’

(33) “Ino naran Bariot, naran anak ku ne.
name yonder name Flash name child IS.G this
‘This is his name: Flash, the name of my child.’
2. Myth

(34) *Kusay tu anak ku di’ allom taray di.*

kusay tu anak ku di’ allom taray 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’ Briot.*

o dadi da lukka’ Briot
EXCL so PR born Flash
‘O so Flash was born.’

(36) *Da ga’jo anu Rudug bio Briot ne, Da ga’jo anu rudug bio Briot ne*

PR big whatever thunder and Flash this

*mara’ Lppit “tamongs!”.*

m-ara’ Lppit 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 padtos.”*

aku padtos
1S.N ill
‘I am ill. (said Thunderstorm)’

(39) *“Nu padtos mo?”* 

nu padtos mo
what ill 2S.G
“What is your disease?”

(40) *“Pon atow ku, padtos-pados.*

apon a-tow ku padtos-pados
NEG.P NV-know.UV 1S.G ill-RED
“I don’t know. just a bit sick.”

(41) *Suga’ mara’ aku mayun soyu mayu anak ku ne.*

suga’ m-ara’ aku mayun -u-sayu mayu 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) *Kan*o akay *məngannak*, anak ku ne da gajo,
kan akay *məngannak* anak ku ne da gajo
if EXIST wife child 1.S.G this PR big
‘When (my children) have a wife, and my children are grown up (lit. big)’

(43) *pidtu* Murip, ligkang *doto* bəɡko,
pi-dtu’ Murip i-lagkang *doto* bəɡko
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) *Kan*o matay anak-anak *Baliet* ton, atow pun anak *Baliet* ton
kan matay anak-anak *Baliet* ton atow pun anak *Baliet* 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.’

*maɡkay* *muyu* *siag* *puti’; *jəmbira*, *pandi’.
*ma-ɡkay* *muyu* *siag* *puti’* *jəmbira* *pandi’*
DEP-give.UV 2P.N/G sarung white banner, flag
‘give them a white cloth, a banner, a flag.’

(45) *maɡkay* *muyu* *siag* *puti’; *pandi’, *malu’ atow
*ma-ɡkay* *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’

kənmi miro *massob* di’ anan kənmi di’ *ttas* langit.
kənmi miro m-ə-ssoob di’ anan kənmi di’ *ttas* langit
1P.F,NOG 3P DEP-come LOC place 1P.F,NOG LOC top sky
‘that they have arrived at our place high in the sky.’

(46) *Ino* *pəŋata’* *muyu*; matay.
inon pong-ata’ muyu matay
yonder AG,NOM-look 2P.N/G dead
‘He will be dead in your view.’

(47) *Inga’* matay", *kan*o rumo, "buy kuli’* anak ku
inga’ matay *kan*o rumo bay k-uli’ anak ku
NEG1 dead QTM 3S PRF AV,NV-go.home place 1.S.G
‘(But) he is not dead’, he said, "he has already returned to me (lit. to my place)"

di’ *ttas* langit di” *kan*o.
di’ *ttas* langit adi *kan*o
LOC top sky over.there QTM
‘high in the sky’, he said.’
2. MYTH

(48) Jadi ṭụsụ rumo mgbagbụta tụsụ.  
jadi ṭụsụ rumo m’ụng-ay tụsụ.  
so straight 3S AV-take bed  
‘So he immediately took a bed.’

(49) Turug, pog tugban rumo turug, bay matay Lụp.  
turug pog tugban rumo turug bay matay ṭụp  
sleep when collapse 3S sleep PRF dead thunderstorm  
‘He slept, when he collapsed and fell asleep Thunderstorm was dead.’

(50) Pog matay Lụp.  
pog matay ṭụp  
when dead thunderstorm yonder AG.NOM-think person many  
‘When Thunderstorm had died, this was what many people thought:’

ino Lụp ne bay matay, inga matay.  
ino ụp ne bay matay inga matay  
PRF dead  
‘Thunderstorm has died, but he was not dead.’

(51) Bay niyo rumo bua’ tewak-wak ụdị bagka.  
bay niyo rumo bua’ tewak-wak ụdị bagka  
PRF COM.take.UV 3S fruit tewak-wak over.there again  

baju rumo ụdị.  
baju rumo ụdị.  
shirt 3S over.there  
‘He had already taken his tewak-wak fruit again, his shirt.’

(52) Bay kuli’ rumo anan ina’ rumo ụdị’ tụs’ lanjitu ụdị.  
bay k-uli’ rumo anan ina’ rumo ụdị’ tụs’ lanjitu ụdị.  
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) Sowot gadino ne rumo pon k’ụdị.  
sowot gadino ne rumo apon k’a-ụdị.  
arrive in.this.way this 3S NEG.P AV.NV-descend  
lụbọ bagku nong ụdị  
lụbọ bagku nong ụdị  
more again OBL here.on.earth  
‘Until now, he has not descended again anymore to here on earth.’
APPENDIX A: BEGAK TEXTS

(54) Anak rumo bay ddi’, kuli’ anan rumo ttas langit.
anak rumo bay ddi’ k-uli’ anan rumo ttas langit
child AV.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 baganak Lappit anu Beriot Tambasung.
dadi bag-anak lappit anu Beriot Tambasung
so AV-child thunderstorm whatever Flash Tembasung
‘So Thunderstorm..er..Beriot gave birth to Tembasung.’

(56) Pog baganak Beriot nong Tambasung.
pog bag-i-anak Beriot nong Tambasung
when AV-COM-child Flash OBL Tembasung
‘When Flash gave birth, to Tembasung.’

(57) Pog panak Tambasung, Bagasa’.
pog p-anak Tambasung Bagasa’
when SF-child.UV Tembasung Begasa’
‘When Tembasung gave birth, Begasa’.

pog p-anak Bagasa’ Tujun
when SF-child.UV Tembasung Begasa’ Tujun
‘When Begasa’ gave birth, Tujun.’

(59) Pog baganak Tujun, iro Jingkit.
pog bag-anak Tujun iro Jingkit
when AV-child Tujun COL Jingkit
‘When Tujun gave birth, Jingkit and his brothers and sisters.’

(60) Pog baganak iro Jingkit, iro anu Totom.
pog bag-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 kɔmmi sakko ttas, sakko ttas langit.
ino rumo tubu ɔmmi sakko ttas sakko ttas langit
yonder 3S descendent PE.ENG from top from top sky
‘This is it: our descendent is from high in the sky.’
2. MYTH

(63) Jadi suku ino matay ino, inga’ bunnor matay.
    "So all who die, are not really dead."

(64) Rumo mənnik ttas langit.
    "He is not really dead, he goes up to the sky."

(65) Dadi rumo gkun no, gkun ama’ rumo.
    "So to his land, the land of his father."

(66) Ina’ rumo ino ulun səkəbuta’.
    "His mother was from down to earth."

(67) Da pun ama’ kəmmi ulun ttas langit, doto.
    "And our father is from above the sky, an angelic being."

(68) Ino suku kəmmi suku doto.
    "This descendence of ours is a descendence of angelic being."

(69) Na ino sija’ usur, suran ku niun.
    "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*
‘I don’t know, as for us, upstream is the where we go (lit.our place of going).’

MM  *Na  iro  llon  Temulan  këmo  ku  ne  këmo*
MM  *na  iro  llon  Temulan  ku  ne  këmo*
MM  *PRT  yonder  point  Temulan  ISG  this  if*

    *da  anu  kito  maus  iro  Lija’.*
    *da  anu  kito  m-aus  iro  Lija’*
    *PR  whatever  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  DEP-go.places  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’*
‘With Babu, Babu has already returned, already returned.’
PB Muya di' bpung.
PB mUYU di' bpung
PB 2p.NG 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.GV-NV home 3S PRF AV.NV go home
 'Already returned. She has already returned.'

MM Muya di' bpung bio Tulumad akay.
MM mUYU di' bpung bio Tulumand akay
MM 2p.NG LOC former.time and Tulumad EXIST
 '(When) you (went fishing) and Tulumad was there.'

TL Mba' baya'? Antang milu sapa'. Kutok tun, tittoy pon
TL where place like cocoa water troubled really small NEG.P
 'Where?, The water was like Milo (choclat milk).'

buli mANGmgngat. Jadi ino sija' akay alap ku.
buli mANG-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 kammi bagko bangog nong llung, mAriu'
mannu-mannu kat kammi bagko bangog nong llung mA-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 ba-kakkam tutul. Na kOLay-KOLay bgko gZili'.
bio ba-kakkam tutul na -u-kalay-ku kalay bagko ga-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 tutul rumo di. Pon ka paut anan ku mANGguy.
sillun tutul rumo di. Pon ka paut anan ku mANG-guy.
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 tgaajo nu kan, nong ikow kokkam
Nu key batu t-Gaajo 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?'
You feel around in between the stones. So you can easily take them.

‘Small round watersnails?’

‘No, those longish watersnails. Not round watersnails;’

‘those long watersnails. Now there are none.’

‘Why?’

‘They are already finished where we took them, where (…)’

‘Where we joined (them), grandmother and company,’

‘you were babysitting, Lidi and company, my uncle Suton and company;’

‘we went until the end of the river.’
3. CONVERSATION

MM Ulo ne? lling no pon dali’?
MM ullo ne lling 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 1.S.G OBL Nancy

‘Pon’ kamo, digabpi di.
apon kamo digapbi adi
NEG.P QTM yesterday over.there
‘No it isn’t. I asked Nancy, “it is not (flooded)”, she said yesterday.’

TL O, a’, bhor bagko. Saga’ kamo malu’ akkor muyu pa,
TL o a’ bhor bagko suga’ kamo 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, ba-kattong anggur awan no pa.
mutap panow kito ba-kattong anggur awan ino pa
tomorrow go 1P.L/N/G AV-straight shin outside yonder PRT
‘(let)’s go stretch our legs (lit. shins) outside tomorrow.

bhor pa ninga’ dali’ bio kamo 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 sətəw nu pa, tuso pa məngay pait tu.
lapas sə-təw 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 Sidu  səməriduk  pait  ino
MM sidu  -əm-səriduk  pait  ino
MM merely  -DEP-bite.and.swim.around  fish  yonder
'Those fishes merely bite and swim around'

mangan  bpas  niug  no.
mangan  bpas  niug  ino
AV.eat  left.over  coconut  yonder
'eating the coconut leftovers (what is left over after making santan).'

Kəno  da  ikow  rəmottop  bay  kəawong-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.'

Ganə'  da  tiow,  sillun  alimbow.
ganə'  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 1.S.N  TOP
'As for me (…)’

PB A  buli  anan  mənimbaq  pəswow  masong?
PB a’  buli  anan  məng-timbaq  pəswow  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 1.S.G  DEP-fix.UV  fishing.net  1.S.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.'
We bring our fishing net, (it) is here isn’t it?

‘We bring our fishing net, (it) is here right?’

We fish with a fishing rod with coconut leftovers. We go downstream, downstream

‘What do you care, (let’s) be thankful even if (we do) not (catch anything).’

There is this old fishing net of ours.

‘There is this old fishing net of ours.’
APPENDIX A: BEGAK TEXTS

kamo da panow kamo anu mutap la. Na ino bagko
kamo da panow kamo anu mutap la na ino bagko
if PR go if whatever tomorrow PRT PRT yonder also

‘(Let)’s bring our bush knife if we go, when er., tomorrow.’

iro tas tun dhow, sa’ subu-subu antang sapanow kito
col. high really day sq morning-red manner nom-go 1p.ln/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.
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 kamo sawot kito di’ pon buli kito manguso,
jadi kamo sawot kito di’ apon buli kito mang-uso
so as.for arrive 1p.ln/g loc neg.p can 1p.ln/g AV-gather.food
‘so if we arrive (at the river) and we cannot gather food’

muli’ la, pa nu kito tunganngu bagko ddl’.
m-ul’ la pa nu kito -am-tunggu bagko ddl’
dep-go.home PRT PRT what 1p.ln/g -dep-wait.UV (M) also there
‘we just go home, what’ ‘(would) we wait for there.’

kito di’ pog panow manguso mangata’ lung bagko.
kito adi pog panow mang-uso mang-ata’ lung bagko
1p.ln/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.’

Kamo imbo-imbo kito buli kito manguso manganggit.
kamo imbo-imbo kito buli kito mang-uso mang-pangngat
if maybe-red 1p.ln/g can 1p.ln/g AV-gather.food AV-fishing.rod
‘if we maybe we can go gathering and fishing with a fishing rod.’

Sambutan Babu.
sambutan Babu.
way.of.saying Babu
‘As Babu always says it.’

ZLB Ulio pon buli manguso?
ZLB uilo apon buli mang-uso
ZLB why neg.p can AV-gather.food
‘Why (would) we not be able to go gathering?’
3. CONVERSATION

TL  kendo pon dal’, e!; kendo dal’ no
TL  kamo apon dal’ e kamo dal’ ino
TL  if NEG.P flood EXCL if flood yonder
     ‘If (the river) is not flooded, hey!.. if it is flooded,’

ngod sangu saktok.
ngod s-sango s-kutok
how NOM-gather.food NOM-troubled
‘how do we go fishing, so troubled.’

ZLP  Mata’ key ja’ kadaan awan.
ZLB  m-ata’ key ja’ kadaan 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  kendo pon uran dtow ano.
TL  kamo 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 mppom sa’ pio kendo pon(...).
ZLB  ino pa minan nong m-a-pppom sa’ pio kamo 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. sambatan Babu
TL  ano nu naran ino sambatan Babu
TL  that what name yonder way.of.saying Babu
     ‘Er, what do we call it. Like Babu always says,’

baya’ kito b-wani di. Da bpos kito b-wani,
baya’ kito b-wañi di da bpos kito b-wañi,
place 1PL.N/G AV-harvest over.there PR after 1PL.N/G AV-harvest
‘where/when we harvested. After we have harvested’
panow gulo kito nu naran no, gɔ̃ lɔppot kkan
panow gulo kito nu naran no. gɔ̃ lɔppot kkan
go first 1.P.LN/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 lɔppot kkan bio m̩ɔ m̩angŋat.
PBLappot kkan bio m̩ang-ŋat
PB wrap cooked.rice and AV-fishing.rod
'Wrapping rice and fishing with a fishing rod.'

NG Maya’, pon akay gkot kɔmo da mutap.
NG m-aya’ apon akay gkot kɔmo 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 Bibos

(1) Tunong ano, aku malu’ bag-usur suran ngod
tunong ano aku malu’ bag-usur suran ngod
here that IS.N want AV-talk story how
antang məñimba’ bakas,
antang màng-timba’ bakas
manner AV-pickled.food wild.pig
‘Here, I want to tell a story about how to pickle wild pig.’
məñimba’ bakas atowpun məñimba’ pait, cara rumo.
màng-timba’ bakas atowpun màng-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 məñgarud
mulay-mulay rumo kito màng-urud
begin-RED (M) 3S 1P.PI.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 kəmə da nirud kito
jadi kəmo da ni-urud kito
so if PR COM-cut.to.pieces.UV 1P.PI.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.PI.N/G -DEP-salt.UV content wild.pig yonder
‘we salt the wild pig meat.’

(4) Jadi kəmə da tegay kito
jadi kəmo da -i-tagay kito
so if PR -COM-salt.UV 1P.PI.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 1.P.LN/G -DEP-drain.UV content wild.pig yonder
'we drain the wild pig meat,'

malu’ sidtu pon bɔgbɔpow butong.
malu’ sidtu apon bag-a-bpow butong
want merely NEG.P AV-smell rotten
'so that it does not start to smell rotten.'

(5) Jadi kamo da tegbas kito ino,
jadi kamo da -i-tagbas kito ino
so if PR -COM-drain.UV 1.P.LN/G yonder
'So after we have drained it,'

kito mɔguy ssi ɔkilɔ-kayu.
kito mong-ay ssi ɔkilɔ-kayu
1.P.LN/G AV-take content cassava
'we take a cassava.'

(6) Nong kito malap kulit ssi ɔkilɔ-kayu ino,
nong kito m-alap kulit ssi ɔkilɔ-kayu ino
AUX 1.P.LN/G DEP-get.UV skin content cassava yonder
'We take (off) the skin of the cassava,'

nong kito mugas,
nong kito m-ugas
AUX 1.P.LN/G DEP-wash.UV
'we wash it, we cook it,

nong kito mapuy nong robus.
nong kito m-apuy nong -u-rabus
AUX 1.P.LN/G DEP-fire.UV AUX -DEP-boil.UV (M)
'we boil it.'

(7) Jadi kamo da assak ɔkilɔ-kayu ino,
jadi kamo da a-ssak ɔkalɔ-kayu ino
so if PR NV-cooked cassava yonder
'So when the cassava is cooked,'

nong kito ɔglmil gulo.
nong kito ɔglmil gulo
AUX 1.P.LN/G CAU.DEP-cool.UV first
'we first let it cool down.'
4. PROCEDURAL TEXT

(8) *K*ōmo da ṭamnil, nong kito m-ncur, lomud tagay.
    kōmo da ṭamnil nong kito m-ncur -u-lamud tagay
if PR cool AUX 1.P.L/N/G DEP-crush,UV -DEP-mix,UV salt
  'When it is cool, we crush (it), add salt.'

(9) *K*ōmo da bpos ino, sa’ kito lomud
    kōmo da bpos ino sa’ kito -u-lamud
if PR after yonder SQ 1.P.L/N/G -DEP-mix,UV
  'When this is finished, then we mix (it with)'

  ssi bakas nirud kāmmon ne.
  ssi bakas ni-urud kāmmon 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 (...),ṣraıt nong rumo timba’.
    jadi rumo ṭa-ṣgkow sa-raıt nong rumo timba’
so 3S -COM-call,UV NOM-pronounce OBJ. 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'

  sālalu nong kito nong Bęgak mukay,
  sālalu nong kito nong Bęgak m-pakay
always AUX 1.P.L/N/G AUX Begak DEP-use,UV
  'we, the Begak always use (it)'

  sālalu rumo oktu akay lami-lami
  sālalu rumo oktu akay lami-lami
always 3S time EXIST feast
  'always when there is a feast'

  antang mo akay taqunggu’ atow gārussay,
  antang mo akay taqunggu’ atow gą-russay
manner 2.S.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 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 choose for a one-day-wedding rather than for the traditional wedding.

1. *Kawin dtow ton bio kawin tun, ino biang.*
   marry day TOP and marry real yonder MID-separate
   ‘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.*
   marry day TOP as for 3P LOC former time yonder custom RED
   ‘A one-day-wedding, as for the people in former times, it was a custom of kings.’

3. *Ino kawin dtow ton.*
   yonder marry day TOP
   ‘This is a one-day wedding.’

4. *Jadi kəmo kawin tun ino, sanding sija’,*  
   so as for marry real yonder -DEP-sit.on.a.dais merely
   *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.*
   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).’
5. EXPLANATION

(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,’

pangantin kusay no, nong balakang ino.
pangantin kusay ino nong balakang ino bride/groom (M) man yonder obl. fence yonder ‘the bridegroom, at the fence;’

(7) Ninga’ dan buli sɨmʊok, pantun gulo ulun, ninga’ dan buli -sɨm-suok pantun gulo ulun NEG.1 yet can -DEP-enter sing first person ‘he cannot enter yet, he sings first;’

bəg-aus kapalo no.
bəg-aus kapalo ino AV-bring headman (M) yonder ‘the headman (M) invites (lit. brings) him;’

(8) Kapalo bəg-aus nong kusay ino pantun. kapalo 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 balakang ino.
in o tujuan pantun rumo ne mək̚-b̚-i-awang balakang 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;’

mək̚-əbewang balakang ino məsukot piro gayan bayo?
mək̚-b̚-i-awang balakang 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’ sabi’s liun di.
jadi pantun bagko ulun di’ sabi’s 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’.
`the leader of the women too, she answers them`

`says like this (much) they ask`

`she told then they will open the door`

`then they will open the door.`

`So then they can enter, to the side of the women.'

`So this is the meaning of their singing in pairs.'

`When she arrives in the musquito.net too, in the same way.'

`So the women also sing in a poetry bee, (now) there are no men (singing).'
5. EXPLANATION

(16) *Ino liun la, liun no mɔkɔ-b-i-awang kɔlambu ino.*

ino liun la liun ino mɔkɔ-b-i-awang kɔlambu ino

yonder woman PRT woman yonder PET AV-MID--COM-open musquito.net yonder

‘So the lady, the lady requests to open the door’

mɔŋ-sukot tu bɔgko miro piro bɔgko gayan

mɔŋ-sukot tu bɔgko miro piro bɔgko gayan

AV-inform too also 3p how many also size

‘(and) also asks to them how much the sum’

sɔŋ-guŋok kɔlambu’ di?2

sɔŋ-uyok kɔlambu’ adi

NOM-request musquito.net over there

‘their request (to enter) the musquito.net is.’

(17) *Jadi mɔmara’ ulun di’ allom kɔlambu’ di’.*

jadi mɔŋ-bara’ ulun di’ allom kɔlambu’ adi

so AV-say person LOC inside musquito.net over there

‘So the person in the musquito.net there says,’

bɔgko ulun abur liun no.

bɔgko ulun abur liun ino

also person companion yonder

‘also a companion of the woman,’

“gɔlino gayan miro m-uyok’.

gɔlino gayan miro m-uyok

in this way size 3p DEP-request UV

‘they ask this much’.

(18) *Kamo duo pulu’, duo pulu’ kamo tɔlulu pulu’.*

kamo duo pulu’ duo pulu’ kamo tɔlulu pulu’

if two ten two ten if three ten

tɔlulu pulu’ la. Miro m-uyok.

tɔlulu 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/ (sɔŋ-guŋok) 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 məŋgawang kəlambu’ no.
jadı na kəmmi da məŋ-awang kəlambu’ ino
so PRT PR AV-open musquito.net yonder
’Soo, well, then we open the musquitonenet.’

(20) Jadi dongay ulun səbila’ ino məŋkay.
jadı -u-dangay ulun səbila’ ino məŋ-kay
so -DEP-proceed person side yonder DEP-give,UV
’Soo the person on the one side proceeds and gives it.’

(21) Məŋkay ssin no, a’ miro mawang.
 məŋ-kay 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 məŋgawang ino.
 jadı ino-ino miro apon dan məŋ-awang ino
so yonder-RED 3P NEG.P yet AV-open yonder
 miro məŋngngut gulo liun no.
miro məŋ-ngngut gulo liun ino
3P DEP-spin,UV first woman yonder
’Soo that is, before they open it (lit. they have not opened it yet), they turn the woman around.’

(23) Məŋngngut liun no, miro
 məŋ-ngngut liun ino miro
DEP-spin,UV woman yonder 3P
pa-p-adop di’ anan kusay sawot di.
pa-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.
 ga-gedtan b-adung
AV-sit.side.by.side MID-seat
’They sit side by side.’

(25) Jadi ino da sawot di, sa’
jadı ino da sawot adi sa’
so yonder PR arrive over.there SQ
‘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 3r 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 dian?*
NG. Uni dian?
NG. speach old
‘Is that archaic speach?’

(29) *A’, uni dian ino, uni di’ bpung pa ino.*
a’ uni dian ino uni di’ bpung pa ino
yes, speach old yonder speach LOc former.time PRT yonder
‘Yes, it is archaic speach, it is the speach 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 Becak 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, koyar ‘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 madhan ‘faint’ the phonology does not help: it is not clear whether madhan consists of a root adhan prefixed with m- or of an unaffixed consonant-initial root madhan. In this case, the choice for assuming that *adhan 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 m*unu’ and m*ngunu’ (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-adungan ‘SF-cut off’ or pudtung ‘be cut off’? In both cases the AV is m*ngaduung and the Dependent mudtung. (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 (g-, h- or m-). 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’, m*ngadung, 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:

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<td>Excl</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fig</td>
<td>figurative language, uni lepid</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nloc</td>
<td>locative noun</td>
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<td>quantifier</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Vs</td>
<td>stative verb or adjective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
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A - a

*a-* Prefix. Non-volitive prefix.

a’ Excl. yes.

*abay Vi. arm in arm. *Prdm*: bagabay, gagabay-gabay.


abuk N. dust.


*adam Vt. scratch (writing). *Prdm*: mangadam, madam.


addot N. custom.


adi Dem. over there.

adil Vt. just. *From*: Malay.

*adop Vt. face to face. *Prdm*: mangadop, gagadop, papadop.

adoy Excl. alas.

*adtan Vi. faint (people); cheep only once (bird). *Prdm*: madian.

*adtil Vi. raise up (to the house, etc). *Prdm*: mangadtik, madtik, nedtik, bedtik (raise something up), badtik (ascend).

*adtung Vi. repeatedly. *Prdm*: madtung.

*adung Vi. sit. *Prdm*: badung (sit), mangadung, madung, nedung (sit on something).


agamo N. religion. *From*: Malay.

*agbad Vi. expand. *Prdm*: magbad, kagbad, kogbad.


*agbas Vt. weed the yard. *Prdm*: mangagbas, magbas.

agbot N. small rice basket.

*agon Vi. strong, do something strongly. *Prdm*: pagon (be strong), magon, bagon, bagnon, monegon (do something strongly).

*agow Vt. grab; take away. *Prdm*: bigagow, magow, negow.

ai’ N. younger sibling. — *Vt.* treat as younger sibling. *Prdm*: bigai’.

aji N. pilgrim. *From*: Malay?

ajung N. wooden swing used for rituals.
akay exist. existential.
akod N. upstream.
akon-akon Adv. suddenly.
aku Pron. 1st person singular nominative ‘I’.
*akut Vt. take up one’s baggage. *Prdm: bágakut, makut.
alag Nloc. beneath.
alag balay N. space under house.
alap Vt. get; take; fetch; catch. *Prdm: màngalap, alap, kalap, sàngalap, abalap.
*alid Vt. pour out rice with a winnow to remove the chaff. *Prdm: bágalid, malid, nelid.
alom Nloc. inside.
alob N. knee.
alot V. disturb women; flirt. *Prdm: bágalot, malot.
alow N. red durian.
alud N. turn inside out (pocket). *Prdm: màngalud, malud, nelud.
amà’ N. father.
ambot V. approach someone with several persons (to catch a person or animal). *Prdm: bògambot, mambot, nembot.
ambur N. false long hair.
ammog N. blue-black of a bruise.
anak lopid Vs. adolescent.
anak makon N. niece or nephew.
anan N. place (person).
angas N. forehead.
*angas Vt. tear off (something hung up). *Prdm: màngangas, pangas, nengas, mangas.
angay N. vocative for people with the same name.
anggur N. shin.
angka’ N. time, crucial moment.
*annu Vt. suffer from one disease after the other. *Prdm: mànganõ mătòs.
*annut
ano Dem. that.
antang N. manner; like.
anting N. ear ring.
antu N. antu disease.
anu Qnt. whatever.
apag N. wok.
apak V. make ladder from tree trunk. *Prdm: màngapak, mapak, nepak.
apo N. chaff; husk.
apon Neg. standard sentence negator. Often shortened to pon.
*appa’ Vt. chew; masticate.  
Prdm: măngappa’, mappa’, neppa’.

*appang Vi. follow riverbank.  
Prdm: mappang, neppang.

*appas Vt. sweep.  
Prdm: măngappas, neppas, mappas.

apu’ N. ancestor.
apug N. lime.

*appang Vt. follow riverbank.  
Prdm: mappang, neppang.

*appas Vt. sweep.  
Prdm: măngappas, neppas, mappas.

atay N. liver.
sannang atay at ease.
tuso atay worried.
sigak atay happy.
panas atay angry; impatient.
gatillah atay heart is beating (fear of heights, fear for an accident).

ate Dem. this.

*ati’ Vt. snap (archaic).  
Prdm: măngati’.
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: măngatuu, matu, gągatuu.
uu N. ashes.

*aus V. bring.  
— N aus. things brought.  
Prdm: bągau, maiuu, kuus, kaεuus, sågauus.

awak N. waist.

awal Adv. early.  
From: Malay.

awan N. sky.  
— Nloc. outside.

*awang Vt. open.  
Prdm: măngawang, mawang, newang, bawang, abawang, bewang, pawang.
awat N. difference.

*ay Vt. take.  
Prdm: may, mągay, niyo.

*a’ V. follow.  
Prdm: maya’, baya’, kąbaya’.

ayam N. toy.  
— Vt. play.  
Prdm: bągayam, mayam, neyam.

*ayas Vi. look up.  
Prdm: bąhayas, payas.

ayat N. sentence.  
From: Malay, Arabic.

ayug N. friend.  
— V. be friends.  
Prdm: gąguyug.
**B - b**

* b Prefix. Middle prefix.

**bab** N. light bulb. *From: English.*

**babak** N. episode. *From: Malay.*

**babar** N. prayer.  
— Vi. pray. *Pdrm: babar, mabar.*

**babas** Vs. fade; loose colour. *Pdrm: babas, gagabas.*

**babpa’** N. mouth.

**badas** N. honeydew.

**badas kayu** N. papaya.

**baddok** N. lotion.

**Bagay** N. *Bajau.*


**bagid** N. flintstones; matches.

**bagkang** N; Vi. branch. *Pdrm: bagkang, bagkang.*

**bagku** Vs. new; again. *Pdrm: bagku, abagku.*

**baguy** Vs. naked.

**bahayo** Vs. dangerous. *From: Malay.*

**baju** N. shirt.  
— Vi. wear a shirt. *Pdrm: g baju.*

**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.


*ballan* Vt. make. *Pdrm: mangallan, mallan, nellan, bellan, sàngallan.*

**ballon** N. noisy gathering.

**balug** N. swarm of birds; school of fish.

**baluy** Vi. transform oneself. *Pdrm: baluy, boluy.*

**bama’** Vi. chew betelnut. *Pdrm: bama’.*

**banay** N. bamboo waterjar.

**bandar** N. town. *From: Malay.*

**bandi** N. poetry bee for marriage or funeral.

*banding* Vi. compare. *From: Malay.* *Pdrm: manding.*

*banga’* Vs. open mouth. *Pdrm: pàbanga’.*

**banggu’** N. bowl.

**bangku’** N. chair.

**bangugon** N. arm.

**bango** N. husk.

**bangog** Vi. soak. *Pdrm: bangog.*

**bangow** N. large egret.

**bangso** N. race. *From: Malay?*

*banitis* V. shave eyebrows. *Pdrm: bantis, mangantis.*


**bangus buat** Vi. immediately.

**bannu** Vs. pass away (archaic).

**bannut** N. coconut fibre.  
— Vi. peel coconut. *Pdrm: mangannut, mannut, nennut.*

**bano** N. husband.  
— Vi. have a husband. *Pdrm: gàbano.*

**bantug** Vs. well known; boast. *Pdrm: bantug (well known), màngantug (boast).*


*baris* Vi. line up. *From: Malay.* *Pdrm: babaris.*

**barong** Qnt. whosoever. *From: Malay?*

**barung-barung** N. field hut.

*barut* Vi. cut hair; shave. *Pdrm: barut, marut, màngarut, màmarut, berut, nerut.*

**bas** N. bus. *From: English, Malay.*
basa’ Vs. wet.
basi N. machete.
basog N. rice wine.
batang N. tree trunk.
*batin Vt. change clothes. Prdm: 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: mayayo / mayo, mayo, neyo / beyo.
bbang N. just above breasts and under armpit (place to tie a sarong).
bbat N. border of ricefield. Prdm: gagabat.
bbi’ N. saliva. Prdm: mbbi’, b-gabbi’.
bbong N. skin disease which causes white itchy scales all over the body.
bbboa’adong N. fire ant.
bbbaua’ N. fruits.
bbhuo Vi. sing a lullaby. Prdm: bbohu.
bbuto N. plant (used at funerals).
bbdatan N. monitor lizard.
bg(g)- Prefix. Actor Voice class prefix.
Bgak N. Begak.
bgamong Vi. have breakfast. Prdm: bgamong, bagemong.
bgappak Vt. cut short (hair, wood). Prdm: bgappak.
bgatingot Vt. take others into account. Prdm: bgatingot.
bgkas N. husked rice.
bgkas parikipig N. half ripe rice that has been boiled and dried and pounded.
bgkat Vv. heavy. Prdm: bgkat, abagkat.
bgko Adv. also.
bgku’ N. medicinal plant.

bgubu-sukang V. cure for sickness caused by a curse.
behos N. guava.
bellos Vs. rotten.
bero-bero Vi. pretend. Prdm: bero-bero.
bakalat-bakalat Vi. make flowery speech. Prdm: bakalat-bakalat.
bakadilap Vi. twinkle. Prdm: bakadilap.
bakalipus Vi. go round. Prdm: bakalipus.
balabat Vi. happen at the same time. Prdm: balabat, abalabat.
baladut Vi. upside down. Prdm: baladut.
balakang N. fence.
 — V. make a fence. Prdm: malakang.
balan N. vine.
balango N. low wide water jar.
balanja’ N. money to spend.
balatok N. basket carried on the back.
balenan N. large basket carried on the back.
balika’ N. large basket.
balingo N. shellless egg.
 — Vi. pregnant (fig). Prdm: gbalingo.
balising Vi. turn around. Prdm: balising.
bhallu’ N. flower (meal); dough.
bhalumbang N. waves.
bambol Vs. have constellation (adults). Prdm: bambol, gabambol.
banda N. banner. From: Malay.
-bangur Vi. cry (archaic). Prdm: gbangur.
bannor Vs. true.
bannud Vs. thirsty (archaic).
bannuk N. addled egg (of a chicken).
baran-haran N. female vampire.
bardi N. bucket. From: Malay.
bapag Prefix. Distant Past Prefix.
barakkot Vi. reside with someone. Prdm: barakkot.
baramatay N. spirits of dead.
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<tr>
<td>Berigas</td>
<td>N. Berigas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>baring-baring</td>
<td>Vi. bright.</td>
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<tr>
<td>*baringot</td>
<td>Vi. be angry without showing it (fig.). *Prdm: gabaringot.</td>
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<tr>
<td>bariot</td>
<td>N. flash.</td>
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<td>baris</td>
<td>N. sand.</td>
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<tr>
<td>barkadu</td>
<td>Vi. go and return in one day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baruan</td>
<td>N. person who performs chicke ritual at funeral.</td>
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<tr>
<td>barus</td>
<td>Vi. descend from a mountain with river below.</td>
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<td>barubus</td>
<td>Vs. fall (objects), leak. *Prdm: bårubus, abårubus.</td>
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<td>barus</td>
<td>N. brush.</td>
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<td>barusan</td>
<td>Vi. urinate in pants.</td>
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<td>barsaro</td>
<td>Vi. discuss. *From: Malay.</td>
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<td>N. iron.</td>
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<td>N. squirrel.</td>
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<td>— basking</td>
<td>bågitom Prevost’s squirrel.</td>
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<td>— bassing talun</td>
<td>plantain squirrel.</td>
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<td>bårurat</td>
<td>Vi. decline. *Prdm: bårurat.</td>
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<td>N. jetty; dock.</td>
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<tr>
<td>båtal</td>
<td>N. word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>båton</td>
<td>N. harvest basket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>båtu’</td>
<td>N. very undeepe gorge; valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>båttun</td>
<td>N. star.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>båttut</td>
<td>Vs. kneeling upside down. *Prdm: båttut, gåbbåttut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bårutan</td>
<td>Cl. classifier for persons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>N. body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batula’</td>
<td>N. loofah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biag</td>
<td>Vs. full (after a meal). *Prdm: biag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biag kkan</td>
<td>N. frog that enters houses to eat rice (lit. full of rice).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibit</td>
<td>N. seed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidan</td>
<td>N. midwife. *From: Malay?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidda’</td>
<td>Vs. different.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bil</td>
<td>N. bill. *From: Malay, English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilik</td>
<td>N. room. *From: Malay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billog</td>
<td>N. broken crushed rice after pounding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilo</td>
<td>Conj. when. *From: Malay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilu</td>
<td>Vs. blue. *From: English, Malay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bimbang</td>
<td>Vs. worry. *From: Malay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bing</td>
<td>N. bank. *From: English, Malay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bio</td>
<td>prep. and; with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisan</td>
<td>N. parents whose children have intermarried.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>V. be parents whose children have intermarried. *Prdm: båbisan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisaya’</td>
<td>N. Bisaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biskal</td>
<td>N. bike. *From: English, Malay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biso</td>
<td>N. poison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit</td>
<td>N. wallet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitis</td>
<td>N. shin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bius</td>
<td>Vs. anesthetized. *From: Malay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobo</td>
<td>N. hand bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogbod</td>
<td>N. wild star fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bogbod halimbing</td>
<td>N. star fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borok</td>
<td>N. leprozy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>N. horn of hornbill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowon</td>
<td>N. sparrow; Passer montanus malaccensis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bowon</td>
<td>bångkang brown sparrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bowon</td>
<td>båsir dark brown sparrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bowon</td>
<td>bura’ white feathered sparrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bowon</td>
<td>katudom black sparrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— bowon silong</td>
<td>Malay loriquet; Loriculus galgulus galgulus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowong</td>
<td>N. onion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowong puti’</td>
<td>N. garlic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyan</td>
<td>N. hen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyo</td>
<td>N. crocodile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bpas niug</td>
<td>N. waste of coconut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bpo</td>
<td>Vs. suddenly come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bpos</td>
<td>Adv. after; passed away (fig.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bpow</td>
<td>N. smell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bpuk</td>
<td>N. hair.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

*Cepuk Vs. dizzy; drunk. Prdm: abepuk, bagepuk.

Bpuk


Bungkung

— V. earlier. Prdm: bungkung.

Bun

— N. bottle.

Bungung


Bungkan

— Vs. featherless (chicken).

Bungo

— N. flower.

Bungun

— Vs. deaf.

Bunsud

— N. fishing trap.

Buntas

— Vs. starved. Prdm: buntas, gābuntas.

*Bu numa’


Buol-buol

— Vt. stick out.

Buow

— Vt. chase birds from rice field. Prdm: buow.

Bura’

— Vs. white feathered.

Boris

— N. unhusked rice grains.

Burod

— Vs. blind.

Busol

— N. boil.

Busol biti

— N. small boil in the eye.

Busu’


Busung

— N. curse.

Buta’

— N. earth.

Butit

— Vs. belly is growing. Prdm: butit, aburit.

Butong

— Vs. rotten (uncooked food, plants or flesh). Prdm: butong, gābutong.

Butor


Butot-butot

— Vs. round.

Buttas

— N. small lake.

Butus

— Vs. smoke.

Buyong

— Vt. grumble; grouse. Prdm: gābuyong.

Buyu

— N. betel vine.

C - c

*cek


Ceking

— N. police checking.
da  Asp. progressive aspect.
dadan  Qnt. all.
dadi  Prt. so. From: Malay.
*dagang  Vt. buy. Prdm: gadang, dogang, degang.
*dagow  Vt. look by stretching the head. Prdm: gadagow.
*dalam  Vi. mourn. Prdm: dolam.
dalan  N. main road.
dalan gayo
dalii'  N. flood.
dalir  Vs. think. Prdm: dalir, gadalir, bagadalir.
dallay  Vs. slow. Prdm: dallay, dallay-dallay.
dallom  Vs. deep. Prdm: dallom.
*dalud  Vi. wait. Prdm: godalud, dolud, delud.
*dalun  Vt. roll up a mat. Prdm: gadalun.
damar  N. resinous wood.
dami  N. rice stalk.
damok  N. damok tree.
dan  Adv. yet.
*danggar  Vt. ram. Prdm: gadanggar.
*dangol  Vt. inset a piece of wood to support something. Prdm: gadangol, dongol, dangol.
danow  N. lake.
*dappit  Vt. stop for a while. Prdm: doppit, deppit, kadappit.
*darak  Vt. travel. Prdm: dorak.
*darang  Vt. warm body. Prdm: gadarang.
darjah  N. class, form, standard. From: Malay.
datu'  N. sire. From: Malay.
daun  N. leaf.
*dawang  Vt. look out of the window to stretch the legs and breathe some fresh air. Prdm: gadawang.
dawat  N. ink. From: Malay.
daway  N. wire. From: Malay.
*dawot  Vi. reply. Prdm: gadawot.
Dayangpukli  N. Dayangpukli, name of a princess.
dayo  Vs. rich.
dda'  N. blood.
*ddan  N. branch (tree).
*ddat  Vs. bad. Prdm: ddat.
*ddu'  N. juice; broth.
 — V. make into broth. Prdm: mangddu', maddu', niddu'.
deip  Vs. astonished. From: Malay. Prdm: deip, gadeip.
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. spoilit.
deyow  Adv. may you.
dlas  Vs. steep, sloping.
dllay  N. maize; corn.
 — V. grow corn. Prdm: gadllay.
*dulu'  Vi. descend. Prdm: duulu', d'ulu', dumullu', d'ullu'.
dllus  Vs. burn.
*damus  Vt. bathe a baby. Prdm: gadamus, dumus.
Dara'  N. Dera’.
darom  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: gadiili', d'mili'.
domar Vs. full moon. *Prdm: domar.
doto N. good spirit.
dtat N. species of sharp weed.
dtom N. bile; gall.
*dtop Vt. light up; turn on light. *Prdm: dëtop, mëtop, mëngëtop, nidtop.
dtow N. day; sun.
bëgaëtu’, sëgaëtu’.
*dü’ V. pray. *Prdm: damü’.
duktur N. doctor. *From: English, Malay.
dukut N. weed.
dullun Adv. continuously.
dungit N. dirt from body.
dunyo N. world. *From: Malay?
duo Num. two.
duran Excl. now you know!
duruy N. deep part of the river.
Dusun N. Dusun.

E - e

ennak N. fat.
estet N. estate. *From: English.

G - g

*gabar Vt. flare up; become angry. *Prdm: gobor.
gabir-tu-gabar Vt. hold in hand close to body.
gabpi N. night.
gabpon N. small cloth mask for dead body.
gabur Vt. 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.
galuy Vs. child like; senile; mentally behind. *Prdm: galuy.
gam Prt. question marker, dubitative marker.
gambat Vs. lie.  Prdm: gambat, bagambat.
*gambus Vi. nagging; troublesome.  Prdm: bagambus, sagambus.
gamo N. married couple.
  — V. be a married couple.  Prdm: gagamo.
*gan Or. Prdm: gana'.”
 ganak missan N. cousin.
gangit Vs. tangled up. Prdm: gangit, agangit, gagangit.
gangkul Vs. half ripe (coconut).  Prdm: gangkul.
*gan Vs. harvest.  Prdm: bagani, goni, geni.
*ganta Adv. very.
*ganti Vi. replace.  From: Malay.  Prdm: baganti, gonti, genti.
gantong N. 4,54 liter.  From: Malay?
gantung Vi. hang.
*gapid Vs. have two wives.  Prdm: gapid, bapapid.
gapol N. twins.
gapot Vi. face the direction of.  Prdm: gapot, gopot, bapapot.
gapu’ Vs. decayed. Prdm: gapu’, gopu’.
*gapus Vi. tie up an enemy with a rope around a tree. Prdm: bapapus, gopus.
*garab Vi. hunt. Prdm: gorab.
gara’-gara’ Adv. in the end.
garing-aring Excl. O my wife! (during wailing only).
garut Vi. hoarse. Prdm: garut, agarut.
*gasa’ Vi. shout. Prdm: bagasa’, gosa’, gesa’.
gatang N. downry.
gaud N. paddle.
gaun N. smoke.
*gaung Vi. trumpet (elephant sound). Prdm: bagaung.
gaunt N. gout.
gawang Vs. damaged at the tip.
gaway N. goal.
gayan N. size.
gayang N. long bushknife.
gayo Vs. big.
*gaben N. jungle.
*gbog Vs. break. Prdm: agbog, mangagbog, mogbog, nigbog, sangagbog.
*gbud Vs. burst open. Prdm: agbud, mangagbud, mogbud.
*ge Prefix. Actor Voice class prefix.
*geba’ Vs. collapse. Prdm: gaba’.
*gedano Adv. in this way.
*gedate Adv. in this way.
*gedin Vs. catch up with someone. Prdm: gedin, gagedin.
*gedine Adv. in this way.
*gedtam Vs. remember. Prdm: gadtam, agadtam, bagadtam.
*gedtan N. stairs.
*gedtar Vi. sit side by side. Prdm: gagedtar.
*gedattup Vi. split in two like a betelnut.
*gegidi’ Vi. move.
*gegingu’ Vi. shake (tooth). Prdm: gegingu’.
*gegko Vs. have a miscarriage(child). Prdm: gegko, agagko, bagagko.
*gegka’ Vi. boil (bananas). Prdm: gengka’, gengeka’.
*gepag Vi. order in rows. Prdm: gepag, ganepeg, ganepepag, ganeapepag.
ges N. gas. From: Malay.
geud N. porridge.
  — V. turn into porridge. Prdm: gameud.
galamud V. mix. Prdm: galamud, gamelemud, galomud, gaomulomud.
galar Vi. give nickname. From: Malay. Prdm: galar.
galas N. glass. From: Malay.
galamay N. type of small bird.
galulu N. pestle.
galong N. bangle.
gamaran N. whetstone.
gamara’-gamara’ Vi. dress up (women).
gammis Vi. conscious.
gomonay-gamomay Vi. dress up (men).
*gangnguk Vi. scream. Prdm: gungnguk.
garawo N. spirit; breath; enthusiasm; feeling.
gajo garawo love someone very much.
kalu’garawo hart’s wish.
tuso garawo worry.
atar garawo offended, hurt.
padus garawo angry.
bulud garawo like to do something very much (archaic). Vt. breathe. Prdm: garawo.
garabid-garabid Vs. with diagonal stripes.
garabuta’ V. walk. Prdm: garabuta’.
garabhit-tu-garabbit Vi. argue shouting.
garakak-tu-garakakkak Vi. many people laughing.
gargadi N. saw.
garja’/gareja’ N. church. From: Malay.
garopan Vs. hungry. Prdm: garopan.
garup-tu-garup Vi. chat noisily.
*garubang Vt. sew all seeds in one hole. Prdm: gaporubang, gaporubang.
garuko-tu-garuko Vi. constantly talking.
garukut-tu-garukut Vi. rummage about.
garunay Pron. self.
garuyong-tu-garuyong Vi. buzz of many people.
gassang N. sweat.
— Vi. sweat. Prdm: gussang.
ggud niug N. edible soft part of a palm shoot.
*giay Vs. hang down (objects); slovenly (people). Prdm: giay, giay-giay, garia-garia.
gibang N. left.
gibod-ibod Vs. go to and fro. Prdm: gibod-ibod, agibod-agibod.
*gigir Vt. pound gently. Prdm: bagigir.
*giking Vt. hang something with a rope. Prdm: bagiking, gamiking.
*giling Vt. grind. Prdm: bagiling, gamiling, gamiling.
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: bagiung.
gkang tagaraang Vi. shout (eg. football players to each other).
*gkas Vs. burned. Prdm: agkas.
*gkay Vt. give. Prdm: manggkay, magkay, nigkay, bigkay.
gking N. supernatural power.
— Vs. miraculous. Prdm: agking.
*gkog Vi. jealous. Prdm: bagagkog.
*gkom Vt. soak (non edible items). Prdm: mangagkom, magkom, nigkom.
gkot Vt. work; hold. Prdm: mangagkot, magkot, nigkot.
gkot N. work.
gkun N. village.
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: gamuad.
guang  N. chest cavity.
gubong-gubong  Vs. upside down.
gubor  Vs. noisy. *Prdm: gubor, gānubor.
gukulu’  N. big hole.
gukuy  Excl. what can you do?
gugur  N. piercing.
gula’ batu  N. From: Malay. candy.
gull  Vs. Divorce.
gulu  Adv. first.
gulu  Vs. front. *Prdm: gulu, kāgulu.
guna’  Vt. *Prdm: g āmuna’.
gunting  N. scissors.
guog  Vs. stay. *Prdm: guog, manguguog, aguog.
gur  N. cane sugar.
guru  Vt. learn.
gur  Vs. own. *Prdm: bāguru, go⿰uru, gūrī, go⿰guru.
hal  N. matter. From: Malay.
I  -  i
-i-  Infix. Completive Aspect.
ība’  N. wild Starfruit.
Ida’an  N. From: Ida’an.
*idtus  V. take out. *Prdm: bidtus (fall out), abīdīus, māngidīus (take out).
idus  N. bush knife.
īe’  Excl. vocative for younger sibling.
īgkang  N. cornfield.
*guna’  Vt. *Prdm: bāgūn a’.
gun  N. From: Malay.
guog  Vs. stay. *Prdm: guog, manguguog, aguog.
gur  N. cane sugar.
H  -  h
hal  N. matter. From: Malay.
I  -  i
-i-  Infix. Completive Aspect.
ība’  N. wild Starfruit.
Ida’an  N. From: Ida’an.
*idtus  V. take out. *Prdm: bidtus (fall out), abīdīus, māngidīus (take out).
idus  N. bush knife.
īe’  Excl. vocative for younger sibling.
īgkang  N. cornfield.
*guna’  Vt. *Prdm: bāgūn a’.
gun  N. From: Malay.
of ninda’.
*ingat Vt. open something narrow. Prdm: mingat, bingat.
inggos Qnt. all.
ingog Vt. hear. Prdm: mingog, mungkinog, kingog, akanog,惩og.
ingut Vt. force. Prdm: bagingut, mingut, ngingut.
inio N. grandparent; ancestor.
inum Vt. drink. Prdm: manginum, minum, ninum, kinum, kakinum, pinum, kapinum, baganinum.
io’ N. older sibling.
io’ V. call someone ‘older sibling’. Prdm: bagio’.
*iong Vt. promise. Prdm: manganjat, jamin, jomin.
*imius Vt. watch and wait for something. Prdm: bagiap, nipiop, nipot.
imius V. finish. Prdm: mippus, manganpus, nipus.
imus V. nape; back of neck.
imir Vt. imitate. Prdm: mangirat; irat-irat.
imos Vt. guarantee. Prdm: manganjat, jamin, jomin.
imut Vt. garantee. Prdm: manganjat, jomin.
imos N. cockroach.
imam N. hour; watch. From: Malay.
imangut N. beard. From: Malay.
imar N. tobacco.
imanda’ N. soursop. From: Malay.
imali’ Vt. multicolour with varied stripes.
imaman N. drying place. From: Malay.
imandla N. window. From: Malay.
imal N. jail.
imali’ V. put in jail. From: Malay.

**APPENDIX B**

**J - j**

jadi Adv. Vt. so; become. From: Malay.
jam N. hour; watch. From: Malay.
jangut N. beard. From: Malay.
jon N. armpit.
jon N. nose.
isan N. border with forest.
iskul N. school. From: English.
isol Vt. promise. From: Malay?
is’ Vt. promise. From: Malay.
issi’ Vt. tear (cloth). Prdm: bissi’ (be torn), ngissi’ (tear).
issog V. move. Prdm: bissog (move), kisso, miggisso, nissog (move something).
isud Vt. bring someone. Prdm: bagisud, misud, nisud, (a)pisud.
it Vt. get; take. Prdm: binnit, mittit.
itting N. string of a rice ear.
itatat Vt. lift. Prdm: mangittat, mittatt, nittat.
ittoy Adv. little.
itung Adv. almost.
itud V. move up. Prdm: biud, mugiud, miud.
ivas Vt. return. Prdm: mivas, kiwas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jinjir</td>
<td>N. type of vegetable that grows in ditches.</td>
<td>Prdm: baṅkabun.</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*judi</td>
<td>V. gamble.</td>
<td>Prdm: baṁjudi.</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**K - k**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>Prefix. Actor Voice Non-volitive.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>Prt. discourse particle</td>
<td>Prdm: baṅkabun.</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaba'</td>
<td>N. crab.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabbun</td>
<td>N. garden.</td>
<td>Prdm: baṅkabun.</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kabing</td>
<td>Vt. carry in hand. Prdm: baṅkabit, baṅkabin, baṅkebing.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kad</td>
<td>N. card.</td>
<td>Prdm: baṅkakun.</td>
<td>English, Malay, Kadazan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kadajian</td>
<td>N. Kedayan.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadang-kadang</td>
<td>Adv. sometimes.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadday</td>
<td>N. shop.</td>
<td>Prdm: baṅkadong, baṅkakadong.</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadut</td>
<td>N. rice sack.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kagbut</td>
<td>Vt. hold with fingertips. Prdm: baṅkagbut, baṅkagbut.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kagok</td>
<td>Vs. boil. Prdm: kagok, kagak.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kagom</td>
<td>Vs. sink. Prdm: kagom, kagom.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kager</td>
<td>Vt. talk like a dead person. Prdm: baṅkagor.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kagut</td>
<td>Vt. scrape on coconut scraping bench. Prdm: baṅkagut, baṅkagut.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kait</td>
<td>Vt. knock down (fruit) with a long pole. Prdm: kickait, koit, koit.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kak</td>
<td>N. crow.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaki limo</td>
<td>N. veranda. Prdm: -</td>
<td>Prdm: -</td>
<td>Malay, Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kakkab</td>
<td>Vt. cool down a curse. Prdm: baṅkakkab, baṅkaktab, baṅkakab.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>*kakkam</td>
<td>Vt. feeling around. Prdm: baṅkakkam, baṅkkam, baṅkkam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kakkang</td>
<td>N. young of tiger.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>*kakkas</td>
<td>Vt. rake up. Prdm: baṅkakas, baṅkakas, baṅkakas.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kakkot</td>
<td>Vs. dry (river). Prdm: kakkot, akakkit, akakki.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kako</td>
<td>Vs. eldest (of two persons).</td>
<td>Prdm: baṅkako.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kakong-kakong</td>
<td>Excl. O my husband!</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kakut</td>
<td>Vt. pull. Prdm: baṅkakut, baṅkut, baṅkut.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kambang</td>
<td>N. butterfly.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>*kalam</td>
<td>Vt. visit. Prdm: kalam, kalam, kalam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kalun</td>
<td>Vt. go (archaic). Prdm: bakalan, bakul, bakul.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kalut</td>
<td>Vs. with stripes in different colours.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kamang</td>
<td>N. necklace.</td>
<td>Prdm: -</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kambing</td>
<td>N. goat.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kambor</td>
<td>Adv. perhaps.</td>
<td>Prdm: -</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamman</td>
<td>N. uncle.</td>
<td>Prdm: -</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamo</td>
<td>N. mattress.</td>
<td>Prdm: -</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampu’</td>
<td>Vs. defeated. Prdm: kampu’.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kampus</td>
<td>Vs. out of breath. Prdm: kampus, akampus, akampus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kan</td>
<td>Prt. isn’t it? Prdm: kal, kal, kal.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanak-kanak</td>
<td>Vs. small.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>*kandik</td>
<td>Vt. go upstream. Prdm: kondik, kondik.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kandit</td>
<td>N. sash.</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kangguy</td>
<td>Vs. trip over something.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>*kanut</td>
<td>Vt. pull. Prdm: baṅkanut, konut, konut.</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kapir</td>
<td>N. pagan. Prdm: baṅkanut, konut, konut.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Malay, Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapo</td>
<td>N. axe.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kapor</td>
<td>N. ship.</td>
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<tr>
<td>*kappang</td>
<td>Vt. crawl. Prdm: koppang, koppang.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kappu’</td>
<td>Vs. position of a person playing or studying on the floor.</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kapuk</td>
<td>N. cotton.</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>karan</td>
<td>N. electricity. Prdm: baṅkanut, konut, konut.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>English, Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karas</td>
<td>N. kris.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karit</td>
<td>N. pray after burying the coffin.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karow</td>
<td>Vs. get bags under the eyes. Prdm: baṅkarow, baṅkarow.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karut</td>
<td>N. wild cat.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*karut Vt. scratch. Prdm: bakarut, korut, kerut.
kaset N. casset. From: English.
*kasi’ Vt. tie up coffin. Prdm: baksasi’, kosi’.
kassa’ N. bottle; glass. From: Malay, Sanskrit.
*kassol Vt. feeling around in water to look for water snails. Prdm: bakassol.
*kassow Vt. disturb. Prdm: bakassow, kossow, kessow.
kasu’ N. foot.
kat Prt. Core Development Marker.
*kati Vt. tease. Prdm: bakati, koti, karati.
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: bakaung, koung, keung.
kaut N. cloud.
*kaut V. taste, to dig. Prdm: bokaut, kout, keuat.
*kauy Vt. roast without oil. Prdm: bakauy, kouy, keuy.
kawa’ N. large wok.
kawat N. wire.
kawong Vs. suddenly disappear. Prdm: kawong, karawong-rawong.
*kawor Vt. take (ask someone to pass something on). Prdm: bakawor, kowor, kewor.
*kayag Vt. follow. Prdm: bakayag, koyag, keyag.
*kayan Vt. clothe dead body. Prdm: mongkayayan, mokoyan, mokayan.
kayang-kayang Vs. upsidedown. Prdm: kayang-kayang.
kayu N. tree; wood.
*karut Vt. swim like a fish. Prdm: koyu’.
*kayur Vv. go around. Prdm: koyur.

kə- Prefix. Actor Voice Non-volitive.
kəb’bang N. well.
*kəb’pit Vt. touch (to draw someone’s attention). Prdm: bək’abit.
kədayow N. prosperity.
kədamon N. disgust; on edge for seeing something strange.
kədiras N. ringsworm.
kədo N. nickname with which animals in stories address each other.
*kədit Vt. take out stomach of a fish. Prdm: bək’adit, kudit, kidit.
kədtop N. eyelashes.
*kədtut Vt. pinch. Prdm: bək’adut, kudut, kidut, kərədut.
kemot N. end of world. From: Arabic, Malay ‘kiamat’.
key Prt. particle marking focus.
*kək’kon Vt. draw in legs. Prdm: kukkon, kikkong.
kək’kopol Vs. gathered on a spot. Prdm: kək’kopol.
kək’ran N. bench for scraping coconut.
*kəlak’k Vt. hold tight. Prdm: bək’alak’k, kalak’k.
kəlalang N. pumpkin.
kəlambu’ N. mosquito net. From: Malay.
kəlapa sawit N. oil palm tree. From: Malay.
*kəlas’ag V. plait. Prdm: bək’alas’ag.
*kəlawat Vt. coil a rope. Prdm: kəmalowat, kəlawat.
kəlayon Vs. fade away (light). Prdm: kəlayon.
kəlap’on N. poor thing.
kəlag’bungan N. ridgepole.
kəlangon Adv. o’clock sharp.
*kəlaw’kom Vt. roll up (animals). Prdm: bək’alaw’kom, kəməlaw’k.
kə’las Vs. shocked, pounding (liver). Prdm: bək’əlas atay.
kəlikan N. instrument to catch crocodiles.
kəlinik N. clinic. From: Malay, English.
| *kalos | Vt. roll up a mat. *Prdm: bokalos. |
| kalu’ | N. desire. |
| kaluarga | N. family. *From: Malay. |
| kalukub | N. corn leaf that covers the fruit; shirt (fig.). |
| kalunggot | Vs. curled (hair). *Prdm: kalunggot. |
| kamanno | N. feeling. |
| kamni | *Pron. 1st person plural exclusive nominative or genitive. |
| kammon | Adv. just now. |
| kamo | Conj. as for; quote marker; if, when. |
| Kamukun | N. Tungku. |
| kamlud | Excl. long may (s)he/live. |
| kananan | N. kitchen utensils. |
| kaneat | Vs. flowery (speech). *Prdm: bokaneat, sakaneat. |
| ka(ng)- | Prefix. abstract deverbal noun. |
| kanio-nio | Vs. respectively; own. *Prdm: kanio-nio. |
| kannop | Vs. each. *Prdm: kannop, bokannop. |
| kannuy | N. eagle; kite. |
| kapatay | N. death. |
| kapin | N. looks like. |
| kappol | N. species of medicinal plant. |
| kapuos | Vs. ended, last. |
| kara’ | Vs. waist (pity to throw away). *Prdm: kara’, bokara’. |
| karaban | Vs. fall (grass). *Prdm: karaban, koraban, reban. |
| karabi | Vs. identical. |
| karaig | Vs. food poisoning. |
| karassuy | Vs. slip. |
| karatang | Vt. line up. |
| karatos | N. paper. |
| karabong | N. hole in head. |
| — | Vs. step into a hole in the road. |
| karpul | N. water buffalo. |
| karakkak-tu-| Vs. burst of laughter of many people. |
| karangkak | |
| karabu | N. costume. |
| karang | Vs. crushed. |
| karapi | N. certain disease. |
| karibpan | Vs. landslide. |
| karigow-tu-karigow | Vt. make sound. |
| karig | Vs. shiver. |
| karito | N. car. *From: Malay. |
| karito | N. bird. |
| karoit | N. woodpecker. |
| karom | Vs. cripple. |
| karopok | N. crisps. *From: Malay. |
| karo | Vs. shrunk (whithered plants, swollen feet). |
| *karot | V. cut vetetables into small pieces. *Prdm: bokarot, kurot, kirot. |
| karudop | Vt. blink. |
| karudu’ | Vt. show pity for. |
| karughok | Vs. drop; sit down clumsily; hang down (rice). |
| karugbos | Vs. bowing down (dying grass). |
| karugong | Vs. withered. |
| karuk | N. nose flute. |
| — | V. play the nose flute. *Prdm: bokaruk. |
| karukkus | Vs. lose completely (money or sarong that falls off). |
| karutu-tu- | Vs. keep going on but without result. |
| karutu | (two) |
| karusus | N. course. *From: Indonesian. |
| kassa’ | Nloc. since. |
| kassumbang | N. ear rings. |
kippi’ N. folded cloth.

*kiput Vi. closed by itself (hole). Prdm: kiput, bkiput.
kir Adv. about. From: Malay?
kiron Vs. up to. Prdm: kiron, kmiron.
kisol-tu-kisol Vi. turn over in sleep; sleeping restlessly.
kisor Vs. fast (walking).
kisow N. orangutan.

*N. Prom. 1st person plural inclusive nominative or genitive.

*kitos Vt. tickle. Prdm: bkitok, kàritok.

*kikak Vs. choke (of laughter or crying). Prdm: akkak.
kkan N. cooked rice.


*kkung Vst. crooked. Prdm: bkkung, màngkkung, mkkung.
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, bkororo.
kosó 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 Prom. 1S G.

*kua’ Vi. crow. Prdm: bku’a’.

kuag Vs. horizontal (flag pole, tail, fishingrod). Prdm: kuag, pakuag.
*kuar Vt. stir. 

kungan latip N. handle of a spear.
kuop N. child that grows slowly.
kupi N. coffee. From: Malay.

*kuat Vs. diligent; industrious.

kurang Vs. less. From: Malay. Prdm: kurang, akurang, kəurməŋ.

*kuh N. part of something; the rest.

kupor Vt. rub clothes with the hands when washing them. Prdm: bəkupor, ɬəmupor, kipor.

kupor N. child that grows slowly. From: Malay.

kupor, akupor
kusay N. man.

kusu’ V. wash the lower body after urinating or defecating. Prdm: bəkusu’.

kusu N. medicinal plant.

kusur N. medicinal plant.

kusu-tu-kusu Vi. turn around in sleep (sick or worried people).

lado N. pepper.

lagas Vs. bald.
lagay N. rice ear.
lagbang N. stair landing; shoe plateau.

la Prt. discourse particle.

labak Vt. put; place. Prdm: galabak, lobak, lebak.

labo Vs. a lot (game caught in forest).

*labot Vt. prepare a feast meal for guests. Prdm: galabot, lobot, lebot.

*labu N. squash.

labu N. squash.

*ladak Vt., Vt. shocked. Prdm: galadak atay.

ladang Vt. go down. Prdm: lodung, kəladung.

lage Vs. bald.

lagey N. rice ear.
lagbi' Vs. full. Prdm: lagbi', alagbi', manglagbi', palagbi'.

*lagkos V. strain. Prdm: galagkos logkos, legkos.

lagu N. song. From: Malay.

*lagut Vt. insert. Prdm: galagut, logut, legut.

Lahad Datu N. Lahad Datu.

*lais Vt. polish. Prdm: galais, lois, leis.

*lagad Vt. let. Prdm: lokad.

lakag N. remote relative.

lakkod Vs. incomplete. Prdm: lakkod, alakkod.

*lakkos Vi. take a short cut. Prdm: galakkos, lokkos.

lakkug N. top of felled and burnt treetrunk.

*lakpa’ Vi. take one step. Prdm: lokpa’, galakpa’.

laku Vs. in demand; easily sold.

*lali’ Vi. become senile. Prdm: galali’.

*lalalak Vt. remove bark of a tree. Prdm: galallak.

*lamak V. eat (very rude, said in curses). Prdm: galamak.

*lambus Vi. go on. Prdm: lombus, alambus, kalambus.

lami-lami N. feast with many people.

lammuk N. musquito.

lamog Vs. slippery.

lampu N. lamp. From: Malay, via Portuguese.


lancong N. nail. From: Malay.

lanuk N. candle.

landap N. turban.

landu’ Vs. exceed. Prdm: landu’, londu’.

*langgo Vt. lay to sleep on the ground. Prdm: palanggo.

langgung N. relative.

— V. be relatives. Prdm: langgung, maglanggung.

langit N. sky.

*langog Vt. soak. Prdm: galangog, longog, lengog.

*langon N. pillow.

— V. lie on a pillow; use as a pillow.

langow N. housefly.

*langu Vi. crave. Prdm: galangu.

langu’ N. brother or sister in law.

*lanit Vt. peel off skin. Prdm: galanit, lonit, lenit, alanit.

lano N. oil.

— V. make oil. Prdm: lono.


*lantok Vt. insert a pole vertically. Prdm: galantok, lontok, lentok.

lanu’ Vs. smooth (skin).

Lanun N. flanun.

lapad Cl. classifier for flat objects.

*lapas Vs. pass by. Prdm: lopas, kalapas, alapas, lapes.

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: galasing, losing, lesing.

lasog N. testicles.

*lassan Vs. drop out of one’s hands. Prdm: kalassan, nlessian.

*lassi’ Vt. peel with hands. Prdm: galassi, lossi, lessi’.

lassot N. species of fruit; lansium domesticum.

lassu’ Vs. cross; pass. Prdm: lassu’, kalassu’, alassu’.

lassun N. poison.

lasuk Vs. enter (strangers or thieves).

*lasut Vt. flesh out. Prdm: galasut, losut.

lati N. meaning.

— Vs. understand. Prdm: lati,
kalati, bogalati, mangalati.
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, kalattos, 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’.
lauad N. wind.
*laug Vi. jump. Prdm: lough, gaug.
*laut Vi. insert post in ground. Prdm: lout.
*lauy Vi. escape. Prdm: molauy, kaury.
*lawan Vi. oppose. From: Malay. Prdm: gagalawan.
lawang N. door.
lawas Vs. clear. Prdm: lawas, alawas, mangalawas, palausas, navelas.
laway N. colourful thread.
lawg N. bee; wasp.
*laya’ Vi. love. Prdm: galaya’.
*layag Vi. sail. Prdm: galayag.
layang Vs. fall from a certain height. Prdm: layang, alyang; galayang.
layo N. fish net.
layom Vs. suddenly disappear. Prdm: layom, kaayom.
layon Vs. bowing (head of rice). Prdm: layon.
labanus N. type of mustard spinach (Brassica).
labo Vs. more. Prdm: labo, alabo.
labopog N. mud where buffalos bathe.
labopom N. think, accuse. Prdm: labopom, galabopom.
labpong N. grave.
labpu’ Vs. leak. Prdm: labpu’.
labput Vs. muddy.
labatu Cl. classifier for fruit.
*lagkut Vi. swallow. Prdm: galagkut, lugkut, ligkut.
laguan Nloc. front.
laguok N. ravine with river.
lejo N. ginger.
lepid Vs. metaphoric; secret.
*lesan V. give birth (fig.). Prdm: galesan.
letrik N. electricity.
lewon N. omen.
lakkad Vi. let go. Prdm: lakkkad, alakkad, galakkad, likkkad, na likkad.
*lakkang Vi. remove skin; scrape skin. Prdm: galakkang, lakkang, alakkang.
*lakkob Vi. stick in ground; plant; bury. Prdm: galakkob, lakkob, likkob, alakkob.
*lakkow Vi. scream. Prdm: galakkow, lakkow.
*lakkuy Vi. tie neck. Prdm: galakkuy, lakkuy, likkuy.
lakpud Vs. broken. Prdm: lakpud, alakpud.
lama’ N. betelnut.
lamutok N. jungle leech.
lambat Vs. few. Prdm: lambat, alambat.
*lammak Vi. dry in sun. Prdm: galmamak, limmak, limmak.
lamusug N. sprout.
lamuttug N. swelling of a mosquito bite.
lanutus N. cigarette.
langu N. gums.
*langas Vi. scream. Prdm: galangas.
langati N. worm.
langgaman N. harvesting knife.
langigip N. firefly.
langkuas N. alpinia galanga.
langkumman N. food.
langnod Vs. drowned. Prdm: lananod, alanod, gananod.
lappap Adv. immediately.
*lappi’ Vi. apply liquid medicine. Prdm: galappi’, lappi’, lippi’.
lappis Vs. flat. Prdm: lappis, alappis.
lappit N. thunderstorm.
lappos Vs. faint (people); go loose (object). Prdm: lappos, kalappos.
lappow Vs. flat tyre.
lapus Vs. come out (eye). Prdm: lapus.
lattud Vs. full of blood (mosquito or leech). Prdm: latud.
lian N. wild male pig.
liax N. sort of bamboo.
*lid Vt. look for. Prdm: bagalid, malid, nilid.
liodu’ N. female flying lizard.
ligot Vs. late. Prdm: ligot, aligot, mangaligot.
*ligow Vt. deceive. Prdm: mangaligow, maligow, naligow.
liking N. dried bananas.
*likkos Vt. hug. Prdm: mangalikkos, malikkos, naliikkos.
lilla’ N. mercy.
liman N. elephant.
*limbas Vi. take turns. Prdm: galimbas.
limbow Vs. shallow. Prdm: limbow.
limo Num. five.
*lindut Vi. run. Prdm: galindut, lamindut.
*linok Vt. peep at; tiptoe while hunting in the forest. Prdm: mangalino, ngalinok.
lipos mato Vs. confused because of too many things to see.
*lippat Vt. coax. Prdm: mangalippat, malippat, naliippat.
liput Vs. round. Prdm: liput, galiput.
lisang N. play.
lisi N. egg.
—Vi. lay eggs. Prdm: galisi.
lisin N. round floor beam.
*lising Vt. turn around to expose the other side. Prdm: lamising, galising.
lisong N. wild ox.
lissog N. seed.
lituk N. deep spot in river.
litun Vs. have constipation (small children). Prdm: litun, galitun.
*liud Vi. flow. Prdm: lamuid.
*liug Vt. exchange. Prdm: mangaliug, maluig, naluig, gagaliug.
liun N. woman.
liun gidtan N. spinster.
livag Vs. forget. Prdm: livag, aliwag, lamiwag, galivag.
*liwong V. miss each other on the road. Prdm: galiwong.
*liad Vt. lay out something flat, eg. a mat. Prdm: mangalad, maliad, nialiad.
*lang Vs. hard. Prdm: allang.
llat N. joints of the hand.
*lay Vt. boil in water; rinse clothes. Prdm: mangallay, maliay, sanganallay.
lig N. neck.
*lit Vi. sew. Prdm: mangallit, maliit, nullit, bilit.
lon N. point (made in a discussion).
*llop Vs. sharp. Prdm: allop, mangapallop.
*llow Vt. scare. Prdm: malow.
lu’mato N. tear.
llud N. slime, slimy (eel).
*llun Vs. live. Prdm: allun, bagallun.
llung N. river.
*llus Vs. stuck. Prdm: allus, bagallus.
lluy N. seed basket.
*lo Vt. defeated. Prdm: alo, bagalo, gagalo.
lori N. truck. From: English.
*lu’ VI. let go out of the mouth. Prdm: lamua’.
luag Vs. loose. Prdm: luag, aluag.
*luan Vt. go outside. Prdm: lamuan, kaluan, akasuan.
*luat Vt. sell. Prdm: galuat, lamuat, liwat, aliwat.
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: lubing, lamugis.
lugi Vs. loss (of profit). *Prdm: ludtu.
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.
lukki’ Vs. stingy. *Prdm: lukki’, g% lukki’.
lulus Vs. pass exam. *Prdm: lulus.
*lumba’ Vi. race. *Prdm: g% lumba’.
lumbi’ N. jar.
lumit tullang Vs. lazy (fig.).
lumon N. silent person.
lumut N. algae. *Prdm: lumut, g% lumut.
lundung Vs. lazy. *Prdm: lundung, alundung, g% lundung.
*lunguy Vi. swim. *Prdm: g% lunguy.
*luos Vt. take off (clothes). *Prdm: luos, liwos.
*lutow Vi. disturb people (evil spirit). *Prdm: g% lutow.
lutu’ N. luch packet.

M - m

m- Prefix. Dependent.
Madday N. Madai.
mahal Vs. expensive. *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, k% maku.
malob N. tortoise with flat shield.
mangga’ N. mango.
manggis N. mangosteen.
mangkat N. time.
mannu Vs. apply oneself; very.
mansak Vs. very happy.
mankan N. chicken.
mappang N. edge.
mas N. gold.
maskid N. mosque.
masing Adv. still again.
mato N. eye.
mato gabag N. cock-eyed, cross-eyed, squinting.
mato dtow N. sun.
mato bubun N. crown of the head.
mba’ Int. where.
mbi Qnt. wherever.
m% Prefix. Ordinal number.
m%g Prefix. Unproductive prefix for
denominational verbs.

magat Vs. burst.
magensu’ Vs. be animies.
ma’- Prefix. Petitive.
Makwow N. Makuaa.
Malay N. Malay.
mallan N. vegetable seed.
manali N. type of plant.
manambat V. block the way with a spear.
mandar-mandar V. lift.
manappo Vt. make busknife.
manag Prefix. Actor Voice class prefix.
manag N. wide area (valley).
manangakk N. wife.
mangaluk Vs. not in the right mood for doing something.
mangallung N. rooster.
mangara’ N. maiden.
mangattung Vs. (baby) clinging to his mother.
manna’ Vs. be ebb. Prdm: mana’.
mannam N. taboo.
mannang V. win.
mannon Vs. jealous.
mansirod Vs. often. Prdm: mansirod, sirod-sirod, asirod.
munrug Vi. camp during hunting or fishing.
munas-nas Vi. blowing very strong.
marakang N. child.
marakot N. rambutan.
marapud N. widdow.
mari bulud N. main part of hill.
marinow N. anchovis.
mariton N. rambutan without ‘hair’.
marodat Vi. open the eyes for a second.
maruy N. relation between two men who married two sisters or between two women who married two brothers.
muesu N. spirit.
mugapi N. eel.
mija’ N. table. From: Malay.
mil Aux. ever.
milu N. cocoa drink.

mimbi Qnt. wherever.
mimbo-mimbo Vs. think a little. Prdm: mimbo-mimbo.
minan N. aunt.
minguu N. week.
minger Vs. hard of hearing.
misan Conj. although.
mintol N. bulb. From: Malay.
miran Vs. surprised. Prdm: miran, gamiran.
miron, iro Pron. 3rd person plural ‘they’.
misin N. machine.
miskin Vs. poor. From: Malay.
misan Adv. once.
mifal N. tin, can. From: Malay.
*mmad V. ask permission. Prdm: bogamad.
*mmis Vs. sweet. Prdm: ammis, bogammis.
*mmis Vt. clean rotan. Prdm: mangammis, nimmis.
*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: mangung, gamung.
munin N. civet.
mupun Adv. that is why.
Murip N. God.
Murut N. Murut.
musim N. season.
musu’ N. enemey. Prdm: musu’, magmusu’.
mutap Adv. tomorrow.
mutap satu  the day after tomorrow. Adv.
matur  N. motor. From: English.
muyu  Pron. 2nd person plural nominative

muyun  Pron. 2nd person plural accusative.

N - n

na  Prt. prt.
nabie  N. prophet. From: Malay, Arabic.
nadie  Int. so. From: Malay.
nagie  N. dry riverbank.
najił  N. crowd of people making a wish during a ritual.
nakone  Pron. 1st person singular accusative.
namone  Pron. 1st person plural exclusive accusative.
nana'  N. pus. Prdm: nana', g'nana'.
nanam  N. taste.
napone  N. name.
nas  N. nurse. From: English.
nasip  N. luck. From: Malay.
*nat  Vt. roll out mat. Prdm: məŋnat, mənat, ninat.
natad  N. yard.
naton  Pron. 1st person plural inclusive accusative.
nay  Int. who.
nayo-nayon  N. large valley.
*ncur  Vs. crush. Prdm: əncur, məncur.
*ndo!  Excl. poor thing!
*ndow  N. ghost that steals food.
*na-  Prefix. Causative Undergoer Voice Completive Aspect.
ne  Dem. this.
nəraka'  N. hell.
ngag  N. land owned.
ngam  Adv. exact.
*ngnot  Vs. tight. Prdm: anngnot, pəpəngnot.

*nggut  V. spin. Prdm: məŋgəngut, binggut, boonggut, gəgənggut.
ngod  Int; Conj. how; because.
*nor  Vi. make sound of pig or growling dog. Prdm: bəgəngor.
-ni-  Prefix. Completive Aspect.
nait  N. wish; vow.
ninag'  Neg. Sentence negator. Often shortened to inag'.
niyo  Vi. take (Undergoer Voice-Completive Aspect).
nipone  N. tooth; teeth.
nipon asu  N. milk tooth.
nitu  N. ghost.
niug  N. coconut.
niun  Pron. 2nd person singular accusative.

*nnik  Vi. go up. Prdm: mənnik, kənnik.
*nnud  Vs. float. Prdm: annud, bəgənnud, pənnud.
nnung  N. porc fat. Prdm: mənnung.

*nnuy  straight. Prdm: bənnuy, məgənnuy, mənnuy.
nom  Num. six.
nong  prep: Aux. oblique preposition; default auxiliary.
nu  Int. what.
nu kərəngan  Excl. its your own fault!
nud  N. sound.
nupi  N. dream.
—  V. dream. Prdm: ənupi.
nuri  N. pigeon.
nus-nus  Vs. very swift.

O - o

o!  Excl. exclamation.
oktu  N. time. From: Malay.
olu Num. eight.
oren N. lemonsyrup.

oyang N. movie. From: Malay.
oyer 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.
pap N. pipe. From: English, Malay.
pai N. fish.
pak N. root.
pakay Vt. From: Malay.
Prdm: pakay, m+ngakay, makay, pekay, nekay.
pakkot V. discuss. Prdm: m+pakkot.
pakkow N. handle of a cup.
pakkot Vs. drop something small. Prdm: pakkot, makpak.
palis Vs. blown away by the wind. Prdm: palis.
pamak Vs. fall from a certain height. Prdm: pamak, apamak, m+ngamak.
panda’ N. slingshot.
—— V. shoot with a slingshot. Prdm: m+ngan’a’, g+gana’.
panas Vs. hot. Prdm: panas, m+nganas, 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: m+ngangngat.
pandi 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 sambiringan sidom type of black rice.
paray ugow tatung species of red rice.
parud Vs. scrape wounded.
pasang N. sea.
pasod Qnt. many. Prdm: pasod, gapasod.
pasor Conj. because. From: Malay?
pasapot 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: mangattok, pattok, mattok, nettok.
pating N. doll. From: Malay?
patut N. bear.
paut N. mud.
payo Vs. critically ill. Prdm: payo, apayo.
payow N. deer.
payung N. umbrella.
p- Prefix. Dependent Causative.
pdakkang Vs. fall backward when sitting.
paogong N. very long bushknife that looks like a kiris.
padto N. Vs. ill.
paq- Prefix. Agent Nominalisation.
pagalob Vs. fall and come down on the knees. Prdm: apagalob.
pagaron N. charcoal.
pakekin N. expectation.
papapug N. money or sign of engagement.
pakil N. type of wood.
pagusgan N. family relationship.
pagunga’ Vi. tell in a rude way. Prdm: pagunga’.
pen N. pen.
papan N. planks. From: Malay.
perak N. silver; ringgit.
perung N. small attic.
petay N. recently deceased person.
pajangot N. water ghost.
pakalob Vs. position of a person playing with the chest on the floor. Prdm:
pakalob, nakilob.
palanuk N. mousedeer.
palassik Vs. spatter, scatter (small stones, water, mud, etc).
palastik N. plastic. From: Malay, English.
palewud N. plywood. From: English.
palangos N. sting; awl.
pal’a’ Vs. afraid. Prdm: pal’a’.
pammasul N. curse leading to death.
pamato pangnat N. fish hook.
pamudi N. front of a boat.
pamuntok N. top of a hill.
pandambun N. belt (women).
pam- Prefix. Undergoer Voice Completive Aspect Causative.
pang- Prefix. Agent Nominalisation.
pangangan N. food stock.
pangadtow N. dry season.
pangalimo N. commander. From: Malay?
panglai N. sultan’s wife.
pangka Neg. constituent negation (from pon ka).
pangngal N. snake head fish (type of river fish), fresh water murrel, Ophicephalus stratiatus.
pampu’ N. fruit stalk.
panting Vs. important. From: Malay.
pangunggal N. best; main (hunting dog).
panurug N. person who sleeps too much; lazybones.
pappan Vt. show. Prdm: mangapappan, pappan, napipappan.
pappos kuku N. beaten-chicken (in a funeral ritual).
pars Vs. sound. Prdm: gaparas.
parsok Vs. wasted. Prdm: parasok.
paretton N. positively talkative.
paralisang N. playful person.
patria’ N. bittegourd.
parrtay N. small bird of omen.
parron Vt. store to ripen quickly. From: Malay?
parot Vs. salty.
parsayo Vs. believe. From: Malay.
parruan N. kitchen.
parrukat Vs. broken and fallen apart.
parrungan N. eye of the rice.
parsalag N. night shelter.
parsaww N. fresh water prawn.
parsayan N. salt water prawn.
parsa’ Vs. chicken hatches.
parsi N. fishingline without rod.
 — V. fish with line without rod. Prdm: mamarisi.
passit Vs. narrow.
pasu N. hole.
pasuog N. buttocks; tree; roots; classifier for plants and trees. Shortened to suog.
pataray N. relatives.
pido N. short bushknife.
pikir V. think. From: Malay. Prdm:
pikir, mikir, panikir, mangikir / mamikir.
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: māngindat.
pinggan N. plate. From: Malay.
pinsil N. pencil. From: English, Malay.
pintor Vs. smart. From: Malay.
pio Vs. good. Prdm: pio, apiio, gapiio, pio-pio.
piro Int. how many.
pittut Vs. breathe last breath. Prdm: pittut, apittut, gapii/pittut, prittut.
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: māngapor.
powang Vs. noble.
p’ap N. thigh.
ppak N. breadth.
ppan N. bait.
*ppan Vs. bright. Prdm: appan.
p’π N. arm.
*ppid Vt. wipe off. Prdm: bāgāppid, māppid.
*poss Vt. hit with cane. Prdm: māngāposs, māppos, nippos, āppos, pippos.
ppug N. angle rod.
*pput Vt. tie up ends. Prdm: māngapput, maapput, nipput.
pudol N. Vs. itchy sore.
pukan Vs. be blown down by the wind (rice in the field). Prdm: kapukan.
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. rubish.
purus N. reason.
*push Vs. broke after gambling. Prdm: apus.
pusing Vs. turn around. From: Malay.
pusod N. navel.
pussun N. ant hill.
pusu’ Vs. brave. Prdm: pusu’, gāpusu’.
pusu’ N. heart.
puti’ Vs. white.
puto Vs. extinct.
puttan Vs. recovering from childbirth.
potti N. banana.
potti gaba’ type of small banana.
potti māurun plantain.
potti kalling type of banana with spots on the skin.
pukuk N. mouth.
puyan N. pan (archaic).
rangkat Vi. pull out (nails). Prdm: garangkat, rongkat.
rangkop N. necessary items.
ranggan N. fish with thumb and one other finger. Prdm: garanggan.
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, rippi.
rasop Vi. stop on. Prdm: garasop, rosop, resop, arasop.
rasso N. feeling. From: Malay.
rat Vs. bad; mean. Prdm: arat, bagarat.
ratas Vi. cut (rope). Prdm: garatas, rotas, retas.
rattab V. fan. Prdm: garattab, rottab, rettab.
rattopt Vi. closeby. Prdm: rattropt, arattropt.
ratu Num. hundred.
raung Vi. recur (disease). Prdm: roung.
ratus Vi. stop. Prdm: garatus, rotus, retus.
rattop, gattop, gatterop.
rattopt, gattopt, gaatterop.
ratol Vs. boil. Prdm: rubus, ribus.
rūttag N. trap.
— V. catch in a trap. Prdm: rūttag.
rūglkas Vs. clean (rice that is clean from husk).
rūgko N. price.
— V. expensive. Prdm: bārāgkko, arāgkko.
rūgkos N. sound heard somewhere.
— V. make a sound. Prdm: rugkros.
repug N. remaining wood after burning rice field.
rammon Vs. quiet person.
ramdog Vi. stop. Prdm: bārāndong, kārāndong.
rānggong N. otter.
rānggog N. small river fish with red eyes.
**APPENDIX B**


*rnanno* Vt. press down content of a container in order to make space for more. *Prdm*: gorannos, runnos, rinnos.

rappo N. armspan.

ratt’a N. heritage.
*ri’ Vt. tear to pieces. *Prdm*: mangari’, mar’a’.

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.

rimpun N. artist who knows russay ritual.
rimu’ N. black magic.
ringing N. wall.
inggi’ N. fishingnet.
— V. fish with a net. *Prdm*: garinggi’.
ripun N. slave.


*risit V. spurt out. *Prdm*: mangarissit, narissit, parissit.

*ritob V. ritual three days after funeral. *Prdm*: mangaritob.


*rod Vs. difficult. *Prdm*: adro.

*ron Vi. sit on eggs (chicken). *Prdm*: maron.

*row Vs. thirsty. *Prdm*: arou.
ruang N. living room.
ruay Vs. easy to bring.
rudtug N. thunder.
rugbun bakas N. place where a pig sleeps and bears young.


rumman Vs. skinny (sick child). *Prdm*: rumman, garumman.
rumo Pron. 3rd person singular ‘he, she’.

Rungus N. Rungus.

rusok Vs. broken. *Prdm*: rusok, arusok, mangarosok.
rusong Vs. stuffy; dank.

S - s

sa’ Num; Asp. one; SQ.

Sabah N. Sabah.
sabu V. go to meet someone. *Prdm*: sabu, saribu, manabu.
sabun N. soap. *From*: Malay.
sabur Vs. naughty.

sadting N. shoulder.

— V. carry; carry on shoulder. *Prdm*: manadtong, sodtong, sedtong.
sagay Adv. surely.
sagbang Vs. meet; come across. *Prdm*: sagbang, saragbang.
*sagbay V. put arm around someone’s shoulder. *Prdm*: managbay, sogbay, segbay.
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sagkit Vt. tuck in. Prdm: sagkit, gasagkit, managkit, sogkit, segkit.
*sagkob Vt. fetch water. Prdm: managkob, sogkob, segkob.
*sagkud V. comb. Prdm: gasagkud, managkud, sogkud, segkud.
sail N. tusk.
*sakag Vi. multiply; prolific. Prdm: sokag.
*sakay Vt. get on board. Prdm: sokay.
sakit Vs. crazy. Prdm: sakit, asakit, sokit.
sakkho Nloc. from.
sakop Vs. prepared. Prdm: sakop, asakop, gasakop, sokop.
sakor Vs. spread legs during sleep. Prdm: sakor, manakor, sokor, sekor.
sala’ N. mistake.
sala’ Vs. mistaken. Prdm: sala’, asala’.
salag N. nest.
*salag Vt. smoke; roast. Prdm: solag, manalag, selag.
salak N. cigarette paper.
salla’ Vs. dislike bad habits. Prdm: salla’, gasalla’.
*salung Vt. catch up (water, fruit from a tree). Prdm: manalung, solung, selung.
saluy Vt. eat one thing after the other. Prdm: saluy, soluy, manaluy.
sambal N. sambal. From: Malay.
sambat Vs. joined. From: Malay.
sambin Vt. carry in arms. Prdm: manambin, sombin, sembin, manasembim, sambin, sarambin.
sambir Aux. must.
*sambor Vt. snatch. Prdm: manambor, sombor, sembor.
samir N. nipah palm leaves.
samlang N. coffin.
sampig Vs. run aground; stick to the river side. Prdm: sampig, gasampig; manampig, sompig, sempig.
*sampok Vt. punch. Prdm: manampok, sompor, sempok.
sampot Vs. adolescent.
*sanding Vi. sit on a dais. From: Malay. Prdm: sunning, sending.
*sandog Vt. lean on. Prdm: sandog, manandog, sendog.
sandu Vs. reach something. Prdm: sandu.
sangan Aux. in the process of.
sanggan N. basin.
sanggor N. smell of urine.
sanggup Vs. willing and able. From: Malay.
sangkir N. kettle. From: Malay.
sangkul N. hoe.
sannang Vs. easy.
*santik Vt. kick. Prdm: manantik, santik, sentik.
sapa’ N. water.
sapa’agbong N. waterfall.
sapa’galilu’ N. whirlpool.
sapi N. cow. From: Malay.
*sapit Vt. tuck in sarong. Prdm: gasapit, sapit, sepit.
sapor N. brown solids in coconut oil.
sapow N. roof.
sapping N. cheek.
*sappun V. wash face. Prdm: gasappun angas; manappun, soppun, seppun.
*sapul Vt. rescue. Prdm: manapul, sopol, sepol.
sara’ N. manner. From: Malay?
*sarab Vt. burn rice field. Prdm: manarab, sorab, serab.

**sarat** N. condition. *From:* Malay.

**Sarawak** N. Sarawak.

**sarog** N. downstream.

**sarong** N. charcoal.

**satu** *Num.* one.

**saut** Vi. catch transport. *Prdm:* saut, manaut.

**sawit** N. oilpalm. *From:* Malay.

**sawo** Vi. marry. *Prdm:* sarawo, gsrarawo, psawo, samawo.

**sawo** marry; propose for marriage. *Vi.* *Prdm:* manawo, mannik manawo (propose), sarawo rawo, sarawo (marry).

**savot** Vs. arrive. *Prdm:* savot, sowot, sarawot.

**sayu** Vs. good (person); repair, do carefully. *Prdm:* sayu, seyu, soyu, manayu, sereyu.

**s-** *Prefix.* one; manner nominalisation.

**Sabahpul** N. Sabahpul.

**sbannu** N. mean or bad behaviour.

**sbahut** N. wax gourd.

**sbilu** N. side.

**sabin (ka)** *Conj.* although (archaic).

**sbop** *Conj.* because. *From:* Malay.

**sbot** Vi. fish jump. *Prdm:* sbot, manbot.

**sbupit** Vi. carry under armpit; put in between. *Prdm:* gsobpit, subpit, sbipit.

**sbudul** N. resurrected giant.

**sbudan** N. lazybones.

**sbegor-degor** Vs. wide (uncombed hair).

**sbio** Vi. make ready. *Prdm:* sbio, manbio, smabio, smanbio.

**sbivor** N. trousers. — *V.* wear trousers. *Prdm:* gsbivor.


**sbido** Vs. sink; go down. *Prdm:* sbido, sudtop.

**sbidu**’ N. chest.

**sbidun** Vi. hiccup. *Prdm:* gosblun.

**s-** *Prefix.* manner nominalisation.

**sagakut** Vs. stuck; tangled up. *Prdm:* sagakut, sagakut-gagkut, sagegkut.

**sagai**’ N. mankind with tail.

**Sagamo** N. Segama.

**sagaur** Vs. whip. *Prdm:* sagaur, ssmogour, ssngeur.

**sagboya**’ Vs. together. *Prdm:* sagboya’, asagboya’.

**sagekow** Vs. wrestle.

**sagkap** N. small bird.

**sagkow** Vs. call. *Prdm:* gsgkow, ssgkow, sskgkow, mssgkow.

**sagow-guow** Vs. uncombed (hair).

**segor** Vs. crushed (fish dish). *Prdm:* ssnegor.

**sellag** N. roasted rice.

**serrad** Vs. scrape with scraper. *Prdm:* manerad, smerad, snrerad.

**sakagbot** Vs. stumble and fall.

**sakalla**’ *Vi.* carry a child on the hip. *Prdm:* smakella’, ssmakella’.

**sakayan** Vs. enough space; loaded.

**sakabuta**’ N. earth (as opposed to heaven).

**sakaratok** N. frog with long legs.

**sakilo** N. sweet potato.

**sakilo kayu** N. cassava; tapioca.

**sakko** N. rattan.

**sakkog** N. ribs.

**sakkol** N. sugar.

**sakkot** Vs. red.

**sakkuk** Vs. food or drink going the wrong way. *Prdm:* sakkuk, assakkuk.

**salammin** N. glasses. *From:* Malay.

**salamong** N. Vs. shocked.

**sallannok** Vs. press down. *Prdm:* smanlannok, smalannok.

**salsma** N. cold. *From:* Malay.

**salimbog** N. rhythm of the gong for dying village head.

**sallang** Nloc. in between. *Prdm:* sallang lawang; synonym: sappidlawang.
sallit Vs. sticky.
sallo Vs. shy; ashamed. *Prdm: sālo, ašallo, gasallo.
sallun N. nail.
*sabubud Vt. cover up completely with a bed sheet. *Prdm: sālabubud, sālabud.
$sambari$ N. pineapple.
$samriduk Vt. bite and swim around (fish).
sammang N. buttocks.
*sammu Vt. command. *Prdm: māmmu', smmu', simmu'.
*sammul Vt. put something against the edge of a basket to prevent it from overflowing. *Prdm: summul.
samar Vs. dirty. *Prdm: samor, gasamor.
samulon Vs. fever.
sandait N. sing in pairs.
sanduk N. scoop.
sanee N. underpants.
sang- Prefix. manner nominalisation.
sanga- Prefix. manner nominalisation of causative verbs.
sangganan Vs. fit in.
sangow N. steam.
sangoy N. monkey.
sandinat N. the late.
Sepawayo N. Sepagaya.
sapare Excl. friend! (‘abit’ nickname for friends in folk tales).
sapari N. concussions; epilepsy.
sapaya’ Qnt. everything.
sapalidok N. species of fruit (tree).
sapattut N. species of beetle.
sappi Vt. begin to bear fruit (corn). *Prdm: mānpappi, suppi, sippi.
sappun N. snot.
sapukos N. piece.
sapukut-su-sapukut Vt. rummage about.
sara’ N. woven mat.
sarahung Vt. spur of a rooster.
sarahut Vt. everybody talking at once.
sarakot-tu-sarakot Vt. move in groups.
sarambi N. kitchen (with gas stove).
sarangay Vt. have the same name; make the same sound.
sarappa’ N. sirih box.
sarawang Vt. cut away plants at the border of a rice field to see the neighbours.
saray N. lemongrass.
sarahan N. thread.
sariba’ Vt. together. *Prdm: sārib, sāmagupa', sārupa'.
sareman Vs. ticklish.
saragga’ N. species of flower.
sarigha’ N. curcuma.
sarubok N. medicine plant.
sarunu’ V. sleep side by side. *Prdm: mārunu', sarunu'.
satattan N. begin to tell a story. *Prdm: satattan.
satugal N. dibble stick.
satukul N. hammer.
sia’ Vi. sneeze. *Prdm: b-sia’.
siag N. sarung, cloth.
siat Vs. fast. *Prdm: siat, asiat, g-siat, siat-siat, s-siat.
sibow N. comb of a cock.
sibug N. third wedding day.
sidom Vs. black.
sidtun N. flying ant.
sidtom N. ant.
sidu Adv. merely.
sidu Vi; N. urine. *Prdm: samidu.
sigak Vs. glad.
sigbu’ Vs. yellow.
sigor Vs. with obstacles. *Prdm: sigor, asigor.
sija’ Adv. merely.
sikit Vi. light up. *Prdm: manikit, samikit.
sikon N. footsteps.
siku N. elbow.
sikut N. mouse.
sila’ Cl. N. cl. gen; a grain of rice.
silak Vs. lick. *Prdm: manilak, s-amilak, samilak.
sili’ N. kettle.
sillun Vs. other.
sillung V. clothe. *Prdm: manillung, amillung, g-sillung.
silokomut N. halfgod.
silong N. Malay parrot.
silop Vs. water being over the head.
silut N. each person.
simbung V. always talk about one’s problems. *Prdm: g-simbung.
sina’ N. Chinese.
sinag Vs. shine.
singol N. handkerchief; towel.
sinso N. chainsaw.
siop Vs. ready. *Prdm: siop, g-siop.
sipa’ Vi. play sepak takraw. *Prdm: g-sipa’
sipag N. other side.
siram Vt. pour water on. *Prdm: maniram, samiram, s-niram.
sirom N. world of the dead.
siruk Vs. ashamed. *Prdm: siruk, asiruk, gasiruk.
sirung Vi; N. shade. *Prdm: sirung, asirung, manirung.
siub N. blanket.
siud N. creel.
siway Num. nine.
sob Conj. when.
soksok N. house lizard.
sollot Adv. sometimes.
soro N. voice.
sot Vs. short (electricity). *Prdm:
WORD LIST

English.

*sak  Vs. ripe; cooked. Prdm: assak, bəɡəsək.
*say  N. large frog.
*say  Vt. lay out dead body. Prdm: məŋəsəy.
*si  N. content (general; meat (animal)).
*si  Vt. fill. Prdm: məŋəsii, məsii, nissi, barənɡəsii.
*sin  N. money.
*sing  N. cat.
*sob  Vt. come. Prdm: məsséb, kəsəb.
*sol  Vt. press with the fingers. Prdm: məŋəsəsol, massən, nissəl.
*som  N. citrus fruit.
*sonənak-ənak  lime.
*sonəməyə  pomelo.
*som  Vs. sour. Prdm: asəsom, məŋəsəsom, məsson, nisson.
*ssuk  Vs. thick. Prdm: assuk.
*ssl  N. salary.
 ssung  N. mortar.
*ssur  Vt. push forward. Prdm: məssur, məŋəsəsur, nissur, ɡəɡəsəur.
*su’  V. rope getting loose; knock coming undone. Prdm: basu’; məŋəsəsu’, məsu’, nisə’.
*suə  N. boat pole.
*suat  Vs. suitable. Prdm: suat, ɡəsuət.
*suba’  Vt. try. From: Malay.
*subot  Vs. overgrown.
 Subpan  N. Subpan.
*subu  N. morning. From: Arabic.
*udu’  N. spoon.
*suga’  Conj. but.
 sughbol  Vs. come up by chance.
*sugbuk  Vt. collide. Prdm: mənəbəuk, şənəbəuk, şənəbəuk, aṣəbəuk.
 sugkang  N. hornbill.
 sujan  N. tortoise.
 sujan bə’u  soft shielded tortoise; river tortoise; Trionyx cartilagineus.
 sullan  hard shielded tortoise.
 sulaŋəpit  soft shielded river tortoise.
*sukab  Vt. open roof from inside out for the rəsəray ritual. Prdm: șəməkəbəapəw.
 sukang  N. something that blocks a curse.
 sukki  N. lid of water snail.
 sukol  Vs. worry. Prdm: səkəl, ɡəsəkəl.
*sukot  Vt. inform. Prdm: mənəkət, șəməkət, siköt, șərkət.
 sukəp’  N. live coals.
 sulu  Qnt. N. all.
 sukəsəkat  N. descentence.
 sukud  N. luck.
*sukung  Və. flood coming up. Prdm: șəməkəŋərng.
 sukup  Vs. enough. Prdm: səkəp, ɡəsəkəp.
 sukur  Vs. thank. From: Malay. Prdm: səkəur, məssəkəur.
*sulək  Və. creeping under something. Prdm: șəmələkəl.
 sosu  Vs. cold.
 Suluŋ  N. Sulu.
 səmbə’  Vs. pink.
 sumur  Vs. usual.
 sundor  Vs. coquet; immodest (of a woman’s conduct). Prdm: sənədəɾər.
*sungəŋ  N. opening song of rəsəray ritual. Prdm: ɡəsəŋəŋəŋ.
*sungkit  Vt. harvest with pole. Prdm: mənəŋəŋkət, șəməŋəŋkət, singəŋkət.
 sunu’  N. example. From: Malay.
 suok  Vt. enter. Prdm: səuək, ʃəmuək.
 suran  N. story.
 surat  N. letter.
*surip  Vt. weave basket. Prdm: mənərip, ʃəmərip, sərip.
 suru  Vs. Nloc. direct; heading. Prdm: suru.
 surun  N. poisonous wasp.
 ssu  N. milk.
 suti  N. holiday. From: Malay.
*suwu’  Vt. feed by putting food into
someone’s mouth. Prdm: suwu’, siwu’.

**T - t**

- **tabak** N. large tray on legs.
- **tabang** Vt. help. Prdm: mənabang, tobang, tebang, məkətebang, tarabang.
- **tabas** Vt. cut pattern out of cloth. Prdm: mənabas, tobas, tebas.
- **tabid** Vt. hold and twist. Prdm: mənabid, tobid, tebid, tarabid.
- **tabung** Vt. add into liquid. Prdm: mənabung, tobung, tebung, sətabung.
- **tada’-tada’** N. first night of russy ritual.
- **taddi’** N. spur.
- **taga’** N. adze.
- **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, tarafbis.
- **tagbun** Vt. cover something drying in the sun. Prdm: mənagbun, togbun, tegbun.
- **taggop** Vs. sturdy; strong of body.
- **tagub** Vt. each. Prdm: tagub, mənagub.
- **tahun** N. year. From: Malay?
- **taing** Vt. swing something heavy; throw away swinging. Prdm: toing, mətoing, mənaing.
- **takas** Vt. hurry up. Prdm: gətakas, tokas, takas-takas.
- **Takalan** N. Takelan.
- **takin** N. fragrant leaves.
- **takkor** Vt. dare do something. Prdm: tokkor, təmokkor.
- **takuy putti** N. banana blossom.
- **takow** Vt. steal. Prdm: mənakow, tokow, tekow.
- **talam** Vt. suspend. Prdm: tolang, mənalang.
- **tali** N. rope.
- **talid** Vt. avoid (places or persons). Prdm: mənalid, tolid, telid.
- **talii’** Vs. has a speech problem. Prdm: təlli’, atəlli’.
- **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: toməbang, tambang.
- **tambur** N. drum.
- **tambus** Vs. pierced. Prdm: tambus, təmambus.
- **tamong** N. partent in law; child in law.
- **tamang** N. partent in law; child in law.
- **tansi** Vt. store. Prdm: mənamos, tomos, temos.
- **tamu** N. guest.
- **tana’** Vs. low. Prdm: tana’, atana’, tona’.
- **tanana** Vs. (can’t) bear to. Prdm: tanan.
- **tanda’** N. sign.
- **tandak** Vt. perch. Prdm: təndak.
WORD LIST

*tanding Vt. inspect; look carefully. 
Prdm: mənənding, tonding, tending.
tanduk N. horns.
*tanggung Vt/N. yoke; carry with yoke. 
Prdm: mənanggung, taranggung.
tangka' Vs. endure. Prdm: tangka',
tongka', mənangka'.
tangkay N. stalk. From: Malay.
tangki N. tank. 
*tangkop Vt. catch. From: Malay. Prdm: 
mənangkop, 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: tongsos, 
tengos.
tangsi N. catgut. From: Malay.
*tangu' V. hide. Prdm: mənangu', tengu'.
tangug Vt. bark; carry in the beak. Prdm: 
mənangug, tongug, tengug.
taning N. winnowing tray. 
*tannan Vt. fix trap. Prdm: mənannan, 
tonnan, tennan.
*tanom Vt. burn. Prdm: mənənom, 
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: mənəppig, 
tappig.
tapuk Vt. stay behind. Prdm: tapuk,
mənəpuk, topuk, tepuk.
*taram Vi. gather (ants). Prdm: mənəram, 
sətəram.
tari Vs. fruits that do not get ripe. 
tarom N. tray. 
*taru Vt. put. From: Malay. Prdm: 
mənutu, tətaru.
tasak N. blossom. Prdm: gətosak. 
tassa' Cl. classifier for animals. 
tassam N. vegetables. 
— V. grow vegetables; cook 
vegetables. Prdm: gətəssam, 
mənəssam, təssam, tessam.
*tassap Vt. peel sugar cane. Prdm: 
mənəssap, tossap, tessap.
*tata' Vi. cry. Prdm: tota', sətata'.
*tatab Vt. ask to marry. Prdm: məntətab, 
tətətab, total, tetab.
*tato V. call searching for someone. 
Prdm: gətəto, teto.
*tatta' Vi. drip. Prdm: tota', sətatta'.
*tattab Vt. stab. Prdm: məntətab, tottab, 
tettab.
*tattag Vt. fix rattan rope on the roof 
above a dead body. Prdm: 
məntətag, tottag, tettag.
*tattas Vt. unstick. Prdm: mənəttas, tottas, 
tettas, atattas.
*tayg V. bark; carry in the beak. Prdm: 
məntəug, toug.
taum N. type of plant used as medicine. 
taun N. fire wood.
tawar Vt. treat with prayer. From: 
Malay. Prdm: mənəwar, towar, 
tewar, sətawar.
tawar dda' N. white sweatband for a dead 
person.
tawog Vt. catch crocodile. Prdm: 
mənəwog.
tawog-tawog Vt. slow beat of the gong for 
announcing death. Prdm: towog-
towog, tewog-tewog.
tayar N. tire.
təbarut N. waxgourd. 
təbiot N. behave; behaviour. From: 
Malay. 
təbpan N. bank. 
təbpang təlul N. cooking place for a huge 
cauldron with three poles. 
təbps Vt. let go a cloth (to install 
kelambu or curtain). Prdm: 
mənəbps, təbps, tibpas.
təbpi N. steep riverside. 
təbpi' Vs. chipped. 
təbpi pasang N. full sea.
tabpo Vs. aware.
*tabpok Vt. inject. Prdm: mənahtəbək, tubpok, tibpok.
	tabpol N. blowpipe.
*tabpong Vt. fell. Prdm: mənahtəbpong, tubpong, tətəbpong.
	tabpu N. sugarcane.
	tabpud N. bathing place in river.
	tabpud Vt. appear somewhere (people who are travelling). Prdm: təbpuł, təbpuł.
	tabuan N. ant eater (Manis javanica).
*tadung N/Vt. cover head. Prdm: mənadung, tədung.
	tadupuk Vs. collaride.
	taduru’ N. finger.
	təduru’ppi’ finger.
	təduru’kasu’ toe.
	təduru’lttytty little finger.
	təduru’manis ring finger.
	təduru’pənitude index finger.
	təduru’təŋga’ middle finger.
	tə(g)- Prefix. intensive form of adjectives.
	tagabag Vs. placed crosswise (girt, or child in the womb).
	tagai N. small bird.
	tagai N. sun hat.
	tagalan Vt. weed. Prdm: mənətagalan, təmətagalan, tənətagalan.
	taganno Vs. accidentally break a secret. Prdm: təganno, atəganno.
	tagbangan N. macaque.
	tagbangol Vt. choke (eating tough meat etc).
	tagbolay Vi. start family.
	tagbuk Vt. meet. Prdm: təgbək, atəgbuk, mənətgəbuk, təubgəbuk, tərgəbuk.
	tagbuku N. bun in the hair.

tagbungan Vs. recur (disease after complete recovery).
	taggikab Vs. burp.

tagkas N. hard wood.
	tagk’i’ Vs. pregnant. Prdm: təg’k’i’, atəg’k’i’, gətag’k’i’, badung gətag’k’i’.
	tagkuk Vt. drink (fig.). Prdm: mənətagkuk, təgkuk, bəranikuk.
	tagunggu’ N. Vi. gong. Prdm: təgunggək, gətagunggə’.

tekka’ Adv. in vain.

tekuan N. teapot. From: Malay, Chinese?
temb’a’ N. pickled food.

tep N. tape. From: English.
teso N. larbe bundle of nipah palm (nipa fruticans).
	*tajom Vi. smile. Prdm: gətajom.
takal’a’ Vi. burst out in laughter.
takap Vt. stay in the row.
takasan N. house where someone has passed away.
takarung N. puddle in the jungle.
təkɪrən ama’ N. child whose father is dead.
təkɪrən ina’ N. child whose mother is dead.
təkɪrən ina’ama’ N. orphan.
takka’ Vt. flat belly.
takulon N. scar.
təlaktur N. tractor. From: English.
təlakuy N. ground lizard.
tələppu’kasu’ N. big toe.
tələppu’ppi’ N. thumb.
talingo N. ear.
təlisi Vs. clear sound. Prdm: təlis, atəlis.
taliso Vs. hear clearly.
təliting N. treetrunk.
tallad Vs. correct.
*tallong Vi. dive. Pdrm: gatollong.
tallu Num. three.
təlomhung N. young coconut.
təlubow N. brim of hat.
təluttuk N. coconut fibre.
*techaga’ N. copper.
təmbaran N. owl.
təmbuk N. button.
tamagundu’ V. see big and numerous people from afar. Pdrm: tamagundu’.
təmaribus V. many people enter water. Pdrm: tamaribus.
təmamol Vs. soft. Pdrm: təmamol, atəmamol.
təmampan N. jar. From: Malay?
təmamitut N. small bird.
təndippan N. kind of seafood laut.
təngap N. bag.
*təngip Vt. bail. Pdrm: mənəngip, tungip, tingip.
tənnga’ Vs. half.
tənngos Vs. fast flowing.
tənngul N. throat.
tənnuk Vs. sound asleep. Pdrm: tənnuk, atənnuk.
təpisan N. strainer. From: Malay.
tərakun N. string.
tərappig N. wild female pig.
təray N. belly.
*tərapag Vt. lay down in piles. Pdrm: mənərapag.
*tərapmi Vt. tidy up. Pdrm: mənərapmi, təmarum, tənarimi.
tərapmanid N. legendary bird.
tərapton Vs. of one piece again (broken bones or sticks).
təridang Vt. burst because of drought (earth).
tərimuk Vt. have goose bumps.
tərimuk Vt. spirits of the rice crawl to the place where the harvest is stored.
təring N. bamboo.
tərinib Vs. close to each other (houses).
təritup Vt. grains burst open while popping.
təron Vt. panic. Pdrm: təron, ataron.
tərsilo N. signal.
tərubag Vt. sound of marbles beating against each other in a tin.
tərugan N. bed.
tərumpa’ N. shoes.
tərus Vs. straight. From: Malay.
tərutun Vt. packed; compact (words).
tərutu’ Vs. arranged (speech).
təssong Vt. stuff.
— N. stopper; plug; cork. Pdrm: mənəssong, tussong, tissong, atəssong.
tətam N. guest. From: Malay.
*təttob Vt. split (watermelon or young coconut). Pdrm: mənəttob, tuttob, tittob.
*tətottob Vt. chop up (flesh and bones). Pdrm: mənəttob, tuttob, tittob.
*tətottol Vt. tidy up to pack a bag. Pdrm: mənəttol, tuttoll, tittoll.
tətukkol-tukkol Vs. long objects piled up stuffed without order.
tətuo N. old person.
tibom Vs. toothless. Pdrm: tibom, atibom.
*tibu’ Vt. hit with fist. Pdrm: mənəb,

tambu', tambu'.
tiding N. side of the head.
tidog Vs. high, straight. Prdm: tidog, manidog.
tidog dtow N. noon.
tidong Cl. classifier for one finger of banana's or one corn cob.
   — N. wild banana.
*tiduk Vt. point. Prdm: maniduk, tamiduk, taniduk.
tigku Vs. bright (the whole place).
tigur N. nipa palm (nipa fruticans).
Tikog N. Tikog river.
tiksa' Vs. suffer. Prdm: tiksa', mangatiksa'..
tikung-krow N. bird without tail.
tilab Cl. cl flat objects.
tili' N. step relative.
*tillab Vi. nervous; heart beats because of something scaring. Prdm: gatillab atay.
tilom N. matress.
timba' N. bucket. From: Malay.
*timbak Vt. shoot. Prdm: gamtimbak (explode), manimbak (shoot), tamimbak, tanimbak, tarimbak.
*timbow Vt. eat (speaker is cursing out of anger). Prdm: gamtimbow, satimbow.
timpu V. set the date. Prdm: timpu, tirimpu, manimpu, tanimpu, tanimpu.
tinun N. cucumber.
*tinu' Vt. pass message. Prdm: manina' tamin' a, tinina'.
*tinam Vt. try. Prdm: maninam, taninam, tanam, tarinam.
*tindak Vt. step on. Prdm: gamtindak, manindak, tanindak, tanindak, atindak.
tindog N. pole.
tingkol 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.).
tiop Vs. every. From: Malay.
tiow Vs. clear.
tipol Vs. whole (day). Prdm: tipol dtow.
*tippak Vt. shake out. Prdm: manippak, tanippak, tanippak, tarippak.
tippas Vs. whole (night through).
*tippus Vt. suck up. Prdm: manippus, tanippus, tanippus.
tiru' Vt. teach. Prdm: maniru', taniru', taniru', tariru'.
   — N. teaching.
*tisa' Vi. work hard for. Prdm: batisa'.
tissi' N. scales.
   — V. remove scales. Prdm: manissi', tanissi', tanissi'.
tissing N. ring.
titik N. Vt. play kulintangan or drum with sticks. Prdm: titik, gatitik.
titin N. toilet.
titib Vt. fly against obstacle. Prdm: titib, tanitib, tanittib.
titib llung N. water side.
titoy Vs. small.
tiu' Vs. hit. Prdm: tiu', tariu'.
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: manatot, matot, nitot, apatot.
*tow Vs. know. Prdm: atow, tow, bagatow.
tow puti' N. white person.
*tta' Vs. unripe. Prdm: at'a'.
ttak N. portion.
ttan Vs. see. Prdm: ttan, kastan, gaktastan, kaktastan.
*tta' Vt. run away (for good). Prdm:
ttas Nloc. top.
*tas Vs. high. Prdm: attas, bagattas, mangapatlas.
tay N. excrements.
*ttog Vt. cease. Prdm: batog, mangatog.
*tud Vt. tree trunk.
*ttut Vt. fart. Prdm: bagatut.
tu Prdv. too.
tua’ N. period; era; time.
*tuan Vt. wrap baby in cloth. Prdm: manuan, tamuan, tiwan.
tuay N. clam.
tubag Vs. serious (illness); bang one’s head against something. Prdm: tubag, manubag.
tubid Vs. capable. Prdm: tubid, atubid, katubid.
*tubo Vt. poison prawns or fish. Prdm: mainubo, tamubo, tibo.
tubu N. descendance.
tudow N. male flying lizard.
**tuduk Vt. dip. Prdm: tamuduk.
*tudung Vt. pile up. Prdm: mangadung, turadung, tamadung.
tudur N. tail bone (person).
*tug Vs. dry. Prdm: atug, bagutug, pagutug.
*tugal Vt. plant with dibble. Prdm: manugal, tamugal, tagal.
tugban Vs. collapse; lie down. Prdm: tugban, tamugban.
tugu N. monument. From: Malay.
tugsus Vst. go on; exceedingly. Prdm: tugus, tamagus, managus, satusus.
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 monarot N. person who bathes a dead body.
tupik-tupik Vt. threw small object (water, mud, dough).
tuku N. crossbeam.
tukud N. Nloc. back.
*tukun Vt. wrap cigarette. Prdm: manukun, tamukun, tikun.
*tu’la Vt. blame. Prdm: manula’, (ga)ala’.
*tulis Vt. write. Prdm: manulis, tamulis, tilis.
tulang N. bone.
tulang dda’ N. chin.
*tulung Vt. help. From: Malay.
*tumbos Vt. return a good deed; revenge. Prdm: manumbos.
tumok Vs. small.
*tumor Vt. wrap a newborn baby in cloth. Prdm: tamumor.
tumpi’ N. egg shaped donuts.
tun Prt. really.
tuna’ Vs. fixed; permanent. Prdm: tuna’, tamuna’.
tunang N. fiancé.
— V. get engaged; be engaged. Prdm: taraunang, garaunang.
tunay Vs. hit exactly; spear hits an object and stays there.
*tundan Vt. follow behind. Prdm: manundan, tarundan.
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: manunob, tamunob, tinob.
tunong Adv. here.
*tunsud Vt. plough under. Prdm: manunsud, tamunsud, tinsud.
*tunu Vt. burn. Prdm: manunu, tamunu, tinu.

tuo  Vs. old.

tuong  Vs. dark. *Prdm: tuong, gatuong.

tuow  N. peacock.


turu’  Num. seven.

turug  Vs. sleep.

turug mapog  Vs. stay away from home for too long. *Prdm: turug, manurug.

turug-manuk  Vs. half asleep.

*tus  Vs. have time. *Prdm: katut, atut.

tuso  Vs. difficult. *Prdm: tuso, atuso, gotuso.


tutot  Vs. fixed; regular.

tuttug  Vt. fall out (grains, hair). *Prdm: tuttug, manuttug, tanuttug.

tuttul  N. watersnail.


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U - u  

-u-  Infix. Dependent.

-uam  N. straw.


-uat  Vt. get up. *Prdm: buat (get up); muat, manguat, niwat (get someone up).


-ubot  N. medicine.


-ubut  N. swinging cradle.

-udi  Dem. there.

-udtung  N. watermelon.

-*udtung  Vt. cut off top part (trees). *Prdm: møngudtung, muddung, pudtung, gøudtung.

-uagamo  N. religion. From: Malay.


-Ukat  N. hearsay.

-Ukok  N. underpants.

-*ukos  Vt. cut a long object in two. *Prdm: møngukos, mokus, nikos, pikos, (a)pikos.

-*ukow  Vt. wake up. *Prdm: pukow (wake up), møngukow, mokow (wake someone up).


-Ukum  N. judgement. From: Malay.


-Ulan  N. luggage; clothes; goods; load.


-Ulang  N. snake.


-Ullo  Int. why.

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<tr>
<td>ulod</td>
<td>N. worm.</td>
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<td>ulod gonggo</td>
<td>N. type of worms.</td>
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<td>ulod t-taru</td>
<td>N. poisonous worm with itchy fur.</td>
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<td>ulu</td>
<td>N. head.</td>
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<td>*ulug</td>
<td>Vt. bring down. Prdm: mangulug, mulug, nilug.</td>
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<td>ulun</td>
<td>N. person.</td>
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<td>umang</td>
<td>N. hermit crab.</td>
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<td>*umug</td>
<td>Vt. bring down.</td>
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<td>umo</td>
<td>N. rice field.</td>
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<td>— V.</td>
<td>grow rice. Prdm: bagumo.</td>
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<td>umur</td>
<td>N. age. From: Malay.</td>
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<td>undang</td>
<td>N. law. From: Malay.</td>
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<td>*undok</td>
<td>Vt. go places. Prdm: mundok.</td>
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<td>*undom</td>
<td>Vt. miss. Prdm: bagandum.</td>
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<td>*unggol</td>
<td>Vt. break off. Prdm: punggol, munggol.</td>
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<td>*ungung</td>
<td>Vt. pull out (milk tooth). Prdm: bungung (fall out) mungungung, mungung, bingung, ningung (pull out).</td>
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<td>N. speech.</td>
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<td>Vt. repair; be careful. Prdm: mandunong, palangik.</td>
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<td>N. my daughter.</td>
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<td>Vt. repair; be careful. Prdm: mandunong, palangik.</td>
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<td>upog</td>
<td>Vt. thresh. Prdm: bagupog, mupog, nipog.</td>
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<td>*uppu’</td>
<td>Vt. finish (battery). Prdm: pupad; mangop, nupad.</td>
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<td>Vt. attack. Prdm: bagurak, murak, nirak.</td>
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<td>N. rain.</td>
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<td>Vt. cut to pieces (meat). Prdm: bagurud, murud, nirud.</td>
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<td>*uyok</td>
<td>Vt. request. Prdm: manguyok, muyok, niyok, sanguyok, barangik.</td>
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<td>uso</td>
<td>N. gathered food; result of hunting or fishing.</td>
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<td>— V.</td>
<td>gather food by hunting or fishing. Prdm: mangaus, pangus, panus.</td>
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<td>us-tu-us</td>
<td>Vt. out of breath.</td>
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<td>*usur</td>
<td>Vt. talk; tell. Prdm: bagusur, musur, nisur, gagarus.</td>
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<td>widwid</td>
<td>N. small bird of omen.</td>
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<td>N. vagina.</td>
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### Appendix C: List of texts

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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.

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<td>The abandoned Princess</td>
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<td>Assa 2</td>
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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**

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<td>Personal story</td>
<td>Anak Gapol</td>
<td>When I got twins</td>
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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.

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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, nj, l, r, s, y, w, / en de klinkers (vokalen, V) /a, e, i, o, u, g/. 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 C-reduplicatie.

Hoofdstuk 3 definiërt 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, bijvoegelijke 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 subclasse van de statische werkwoorden, omdat ze dezelfde morfologische en syntactische eigenschappen hebben als statische werkwoorden. Het enige verschil is dat bepaalde derivationele affixen een ander semantische effect hebben op bijvoeglijke naamwoorden dan op statische werkwoorden. Zelfstandige
naamwoorden vormen de argumenten van een predikaat en worden niet gemarkerd voor naamval, geslacht of getal.


Hoofdstuk 7 beschrijft de derivatiemorfologie, zoals reciproken, causatieve, petietive (iemand om iets vragen), ‘distant past’ (werkwoordvorm 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 modificatieers komen na het zelfstandig naamwoord, en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden komen aan het eind van de nominale woordgroep, dus


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, versijnt het werkwoord in de Actor Voice, maar als het een patients 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 onderschikende en nevenschikende 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 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.