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VERB MORPHOLOGY IN EASTERN KADAZAN

Hope M. Hurlbut

Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of the examples and in the figures. The abbreviations occurring before the verb are in the following order: tense aspect, focus, then the abbreviation for each affix from left to right (e.g. Comp-AF-DuRec-NSer-Iter means Completive Actor Focus Dual Reciprocal Non-serious Iterative).

Focus

AbF	Ablative Focus
AcF	Accessory Focus
AF	Actor Focus
DF	Directional Focus
LF	Locative Focus
RF	Referent Focus
TF	Temporal Focus
UF	Undergoer Focus

Verbal Affixes

Ag	Agentiviser
Apt	Aptative
Ass	Associative
AssCol	Associative Collective
Aug	Augmentative
Caus	Causative
Clar	Clarification
Com	Comitative
Comp	Completive
Compr	Comprehensive
Cont	Continuative
Des	Desiderative
Diss	Dissimulation
Dim	Diminutive
Dram	Dramatic Present
DuRec	Dual Reciprocal
Dur	Durative
EqDist	Equal Distribution
Exas	Exasperation
Hab	Habitual
Imm	Immediacy
Imp	Imperative
Inj	Injunctive
Intr	Intransitive
Inten	Intentive
Iter	Iterative
Mid	Middle
MulRec	Multiple Reciprocal
MulSer	Multiple Serial Distribution
NComp	Non-completive
NInten	Non-intentive
NSer	Non-serious
Opt	Optative
Per	Peremptory
Perc	Perceptual
Pet	Petitive
Plur	Plural
Poss	Possession
Pro	Production
Punc	Punctiliar
Purp	Purposeful Repetition
Qual	Qualification
Rec	Recent Completive
Rep	Repetition
Res	Restrictive
SgSer	Singular Serial Distribution
Sta	Derived State
UnDist	Unequal Distribution
Unna	Unnatural
Vb	Verbaliser

Pronouns

Number

Du	Dual
Pl	Plural
Sg	Singular

Inclusion

Ex	Exclusive
In	Inclusive

Type

Dist	Distributive
Gen	General
Spec	Specific

Marking Particles

A	Actor
CompM	Completive Marker
Contra	Contradiction Particle
Coor	Coordinating Marker
Dou	Doubt Particle
Emph	Emphatic Marker
Frus	Frustrative Particle
L	Locative
Lig	Ligature
LocM	Locative Marker
Mk	Non-pivot Marker
NCompM	Non-completive Marker
PivM	Pivot Marker
U	Undergoer

Other

Inter	Interrogative Word
Pl	Plural
Piv	Pivotalised Noun or Pronoun

Capitalisation in the Kadazan and Tagalog examples indicates the verb root that is being highlighted.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION

Kadazan (or Dusun as some dialects are called) is spoken in many areas of Sabah, East Malaysia, and many of the dialects are mutually unintelligible. It is a language of the Bornean stock. The total number of Kadazan/Dusun speakers is over 100,000. The particular dialect that this study is about is known as Eastern Kadazan[1], the speakers of which number some 6,000 to 7,000 (census figures, 1970). The majority of speakers live on or near the Labuk River which is one of the major rivers of Sabah, originating high up on the slopes of Mt Kinabalu in central Sabah and flowing eastward for over a hundred miles to reach the sea just north of the town of Sandakan. The dialect varies along the length of the river, but is mutually intelligible from the mouth of the river to beyond Wonod, a village 96 miles inland by road from Sandakan. There are two smaller groups of speakers called Mangkaak and Sukang found on some of the northern tributaries of the Kinabatangan River which lies south of the Labuk River.

1.1 Background of the problem

The indigenous languages of Sabah, known as Bornean languages, including Kadazan/Dusun, are closely related to the languages of the Philippines. Some of the problems faced by linguists in the Philippines are also faced by linguists in Sabah. One of the most difficult areas is that of the verbal system (Walton 1983).

Probably the biggest problem area in analysing the verbal system in Eastern Kadazan (hereafter called Kadazan) is the very complex affix system. There are two or three times as many affixes in Kadazan as, for example, in Tagalog (about which many helpful books have already been written, for example De Guzman 1979). The combinations of affixes in Kadazan consequently number in the hundreds, and it is a daunting task to try to bring order out of what seems to be a chaotic system of inflectional and derivational affixes. Other problems are the semantics of the verbs themselves and the changes that they manifest with different types of affixation.

1.2 Statement of the problem

This study attempts to answer the following questions in relation to the verbal system of Kadazan:

(1) what classifications will help explain the Kadazan verbal system?
(2) are there any regularities in the system that can be captured by using a semantic classification?
(3) what predictions can be made on the basis of the affixation of the verb?
(4) what types of affixes are there?

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1.3 Significance of the study

This study is an attempt to understand and explain the affixation of the verbal system in Kadazan. It is the first such attempt in Eastern Kadazan. Although this study will not be exhaustive it will be more comprehensive than any of the studies produced to date on other Kadazan/Dusun dialects. It is hoped that as others also study the Kadazan language more insights will be gained to help in the deeper understanding of the verbal system and hence of the language as a whole.

1.4 Review of related literature

A number of studies have been undertaken in various Bornean languages (Prentice 1971) including several preliminary studies on various dialects of Kadazan/Dusun. The earliest studies on Kadazan/Dusun were usually grammatical sketches in conjunction with a dictionary.

Probably the first such study was by Rev. A.L. Gossens (1924) in the Papar dialect of Kadazan, then called Dusun. It describes the Papar dialect and includes an English-Dusun dictionary.

Another similar study was undertaken by Rev. A. Antonissen on the language that is now called Standard Kadazan. The results of his research were published in the form of a valuable dictionary with a grammatical sketch in 1958.

Beatrice M. Clayre wrote a number of articles on the Ranau dialect of Dusun, several of which have been published. The ones which are pertinent to this study were published in 1967 and 1970(a) and (b). The first of these articles describes equational and verbal predicate clauses in Ranau Dusun. Three types of verbal predicate clauses are identified and exemplified: subject focus, object focus and benefactive focus. Two other possible clause types, instrument focus and locative focus, are posited. The second article gives a summary of the major affixation in Ranau Dusun and compares it with the affixation in two of the Murut dialects which are also spoken in Sabah. Several of the languages spoken in Sarawak are also compared and contrasted with Dusun and Murut. The interesting thing to note about the languages of Sarawak is that even though all but one of the languages there, Kenya, retain the focus system of Philippine and Bornean languages the focus system of those languages is much simpler. There is very little affixation, there are only two focuses, actor focus and 'object' focus, the pronoun systems are simpler (usually only two classes of pronouns), and in one language at least, Penan, the pronoun system is not related to the focus system. There are other differences between the two groups of languages also which distinguish them and would make an interesting study for someone interested in historical linguistics. The third article describes the affixes of Ranau Dusun. It gives a brief analysis and classification of verbal affixes, suggests a broad classification of verbs and indicates evidence for an instrumental focus in Dusun clause types. The paper concludes by saying that there is 'much to be done before the system can be fully understood and described'.

The most recent articles are those by Dr Asmah Haji Omar (1978, 1980, 1983), the first one on verbal affixation in standard Kadazan, the second on the Kadazan language of Tambunan and the third on various language groups in Malaysia. The article on Standard Kadazan describes the major verbal affixes of the Penampang dialect of Kadazan (spoken by several hundred people in Penampang District on the west coast of

Sabah). It describes the language on the basis of active and passive voice affixation following English and Malay. This makes it readable for the layman who is interested in learning Kadazan. The article on Tambunan Dusun uses the same terminology to describe another dialect of the Kadazan/Dusun language. The article gives a brief description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Tambunan Dusun with special emphasis on the affixes and examples of stems that take the various affixes. The third reference is a book which includes the second article above and uses the same format to describe a number of languages of Malaysia.

1.5 Definition of terms

In Chapter 3 under inflectional affixation the terms used for each of the different focuses will be explained. The present section will deal with other terms relevant to this study.

In the past there has been much confusion over the terms used in Philippine linguistics. Since the Bornean languages are related to those of the Philippines, the problem of terminology is relevant to these languages as well. Until 1958 the languages of the Philippines were described in terms of active and passive voice similar to the description of English. Healey (1958) was not satisfied with the terminology as it did not capture the uniqueness of the focus system of the verbs in the languages of the Philippines. He introduced the term 'focus' to indicate the morphology of the verb that marked one noun phrase as being more salient than the others in a clause. McKaughan (1958) was also dissatisfied with traditional terminology and used the term 'topic' to refer to the noun phrase which had a specific syntactic relationship with the verb.

In studying discourse in various languages of the Philippines Longacre (1968) pointed out that there is a problem when using the term 'topic' because this term is also used of a topicalised noun phrase, that is, a noun phrase that is preposed before the verb in a language where the verb normally occurs clause initially. The two types of 'topic' have different functions which leads to a confusion of terminology.

Because of the confusion over the term 'topic' McKaughan (1973) changed his previous outlook and proposed the term 'subject' for the focused noun phrase. Schachter (1976) reviews the possibilities for 'subject' in Philippine languages and concludes that subject is not a valid concept for Philippine languages. When Keenan (1976) tried to define subject he found more than thirty properties of subject. In recent years Relational Grammarians have been trying to define more precisely the grammatical categories which are considered to be universal. They have found that one especially difficult term to define is that of subject. In Bornean and Philippine languages, the focused noun phrase and the agent may or may not be identical. When they are not identical they seem to divide up the properties of 'subject' between them.

Using the proposed properties of subject, Van Valin (1977) sought to apply them to three languages: Lakota, Tagalog and Navaho. These properties did not seem to apply equally to these three languages and he concluded that the notion of subject is not an applicable category for universal grammar.

The term subject does not seem to be appropriate for the focused noun phrase in Philippine and Bornean languages for two reasons. First of all, there is much confusion over the definition of subject and secondly, the focused noun phrase lacks many of the grammatical properties of subject.

Further study of the term topic shows that it also is inappropriate for the focused noun phrase. Chafe (1976) has pointed out that focus and topic are distinct grammatical categories and each has its own function. Chafe uses focus in a specialised sense 'focus of contrast' where one noun phrase is highlighted meaning that other possible choices are excluded. In Clayre (1970a) she suggests that the focus system in Dusun has this element of exclusion, which differs from 'special emphasis' (called 'topic' by Chafe). The distinction between focus and topic applies to other Bornean and Philippine languages also. Some of the distinctions between the topic and the focused noun phrase are:
(1) A topic is usually marked phonologically, but a focused element (pivot) is not.
(2) The focused element is coded morphologically, but the topic is coded by its preposed position.
(3) The focused noun phrase occurs in different syntactic constructions, but a topic does not. According to Chafe (1976:50) topics typically set 'a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds'.

A few examples from Tagalog and Kadazan show the use of topicalised noun phrases.

1a TAGALOG
Sa tindahan B-um-ILI(-um-BILI) ng isda ang lalake.
L store AF-BUY Mk fish FOCUS man
'At the store the man bought fish.'

1b KADAZAN
Suvab m-ONGOI i Kotua soi Sandakan.
tomorrow AF-GO FOCUS Headman LocM Sandakan
'Tomorrow the Headman will go to Sandakan.'

1c I Kotua-no m-ONGOI soi Sandakan suvab.
FOCUS Headman-Comp AF-GO LocM Sandakan tomorrow
'It is the Headman who will go to Sandakan tomorrow.'

1d Alaid-no ino poingODOP (Ø$_1$-po$_2$-iN$_1$-ODOP).
a-long-time-CompM that (FOCUS) AF-Sta-Cont-SLEEP
'That one is sleeping for a long time.'

The above examples show that in both a Philippine language, Tagalog, and a Bornean language, Kadazan, topicalised noun phrases are not marked for focus on the verb. Actually in Kadazan only temporal noun phrases can be topicalised and not trigger marking for focus on the verb. Any other topicalised noun phrase will be marked as the focused item in the clause. In the Tagalog example 1a the topic is a locative noun phrase. It can have different functions depending on the discourse in which it occurs. It could function as counter-expectation if the hearer expected that he bought fish somewhere else, or it could function as a change of location of the reported events.

In the Kadazan example 1b the temporal noun phrase *suvab* 'tomorrow' is the topic of the clause. This topic functions to contrast the time of one action with the time of another. Both a topic and a focused actor occur in the same clause showing that they are distinct from one another. In example 1c the focused noun phrase, *i Kotua* 'the Headman', is also the topic. It also functions as contrast, in this case contrasting the actor with other possible actors. In example 1d both a topic and a focused actor occur before the verb, showing the distinction between them.

An alternative neutral term *pivot* (see below) has been proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984) to be used for the focused noun phrase.

Following Walton (1983) I will try to use terms in this study that will avoid the confusion of terminology that has been plaguing Philippine linguists.

Topic refers to the noun phrase that is preposed to the verb as in examples 1a -1d .

Focus refers to the special relationship between a verb and a particular marked noun phrase. The verb is marked morphologically to show that the marked noun phrase is 'in focus'.

Actor refers to the participant that effects the action of the verb.

Subject will be omitted as it is not applicable to Kadazan.

Pivot refers to the noun phrase around which a construction is built or which is crucially involved in the construction. (See Section 2.4 for examples where the pivot is in italics.) Because the choice of pivot in Kadazan is determined by discourse considerations and by cross-clause co-reference it is given the name 'syntactic pivot' (Dixon 1979) or 'pragmatic pivot' (Foley and Van Valin 1984). In English the subject noun phrase is involved in a number of constructions such as equi-noun phrase deletion, relativisation of the particle and subject-raising, and consequently it is the pivot of the construction. Similarly in Kadazan the focused noun phrase is involved in a number of constructions, such as equi-noun phrase deletion and focused noun phrase deletion in replies, and is the pivot of the construction.

1.6 General outline of the study

In Chapter 2 the theory on which the study is based will be introduced. In Chapter 3 verbal affixation will be introduced and the focus and tense-aspect systems will be dealt with in detail. Chapter 4 introduces the remaining affixes. In Chapter 5 the combinatorial possibilities of derivational affixation are included and are dealt with by semantic classification. There seems to be a basic dichotomy in Kadazan not only in the presence or absence of the completive aspect morpheme, but also between the intention or lack of intention expressed in the verb. This is reflected in the morphology of the focus and completive aspect morphemes, as well as by the presence of intentive and non-intentive morphemes. The non-intentive set of morphemes occurs with Dowty's four classes of non-agentive verbs, while the intentive set occurs with agentive verbs. Chapter 6 discusses the combinatorial possibilities of inflectional and other affixation. Since these affixes can potentially occur with any verb class no attempt is made to classify the verbs in this chapter. The mini-dictionary in Appendix IV shows all the verb roots with their co-occuring affixes as found throughout the study. Chapter 7 gives a summary and conclusion.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2. INTRODUCTION

A sketch of Kadazan will be given below to illustrate the focus system and to show that any of the noun phrase arguments can be put in focus. A theory of verbal semantics is proposed which will offer an explanation of verbal classes, and show the semantic relations between a given predicate and its arguments.

2.1 Kadazan typology

Kadazan, as mentioned before, is closely related to the languages of the Philippines. Before describing the theory of verb classification it will be helpful to mention a few facts about the basic typology of Kadazan and also to mention some problems of terminology.

Although Kadazan is similar in many respects to Philippine languages, such as Tagalog, it is also distinct in some respects. The basic word order is Verb, Subject (Actor), Object (Undergoer). This word order changes according to the arguments of the verb and the closeness of their relationship to it. The occurrence of pronominal noun phrases also affects the word order.[2]

The noun phrase markers are simpler than those of Tagalog, as there is no distinction between human and non-human arguments.

2a TAGALOG
BinILI (Ø-in-BILI)[3] ng bata ang isda sa tindahan.
UF-Comp-BUY Mk child PivM fish LocM market
'The fish was bought by the child at the market.'

2b KADAZAN
BinOLI (in-BOLI-Ø) di tanak i sada sii tomu.
Comp-BUY-UF Mk child PivM fish LocM periodic market
'The fish was bought by the child at the periodic market.'

In the Tagalog example 2a the morpheme *in-* indicates completive or perfective. The *Ø-* indicates undergoer focus. The undergoer noun *isda* is marked by *ang* which marks the focused element in Tagalog. The non-focused actor *bata* is marked by *ng*. The locative *tindahan* is marked by *sa*.

In the Kadazan example 2b the same morpheme *in-* marks completive. The undergoer focus is also marked by *-Ø*, but note that *-Ø* follows the verb instead of preceding it since in the non-completive the suffix morpheme *-on* marks undergoer focus. The undergoer noun *sada* is marked by *i* which marks the focused element in Kadazan. The non-focused actor *tanak* is marked by *di*, the definite non-focus marker. The locative noun *tomu* is marked by the locative marker *sii*. The function of the markers in Kadazan correlates closely with the function of the markers in Tagalog.

2.2 Kadazan verbs

A verb in Kadazan is a stem which is inflected for focus with or without other verbal inflections. The term 'focus'[4] is used in this study following linguists in the Philippines, and indicates the special relationship between the predicate and a particular marked noun phrase. Members of most word classes can be verbalised by inflecting them for focus, though not all members of a particular word class can be so inflected. For example, the stem *sigup* 'cigarette' with the addition of the fused prefix *moN-* (actor focus plus intentive mode) becomes *monigup* 'to smoke', but the stem *mangkaak* 'a crow' cannot be inflected. (A stem may be a root, either verbal or non-verbal, or it may be derived from a root by means of one or more derivational affixes.)

In the analysis of the Kadazan verbal system there are two important interrelated considerations, one, the inflection of the verb, and the other, the case marking on nominals. The verbal inflection of focus is introduced in Section 2.4 of this chapter, showing that any noun phrase argument of a verb can be in focus. The nominal reflexes of focus are summarised in Chart 1. The information in Chart 1 will be useful in understanding the finer details of the illustrations in this study.

2.3 Case marking on nominals

Nominals include noun phrases, pronouns and demonstratives. Traditionally the item that is in focus has been called the 'topic'. In this study it is called the 'focused noun phrase' or the 'pivot' (See Section 1.5).

Most Bornean and Philippine languages have different markers to show the relationship of the noun phrase to the verb. The following sentences from Tagalog will show the use of the noun phrase markers.

3a BumILI (um-BILI) ng isda sa bata ang lalake.
AF-BUY U fish L child FOCUS man
'The man bought some fish from a/the child.'

3b BinILI (Ø-in-BILI) ng lalake sa bata ang isda.
UF-Comp-BUY A man L child FOCUS fish
'The fish was bought by a/the man from a/the child.'

3c BinILHan (in-BILI-an) ng lalake ng isda ang bata.
Comp-BUY-LF A man U fish FOCUS child.
'The child was the one some fish was bought from by a/the man.'

In sentence 3a the infix *-um-* indicates that the actor is in focus, in 3b the *Ø-* marks the undergoer as being in focus and in 3c the suffix *-an* marks the locative noun phrase as being in focus. In sentence 3a the marker *ang* marks the actor *lalake* which is in focus, in sentence 3b it marks the undergoer *isda* which is focus, and in 3c it marks the locative *bata* which is in focus. Both the actor and the undergoer are marked with *ng* when not in focus, and the locative is marked with *sa*.

In Kadazan the noun phrases also have three sets of case markers: *i* or the absence of a marker for a focused noun phrase, *di*/*do* marking non-focused noun phrases and certain *demonstratives* which mark location or direction (see Chart 1a). Location and time may be put into focus by permutation to a pre-predicate position.

(a) NOUN PHRASE MARKERS

	Pivot	Non-pivot	Locative
Specific	*i*	*di*	*siti*, etc.
General	*Ø*	*do*	(see Demonstratives)

(b) BASIC PRONOUNS

	Pivot			Non-pivot		Locative
	Topic	Non-Topic				Either
		Agent	Non-agent	Agent	Non-agent	
Person						
1 Sg	*ioku*	*oku*	*oku*	*-ku*	*dogo/* *dogon*	*siti*, etc. See Demonstratives + non-pivot, non-agent pronoun
Pl Du	*kito*	*kito*	*kito*	*-to*	*dato*	
In	*itokou*	*tokou*	*tokou*	*tokou*	*daton/* *ditokou*	
Ex	*ikoi*	*ikoi*	*ikoi*	*ja*	*dagai*	
2 Sg	*ika/* *ikau*	*ko*	*ko/ika/* *ikau*	*-nu/* *dika*	*dika/* *dikau*	
Pl	*ikovu*	*kou*	*iovu/* *ikovu*	*muju*	*diovu/* *dikovu*	
3 Sg Spec	*ialo*	*ialo*	*ialo*	*-jo/* *dialo*	*dialo*	
Gen	*isido*	*isido*	*isido*	*-jo/* *disido*	*disido*	
Pl Dist	*oisido*	*oisido*	*oisido*	*doisido*	*doisido*	
Gen	*iolo*	*iolo*	*iolo*	*diolo*	*diolo*	

Chart 1 continued ...

... continued

(c) BASIC DEMONSTRATIVES

	Pivot	Non-pivot	Locative
this	*iti*	*diti*	*siti*
that			
near	*ino*	*dino*	*sino*
far			
visible	*ilo*	*dilo*	*silo*
not visible	*iri*	*diri*	*siri*
very far			*sodi*

Chart 1: Nominal case markers

Pronouns may be inflected for either pivot, non-pivot or location. Pivot pronouns occur in three sets, topic (which normally precede the predicate), non-topic agent, and non-topic non-agent (both of which follow the predicate). Non-pivot pronouns occur in two sets, agent (i.e. the doer of the action) and non-agent (i.e. the goal or recipient of the action). As with noun phrases, location is marked by a demonstrative plus a non-pivot non-agent pronoun (see Chart lb).

The demonstrative pronouns occur in three sets: pivot, non-pivot and locative. They function like the noun phrases and personal pronouns (see Chart lc).

Interrogatives do not change their form under focus, but their preverbal position marks them as pivot as well as topic.

2.4 Focus in Kadazan

A verb in Kadazan must be inflected for one of seven focuses: actor (AF), undergoer (UF), referent (RF), accessory (AcF), temporal (TF), directional (DF), and ablative (AbF)[5]. The focus inflection on the verb indicates the semantic role of the item that is marked for pivot.

It should be established early whether and how the focus affixes on the verb are morphologically distinct. In the following array the seven forms identified as focus markers on the verb are compared:

	PREFIX	STEM	SUFFIX
AF	*m- (-um-,* Ø$_1$*-)*	X	
AcF	*i*$_1$*-* (Ø$_2$-)	X	
AbF	*i*$_2$*-* (Ø$_3$-)	X	*-an*$_3$
UF		X	*-on*$_1$ *(-o*$_1$*, -*Ø*)*
DF		X	*-on*$_2$ *(-o*$_2$*)*
RF		X	*-an*$_1$ *(-ai*$_1$*)*
TF		X	*-an*$_2$ *(-ai*$_2$*)*

The following sentences in Kadazan will demonstrate the use of the focus markers.

4. MinaMAAL (in-*m*-poN-VAAL) *oku* do bakul.
Comp-*AF*-Inten-MAKE *I* (Piv) Mk basket
'I made a basket.'

5a VinAAL-ku (in-Ø$_4$-VAAL-Ø) *i* bakul.
Comp-Inten-MAKE-*UF*-I *the* (Piv) basket
'The basket was made by me.'

5b Ø$_4$-VAAL-*on*-ku *i* *bakul.*
Inten-WORK-*UF*-I *the* (Piv) *basket*
'The basket will be made by me.'

6. VinAALan-ku (in-Ø$_4$-VAAL-*an*$_1$) *ialo* do bakul.
Comp-Inten-MAKE-*RF* *she* (Piv) Mk basket
'She was the one I made the basket for.'

7. *Onu* n-*i*$_1$-Ø$_4$-VAAL-nu di bakul?
what (Piv) Comp-*AcF*-Inten-MAKE-you (Sg) Mk basket
'What did you use to make the basket with?'

8. MinaNADAPan (in-moN-SODOP-*an*$_2$) isido mogiad.
Comp-Inten-NIGHT-*TF* he cry
'It was until night that he cried (i.e. all day).'

9. *Inombo* inOSUKon (in-Ø$_4$-ASUK-*on*$_2$) diolo?
where (Piv) Comp-Inten-ENTER-*DF* they
'Where did they go in?'

10a NiinTUTUNan (n-*i*$_2$-Ø$_4$-iN$_2$-TUTUN-*an*$_3$) dialo *i* *minanakau.*
Comp-*AbF*-Inten-Ag-RECOGNISE-AbF he PivM *steal*
'The one who stole was looked at intently by him to be recognised.'

10b NipoOKUTan-ku (n-*i*$_2$-Ø$_4$-po$_1$-AKUT-*an*$_3$) dialo *iri* *parai.*
Comp-*AbF*-Inten-Caus-CARRY-*AbF-I* him *that* (Piv) *rice*
'That rice was what I made him carry.'

From the above examples it can be seen that any noun phrase in Kadazan can be put into focus. In sentences 4, 5a, 6, 8 and 9 the allomorph *in-* marks completive; in sentences 7 and 10 the allomorph for completive is *n-*. In sentence 4 the actor focus allomorph *m-* occurs; in sentence 5a the *-Ø* allomorph of undergoer focus occurs and in sentence 5b the *-on* allomorph occurs; in sentence 6 the *-an* allomorph of referent focus occurs; in sentence 7 the *i-* allomorph of accessory focus occurs; in sentence 8 the *-an* allomorph of temporal focus occurs; in sentence 9 the *-on* allomorph of directional focus occurs and in sentences 10a and b the *i-* allomorph of the prefix occurs with the suffix *-an*.

In addition to the focus affixes used above which occur with the intentive mode there is another set of affixes which occur in the non-intentive mode. Like Tagalog there is a basic dichotomy in Kadazan between intentive (volitional) and non-intentive (non-volitional), (Foley and Van Valin 1984), hence there is a complete set of affixes for each mode (see Chart 2). Non-intentive mode affixes occur in both completive and non-completive aspects. Intentive mode has a zero allomorph in five focuses unless it co-occurs with other affixes when the allomorph *poN-* is used. (See Appendix III for paradigms of focus with other major affixation.)

	AF	UF	RF	AcF	TF	DF	AbF
Inten							
NComp	*moN-*	*-on*	*-an*	*i-*	*moN- -an*	*-on*	*i- -an*
Comp	*minoN-*	*in-*	*in- -an*	*ni-*	*minoN- -an*	*in- -on*	*ni- -an*
Dram	*poN-*	*-o*	*-ai*	*i-*			
NInten							
NComp	*ko-*	*o-*	*o- -an*	*ko-*	*ko- -an*	*o- -on*	*ko- -an*
Comp	*noko-*	*no-*	*no- -an*	*noko-*	*noko- -an*	*no- -on*	*noko- -an*

Chart 2: Intentive and non-intentive affixation

2.5 A theory of verb semantics

In the past Bornean and Philippine verbs have been classified in one of two ways, either according to the potential affixation (Wolff 1970) or according to the case of the clause in which the verb occurred (Forster and Barnard 1968). Using the case frame approach it was assumed that when a verb stem was inflected with various inflectional affixes in a set of clauses, that the resulting clauses had the same meaning and similar grammatical relations. If the affixation changed the case frame then it was regarded as derivational rather than inflectional. These two approaches miss an important consideration in regard to Bornean and Philippine languages.

With the present approach it will be shown that when a certain verb occurs in different related clauses, the changes in meaning of the clauses are relevant to the classification of the verb stems. A verb class will be defined first of all by its semantic content and secondly by the relationship between the verb and the clause in which it occurs. In order to classify the verbs in this manner we need to account for the inherent semantic content of the verb as well as the derivational and inflectional morphology. Therefore the purpose of this study is to provide a classification of Kadazan verbs that seeks to account for the semantic relations between a given predicate and its arguments.

One way to approach verb classification based on the semantics of the verb is following Dowty's (1979) theory of verb semantics. This theory is one of those that tries to show the more general aspects of the meaning of the verb. According to Dowty's theory verb semantics cannot be studied alone, as the structure of the clause is relevant to verb classification. In both Bornean and Philippine languages the centre of the clause is the focus system, and this also functions on a discourse level. A theory of verbal semantics then needs to include the interaction of semantics, syntax and discourse. In their role and reference grammar Foley and Van Valin (1984) use Dowty's theory of semantics to try to account for the relationship between syntax and discourse. Their stated goal is

> ... to demonstrate that the crucial features of clause structure such as case marking and voice oppositions are intimately tied up with ... interclausal phenomena and accordingly can be fully understood only with reference to them. Hence the analysis of the morphosyntax of the clause must, on this view, proceed from an interclausal and ultimately discourse perspective. (Foley and Van Valin 1984:1)

There are two major types of lexical decomposition: one which attempts to represent all of the aspects of meaning of a verb, and the other which seeks to account for only certain of the meanings. See example below which illustrates the former type.

threw
tossed
gave
Melinda mailed the gift to Elizabeth
sent
passed
handed
presented

All of the above verbs relate to the same event, that is the transfer of an object, *the gift*, from one person to another. Each verb has a slightly different action. A theory of lexical decomposition which seeks to represent all aspects of the meaning of the verb would include the basic meaning of transfer of an object and include the details of how the transfer took place. A less ambitious explanation would mention the basic meaning of transfer only, that is, one person volitionally instigates a change of possession or change of location of an object to another person. The difference in the two theories is in the amount of detail that is given.

In presenting his theory of verb classification Dowty (1979) based it on the scheme proposed by Vendler (1967). Vendler proposed four verb classes: states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. Dowty gives a diagram of the proposed classification (see Table 1).

Table 1

States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
know	*run*	*paint a picture*	*recognize*
believe	*walk*	*make a chair*	*spot*
have	*swim*	*deliver a sermon*	*find*
desire	*push a cart*	*draw a circle*	*lose*
love	*drive a car*	*recover from illness*	*die*

Dowty summarised these classifications as in Table 2 to show the syntactic and semantic tests which are used to define them (Dowty 1979:60).

Dowty proposed the following in order to explain the properties of Vendler's classifications:

> The idea is that the different aspectual properties of the various kinds of verbs can be explained by postulating a single homogeneous class of predicates -- *stative predicates* -- plus three or four sentential operators and connectives. English stative verbs are supposed to correspond directly to these stative predicates in logical structure, while verbs of the other categories have logical structures that consist of one or more stative predicates embedded in complex sentences formed with the "aspectual" connectives and operators. (Dowty 1979:71)

Dowty's use of aspect here is different from the traditional use of the term aspect. Here he uses the term to refer to the inherent features of the meaning of the verb which underlie its classification in Table 2. Traditionally the term 'aspect' has referred to different ways of viewing the temporal element of the action of the verb. In this chapter I will follow Dowty and assume that verbs in a given class all have the same semantic structure. The stative class is basic to the classification of the verbs in this system, and the other verb classes are derived from it. The non-stative verbs have a stative verb in their underlying semantic structure. The process of lexical decomposition will help to define the class of the verb.

2.5.1 Stative verbs

Stative verbs include those that express a state or condition, whereas the verbs in the other classes express an indefinite change of state, single change of state or complex change of state. Dowty adopted Lakoff's (1965) distinction between stative and non-stative verbs, and proposed some tests to distinguish between them as follows:

Table 2

	Criterion	States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
1.	Meets non-stative tests:	no	yes	yes	?
2.	Has habitual interpretation in simple present tense:	no	yes	yes	yes
3.	*ø for an hour, spend an hour ø-ing:*	OK	OK	OK	bad
4.	*ø in an hour, take an hour to ø:*	bad	bad	OK	OK
5.	*ø for an hour* entails *ø at all times in the hour:*	yes	yes	no	d.n.a.
6.	*X is ø-ing* entails *X has øed:*	d.n.a.	yes	no	d.n.a.
7.	Complement of *stop*:	OK	OK	OK	bad
8.	Complement of *finish*:	bad	bad	OK	bad
9.	Ambiguity with *almost*:	no	no	yes	no
10.	*X øed in an hour* entails *X was ø-ing during that hour:*	d.n.a.	d.n.a.	yes	no
11.	Occurs with *studiously, attentively, carefully,* etc.	bad	OK	OK	bad

OK = the sentence is grammatical, semantically normal
bad = the sentence is ungrammatical, semantically anomalous
d.n.a. = the test does not apply to verbs of this class

1. Only non-statives occur in the progressive.
2. Only non-statives occur as complements of *force* and *persuade*.
3. Only non-statives occur as imperatives.
4. Only non-statives occur with adverbs *deliberately* and *carefully*.
5. Only non-statives appear in pseudo-constructions.
6. Activity and accomplishment verbs occurring in the simple present have frequentive or habitual interpretation in normal contexts.

There are both transitive and intransitive stative verbs. Intransitive verbs include verbs such as *itch, burn, exist*, and transitive verbs include *love, hate, hear, know*. There are several kinds of stative verbs such as the following: condition states *short, sick, sad, thin;* cognition states *know, doubt;* location states *sit, stand, lie, be at;* possession states *have, own, hold;* and perception states *see* and *hear*.

2.5.2 Achievement verbs

Achievement verbs, such as *enlarge, realise* and *ignite*, express a single change of state or have inchoative meaning. This means that they express the idea of *become* or *come to be*. For example the word *enlarge* means 'become large', *realise* means 'come to know' and *ignite* means 'become burning'.

2.5.3 Accomplishment verbs

Accomplishment verbs, such as *kill, dissolve* and *build*, express a change of state or location that is caused by someone or something. For example the word *kill* means that 'someone caused someone to become dead', *dissolve* means that 'something caused something else to become liquid' and *build* means that 'someone caused something to become a structure'.

2.5.4 Activity verbs

Activity verbs are those which express motion or action. Something moved, is moved or something is done. There is no underlying stative verb suggested by Dowty for this class of verbs. Dowty suggests two classes of verbs here, one which has the idea of doing something such as *walk, talk,* and *ignore* and the other which does not have the idea of doing something but simply involves movement of some kind such as *fall, roll* and *make noise*. The first class of activity verbs which contains the idea of 'doing' was adopted from Ross (1972) and has the rough idea of action that 'is under the unmediated control of the agent'. For example in sentence 11 the word *smile* can be either involuntary or intentional.

11a Martha instinctively smiled at the new baby.

11b John intentionally smiled at the pretty girl.

In 11b the action is done intentionally and the first argument is the *Agent* of the action. In 11a on the other hand the verb is a non-volitional activity verb and the first argument is an *Effector*.

The second class of activity verbs involves motion of some kind which occurs at a specified location. No agent occurs but the location changes over time.

12a The baby fell off the bed.

12b The ball rolled into the pond.

The two arguments of *fall* and *roll* have the semantic relations of *theme* and *locative*. The *theme* is at one location and undergoes a change of location. Theme is the element whose location is at issue.

Some of the activity verbs are derived from stative verbs by adding the notion of *doing* to the verb. For example the word *listen* has the notion of intention or doing something whereas *hear* does not. There is a group of cognitive state verbs which are similarly changed by the addition of an agent.

COGNITIVE STATE	COGNITIVE ACTIVITY (+AGENT)
see	*look at, watch*
hear	*listen to*
feel (bad)	*feel (the carpet)*
smell (good)	*smell (the soup)*

(Walton 1983)

Another group of activity verbs that can be derived from stative verbs are those that can take the word 'being'. These verbs cannot be accounted for by the agency of the verb because they can occur with the word 'unintentionally'.

CONDITION STATE	ACTIVITY
obnoxious	*being obnoxious*
pedantic	*being pedantic*
weird	*being weird*

To show that the activity is not agentive the word 'unintentionally' can be added as in *Joan is unintentionally being obnoxious.*

Vendler's four-way classification of verbs breaks down with verbs of motion which have a destination or a termination, for example, the word *walk* is an activity verb, but if a goal is added the result could be *John walked to the store* which is an accomplishment verb. On the other hand if an accomplishment verb in a sentence such as *Joe ate a bowl of rice* has instead a mass noun or a generic noun it becomes an activity verb, as in *Joe ate rice.* Because of such difficulties Dowty developed Table 3 (1979:184). In addition to the agentive activities there are also agentive state and accomplishment verbs. There are also non-agentive activities as in sentence 12. Another modification of Vendler's classes is the distinction between single change of state and complex change of state (compare classes 5 and 6 with 7 and 8).

There are three main differences between Table 3 and Table 1: the dichotomy between agentive and non-agentive, the three divisions of the accomplishment verbs and the four divisions of the stative verbs.

Table 3

		Non-Agentive		Agentive
States	1a	*be asleep, be in the garden, love, know*	2a	possibly *be polite, be a hero*, etc. belong here, or in 4.
	1b	interval statives: *sit, stand, lie*	2b	interval statives: *sit, stand, lie* (with human subjects)
Activities	3.	*make noise, roll, rain*	4.	*walk, laugh, dance* (cf. 2a)
Single Change of State	5.	*notice, realize, ignite*	6.	*kill, point out (something to someone)*
Complex Change of State	7.	*flow from x to y, dissolve*	8.	*build (a house), walk from x to y, walk a mile*

I. *Momentary* (1a and 'habituals' in all classes) vs. *interval* predicates (1b, 2b, 3, 8). Syntactic test: ability to occur in the progressive. (Note: 6 and especially 5 appear less readily in the progressive than the other interval predicates.)

II. Predicates entailing *definite or indefinite change* (3-8) vs. those entailing *no change* (1 and 2). Syntactic test: ability to occur in *do* constructions (pseudo-clefts, *do so* reduction, etc.)

III. *Definite change of state* predicates (5-8) vs. *activity* predicates or indefinite change of state predicates (3 and 4). Syntactic test: Does *x was V-ing* (pragmatically) entail *x has V-ed* ?

IV. *Singulary change* predicates (5-6) vs. *complex change* predicates (7-8). Syntactic test: Is *x finished V-ing* acceptable?

V. *Agentive* (2, 4, 6, 8) vs. *non-agentive* (1, 3, 5, 7) predicates. Syntactic test: ability to occur in agentive contexts like imperative, *persuade x to V, do V deliberately*, etc.

2.6 Role and reference grammar

Having presented the above analysis for the semantic structure of the verb it is now necessary to describe the theoretical model which will analyse the role structure of the clause and account for the relationship between the semantics of the verb, syntax and discourse.

In this section only two of the concepts will be described that are used in role and reference grammar to complement Dowty's theory of verb classification. These are the notion of actor and undergoer, and the theory of the layered structure of the clause.

2.6.1 Actor and undergoer

It has been recognised for a long time that the same semantic relationship can manifest different syntactic forms. In English the active and passive forms of a sentence are the same semantically, but the syntactic forms are different.

13a Amat speared the deer.

13b The deer was speared by Amat.

In these two sentences the doer *Amat* and the affected thing *the deer* bear the same semantic relationship to the verb *speared* though the syntactic relationship is different. In role and reference grammar the terms *actor* and *undergoer* are used to indicate these semantic relationships with the verb. The *actor* is the argument of the verb that performs, effects, instigates or controls the action expressed by the verb. The *undergoer* is the argument that is affected in some way and does not perform, effect, instigate or control the action. The more common terms, agent and effector, are subsumed under the term *actor,* while goal and patient are included under *undergoer.*

We can see from 13a and 13b that the actor is not the same as the syntactic subject nor is the undergoer the same as the syntactic direct object. Sentences 14a-d give further evidence that the actor is not equivalent to the syntactic subject.

14a Mary drove downtown.

14b Arthur practised for an hour.

14c The door slammed.

14d Eleanor is upset.

In each of the above sentences there is a single argument to the verb which is the syntactic subject. In 14a and 14b the participants are acting volitionally, thus the single argument is an actor. In 14c and 14d the verbs indicate a state or a change of state which the participant experiences or undergoes, hence the participant is an undergoer.

Both the actor and undergoer can have a number of different thematic relationships with the verb; they are macro-roles which subsume more specific thematic roles under them. The sentences in 15a-e show the semantic possibilities for actor.

15a	*Evan* shot the tiger.	(Agent)
15b	The *stone* broke the windshield.	(Instrument)

15c The *student* received a scholarship (Recipient)

15d The *townspeople* felt the earthquake. (Experiencer)

15e The *light* flashed a signal. (Source)

In each of the sentences 15a-e the grammatical subject is an actor, but the semantic relationship to the verb is different. In 15a *Evan* is an agent; in 15b *the stone* is an instrument; in 15c *the student* is a recipient; in 15d *the townspeople* are experiencers and in 15e *the light* is a source.

Undergoers can also show a number of different semantic possibilities as in sentences 16a-e.

16a His uncle brought the *book*. (Theme)

16b The car knocked over the *telephone pole*. (Patient)

16c The dart hit the *bull's-eye*. (Location)

16d The husband relieved his *wife* of the groceries. (Source)

16e The school gave *Mary* a plaque. (Recipient)

In sentences 16a-e the grammatical direct object is the undergoer, but in each case the semantic relationship to the verb is different. In 16a *the book* is theme; in 16b *the telephone pole* is a patient; in 16c *the bull's-eye* is a location; in 16d *the wife* is a source and in 16e *Mary* is the recipient.

From the sentences in 15 and 16 it is evident that the semantic relationship of the arguments to the verb is not syntactic, but is a function of the semantics of the verb.

The notions of actor and undergoer are macro-roles that can be applied to the arguments of the verb as proposed above by Dowty's verbal semantics.

2.6.2 Layered structure of the clause

Every theory of grammar seeks to describe the structure of the clause. Transformational grammar assumes a constituent structure model of the clause and uses phrase structure rules to describe the relationships. Role and reference grammar, on the other hand, uses a theory of the layered structure of the clause. This theory is a development of the earlier work by Foley and Olson (1981).

In the theory of the layered structure of the clause, the outer layers enclose the inner layers. The innermost layer is the *nucleus* which is basic to the clause and contains the predicate. The nucleus may be complex with more than one predicate in it. The next layer which surrounds the predicate is the *core.* The core consists of arguments of the predicate. Depending on the valence[6] of the verb there will be one or more core arguments of the predicate. The two most common arguments have traditionally been called subject and direct object. Outside the core is the *periphery*. It consists of oblique arguments such as time, location, beneficiary and manner.

If we take the example of English and apply the theory to it, we see that the nucleus of the clause is the verb. In an intransitive clause the grammatical subject is a core argument. In a transitive clause the grammatical subject and direct object are both core arguments. With certain stems such as *give* there may be three core arguments, as in

The man gave the boy a book. Prepositional noun phrases are peripheral arguments. Different languages, of course, have different markings which indicate core arguments, and in many languages core arguments trigger verb agreement. Peripheral arguments cannot trigger verb agreement. In some languages there is no marking to indicate which are core and which are peripheral arguments. In such cases the syntactic behaviour of the argument within the clause will indicate its status.

The concept of a layered clause structure does not only apply to a configurational language such as English, but also to non-configurational languages as well. The distinction between nucleus, core, and periphery is one that occurs in the grammar of all languages and hence is a language universal.

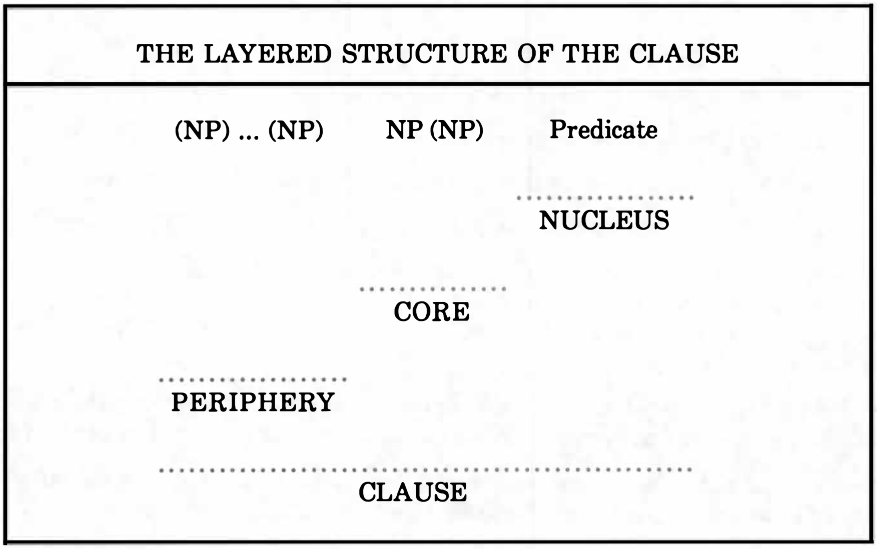

Chart 3

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter it has been shown that Kadazan is a language that is very similar to the Philippine languages having case markings on the nominal that function like those of Tagalog, and a system of focus markings that also resembles those of Tagalog.

A theory of verb semantics following Dowty (1979) is proposed that takes the stative class of verbs as basic with other verbs derived from it. Non-stative verbs are considered to have a stative verb in their underlying semantic structure.

Eight classes of verbs are proposed, four of which are non-agentive and four are agentive. Table 3 illustrates the proposed classification.

Instead of the traditional terms 'subject' and 'object', the macro-roles 'actor' and 'undergoer' are proposed as being more appropriate for the arguments of the verb when using the above semantic classification of verbs.

Chapter 3

INFLECTIONAL AFFIXATION IN KADAZAN

3. INTRODUCTION

In Kadazan there are major and minor affixes. Major affixes are those which occur across dialect and language boundaries, whereas minor affixes are much more limited in their usage. Most of the affixes occurring in orders 3 to 7 (when numbering out from the stem) are major affixes (see Chart 4). The following verbs illustrate some of the major affixation. (Major affixes are in italics.)

no-ko-ontong	'happened to see'
ko-ontong	'can see'
*mong*ontong (*m-poN*-ontong)	'look at'
si-ontong	'want to see'
po-ontong	'show ' (lit. 'cause-to-look-at')
kumi-ontong	'look at together'
moki-ontong	'ask to see'
mi-odu	'quarrel with each other' (two people)
moi-odu	'quarrel with each other' (three or more people)
ni-pim-boli	'be all sold in differing amounts to different people'

Most of the prefixes which occur in orders 1 and 2 are minor prefixes. They occur less frequently. Some are so restricted in use that they are found in only one village. Some cannot co-occur with other prefixes, while others occur preceded by major prefixes, and rarely or never occur alone. Some occur with a very limited set of verb stems. A few of the minor affixes are illustrated below. (Minor affixes are in italics.)

noko-*pong-ko*-liu	'happened to chase after'
monong-ki-odu	'go to pick a quarrel'
moki-*sang*-anu	'ask to own' (lit. 'ask to be the one to get')
pi-*sing-ku*-olingan	'be neglected' (lit. 'be forgotten on purpose')
mi-*sun*-suli	'reciprocate (give as good as one gets)'
mi-*to-tom-po*-liduk	'run hither and thither to hide'
mosing-ong-odop	'pretend to be asleep'

The minor affixes *pir-* and *tor-/turi-* only occur on the root *odop* 'sleep' and each occurs in a different village with a similar meaning.

3.1 Relative position of affixes

The order of affixes with respect to each other and the stem is regular. Those that occur before the verb belong to one of seven orders. These are numbered from right to left, from the stem outward. All affixes in one order are mutually exclusive.[7] The focus-marking affixes appear in prefix order 6 or suffix order 2; see Charts 4a and 4c respectively. These have been introduced in Chapter 2 and will be dealt with more thoroughly in Chapter 4. The tense aspect affixes which occur in order 7 will also be dealt with in Chapter 4. Most of the prefixes can be identified as belonging to a certain order, but not all. When an affix could not be assigned to an order with certainty, it was arbitrarily grouped with other affixes of a similar type, e.g. aspect or mode affixes according to its meaning. Inspection of additional data may require some adjustment.

The suffixes of Kadazan do not present any difficulty with respect to the order each occupies. In addition to the two orders of verbal suffixes in Kadazan, there are two positions of clitics, which can follow various sentence elements.

The outer clitics are *-no* 'completive marker, *-po* 'non-completive marker' and *-i* 'emphatic'. The basic meanings of *-no* and *-po* are 'already' and 'not yet', respectively, though they seem to have other functions that are not clearly understood. All three can occur as clitics on other sentence elements as well as on the verb. The inner clitics are the clitic pronouns.[8]

The second order of suffixes consists of various focus markers which were mentioned in Chapter 2 (see also Chart 4c). Examples occur below.

ongoi-*on*	'is fetched'	(Undergoer Focus)
noila-*an*	'knew'	(Referent Focus)
kaangai-*an*	'time one goes'	(Temporal Focus)
inongoi-*on*	'place that was gone to'	(Directional Focus)
nokoila-*an*	'reason something was known'	(Ablative Focus)

The first order comprises the restrictive derivational suffix *-an*$_4$ which is subject to vowel harmony and occurs as *-on* when followed by one of the *-on* or *-o* suffixes. (See Appendix II for a discussion of vowel harmony). See the examples below.

moniruv-*an*	copy a person (*moniru* copy something)
kurupisiono (kurupisi-*an-o*)	crumple it!

There are three infixes in Kadazan: *in-*, *-um-* and *ong-*. The infix *in-* is an allomorph of the completive prefix, *-um-* is an allomorph of the actor focus prefix and *ong-* is plural, (see Chart 4b). See examples below.

m-*in*-angakan	'ate'
r-*um*-uuk	'go downhill'
n-*ong*-okoodop	'all fell asleep'

(a) PREFIXES

7 Tense Aspect	6 Focus	5	4	3	2	1
no-/n-/in- Comp	*m-/-um-/Ø*$_1$*-* AF	*poN-/moN-/Ø*$_4$*-* Inten	*po*$_1$*-* Caus	*pi-* DuRec	*ponoN-* Ass	*pogo-* Repe
ko$_1$*-* Rec	*i*$_1$*-/Ø*$_2$*-* AcF	*ko*$_2$*-/o-* NInten	*po*$_2$*-* Sta	*poi-* MulRec	*pog*$_2$*-* AssCol	*biN-* Hab
	i$_2$*-/Ø*$_3$*-* AbF	*ko*$_3$*-* Apt	*pog*$_1$*-* Mid	*piN-* UnDist	*posiN-* Diss	*mogin-* Dur
		si- Des		*toro-* EqDist	*poN*$_2$*-* Clar	*ku-* Aug$_2$
		soN$_1$*-* Compr		*tumu-* SgSer	*iN*$_1$*-* Cont	*ko*$_4$*-* Aug$_3$
				piriN- MulSer	*iN*$_2$*-* Ag	*pu-* Pro
				kumi- Com	*iN*$_3$*-* Vb	*pod-* Qual
				poki- Pet	*soN*$_2$*-* Dim	*po*$_3$*-* Caus
					siN- NSer$_1$	*ti-* Unna
					toN- NSer$_2$	*pir-* Perc$_1$
					suN- PurpRep	*tor-* Perc$_2$
						ki- Poss
						to- Exas
						pog$_3$*-* Imm
						ko$_5$*-* When

See Verbal Affixes in the Key to Abbreviations for the meaning of the abbreviations.

Chart 4 continued ...

... continued

(b) INFIX	(c) SUFFIXES	
	1 Deriv	2 Focus
ong- Plur	*-an*$_4$ Res	*-on*$_1$/*-o*$_1$/*-Ø* UF
		-on$_2$/*-o*$_2$ DF
		-an$_1$/*-ai*$_1$ RF
		-an$_2$/*-ai*$_2$ TF
		-an$_3$ AbF

Chart 4: Order of affixes

3.2 Derivational versus inflectional affixation

An important consideration in analysing affixation is to distinguish between derivational and inflectional affixation. According to Nida (1949) there are several distinguishing features between derivational and inflectional formations: derivational formations belong to substantially the same general external distributional classes as the simplest member of the class in question whereas inflectional formations do not; derivational formations tend to be 'inner' formations whereas inflectional formations tend to be 'outer' formations; derivational formations tend to be statistically more numerous whereas inflectional formations tend to be less numerous; derivational morphemes occur with a more restricted distribution whereas inflectional morphemes have a more extensive distribution; derivational formations exhibit changes in major distribution class membership, such as verbalising adjectives, etc. whereas inflectional formations exhibit no changes in class membership. One further category that Nida mentions is that derivational formations 'form' words, but this is a rather unsatisfactory criterion as it is hard to define the term precisely. Inflectional affixes (Crystal 1980) are those which signal grammatical relations, such as plural, past tense, possession, etc.

According to Hockett (1958) there are some derivational affixes in one of the Eskimo languages which do not change the class membership of the words, but act on the underlying stem in some way to restrict the meaning, e.g. affixes can be added to the stem *stone* to give the meaning *large stone, small stone,* etc. or affixes can be added to a stem *sing* to give the meaning *sing a lot, sing badly,* etc. Other derivational affixes 'govern' the root to make a 'phrase', e.g. a certain affix added to a place name *X* gives the meaning *inhabitant of X.*

In her discussion of Tagalog verbs De Guzman (1979) states that inflectional affixes are 100 per cent productive whereas derivational affixes are not. She also says that derivational affixation does not consist of opposition, whereas inflectional affixation does. For example in English there are two non-past forms of the verb *have*, that is *has* which occurs with third person singular and *have* which occurs with non-third person singular. This dichotomy holds true for all verbs in the language.

3.3 Affixation in Kadazan

Kadazan has both inflectional and derivational affixation. Inflectional affixation includes tense aspect morphemes which are order 7 prefixes and focus morphemes which are order 6 prefixes and order 2 suffixes. In addition there are the durative affix *mogin-* and iterative (signalled by reduplication) which are aspectual and seem to be inflectional also.

There are other affixes that are not class-changing morphemes but they do not seem to be inflectional either. There is one group of 'multiple'-type affixes which includes the comprehensive affix *soN-*, the plural affix *ong-* and the two reciprocal affixes *pi-* and *poi-*. There is also the desiderative affix *si-* which is not class-changing and does not signal a grammatical relation. Finally there are two affixes *pog-* and ko_5- which act as syntactic markers and the affix *to-* which is an attitudinal marker. None of these are either inflectional or derivational.

Of the 'multiple'-type affixes the plural morpheme *ong-* has been found only on stative verbs, but this may be an accident of the available data as it occurs rather rarely. The comprehensive affix soN_2- and the reciprocal affixes *pi-* and *poi-* as well as the desiderative affix *si-* all occur in most or all of the verb classes and have a wide distribution. These will all be dealt with more fully in Chapter 6, but they will all be introduced in Chapter 4.

In Kadazan there seem to be derivational affixes which are the usual class-changing affixes similar to English and many other languages, but in addition there is a restrictive affix -an_4 (see 4.8) and a governing affix *ki-* (see 4.6.11) such as occur in Eskimo. There are also derivational affixes that consist of opposition and were analysed as inflectional for a long time because of that fact. These are the intentive affix poN_1- and the non-intentive affix ko_2- (see 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). The intentive affixes express agency and can change non-agentive verbs to agentive. The non-intentive affixes are non-agentive and take an effector instead of an agent. In other words the person or thing doing the action is doing so involuntarily or non-intentionally. An agentive verb can be changed to non-agentive by the addition of a non-intentive affix.

3.4 Focus: order 6

As mentioned earlier Kadazan verbs are always inflected for focus which indicates the special relationship between the predicate and a particular marked noun phrase. According to Clayre (1970a) the focus system can be compared to the use of stress and intonation in English which is used to 'add emphasis or to highlight one theme of the sentence, conversation or discourse'. There are seven focuses in Kadazan: actor, undergoer, referent, accessory, temporal, directional and ablative. Each of these focuses has a number of functions.

3.4.1 Actor focus

An actor is the one who performs, effects, instigates or controls the action indicated by the verb. In Kadazan an actor focus affix on the verb signifies that the focused noun phrase is: (1) the semantic agent, the one who initiates or controls the action, or (2) the recipient or goal of an action (e.g. *receive*), or (3) an experiencer (e.g. sense verbs such as *see*), or (4) a source (e.g. *emit*), or (5) the effector (the one who does something non-volitionally). In an actor focus clause the actor (grammatical subject) is in focus and thus is the focused item of the clause. The focused item is manifested by a focused noun phrase, a focused pronoun or a focused demonstrative. The other nouns in the clause take non-focused forms. The focused actor normally follows the verb immediately. The normal order for grammatical entities following verbs is: actor-pivot + undergoer + other non-focused noun phrases. The actor and undergoer are normally the only core arguments of the clause.

Actor focus is indicated by *m-* which has the allomorphs *m-*, *-um-* and Ø$_1$-.

-um- occurs following the first consonant of the stem or affix on intransitive verbs.

Ø$_1$- occurs in dramatic present aspect and peremptory mode under irrealis and sometimes with causative voice where *m-* would be expected (section 4.3.1). It also occurs when the affix that co-occurs initially does not have a *p-* form. (This includes *ko-*, *ki-*, *soN-*, *si-*, etc.)

m- occurs elsewhere. It occurs before vowel initial affixes and stems and also suppletes an initial bilabial consonant on both affixes and stems.

17a RinumUUK[9] (in-*um*-RUUK) mODSU (-*um*-PODSU)
Comp-*AF*-(intr)-GO-DOWNHILL *AF*-(Intr)-BATHE

kang-ku dii
say-I Emph
'He has gone down to bathe, I said.'

17b MongIIT (*m*-poN$_1$-IIT) ilo tasu.
AF-Inten-BITE that(Piv) dog
'That dog bites.'

17c PangASA-i (Ø$_1$-poN$_1$-ASA) dii do gampa.
(Dram)-*AF*-Inten-SHARPEN-Emph Emph Mk bush-knife
'(We) sharpen (our) bush-knives.'

17d Ø$_1$-si-pog$_1$-IAD ialo.
AF-Des-Mid-CRY he (Piv)
'He wants to cry.'

In 17a the actor focus allomorphs *-um-* and *m-* occur on the intransitive activity verbs *ruuk* 'go down a hill' and *podsu* 'bathe'. The completive allomorph *in-* co-occurs with the allomorph *-um-*. In 17b the allomorph *m-* occurs with intentive mode on a transitive activity verb. **iit* bite. Although no undergoer is specified, it is implied. In 17c the *Ø*-allomorph occurs with the dramatic present aspect and intentive mode on a complex change of state verb **asa* 'to sharpen'. In 17d the *Ø*- allomorph co-occurs with desiderative and middle voice on the activity verb **iad* 'cry'.

3.4.2 Undergoer focus

An undergoer is the person or thing directly affected by an action. The undergoer does not perform, effect, instigate or control the action. In Kadazan the undergoer focus affix on the verb functions to focus one of the following noun phrases and makes it the pivot of the clause: (1) the theme, the item which is directly affected by the action, or (2) the patient which undergoes a change of state, or (3) the goal which directly receives the action (physically or psychologically). The pivot is manifested by a pivot pronoun, pivot demonstrative or a pivot noun phrase. The non-pivot actor and the other nominals in the clause all take non-pivot forms. The normal order for nouns following the verb is actor + undergoer-pivot + referent, etc. The actor and undergoer are both core elements in the clause.[10]

Undergoer focus is indicated by the suffix morpheme -*on*$_1$. Its allomorphs are -*on*$_1$, -*o*$_1$ and -*Ø*.

-*o*$_1$ occurs with dramatic present aspect (18c) and peremptory mode (129m).

-*Ø* occurs when the verb is marked with the completive aspect (18a) or for non-intentive mode (18d). Other occurrences are with injunctive mode (131), with the subordinate clause marker *pog*$_3$- 'immediacy' (76) and with the affix *ti*- 'unnatural' (64b).

-*on*$_1$ occurs elsewhere (18b).

18a Nokuro do TinATAK-nu (Ø$_4$-in-TATAK-Ø) iri buuk-ku?
why Lig (Inten)-Comp-LOSE-*UF*-you(Sg) that (Piv) book-my
'Why was my book purposely lost by you?'

18b Ø$_4$-KURI-*on*$_1$-ku iti vagas.
(Inten)-WORK/COOK-*UF*-I this (Piv) rice
'This rice is to be cooked by me.'

18c Ongoion-ku po$_1$-LUKAT-*o*$_1$.
go-I (Dram)-Caus-REDEEM-*UF*
'I am going for (my things) to be redeemed.'

18d O-IPI-Ø-ku ialo.
NInten-DREAM-*UF*-I he (Piv)
'He is dreamt about by me.'

In 18a the -*Ø* allomorph of undergoer focus occurs with the completive morpheme *in*- on an inherently non-agentive verb **tatak* 'lose'. The completive morpheme that co-occurs with intentive mode is *in*-. In 18b the -*on*$_1$ allomorph occurs on an activity verb **kuri* 'work, cook'. In 18c the allomorph -*o*$_1$ co-occurs with causative voice on the single change of state verb **lukat* 'redeem'. In 18d the -*Ø* allomorph of undergoer focus co-occurs with non-intentive mode on an inherently non-intentive stative verb **ipi* 'dream'.

3.4.3 Referent focus

A referent is an object or state of affairs to which an expression refers or is the beneficiary of an action. In Kadazan a referent focus affix on the verb functions to make the noun phrase the pivot of the clause which: (1) indirectly receives the action, or (2) is the beneficiary of the action, or (3) is the location at which the action takes place, or (4) is the time at which the action takes place, or (5) is the reason for the action. In contrast to (3) above, directional focus indicates action *to* or *from* a location. In contrast to (4), temporal focus indicates action *during* a time. Referent and temporal focuses are not morphologically distinct, but are differentiated by their co-occurrence with the different allomorphs of intentive mode. Since intentive mode is not obligatory, the distinction between point of time (referent focus) and duration of time (temporal focus) is sometimes potentially lost.

In a referent focus clause the referent is manifested by a pivot pronoun, a pivot demonstrative or a pivot noun phrase. The actor and the other nominals in the clause are all marked as non-pivot forms. The normal order for nominals following the verb is: actor + referent-pivot + undergoer. In referent focus the valence of the verb is increased, and one argument, the referent, is added as a core argument of the verb.

Referent focus is indicated by the morpheme suffix *-an*$_1$. Its allomorphs are *-an*$_1$ and *-ai*$_1$.

-ai$_1$ occurs with peremptory mode (129w) and dramatic present aspect (19b).

-an$_1$ occurs elsewhere (19a).

19a VinAALan (in-VAAL-*an*$_1$) oku dialo do bakul.
Comp-MAKE-*RF* I (Piv) she MK basket
'It was for me the basket was made by her.'

19b KANGKAGai (KONGKOG-*ai*$_1$) oku.
(Dram)-FEVER-*RF* I (Piv)
'I got fever.'

In 19a the referent focus allomorph *-an*$_1$ occurs with completive aspect on the complex change of state verb **vaal* 'make'. In 19b the allomorph *-ai*$_1$ occurs on a noun stem *kongkog* 'fever' which is verbalised by the addition of the referent focus allomorph.

3.4.4 Accessory focus

An accessory is a thing involved in an action. In Kadazan an accessory focus affix on the verb functions to involve one of the following in the action as the pivot of the clause: (1) the instrument used to effect it, or (2) the area where the action takes place. Additionally there may be some areas of meaning that have not yet been defined. In an accessory focus clause the accessory may be a pivot pronoun, pivot demonstrative, or a pivot noun phrase. The non-pivot actor and the other nominals in the clause are all marked as non-pivot forms. The normal order for nominals following the verb is actor + accessory-pivot + undergoer, etc. The accessory is made one of the core arguments of the verb and the valence of the verb is increased.

Accessory focus in indicated by the prefix *i*$_1$-. This morpheme has two allomorphs, *i*$_1$- and Ø$_2$-.

$\emptyset_2$- occurs with the non-intentive mode prefix *ko_2*- (20b).

i_1- occurs elsewhere (20a).

20a	Onu	kaju	ni-i_1-ULU	diti?
	what (Piv)	wood	Comp-*AcF*-MAKE-A-HEAD	this

'What wood was used to make a handle for this?'

20b	No-$\emptyset_2$-ko-TIJUK	disido	iri	kaju.
	Comp-*AcF*-NInten-DIG-IN-A-CRACK	he	that (Piv)	stick

'That was the stick he used to dig in the crack.'

In 20a accessory focus is indicated by the allomorph i_1- on the stem ***ulu*** 'head' with completive aspect. The allomorph i_1- is the allomorph which co-occurs with intentive mode. In 20b the allomorph $\emptyset_2$- occurs on the inherently agentive stem ****tijuk*** 'dig in a crack' with the non-intentive morpheme *ko*- which cancels out the agency, meaning that the person was idly digging. The completive allomorph *no*- which co-occurs with non-intentive mode occurs here.

3.4.5 Temporal focus

A temporal focus affix on the verb functions to make the time phrase the pivot of the clause. The time phrase of a temporal focus clause indicates the time during which an action takes place. It should be noted that temporal focus indicates duration of time. (See referent focus in section 3.4.3 for point of time.) The pivot is manifested by a temporal phrase preceding the verb or by a pivot pronoun or pivot noun phrase. No overt pivot occurs when there is a temporal verb stem. Temporal focus is morphologically non-distinct from referent focus. However, the co-occurrence restrictions with other prefixes serve to separate the two. The main prefix which serves to distinguish the two is the intentive mode allomorph *moN*- which occurs with temporal focus only. (The allomorphs *poN_1*- or $\emptyset_4$- occur elsewhere.) Temporal focus increases the valence of the verb by adding a temporal phrase as a core argument to the verb.

Temporal focus is indicated by the suffix -*an_2*. It has two allomorphs, -*an_2* and -*ai_2*.

-*ai_2* occurs with dramatic present aspect (21b).

-*an_2* occurs elsewhere (21a).

21a	MinaNADAPan (in-moN-SODOP-*an_2*)	isido	mogiad.
	Comp-Inten-NIGHT-*TF*	he	cry

'It was until night that he cried (i.e. all day).'
(See also 8)

21b	Koniab	i	kaABAai (ko_3-ABA-*ai_2*)	dagai.
	yesterday	Mk	(Dram)-Apt-DOWNWARD-MOTION-*TF*	we (Ex)

'Yesterday was when our field was finished being cleared.'

In 21a the allomorph -*an_2* occurs with the temporal stem *sodop* 'night' and intentive mode in completive aspect. In 21b the allomorph -*ai_2* occurs with the activity verb **aba* 'downward motion' which here means 'to clear a field by cutting down the large trees' (taken out of context it could also mean 'to go downriver').

3.4.6 Directional focus

A directional focus affix on the verb functions to make the locative noun phrase the pivot of the clause. The noun phrase is the direction to or from which the action of the verb moves. It should be noted that directional focus marks the pivot as the location to which the action is directed, rather than the point at which the action takes place. (Referent focus marks the point at which the action takes place.) The pivot is manifested by a locative noun phrase preceding the verb or by a pivot noun phrase which is the goal of the action. Directional focus increases the valence of an intransitive verb by adding one argument which results in two core arguments of the verb.

Directional focus is indicated by the suffix -on_2, which has the allomorphs -on_2 and -o_2. The directional focus allomorph -on_2 is homophonous with that of undergoer focus. They can be distinguished by the fact that the -*Ø* allomorph of undergoer focus co-occurs with completive aspect whereas the allomorph -on_2 occurs in both completive and non-completive aspects in directional focus.

-o_2 occurs with dramatic present aspect (22b).

-on_2 occurs elsewhere (22a).

22a Inombo inOSUKon (in-ASUK-on_2) diolo?
where (Piv) Comp-ENTER-*DF* they
'Where did they go in?'
(See also 9)

22b KinoongONGOIo-ku (in-ko$_2$-ong-ONGOI-o_2).
Comp-(Dram)-Apt-Iter-GO-*DF*-I
'I visited here and there.'

In 22a the directional focus allomorph -on_2 co-occurs with the completive allomorph on the activity verb ***asuk*** 'enter'. In 22b the allomorph -o_2 co-occurs with aptative mode, completive aspect and iterative on the activity verb *ongoi* 'go' to give the meaning 'go visiting here and there'.

3.4.7 Ablative focus

Ablative is a term which refers to the form of a word, usually a noun or a pronoun in certain inflected languages, such as Latin, to denote the source, agent, means, instrument, time or place of an action. In Kadazan ablative focus functions to make one of the following noun phrases the pivot of the clause: (1) the undergoer of cause, (2) the reason or (3) the referent on certain stems that cannot take referent focus. The pivot is manifested by a demonstrative or noun phrase showing the thing or person that is affected. The normal order for noun phrases following the verb is actor +/- (causee) + undergoer or referent as the focused item. Ablative focus increases the valence of the verb by adding one argument, an undergoer, referent or reason, to the core arguments of the verb.

Ablative focus is indicated by a compound affix, having a prefix and a suffix on the verb stem. The complete morpheme is i_2- ... -an_3. The prefix has the allomorphs i_2- and *Ø*$_3$-. The allomorph of the suffix is -an_3.[11]

Ø$_3$- occurs with non-intentive mode *ko*$_2$- (23c).

i$_2$- occurs elsewhere (23a-b).

-*an*$_3$ occurs in all cases (23a-c).

23a	NiinTUTUNan (n-*i*$_2$-iN$_2$-TUTUN-*an*$_3$)	dialo	i	minanakau.	
	Comp-*AbF*-Ag-RECOGNISE-*AbF*	he	PivM	steal	
	'The one who stole was looked at intently by him to be recognised.' (see also 10 a)				
23b	NipoOKUTan-ku (n-i$_2$-po$_1$-AKUT-*an*$_3$)	dialo	iri	parai.	
	Comp-*AbF*-Caus-CARRY-*AbF*-I	him	that (Piv)	rice	
	'That rice was caused by me to be carried by him.'				
23c	Iti-no	dii	nokoILAan (no-Ø$_3$-ko$_2$-ILO-*an*$_3$)	tokou.	
	this (Piv)-CompM	Emph	Comp-*AbF*-NInten-KNOW-*AbF*	we (In)	
	'This is how we know.'				

In 23a the ablative focus allomorphs *i*$_2$ and -*an*$_3$ co-occur with completive on an achievement verb **tutun* 'recognise' which has been changed into an accomplishment verb by the agentiviser *iN*$_2$- giving the meaning 'to look intently to recognise'. In 23b the same morphemes co-occur with the causative allomorph *po*$_1$- on an inherently complex change of state accomplishment verb **akut* 'carry rice'. In 23c the Ø$_3$- allomorph of the prefix co-occurs with completive and the non-intentive mode and with the suffix -*an*$_3$ on a cognitive state verb **ilo* 'know'.

3.5 Tense aspect: order 7

In Kadazan there are four categories of tense aspect: completive, recent completive, non-completive and dramatic present. Tense aspect is obligatory on all verbs. An overt marker in order 7 indicates one of the completive aspects; absence of a completive marker indicates non-completive or dramatic present.

3.5.1 *in*- completive aspect

Completive aspect is perfective and indicates that the action has happened and is now completed.

The completive aspect morpheme is *in*- which has three allomorphs: *no*-, *n*-, and *in*-.

no- occurs before the non-intentive mode allomorph *ko*$_2$- (24a).

n- occurs before the other non-intentive mode allomorph *o*- (24f) or the intentive mode allomorph *i*- (accessory and ablative focuses 24j and 24q). It also occurs when the infix *in*- drops the initial vowel *i*- preceding a root with an initial vowel *ii* (24h), or preceding any vowel-initial root in directional focus (24o).

in- occurs elsewhere. *in*- is infixed following the initial consonant of an unaffixed root (24c) or a consonant-initial prefix (24b), or it occurs preceding the initial vowel of the unaffixed root or the initial vowel of a vowel-initial prefix (22a). (There are a few exceptions such as 24d. Other exceptions will be dealt with in the appropriate places. See sections 4.6.1, 4.6.11 and 6.2.3).

Examples with actor focus:

24a *No*-Ø$_1$-ko$_2$-GUGU oku do torigi.
Comp-AF-NInten-BANG-ONE'S-HEAD I (Piv) Mk post
'I banged my head accidentally against the post.'

24b MinangAKAN (*in*-m-poN$_1$-AKAN) isido di rasun.
Comp-AF-Inten-EAT he (Piv) Mk poison
'He took some poison purposely.'

24c SinumUUNG (*in*-um-SUUNG) isido monongkiodu.
Comp-AF-GO-LOOK-FOR he (Piv) quarrel
'He went to look for a fight with someone.'

With certain stative roots the infix *in*- occurs in the root instead of in an otherwise acceptable affix.

24d MongoRinULUS (*in*-m-poN$_1$-RULUS) ilo tanak.
Comp-AF-Inten-PEEL (of skin) that (Piv) child
'That child had its skin peeling off.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

24e TinAGAD-no (*in*-TAGAD-Ø) dii dialo.
Comp-CUT-DOWN-A-TREE-UF-CompM Emph he
'The trees were cut down by him.'

24f *N*-o-IPI-Ø-ku kosodop i Pitor sii doros-ku.
Comp-NInten-DREAM-UF-I last-night PivM Peter LocM side-my
'I dreamt that Peter was by my side last night.'

Examples with referent focus:

24g *N*-o$_1$-UPAG-an$_1$-ku i minan di parai-jo.
Comp-NInten-THRESH-RF-I PivM aunt Mk rice-her
'Aunty was the one for whom the rice was threshed by me.'

24h Isai nIITan (*in*-IIT-an$_1$) di tasu?
who *Comp*-BITE-RF Mk dog
'Who was bitten by the dog?'

24i VinAALan (*in*-VAAL-an$_1$) oku dialo do bakul.
Comp-MAKE-RF I (Piv) she Mk basket
'It was for me the basket was made by her.'
(See also 19a)

Examples with accessory focus:

24j *N*-i$_1$-OPUNG-ku do koruang.
Comp-AcF-LEAVE-BEHIND-I Mk friend
'I purposely left it behind with a friend.'

24k *No*-ko$_2$-OPUNG-ku do koruang.
Comp-NInten-LEAVE-BEHIND-I Mk friend
'I inadvertently left it behind with a friend.'

Examples with temporal focus:

24l MinaNADAPan (*in*-moN-SODOP-an$_2$) isido mogiad.
Comp-Inten-NIGHT-TF he (Piv) cry
'It was until night that he cried (i.e. all day).'
(See also 8)

24m Jadi nakaARAGan (*no*-ko$_2$-ARAG-an$_2$).
so *Comp*-NInten-ENJOY-TF
'So it was a time that was enjoyed (by them).'

Examples with directional focus:

24n SinOPULon (*in*-SAPUL-on$_2$) diolo soi Telupid.
Comp-ATTEND-A-FUNCTION-DF they LocM (Piv) Telupid
'In Telupid was the place where the function was attended by them.'

24o Iri nONGOIon (*in*-ONGOI-on$_2$).
that (Piv) *Comp*-GO-DF
'That is the place gone to.'

24p Onggo pantok noingKOKOTon-nu (*n*-o-iN$_1$-KAKAT-on)
where (Piv) place *Comp*-NInten-Cont-LIFT-DF-you (Sg)

batoi do au noilaan i barang tumatak?
Inter that not know PivM things lose
'Where were you standing that you don't know where the things got lost?'

Examples with ablative focus:

24q *N*-i$_2$-po$_1$-IGIT-an$_3$-ku dialo i buuk.
Comp-AbF-Caus-HOLD-AbF-I he PivM book
'The book was what he was made to hold by me.'

24r Iti-no dii nokoILAan (*no*-Ø$_3$-ko$_2$-ILO-an$_3$) tokou.
this-Comp M Emph *Comp*-AbF-NInten-KNOW-AbF we (In)
'This is how it was known by us.'

Examples 24a-d are all in actor focus. In 24a the completive aspect allomorph *no-* occurs on an inherently non-agentive activity verb ***gugu** 'bang one's head'. In 24b the completive allomorph *in-* occurs on the inherently agentive verb ***akan** 'eat' with the intentive mode. In 24c the same allomorph occurs with the intransitive morpheme on the activity verb *suung* 'go to look for'. Sentence 24d is discussed in its accompanying note.

Both 24e and f are in undergoer focus. In 24e the completive allomorph *in-* occurs on the inherently intentive accomplishment verb **tagad* 'fell, cut down a tree'. In 24f the allomorph *n-* occurs on the stative verb **ipi* 'dream' which is inherently non-intentive and takes the non-intentive mode prefix.

Examples 24g-i are in referent focus. In 24g the allomorph *n-* occurs on an inherently intentive activity verb with non-intentive mode to show that the action was done without intention or the speaker is belittling the action (perhaps as a form of politeness). In 24h the allomorph *n-* occurs on the activity verb **iit* 'bite' because it begins with *ii*. In 24i the allomorph *in-* occurs on the inherently intentive accomplishment verb **vaal* 'make'.

Both 24j and k are in accessory focus. In 24j the allomorph *n-* occurs with accessory focus allomorph i_1- on the activity verb **opung* 'leave behind' which could be either intentive or non-intentive. The allomorph i_1- co-occurs with intentive mode as opposed to the *ko-* 'non-intentive' used in 24k on the same root with non-intentive meaning.

Examples 24l and m occur in temporal focus. In 24l the allomorph *in-* co-occurs with the intentive mode morpheme *moN-* on the temporal stem *sodop* 'night'. In 24m the allomorph *no-* co-occurs with the non-intentive mode on the inherently non-intentive stative verb **arag* 'enjoy'.

Examples 24n-p are in directional focus. In 24n the allomorph *in-* occurs on the inherently intentive activity verb **sapul* 'attend a function'. In 24o the allomorph *n-* occurs on the inherently intentive activity verb *ongoi* 'go' which is in directional focus and can take either *in-* or *n-* on a vowel-initial stem, (*n-* is more common). In 24p the allomorph *n-* occurs on the inherently intentive stem **kakat* which is a transitive activity verb and becomes intransitive by the addition of the continuative prefix *iN-*. The verb is made non-intentive by the allomorph *o-*.

Examples 24q and r are in ablative focus. In 24q the allomorph *n-* co-occurs with the ablative focus allomorph i_2- on the inherently intentive stem **igit* 'hold'. i_2- is the allomorph which co-occurs with intentive mode. The causative morpheme *po-* also co-occurs. In 24r the allomorph *no-* co-occurs with the ablative focus allomorph *Ø*$_3$- and the non-intentive allomorph ko_2- on the inherently non-intentive cognitive state verb **ilo* 'know'.

3.5.2 ko_1- recent completive

The prefix ko_1- 'recent completive' means that the action has just happened (25a-b). It is found only in undergoer focus and always takes reduplication. It acts similarly to completive aspect in that it takes the *-Ø* allomorph of undergoer focus.

Examples in undergoer focus:

25a *Ko*$_1$-pu-PUU-Ø-ku ilo pijak.
Rec-Iter-MOVE-UF-I those (Piv) baby-chicks
'Those baby chicks have just been moved by me.'

25b *Ko*$_1$-ru-RULUN-Ø talud-ku.
Rec-Iter-DRIFT-DOWNSTREAM-UF boat (Piv)-my
'My boat has just drifted downstream.'

In 25a the recent completive morpheme ko_1- occurs on an inherently intentive activity verb **puu* with an agent. In 25b it occurs on an inherently non-intentive activity verb **rulun* 'drift' with no agent.

3.5.3 Non-completive aspect

There is no morpheme to mark non-completive aspect. Rather, the absence of the completive aspect prefix indicates that the action may or may not have been begun, but it has not yet been completed. Attributives to the verb may indicate more precisely whether or not the action has begun.

Example with actor focus:

26a MangAKAN (m-poN$_1$-AKAN) oku do punti.
(NComp)-AF-Inten-EAT I (Piv) Mk banana
'I am eating a banana.'

Example with undergoer focus:

26b TAGAD-on$_1$ dialo i kaju.
(NComp)-CUT-DOWN-A-TREE-UF he PivM tree
'The tree is going to be cut down by him.'

Example with referent focus:

26c Au o-SIKUP-an$_1$ i tinan.
not *(NComp)*-NInten-COVER-RF PivM body
'The body is not covered by it (e.g. a blanket).'

Example with accessory focus:

26d I$_1$-OPUNG-ku do koruang.
(NComp)-AcF-LEAVE-BEHIND-I Mk friend
'I will leave it behind with a friend.'

Example with temporal focus:

26e MaNADAPan (moN-SODOP-an$_2$) isido mogiad.
(NComp)-Inten-NIGHT-TF he cry
'It is until night he cries (i.e. all day long).'

Example with directional focus:

26f SOPULon (SAPUL-on$_2$) diolo soi Telupid.
(NComp)-ATTEND-A-FUNCTION-DF they LocM (Piv) Telupid
'In Telupid is the place where the function will be attended by them.'

26g Onggo ONGOI-on$_2$-nu?
where (Piv) *(NComp)*-GO-DF-you (Sg)
'Where are you going to?'

Example with ablative focus:

26h I$_2$-po$_1$-IGIT-an$_3$-ku dialo i buuk.
(NComp)-AbF-Caus-HOLD-AbF-I he PivM book
'I will make him hold the book.'

In 26a like 24b non-completive occurs on the inherently intentive activity verb **akan* 'eat' in actor focus. 26b is the non-completive counterpart of 24e. In 26c the non-completive occurs on the achievement verb **sikup* 'cover' with the non-intentive allomorph *o-*. 26d is the non-completive counterpart of 24j, 26e is the non-completive counterpart of 24l and 26f is the non-completive counterpart of 24n. In 26g a question word occurs with the activity verb *ongoi* 'go'. 26h is the non-completive counterpart of 24q.

3.5.4 Dramatic present aspect

Dramatic present aspect functions to mark the main events in narrative discourse, hence it is not easily elicited apart from story texts. It occurs when the time of the action has been established by the context, and it is no longer necessary to specify that the action occurred in the past. In actor focus the Ø$_1$- allomorph occurs in dramatic present aspect. In undergoer focus *-o*$_1$ occurs. Analogously, in directional focus, *-o*$_2$ occurs. In referent focus *-ai*$_1$ occurs and in temporal focus *-ai*$_2$. By extension, in ablative focus *-ai*$_3$ could occur, but there are, in fact, no examples to support this.[11] Accessory focus alone shows no change.

There is no overt marker of dramatic present aspect. Where examples of it are scattered elsewhere in the study it can be reconstructed from the absence of the m-morpheme in actor focus which has been replaced with Ø$_1$-, or the occurrence of the allomorphs mentioned above in other focuses. No occurrences of dramatic present in non-intentive mode have been identified.

Examples with actor focus:

27a PangASA-i (Ø$_1$-poN$_1$-ASA) dii do gampa.
(Dram)-AF-Inten-SHARPEN-Emph Emph Mk bush-knife
'(We) sharpen (our) bush-knives.'
(See also 17c)

27b Torus pomiMIUBO (Ø$_1$-poN$_1$-piN-PIUBO) oku-po.
at-once *(Dram)*-AF-Inten-UnDist-BREATHE I (Piv)-NCompM
'At once I take a few breaths.'

27c PompiRIKOT (Ø$_1$-poN$_1$-pi-RIKOT) ialo do
(Dram)-AF-Inten-DuRec-ARRIVE/REACH he (Piv) Mk

tongotulun siti.
people here
'He is having the people arrive here.'

27d PononSORUAI-no (Ø$_1$-ponoN-SORUAI) om
(Dram)-AF-Ass-TROUSERS-CompM and

pananSABUNG-no (Ø$_1$-ponoN-SABUNG) soro dino.
(Dram)-AF-Ass-SHIRT-CompM he(Piv) that
'He puts on his trousers and shirt.'

27e Ø$_1$-po$_1$-ko$_4$-RUOL-ko dogon.
(Dram)-AF-Caus-Aug$_3$-SORE-you (Sg) (Piv) me
'You cause me pain.'

27f Salalu Ø$_1$-po$_1$-poi-ODU ialo do
always *(Dram)*-AF-Caus-MulRec-QUARREL he (Piv) Mk

tanganak.
children
'He always makes the children quarrel.'

27g	Onu	do	Ø$_1$-po$_2$-ti-UNTUN-ka	iri
	what	Lig	*(Dram)*-AF-Sta-Unna-GATHER-TOGETHER-say	that (Piv)

parai.
rice
'What is it, but that rice is piled in a heap, they say.'

27h	Ø$_1$-pi-to-TONGKOP	iti.	
	(Dram)-AF-DuRec-Iter-BE-ALL-OVER	this (Piv)	

'This (news) is spreading all over.'

27i	PisimpaPANDAI (Ø$_1$-pi-siN-pa-PANDAI)	isido	monguasa.
	(Dram)-AF-DuRec-NSer$_1$-Iter-CLEVER	he (Piv)	rule

'He uses his own methods to rule.'

27j	Ø$_1$-poi-LANTUNG	ilo	poring.
	(Dram)-AF-MulRec-FLOAT	that (Piv)	bamboo

'That bamboo is floating.'

27k	Jadi	Ø$_1$-pod-TULLUNG	Somurungurungku
	so	*(Dram)*-AF-Qual-LOOK-DOWN-AT	Somurungurungku (Piv)

di raraa.
Mk maiden
'So Somurungurungku looks down at the maiden (with intent to harm her).'

27l	Sominggu	soro	di	miguguli	isido
	a-week	they-say	that	return/repeat	he (Piv)

pagASU (Ø$_1$-pog$_1$-ASU).
(Dram)-AF-Mid-HUNT-WITH-DOGS
'It is after a week, they say, that he returns from hunting with dogs.'

27m	Libi-kurang	do	pukul-lapan	Ø$_1$-INDAAU	ikoi
	about	Mk	8-o'clock	*(Dram)*-AF-GO-DOWN	we (Ex) (Piv)

di minsarap.
Mk morning
'We go down to work about eight o'clock in the morning.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

27n	Jadi	PAAVo-ku (PAAU-o$_1$)	dii.
	so	*(Dram)*-CALL-OUT-UF-I	Emph

'So (he) is called out to (for help) by me.'

27o	Aandai	ino	do	mangan[12]
	good	that (Piv)	that	do

binTONOKo (biN-TANOK-o$_1$).
(Dram)-Hab-BOIL-BANANAS-AND-RICE-UF
'That will be good to be made into banana and rice cakes.'

27p	PiPATAJo-ku (pi-PATAI-o$_1$-)	dii	iolo.
	(Dram)-DuRec-DIE-UF-I	Emph	them (Piv)

'I make them fight each other.'

27q Ongoion-ku po-LUKAT-o$_1$.
go-I *(Dram)*-Caus-REDEEM-UF
'I am going for my things to be redeemed.'
(See also 18c)

27r Mangan po$_1$-pi-ko-KOPOR-o$_1$ diri sii savat.
do *(Dram)*-Caus-DuRec-Iter-SHAKE-UF that LocM above
'That (e.g. rope) is caused to be shaken back and forth by the one up above.'

27s Auso ko$_3$-INONG-o$_1$.
none *(Dram)*-Apt-BE-LIKE-UF
'There is nothing can be compared to it (in this world).'

Examples with referent focus:

27t KANGKAGai (KONGKOG-ai$_1$) oku.
(Dram)-FEVER-RF I (Piv)
'I get a fever.'
(See also 19b)

27u Om poODUNGai (po$_1$-ADUNG-ai$_1$) soro di tongosogirit soro
and *(Dram)*-Caus-PUT-NEAR-RF he (Piv) Mk cigarettes his

ka iri.
they-say that (Piv)
'And all his cigarettes are put nearby (them) by him, they say.'

27v Po-ti-LOMBUS-ai$_1$-ku mongoi sii
(Dram)-Caus-Unna-GO-STRAIGHT-ON-RF-I go LocM

alun-alun.
road
'I went straight on to the road.'

27w Onu kinoOVIai (in-ko$_3$-AVI-ai$_1$) diri?
what (Piv) Comp-*(Dram)*-Apt-FINISH-RF that
'What is that finished off for?'

27x Gaam pinTAAKai (piN-TAAK-ai$_1$) do koruang.
better *(Dram)*-UnDist-GIVE-RF Mk friend
'It is better that it be given to friends.'

27y Pi-ki-KIBIT-ai$_1$ dialo muli.
(Dram)-DuRec-Iter-CARRY-IN-ARMS-RF she return-home
'It is carried back home again by her.'

27z KINAM-ai$_1$ dilo tanak
(Dram)-TRY/BEGIN-RF those children

pi-ukab-UKAB-ai$_1$ ilo mital.
(Dram)-DuRec-Iter-OPEN-RF those (Piv) tins
'The tins are begun to be opened and closed by those children.'

27aa Pu-NGARAN-ai$_1$ dii do i Yaya.
(Dram)-Pro-NAME-RF Emph that PivM John
'John is what he was named.'

27bb	Minangan	impuRAAai (iN$_2$-pu-RAA-ai$_1$)	iri	votis
	do	*(Dram)*-Ag-Pro-BLOOD-RF	that (Piv)	calf-of-leg

di	kusai.
Mk	man

'The calf of the man is bled.'

Example with accessory focus:

27cc	Ø$_2$-ko$_3$-RONGOU	dagai	do	mongingkurukuk
	(Dram)-AcF-Apt-HEAR	we(Ex)	that	make-a-'kurukuk'-sound

siri	sodu.
LocM	far-away

'It can be heard by us saying 'kurukuk-kurukuk' far away.'

Examples with temporal focus:

27dd	Nokorikot	i	kinoIDUai (in-ko$_3$-IDU-ai$_2$)	diolo	au
	arrive/reach	PivM	Comp-*(Dram)*-Apt-RUN-AWAY-TF	they	not

nakabayar	diri	utang.
pay	that	debt

'When the time arrived that (the work was left by them) they had not paid that debt.'

27ee	Koniab	i	kaABAai (ko$_3$-ABA-ai$_2$)	dagai.
	yesterday	PivM	*(Dram)*-Apt-DOWNWARD-MOTION-TF	we (Ex)

'Yesterday was when our field was finished being cleared.'
(See also 21b)

27ff	Tau	diti	do	auso	kapagADAai (ko$_3$-pog$_1$-ADAU-ai$_2$).
	don't-know	this	because	none	*(Dram)*-Apt-Mid-SUN-SHINES-TF

'I don't know because there is no time when the sun shines.'

Example with directional focus:

27gg KinoongONGOIo-ku (in-ko$_3$-ong-ONGOI-o$_2$).
Comp-*(Dram)*-Apt-Iter-GO-DF-I
'There is visiting here and there by me.'

Examples 27a-m are in actor focus. In 27a the zero allomorph of actor focus indicating dramatic present co-occurs with intentive mode on an accomplishment verb **asa* 'sharpen', in 27b it co-occurs with intentive mode and unequal distribution on an activity verb **piubo* 'breathe', and in 27c it co-occurs with intentive mode and dual reciprocal on an achievement verb **rikot* 'reach, arrive'. In 27d the dramatic present co-occurs with associative on two different nominal stems *soruai* 'trousers' and *sabung* 'shirt'. The addition of associative produces an accomplishment verb. In 27e the allomorph Ø$_1$- co-occurs with causative and augmentative on a stative verb **ruol* 'pain', in 27f it co-occurs with causative and multiple reciprocal on the activity verb **odu* 'quarrel', and in 27g it co-occurs with causative and unnatural on the activity verb **untun* 'gather'. In 27h dramatic present co-occurs with dual reciprocal and iterative on the activity verb **tongkop* 'be all over', in 27i in co-occurs with dual reciprocal, non-serious action and iterative on the stative **pandai* 'clever' and in 27j it co-occurs with multiple reciprocal on the stative verb **lantung* 'float'. In 27k dramatic present co-occurs with qualification on the activity verb **tullung* 'look down at'. In 27l it co-occurs with middle voice on the activity verb **asu* 'hunt with dogs'. In 27m dramatic present occurs on an intransitive verb which results in an unaffixed root *indaau* 'go down'.

There are fewer possible combinations in undergoer focus with dramatic present aspect than with actor focus. The undergoer allomorph -o_1 occurs. In 27n it occurs alone on the root and this implies intentive mode. If other affixes co-occur the *poN-* form of intentive mode would occur. In 27o dramatic present co-occurs with habitual on the activity verb **tanok* 'boil rice, sweet potatoes, etc'. When the habitual affix *biN-* occurs it narrows the meaning to refer to 'boiling rice and bananas' only. (This is probably an idiomatic usage.) In 27p dramatic present co-occurs with dual reciprocal in the achievement verb **patai* 'die'. In 27q it co-occurs with causative in the accomplishment verb **lukat* 'redeem' and in 27r it co-occurs with causative, dual reciprocal and iterative on the activity verb **kopor* 'shake'. In 27s it co-occurs with aptative on the stative verb *inong* 'be like'.

There are more affix combinations in referent focus with dramatic present aspect than in undergoer focus. The referent focus allomorph -ai_1 occurs. In 27t it occurs on the noun *kongkog* 'fever' to produce a stative verb. This suggests that there is a fuzzy line between inflectional and derivational affixation since all focus morphemes are inflectional, but the referent focus morpheme is acting like a derivational affix. (Walton (1983) observed the same phenomenon with referent focus in Sama.) In 27u it co-occurs with causative on the locative state **adung* 'be near' and in 27v it co-occurs with causative and unnatural on the activity verb **lombus* 'go on, proceed'. In 27w it co-occurs with aptative and completive aspect on the accomplishment verb **avi* 'finish'. (The only case where dramatic present co-occurs with completive is with aptative.) In 27x dramatic present co-occurs with unequal distribution on the activity verb **taak* 'give'. In 27y and z it co-occurs with dual reciprocal and iterative on the activity verb **kibit* 'carry in arms' and **ukab* 'open' respectively. In 27z dramatic present also occurs on the verb **kinam* 'try, begin' which is acting like an auxiliary verb here. In 27aa it co-occurs with the affix *pu-* meaning 'produce' on the nominal stem *ngaran* 'name' and in 27bb it co-occurs with 'produce' and the agentiviser *iN-* on the nominal stem *raa* 'blood'. In both examples the affix *pu-* has a dual function of verbalising the noun and adding the meaning 'produce'.

In 27cc accessory focus the dramatic present co-occurs with the aptative morpheme ko_3- on the stative verb **rongou* 'hear'.

In temporal and directional focuses the dramatic present aspect always co-occurs with the aptative morpheme ko_3-. The temporal focus allomorph -ai_2 is homophonous with that of referent focus. In 27dd dramatic present co-occurs with completive aspect as well as aptative on the activity verb **idu* 'run away', in 27ee it co-occurs with aptative on the activity verb **aba* 'downward motion' and in 27ff it co-occurs with both aptative and middle voice on the stative verb **adau* 'sun shines'. In 27gg dramatic present co-occurs with aptative, completive aspect and iterative on the activity verb *ongoi* 'go'.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter affixation in Kadazan has been introduced. The notion of inflectional and derivational affixation has been discussed and found inadequate for Kadazan. There seem to be other categories of affixation that do not meet the criteria for either inflectional or derivational affixation since some are syntactic markers, others show attitudes and still others have other functions.

The focus system of Kadazan has been described. Seven focuses are posited for Kadazan and it has been noted that the function of the oblique focuses (i.e. referent, accessory, temporal, directional and ablative) is to increase the valence of the verb and allow a non-core noun argument of the verb to become a core argument. This new core argument then takes the role of pivot of the clause.

The tense system has also been described, but the term 'tense' also is inadequate as the morphemes which indicate tense are also aspect morphemes. This seems to be typical of Bornean and Philippine languages.

Chapter 4

OTHER AFFIXATION

4. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter all of the affixation will be introduced with examples except for the focus and tense aspect morphemes which have been covered in Chapter 3. Since focus and tense are an integral part of every verb they will also be mentioned in the discussion of the examples. The examples show which focuses each affix can co-occur with and any known restrictions will be noted.

4.1 *-um-* intransitive

The actor focus allomorph *-um-* functions to indicate intransitivity. It also has three additional meanings: 'reflexive', 'inceptive' that is, 'just beginning' and 'inchoative' that is, 'becoming'.

28a RinumUUK (in-*um*-RUUK) mODSU (-*um*-PODSU)
Comp-AF-(*Intr*)-GO-DOWN-A-HILL AF-(*Intr*)-BATHE

kang-ku dii.
say-I Emph
'He has gone down to bathe, I said.'
(See also 17a)

28b Kumointolu om au-no dii LumINGOS (-*um*-LINGOS).
three-times and not-CompM Emph AF-(*Intr*)-HEAL
'After three times, then they did not shrink (lit. get better) any more (of breasts).'

28c DumADANG (-*um*-DADANG) oku.
AF-(*Intr*)-WARM-AT-A-FIRE I(Piv)
'I am about to warm myself at the fire.'

In 28a the first verb *ruuk* is an intransitive verb and the second verb *podsu* is reflexive. In 28b the verb **lingos* is a change of state verb which has the meaning 'become better' when it occurs with the affix *-um-*. In 28c the verb **dadang* is an intransitive verb and the infix *-um-* gives the inceptive meaning of 'about to'.

4.2 Order 5 prefixes

The prefixes of order 5 include the important and frequent intentive and non-intentive modes as well as the less frequent aptative and desiderative modes and comprehensive.

4.2.1 *poN*$_1$- intentive mode

In Kadazan, like Tagalog (Foley and Van Valin 1984), there is a basic dichotomy between actions that are controlled (intentional) and volitional and those that are not. As in Tagalog this is a fundamental contrast in the grammar of Kadazan which is reflected in the affixation of the verb. All focus types have contrasting verbal affixation, one of which indicates intention, while the other indicates uncontrolled, non-volitional (non-intentive) action. The presence of the intentive mode morpheme in a verbal form indicates that the action of the verb is intentional and takes an agent. In this section examples will be given to show the intentive affixation in each of the focuses. The next section will show the corresponding sentences when the action of the verb is uncontrolled or non-intentive. Because of the rarity of ablative focus and the difficulty of eliciting sentences, the examples do now show as clear a contrast as they do in the other focuses. The intentive mode is indicated by the prefix *poN*$_1$- which has the allomorphs *poN*$_1$-, *moN*- and *Ø*$_4$-.

moN- occurs in temporal focus (29h).

Ø$_4$- occurs in undergoer (29b and c), referent (29d and e), accessory (29f and g), directional (29i and j) ablative (29k) focuses when no other affixes occur.

poN$_1$- occurs elsewhere, that is, in actor focus, irrealis, dramatic present or when other affixes occur in conjunction with intentive mode.

Example with actor focus:

29a MinangAKAN (in-m-*poN*$_1$-AKAN) isido do rasun.
Comp-AF-*Inten*-EAT he (Piv) Mk poison
'He took poison (i.e. he intentionally poisoned himself).'
(See also 24b)

Examples with undergoer focus:

29b TinATAK (in-Ø$_4$-TATAK-Ø) disido ilo buuk.
Comp-*(Inten)*-LOSE-UF he that (Piv) book
'That book was what he lost on purpose.'

29c Ø$_4$-KURI-on$_1$-ku iti vagas.
(Inten)-WORK/COOK-UF-I this (Piv) rice
'This rice is to be cooked by me.'
(See also 18b)

Examples with referent focus:

29d TinOKISan (in-Ø$_4$-TOKIS-an$_1$) oku disido do butak.
Comp-*(Inten)*-SPATTER-RF I (Piv) he Mk mud
'I was spattered with mud by him on purpose.'

29e VinAALan (in-Ø$_4$-VAAL-an$_1$) oku dialo do bakul.
Comp-*(Inten)*-MAKE-RF I (Piv) she Mk basket
'It was for me the basket was made by her.'
(See also 19a)

Examples with accessory focus:

29f N-i-$\emptyset_4$-TIJUK disido iti kaju.
Comp-AcF-*(Inten)*-DIG-IN-A-CRACK he this (Piv) stick
'This stick was used by him for the crack to be dug in.'

29g N-i_1-$\emptyset_4$-APAD diolo i kaju.
Comp-AcF-*(Inten)*-BLOCK they PivM tree
'The tree was used by them for (the road) to be purposely blocked.'

Example with temporal focus:

29h MinoNUBAVan (in-*moN*-SUVAB-an_2)[13] iolo monijop.
Comp-*Inten*-TOMORROW-TF they drink
'It was all night until morning they drank (may be many times).'

Examples with directional focus:

29i TONUDon-ku ($\emptyset_4$-TANUD-on_2) isido.
(Inten)-FOLLOW-DF-I he (Piv)
'He will be followed by me.'

29j LinUMPONITon (in-$\emptyset_4$-LUMPANIT-on_2) palad-ku.
Comp-*(Inten)*-BLISTER-DF palm(Piv)-my
'My palms were blistered.'

Example with ablative focus:

29k NiinTUTUNan (n-i_2-$\emptyset_4$-iN_2-TUTUN-an_3) dialo i minanakau.
Comp-AbF-*(Inten)*-Ag-RECOGNISE-AbF him PivM steal
'The one who stole was looked at intently to be recognised by him.'
(See also 10a)

In example 29a the intentive mode allomorph *poN*$_1$- occurs with completive aspect in actor focus on the inherently intentive verb **akan* 'eat'. (Inherently intentive means that even without affixation the stem would be understood as having intentive mode. In Kadazan such a verb takes the intentive mode affix unless some unusual circumstance occurs requiring a non-intentive affix such as the counterpart to this sentence in 30a.)

In 29b the verb **tatak* 'lose' occurs with undergoer focus in completive aspect. The zero allomorph of intentive mode occurs. There is no overt form for the undergoer focus in completive aspect as there is in non-completive aspect in 29c on the verb **kuri* 'work, cook'.

In 29d and e both verbs are in referent focus completive aspect, but the stem **tokis* 'spatter' in 29d is inherently non-intentive whereas the stem **vaal* 'make' in 29e is inherently intentive. The completive allomorph *in-* occurs with the zero allomorph of intentive mode in 29d and e whereas *no-* occurs with non-intentive mode in 30d.

Similarly in 29f and g both verbs are in accessory focus completive aspect. The stem **tijuk* 'dig in a crack' is inherently intentive and takes the zero allomorph of intentive mode, whereas **apad* 'block' can be intentive or non-intentive. Appropriate affixation indicates whether it is intentive or not.

In 29h the intentive mode morpheme *moN-* is added to a temporal stem to show that the duration of the action is intentional. There is no overt pivot (see 1.5 for definition) as the verb itself expresses the temporal idea.

In sentence 29i the stem **tanud* is inherently intentive and takes the zero allomorph of intentive mode. In 29j intentive mode occurs on another noun stem *lumpanit* 'blister' in directional focus. Intentive mode has the dual function of verbalising a noun and making the verb agentive.

In 29k the verb is in ablative focus completive aspect. The stem **tutun* 'recognise' is inherently non-intentive. The agentiviser *iN*$_2$- is added and the intentive mode zero allomorph co-occurs with it.

4.2.2 *ko*$_2$- non-intentive mode

Non-intentive mode indicates that the action is non-volitional and uncontrolled. It is accidental or just happens. In some cases the meaning of the prefix is neutral with respect to intention. The clearest understanding of the meaning of this prefix will come directly from an examination of the illustrations. (Compare 30a, c, d and f with their intentive counterparts in 29a, b, d and f).

The non-intentive mode morpheme is *ko*$_2$-. It is distinct from the aptative mode prefix *ko*$_3$-, which also is a prefix of order 5, for reasons which will be presented under the discussion of *ko*$_3$-. The allomorphs of *ko*$_2$- are *ko*$_2$- and *o*-.

o- occurs with undergoer (30c), referent (30d and e) and directional (30h and i) focuses.

ko$_2$- occurs with the remaining focuses. Because actor and accessory focuses only take the prefix *ko*$_2$- with no suffix the resulting forms are homophonous. The relation of the focused item to the verb distinguishes the two. Compare sentences 30a and 30f. Temporal (30g) and ablative (30j) focuses also have homophonous forms when co-occuring with *ko*$_2$-. The meaning of the sentence distinguishes them.

Examples with actor focus:

30a NakaAKAN (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-AKAN) isido do rasun.
Comp-AF-*NInten*-EAT he (Piv) Mk poison
'He ate some poison by accident.'

30b Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-TUTUN koi motuu disido.
AF-*NInten*-RECOGNISE you (Sg) (Piv) perhaps
her
'Perhaps you happen to know her.'

Example with undergoer focus:

30c NaTATAK (n-*o*-TATAK-Ø) disido ilo buuk.
Comp-*NInten*-LOSE-UF he that (Piv) book
'That book was lost by him accidentally.'

Examples with referent focus:

30d N-*o*-TOKIS-an oku disido do butak.
Comp-*NInten*-SPATTER-RF I (Piv) he Mk mud
'I was spattered by him with mud accidentally.'

30e Iumo-po i gampa-ku sii
look-for-NCompM PivM bush-knife-my LocM

o-GOTUVANG-an$_1$ di valai.
NInten-BE-IN-FRONT-OF-RF Mk house
'Look for my bush-knife in front of the house.'

Example with accessory focus:

30f No-Ø$_2$-*ko*$_2$-TIJUK disido iri kaju.
Comp-AcF-*NInten*-DIG-IN-A-CRACK he that (Piv) stick
'That was the stick which he happened to use to dig in the crack.'
(See also 20b)

Example with temporal focus:

30g Jadi nakaARAGan (no-*ko*$_2$-ARAG-an$_2$).
so Comp-*NInten*-ENJOY-TF
'So it was a time that happened to be enjoyed (by them).'
(See also 24m)

Examples with directional focus:

30h NoTONUDon (n-*o*$_1$-TANUD-on$_2$) disido iolo.
Comp-*NInten*-FOLLOW-DF he they (Piv)
'They were followed by him.'

30i Na *o*-ONGOI-on$_2$-no posingkago.
then *NInten*-GO-DF-CompM raise
'Then it is gone to and elevated.'

Examples with ablative focus:

30j Iti-no dii nokoILAan (no-Ø$_3$-*ko*$_2$-ILO-an$_3$) tokou.
this (Piv)-CompM Emph Comp-AbF-*NInten*-KNOW-AbF we (In)
'This is how we know it.'
(See also 24r)

30k Onu dii koILAan-nu (Ø$_3$-*ko*$_2$-ILO-an$_1$)?
what (Piv) Emph Abf-*NInten*-KNOW-AbF-you(Sg)
'How is it known by you?'

Except for 30b, e, i and k all of the examples in 30 are in completive aspect. In 30a the contrast in affixation and meaning with 29a can be seen. The verb **akan* 'eat' is inherently intentive, but the addition of non-intentive affixation can change it to a non-agentive verb and the pivot is an effector rather than an agent. In 30b the verb **tutun* 'recognise' is inherently non-intentive and occurs in non-completive aspect.

In 30c the verb **tatak* 'lose' is inherently non-intentive. (The addition of intentive affixation as in 29b functions to express anger.)

In 30d the verb **tokis* 'spatter' is inherently non-intentive, but the counterpart of this sentence in 29d takes intentive affixation which functions to express anger or disgust. In 30e non-intentive occurs with non-completive on the locative state verb *gotuvang* 'be in front of'.

In 30f the stem **tijuk* 'dig in a crack' is inherently intentive, but it can take non-intentive affixation which functions to indicate that the effector was not purposefully digging.

In 30g the stem **arag* 'enjoy' is inherently non-intentive and so takes non-intentive affixation.

In 30h the stem **tanud* 'follow' is inherently intentive, but it can also take non-intentive affixation which functions to indicate that the effector was probably a child who was not responsible for his actions. In 30i the stem **ongoi* 'go' is inherently intentive but takes non-intentive affixation when it has an auxiliary-like use.

In 30j the stem **ilo* 'know' is a stative verb which is inherently non-intentive and so takes non-intentive mode affixation. In 30k non-intentive occurs with non-completive on the same stem.

4.2.3 *ko*$_3$- aptative

Aptative mode indicates that the action expressed in the root can be or is able to be carried out. The aptative mode prefix is *ko*$_3$- which has only one allomorph. *ko*$_3$- shares position 6 with *ko*$_2$-. Although homophonous, they are clearly distinct morphemes rather than different meanings of the same morpheme. One evidence for this is that *ko*$_2$- takes the *no-* allomorph of the completive aspect prefix, resulting in *noko-*, whereas *ko*$_3$- takes the *in-* allomorph as an infix, resulting in *kino-*. Furthermore, *ko*$_2$- has an allomorph *o-* whereas *ko*$_3$- has only one allomorph.

Example with actor focus:

31a	$\emptyset_1$-*ko*$_3$-RONGOU	ikoi	dii	do	mongingkurukuk	siri
	AF-*Apt*-HEAR	we (Ex) (Piv)	Emph	Mk	'kurukuk'-sound	LocM

sodu.
far-away
'We can hear it make a 'kurukuk-kurukuk' sound far away.'

Example with undergoer focus:

31b Auso *ko*$_3$-INONG-o$_1$.
none (Dram)-*Apt*-BE-LIKE-UF
'There is nothing can be compared to it (in this world).'
(See also 27s)

Example with referent focus:

31c	Iti-no	kinoVORUNan (in-*ko*$_3$-VORUN-an$_1$)	dialo	diti
	this (Piv)-CompM	Comp-*Apt*-CREATE-RF	he	this

vonuvo	supaya	poijanan	do	tulun.
world	so-that	live/be-at	Mk	people

'This was the reason that he created the world so he could put people on it.'

Example with accessory focus:

31d NikaGAJO (n-i$_1$-*ko*$_3$-GAJO) diolo i montori.
Comp-AcF-*Apt*-BIG they PivM government-minister
'The minister was shown honour by them' ('and they failed to do the work I assigned them to.') - implied.

Examples with temporal focus:

31e Sominggu-no kinaAMATan-ja (in-*ko*$_3$-OMOT-an$_2$)
one-week(Piv)-CompM Comp-*Apt*-HARVEST-TF-we(Ex)

di parai.
Mk rice
'It was for a week rice was harvested by us.'

31f Songgia kaANGAIan-nu (*ko*$_3$-ONGOI-an$_2$)?
when (Piv) *Apt*-GO-TF-you(Sg)
'When can you go?'

Examples with directional focus:

31g ... tuva do *ko*$_3$-OVIT-on$_2$.
fruit that *Apt*-CARRY/BRING-DF
'...fruit that is brought to someone.'

31h Auso arati kinoINDOKODon-nu (in-*ko*$_3$-INDAKOD-on$_2$).
none meaning Comp-*Apt*-GO-UP-DF-you (Sg)
'There is no meaning to your coming up into the house.'

In 31a the aptative mode occurs with actor focus non-completive aspect on a stative verb **rongou* 'hear'. The zero allomorph of actor focus occurs. In 31b aptative mode occurs with undergoer focus on the stative verb *inong* 'be like'. In 31c aptative mode occurs with referent focus completive aspect on a complex change of state verb **vorun* 'create'. In 31d aptative mode occurs with accessory focus in completive aspect on a stative verb **gajo* 'be big' which has the meaning 'show honour' in this sentence. In 31e aptative mode occurs with temporal focus in completive aspect on the inherently agentive activity verb **omot* 'harvest'. In 31f aptative mode occurs with non-completive aspect on the activity verb *ongoi* 'go'. In 31g and 31h aptative mode occurs with non-completive and completive respectively on the activity verbs **ovit* 'bring' and *indakod* 'go up'.

4.2.4 *si-* desiderative mode

The desiderative mode indicates that the actor wants to carry out the action that is expressed in the verb root. The desiderative mode is marked by the prefix *si-*. The morpheme *si-* does not occur with completive aspect and can occur only in actor and undergoer focuses.

Example with actor focus:

32a Ø$_1$-*si*-ONGOI ialo mangarambat.
AF-*Des*-GO he (Piv) cast-a-net
'He wants to go fishing with a casting-net.'

Example with undergoer focus:

32b *Si*-ODOP-on$_1$ oku.
Des-SLEEP-UF I (Piv)
'I am very sleepy (i.e. want-to-sleep).'

In 32a desiderative occurs with actor focus on an activity verb *ongoi* 'go'. In 32b it occurs with undergoer focus on a stative verb *odop* 'sleep'.

4.2.5 *soN*$_1$- comprehensive

Comprehensive has the meaning 'many' or 'all'. It is marked by the prefix *soN*$_1$- which has the allomorphs *soN*$_1$- and *so*-. No conditioning factor has been discovered for the variation in allomorphs. *soN*$_1$- occurs bounded by prefixes from position 6 and 3, and has been arbitrarily assigned to position 5. It does not occur in completive aspect, and seems to always co-occur with other affixes.

Example with actor focus:

33. Ø$_1$-*so*$_1$-go-GORONTOK babalo.
AF-*Compr*-Iter-POCK-MARK face (Piv)
'The face has many pock-marks on it.'

In 33 comprehensive co-occurs with iterative in actor focus on a nominal stem *gorontok* 'pock-mark'. Other examples co-occurring with verbs of different classes will be found in section 6.2.1.

4.3 Order 4 prefixes

The prefixes of order 4 include two important prefixes: causative and middle voice as well as a homophone of causative, the morpheme *po*$_2$-.

4.3.1 *po*$_1$- causative

The causative construction on the verb indicates that one entity causes another to perform an action or causes something to happen to the other entity. The causative morpheme is *po*$_1$- which is not to be confused with *po*$_2$- which derives stative verbs from activity verbs and can also occur on inherently stative verbs. There is a third morpheme *po*$_3$- which also seems to be causative, but it occurs in order 1 of the affixes. In actor focus even though *mo*- is the phonologically expected form of *po*$_1$- it usually takes the Ø$_1$- allomorph of actor focus (34c). There are a few cases where the actor focus allomorph is *m*- (34a-b) apparently due to pattern pressure (see also *po*$_3$-, section 4.6.8).

Examples with actor focus:

34a MoGURU (m-*po*$_1$-GURU) ialo monikou.
AF-*Caus*-TEACH she (Piv) deliver-a-baby
'She is learning (lit. cause to teach) to deliver a baby.'

34b MinoSUNSURI (in-m-*po*$_1$-SUNSURI) ino.
Comp-AF-*Caus*-GO-BACKWARDS that (Piv)
'That went backwards (lit. caused-to-go backwards).'

34c PaVAJA-ko (Ø$_1$-*po*$_1$-VAJA) dogon kumaa
AF-*Caus*-FOLLOW/ACCOMPANY-you (Sg) (Piv) me go

Malai-balai?
Malaybalay
'Are you going to take me with (lit. cause-me-to-follow) you to Malaybalay?'

Examples with undergoer focus:

34d PinoGUGU (in-*po*$_1$-GUGU-Ø) oku dialo.
Comp-*Caus*-BANG-ONE'S-HEAD-UF I (Piv) he
'I was caused to have my head banged by him.'

34e PoGUGUon (*po*$_1$-GUGU-on$_1$) oku bakai dialo.
Caus-BANG-ONE'S-HEAD-UF I (Piv) Contra he
'I am caused to have my head banged by him you know.'

Example with referent focus:

34f PinoIJANan (in-*po*$_1$-IJON-an$_1$) diolo di parai silo
Comp-*Caus*-LIVE/BE-AT-RF they Mk rice LocM (Piv)

tula.
centre-of-a-field
'In the centre of the field was where the rice was placed (lit. caused to be) by them.'

Examples with accessory focus:

34g I$_1$-*po*$_1$-ONTONG-ku dika.
AcF-*Caus*-SEE-I you (Sg)
'It's what you will be shown (lit. caused to see) by me.'

34h N-i$_1$-*po*$_1$-IUP-ku isido.
Comp-AcF-*Caus*-drink-I he (Piv)
'He was caused to drink by me.'

Examples with ablative focus:[14]

34i N-i$_2$-*po*$_1$-OVIT-an$_3$ dialo dogo iri buuk.
Comp-AbF-*Caus*-CARRY/BRING-AbF he me that (Piv) book
'He made me carry the book.'

34j I-*po*$_1$-IGIT-an$_3$-ku dialo i buuk.
AbF-*Caus*-HOLD-AbF-I he PivM book
'The book will be caused by me to be held by him.'

In 34a and b the causative has the expected but rare form *mo-* in actor focus in non-completive and completive aspects respectively. The root in 34a is the noun *guru* 'teacher', and the root in 34b is an activity verb **sunsuri* 'go backwards'. In 34c the more usual form *po-* occurs with the Ø$_1$- allomorph of actor focus with the activity verb *vaja* 'follow/accompany'.

In 34d and e causative occurs in undergoer focus with completive and non-completive aspect respectively with the activity verb **gugu* 'bang one's head'.

In 34f causative occurs in referent focus completive aspect with the stative verb *ijon* 'live, be at'.

In 34g causative occurs in accessory focus in non-completive aspect with the stative verb *ontong* 'see', and in 34h it occurs in completive aspect with the activity verb *iup* 'drink'.

In 34i and j causative occurs in ablative focus in completive and non-completive aspects respectively with the activity verbs *ovit* 'bring' and *igit* 'hold'.

4.3.2 *po*$_2$- derived state

The form *po*$_2$- occurs with activity verbs to derive stative verbs but when it occurs on an inherently stative verb it emphasises the continuation of the state. It seems to cooccur only with the morpheme *iN*$_1$-.

Examples with actor focus:

35a Alaid-no ino poingODOP (Ø$_1$-*po*$_2$-iN$_1$-ODOP).
a-long-time-CompM that (Piv) AF-*Sta*-Cont-SLEEP
'That one is sleeping for a long time.'
(See also 1d)

35b PoingKAKAT (Ø$_1$-*po*$_2$-iN$_1$-KAKAT) isido.
AF-*Sta*-Cont-LIFT he (Piv)
'He is standing up (i.e. is in the erect position).'

35c PoingGIJAK (Ø$_1$-*po*$_2$-iN$_1$-GIJAK) isido.
AF-*Sta*-Cont-SCREAM he (Piv)
'He keeps on screaming (without a pause).'

35d MingKAKAT (m-iN$_1$-KAKAT) isido.
AF-Cont-LIFT he (Piv)
'He is standing up (i.e. rising to an erect position).'

35e MiingGIJAK (m-pi-iN$_1$-GIJAK) isido.
AF-DuRec-Cont-SCREAM he (Piv)
'He keeps screaming again and again.'

Example with undergoer focus:

35f Om pangapon-no dii isido
and fish-with-a-line-CompM Emph he
pointaamon-*po*$_2$-iN$_1$-TAAM-on$_1$ dii iri tapon.
Sta-Cont-Iter-THROW-UF Emph that (Piv) a-line-and-bait
'And as he was fishing he kept throwing in the fishing-line.'

In 35a, b and c the prefix *po*$_2$- occurs with the stative verb *odop* 'sleep', the accomplishment verb *kakat* 'lift' and the activity verb *gijak* 'scream' respectively. Sentences 35b and d contrast in that b is a continuing state whereas d is a continuing action. Sentences c and e contrast in that c is a continuing state whereas e is an intermittent action.

In f the prefix po_2- occurs on an activity verb in undergoer focus indicating that the action is continuing state. The agent is merely continuing the action with no hope of a fruitful conclusion.

4.3.3 pog_1- middle voice

The middle voice means that the grammatical subject or actor acts in some way for himself. It is indicated by the prefix pog_1-. The first group of examples below (36a-e) contrast pog_1- with other affixes.

36a MogSUSU (m-pog_1-SUSU) isido.
AF-*Mid*-BREAST/GIVE BIRTH she (Piv)
'She is about to give birth.'

36b MoNUSU (m-poN_1-SUSU) ilo tanak.
AF-*Inten*-BREAST/GIVE-BIRTH that (Piv) child
'That baby is nursing.'

36c SumUSU (*um*-SUSU) ilo tanak.
AF-(Intr)-BREAST/GIVE-BIRTH that (Piv) child
'That baby is being born.
(Can also mean 'That baby is nursing.')

36d MinagANAK (in-m-pog_1-ANAK) oku.
Comp-AF-*Mid*-CHILD I (Piv)
'I gave birth.'

36e MinangANAK (in-m-poN_1-ANAK) oku.
Comp-AF-*Inten*-CHILD I (Piv)
'I fostered a child.'

Examples with actor focus:

36f MogOLIM-ko (m-pog_1-OLIM)?
AF-*Mid*-HIDE-A-FACT-you
'Are you keeping it a secret?'

36g MinagANAK (in-m-pog_1-ANAK) isido kosodop.
Comp-AF-*Mid*-CHILD she (Piv) last-night
'She gave birth last night.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

36h PinagANAK-ku (in-pog_1-ANAK-Ø) di Sapira, nabalik gia.
Comp-*Mid*-CHILD-UF-I Mk Saphira turn-over Emph
'When I gave birth to Saphira, she was upside-down.'

36i PagANAKon-ku (pog_1-ANAK-on_1) iti tasu.
Mid-CHILD-UF-I this (Piv) dog
'This is the dog I am going to have give birth.'

Examples with referent focus:

36j PogOSUvan-ja (pog_1-ASU-an_1) soi Kuari koniab.
Mid-HUNT-WITH-DOGS-RF-we (Ex) LocM (Piv) Kuari yesterday
'We hunted with dogs at Kuari yesterday.'

36k PinogUMBALan (in-*pog*$_1$-UMBAL-an$_1$) oku.
Comp-*Mid*-TEMPT/TRY-RF I (Piv)
'I was tempted (by him).'

Examples with accessory focus:

36l I$_1$-*pog*$_1$-UKAD-ku iti gampa di bajag.
AcF-*Mid*-DIG-A-HOLE-I this (Piv) bush-knife Mk sweet-potatoes
'I use this bush-knife to dig up sweet potatoes.'

36m N-i$_1$-*pog*$_1$-UKAD-ku iti gampa
Comp-AcF-*Mid*-DIG-A-HOLE-I this (Piv) bush-knife

di bajag.
Mk sweet potatoes
'I used this bush-knife to dig up sweet potatoes.'

Examples with temporal focus:

36n Sominggu pinogIUMan-ja (in-*pog*$_1$-IUM-an$_2$) di tanak.
one-week (Piv) Comp-*Mid*-LOOK-FOR-TF-we (Ex) Mk child
'It was for a week that we looked for the child.'

36o Sominggu-po *pog*$_1$-IUM-an$_2$-ja di tanak.
one-week (Piv)-NCompM *Mid*-LOOK-FOR-TF-we (Ex) Mk child
'It will be for another week that we will look for the child.'

In examples 36a to e the examples are in actor focus. In 36a and b there is a contrast between the prefixes *pog*$_1$- and *poN*$_1$- where the change of affixation on the same root *susu* 'breast, give birth' changes the sense of the verb. In 36c with the intransitive prefix the meaning is ambiguous since both senses of the verb can be intransitive. Only context can disambiguate them. In 36d and e there is another contrast between *pog*$_1$- and *poN*$_1$- on the root **anak* 'child' where the meaning of middle voice contrasts with intentive mode in the same environment. With many verbs this contrast is not apparent and the meaning seems to be the same with either affix. The roots *susu* 'breast' and **anak* 'child' are two which evidence a change of meaning with a change of affixation.

In 36f and g the examples are in actor focus. In 36f middle voice occurs with non-completive aspect on the activity verb **olim* 'hide a fact, deny'. In 36g middle voice occurs with completive aspect on the noun stem **anak* 'child'.

In 36h and i middle voice occurs with undergoer focus in completive and non-completive aspects respectively on the root **anak* 'child'.

In 36j and k middle voice occurs with referent focus in non-completive and completive aspects respectively on the activity verbs **asu* 'hunt with dogs' and **umbal* 'tempt, try'.

In 36l and m middle voice occurs with accessory focus in non-completive and completive aspects respectively on the activity verb **ukad* 'dig'.

In 36n and o middle voice occurs with temporal focus in completive and non-completive aspects respectively on the activity verb **ium* 'look for'.

4.4 Order 3 prefixes

Based on the data of this study, some of the prefixes of order 3 have quite a bit of latitude with respect to their actual positioning. When viewed as several subsets, however, that latitude disappears. That is, *pi-* and *poi-* as subtypes of reciprocal, are limited to order 3. Similarly, *piN-*, *toro-*, *piriN-* and *tumu-*, as subtypes of distributive, are also so limited.

4.4.1 Reciprocal

There are two reciprocal affixes: dual reciprocal and multiple reciprocal.

4.4.1.1 *pi-* dual reciprocal

Dual reciprocal means that two people or things are acting on each other, or one person is doing two actions consecutively. It is indicated by the prefix *pi-*. *pi-* is found everywhere except with certain stems where *mi-* co-occurs with *siN-* to change an activity verb to a stative verb in referent focus non-completive aspect (see 'idioms' in section 5.5.5). Dual reciprocal co-occurs with several other affixes.

Example with actor focus:

37a MiSAMPAK (m-*pi*-SAMPAK) iolo.
AF-*DuRec*-HIT-WITH-THE-FISTS they (Piv)
'They are beating each other up.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

37b *Pi*-INONG-on$_1$-ku iri torogo.
DuRec-BE-LIKE-UF-I that (Piv) price
'The price will be made the same by me (for those two things).'

37c PiniTOLU-ku (in-*pi*-TOLU-0).
Comp-*DuRec*-THREE-UF-I
'It was divided in three by me.'

Example with referent focus:

37d PiniDUVAan-ku (in-*pi*-DUVO-an$_1$) iolo.
Comp-*DuRec*-TWO-RF-I they (Piv)
'I divided it in two for them.'

Example with accessory focus:

37e N-i$_1$-*pi*-BOLI dialo di sada.
Comp-AcF-*DuRec*-SELL/BUY he Mk fish
'It was for something else the fish was bartered by him.'

In 37a dual reciprocal occurs with actor focus non-completive aspect with the activity verb *sampak* 'hit with the fists'. In 37b and c dual reciprocal occurs with undergoer focus in non-completive and completive aspects respectively with the stative verb *inong* 'be like' and the numeral *tolu* 'three'. In 37d dual reciprocal occurs with referent focus completive aspect with the numeral *duvo* 'two'. In 37e dual reciprocal occurs with accessory focus with the change of state verb *boli* 'buy, sell'.

4.4.1.2 *poi-* multiple reciprocal

Multiple reciprocal means that more than two people are doing the action together or to each other. It is indicated by the prefix *poi-*. It usually co-occurs with iterative.

Example with actor focus:

38a Minoisamung-SAMUNG (in-m-*poi*-samung-SAMUNG) ikoi.
Comp-AF-*MulRec*-Iter-MEET we (Ex) (Piv)
'We have all met each other.'

Example with undergoer focus:

38b PoiboBOOGIjon (*poi*-ba-BAAGI-on$_1$) tokou.
MulRec-Iter-DIVIDE-UF we (In)
'It is being divided up between us all.'

In 38a multiple reciprocal occurs with actor focus in completive aspect on the activity verb *samung* 'meet'. In 38b multiple reciprocal occurs with undergoer focus non-completive aspect on the single change of state verb *baagi* 'divide'.

4.4.2 Distributive

There are four distributive affixes: unequal distribution, equal distribution, single serial distribution and multiple serial distribution.

4.4.2.1 *piN-* unequal distribution

Unequal distribution means that a similar action is done a number of times but there is no indication of how often or whether the action is exactly the same or not. Unequal distribution is indicated by the affix *piN-*.

Example with actor focus:

39a MingALUD (m-*piN*-ALUD) oku silo sondipau.
AF-*UnDist*-PADDLE-A-BOAT I (Piv) LocM the-other-side
'I am going to paddle myself across to the other side.'

Example with referent focus:

39b PiningOLUDan-ku (in-*piN*-ALUD-an$_1$) i taati.
Comp-*Undist*-PADDLE-A-BOAT-RF-I PivM this-thing
'This was paddled back and forth by me.'

Example with accessory focus:

39c NipimBOLI (n-i$_1$-*piN*-BOLI) dialo iri sada.
Comp-AcF-*UnDist*-SELL/BUY he that (Piv) fish
'The fish was all sold by him.'

In 39a unequal distribution occurs with actor focus non-completive aspect with the noun root **alud* 'boat'. In 39b it occurs with the same root in referent focus completive aspect. In 39c unequal distribution occurs with accessory focus completive aspect with a single change of state verb **boli* 'buy, sell'.

4.4.2.2 *toro-* equal distribution

Equal distribution means that something is divided up equally among all the people present. It cannot occur with completive aspect, but does co-occur with some other affixes (see section 5.2.2.5). Equal distribution is indicated by the prefix *toro-*.

Example with referent focus:

40. ToroVOLUan (*toro*-VALU-an$_1$).
EqDist-EIGHT-RF
'Eight are given to each person.'

In 40 equal distribution occurs with referent focus. It would be expected that the usual focus would be referent focus since the action is done for other people and one of the functions of referent focus is benefactive. When equal distribution co-occurs with other affixation it can occur in other focuses.

4.4.2.3 *tumu-* single serial distribution

Single serial distribution means that the same occurrence happens one time after another. It occurs only with actor focus in non-completive aspect and does not co-occur with other affixation. It is indicated by the prefix *tumu-*. One example of the form *tumi-* with the same meaning has been found in Ponimbanan village.

41a Ø$_1$-*tumu*-RATU ilo lampun.
AF-*SgSer*-FALL those (Piv) durian
'Those durians fall one by one.'

41b Ø$_1$-*tumu*-PATAI-po i tongodupot sabap nakaakan
AF-*SgSer*-DIE-NCompM PivM animals because eat

rasun.
poison
'The animals are dying one by one because they ate poison.'

41c Ø$_1$-*tumi*-PATAI i sapi.
AF-*SgSer*-DIE PivM cows
'The cows keep on dying one after the other.'

In sentences 41a and b *tumu-* 'single serial distribution' occurs with the activity verb *ratu* 'fall' and the single change of state verb *patai* 'die' respectively. In 41c the form *tumi-* with the same meaning occurs with the same change of state verb **patai* 'die'.

4.4.2.4 *piriN-* multiple serial distribution

Multiple serial distribution means that several things happen one after another. It occurs only with actor focus in non-completive aspect. The meaning is indicated by the prefix *piriN-*. Pattern pressure leads to calling this affix *piriN-* rather than *miriN-*. Since it occurs only with actor focus, *piriN-* in fact has never occurred in any example. It may be that like *mogin-* (section 4.6.3) the affix is *miriN-*. In some villages the form *moriN-* occurs.

42a MirimPITAK (m-*piriN*-PITAK) iri tongotuva.
AF-*MulSer*-FALL (of something small) those (Piv) fruit
'The small fruits are falling a few at a time.'

42b MorinTOUDI (m-*poriN*-TOUDI) iolo.
AF-*MulSer*-AT-THE-BACK/AT-THE-END they (Piv)
'They walk at the end of the line.'

In 42a the allomorph *miriN*- 'multiple serial distribution' occurs with the activity verb *pitak* 'fall (of something small)', and in 42b the form *moriN*- with the same meaning occurs with the stative verb *toudi* 'be at the back'.

4.4.3 *kumi*- comitative

The prefix *kumi*- means 'comitative', that is, 'doing something together'. It is tempting to try to separate this prefix into *ki*- 'possession' with the infix -*um*-. Apart from the fact that there seems to be no relationship between the meanings of the *ki*- and *kumi*-, the infix -*um*- is used to indicate intransitivity. There are examples where *kumi*- occurs when the verb is used transitively (see section 5.2.2.6) which rules out any direct connection between them synchronically, though historically there may be a connection. *kumi*- can occur only with actor focus.

43. Moo-ko do Ø$_1$-*kumi*-ODU?
want-you (Sg) (Piv) that AF-*Com*-QUARREL
'Do you want to have a quarrel?'

In 43 comitative occurs with the activity verb *odu* 'quarrel' which is inherently reciprocal.

4.4.4 *poki*- petitive

Petitive has the meaning requesting or asking for something. It is tempting to view it as a combination of *po*$_1$- 'causative' and *ki*- 'possession', and perhaps historically this is the source of the affix. However with the present meaning of 'petitive' it seems to be unrelated to the others. Also by analogy with Philippine languages where the form *poki*- occurs but there is no morpheme *ki*-, it is being treated as a separate morpheme.

Examples with actor focus:

44a MinokiUBAT (in-m-*poki*-UBAT) nogi iAndasi di Simun.
Comp-AF-*Pet*-MEDICINE also Andasi (Piv) Mk Simon
'Andasi also asked for medicine for Simon.'

44b MokiUUP (m-*poki*-UUP) oku.
AF-*Pet*-HELP I (Piv)
'I ask for help.'

Example with undergoer focus:

44c Komuro pokiBARAJon (*poki*-BARAI-on$_1$), barajon-no.
however-much *Pet*-PAY-UF pay-CompM
'However much they ask to be paid, pay it.'

Example with referent focus:

44d PinokiSUNSUBan-ku (in-*poki*-SUNSUB-an$_1$) daa di
Comp-*Pet*-CHASE-AWAY-RF-I Frus Mk
murid-murid-nu.
disciples-your (Sg)
'I asked that your disciples cast it out (but they couldn't do it).'

In 44a petitive occurs in actor focus completive aspect with a noun stem *ubat* 'medicine'. In 44b petitive occurs in actor focus non-completive aspect with an activity verb **uup* 'help'. In 44c petitive occurs in undergoer focus non-completive aspect with the activity verb **barai* 'pay'. In 44d it occurs in referent focus completive aspect with an activity verb **sunsub* 'to chase away'.

4.5 Order 2 prefixes

Some of these prefixes are relatively rare. When an affix obligatorily co-occurs with other affixation one example will be given of its commonest use.

4.5.1 Association

There are two types of association, a more general type and a type that can refer only to a group of more than one thing.

4.5.1.1 *ponoN-* associative

Associative means 'to take as, to wear, to carry,' etc. and is more general than *pog*$_2$- (see section 4.5.1.2). It is indicated by the prefix *ponoN-*. While *ponoN-* gives some evidence of being composed of *poN*$_1$- and *toN-* it is taken as a single morpheme here. In some villages on the lower Labuk River the form *mongoN-* occurs which does not seem to be related to *toN-*. It is usually a class-changing morpheme, and verbalises nouns, though it can also be a class-maintaining morpheme when added to verb stems.

Examples with actor focus:

45a ManangANAK (m-*ponoN*-ANAK) isido do tokou.
AF-*Ass*-CHILD he (Piv) Mk us (In)
'He takes us as children.'

45b MananSAVO-po (m-*ponoN*-SAVO) kavagu.
AF-*Ass*-SPOUSE-NCompM again
'He is getting married again.'

45c MinananTAPI (in-m-*ponoN*-TAPI) ialo.
Comp-AF-*Ass*-SKIRT she (Piv)
'She put on a skirt.'

45d MongonSORUAI (m-*pongoN*-SORUAI) isido.
AF-*Ass*-TROUSERS he (Piv)
'He puts on his trousers.'

45e MangangKASUT (m-*pongoN*-KASUT) ialo.
AF-*Ass*-SHOES she (Piv)
'She is putting on her shoes.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

45f Gaam nogi do pononSOVOonon (*ponon*-SAVO-an$_4$-on$_1$) too.
better also that *Ass*-SPOUSE-Res-UF really
'It would be better that he be made to get married really.'

45g PonongOMOon (*ponoN*-AMA-on$_1$) iri di tulun napatai.
Ass-FATHER-UF that (Piv) Mk person die
'That one is "fathered" by the dead person.'

Example with referent focus:

45h Auso ponongGOMITan (*ponoN*-GAMIT-an$_1$) do buru.
none (Piv) *Ass*-CATCH/HELP-WITH-RF Mk bride-price
'There was no one who could help me with the bride-price.'

In 45a to g associative occurs with various nouns to verbalise them. In 45a to e it occurs with actor focus. In 45a and b it is in non-completive aspect with the meaning 'to take as'. In 45c it occurs with the meaning 'wear' or 'put on' in completive aspect. In 45d and e the form *mongoN*- occurs with the meaning 'to wear'. In 45f and g associative occurs with undergoer focus with the meaning 'to take as'. In 45h it occurs with referent focus with an activity verb **gamit* 'to catch' but the meaning here is 'to help with'.

4.5.1.2 *pog*$_2$- associative collective

The prefix *pog*$_2$-, associative collective[15], has the meaning 'to take as, wear, carry,' etc. This is the same meaning, according to native speakers, as *ponoN*-, associative (see 4.5.1.1). However, *pog*$_2$- occurs only where the meaning of the root implies more than one, whereas *ponoN*- occurs with one or more of the ideas expressed by the root. Like *ponoN*- it can be a class-changing verbaliser when added to a noun stem, but a class-maintaining morpheme when added to a verb stem.

Examples with actor focus:

46a MogBAYA (m-*pog*$_2$-BAYA) isido do kojuvan-ku.
AF-*AssCol*-IGNORE-SOMEONE he (Piv) Mk body-my
'He pays no attention to my person (goes in and out as if I wasn't there).'

46b MogPAKAIAN (m-*pog*$_2$-PAKAIAN) isido.
AF-*AssCol*-CLOTHES he (Piv)
'He is putting on his clothes.'

Also compare the following:

46c MogKASUT (m-*pog*$_2$-KASUT) isido.
AF-*AssCol*-SHOES he (Piv)
'He is putting on his shoes.'

But the form **mog-SORUAI* is not permitted. (See also 45d and e)

Example with referent focus:

46d *Pog*$_2$-ba-BAYA-an$_1$ disido ilo barang-ku.
AssCol-Iter-IGNORE-SOMEONE-RF he those (Piv) things-my
'He goes in and out taking my things and ignoring me (as if I wasn't there).'

In 46a to c associative collective occurs with actor focus. In 46a it occurs with the stem **baya* 'to ignore someone', and in 46b and c it occurs with noun roots to verbalise them. In 46d it occurs with referent focus with the same verb stem as above.

4.5.2 *posiN*- dissimulation

The dissimulation affix *posiN*- meaning 'to pretend' has arbitrarily been assigned to position 2. It usually occurs with reduplication of the stem. Like *poki*- it is tempting to view it as two prefixes *po*- and *siN*- instead of one fused prefix. Historically it may have been two prefixes, but by analogy with *poki*- and because it has its own meaning it is being analysed as a single morpheme. It occurs only on the lower Labuk River.

Examples with actor focus:

47a MosingongODOP (m-*posiN*-ong-ODOP) ilo.
AF-*Diss*-Iter-SLEEP that (Piv)
'That one is pretending to sleep.'

47b MosintoTORUOL (m-*posiN*-to-TORUOL) ialo.
AF-*Diss*-Iter-HAVE-AN-ILLNESS she (Piv)
'She is pretending to have an illness.'

Example with referent focus:

47c PosingANDAIan (*posiN*-ANDAI-an$_1$) disido do kojuvan-jo.
Diss-GOOD-RF she Mk body-her
'Her body is being adorned by her (lit. it is being pretended by her that her body is good).'

In 47a and b posiN- dissimulation occurs with the stative verb *odop* 'sleep' and the noun *toruol* 'illness' (root *ruol*) respectively in actor focus. In 47c it occurs with the condition state **andai* 'be good' to form an activity verb in referent focus.

4.5.3 *poN*$_2$- clarification

The prefix *poN*$_2$- 'clarification' is often used in answers to questions as a means of clarifying what, how or when an action was performed. To date it has not been found to occur initially with the actor focus, but occurs following other major affixes.

Example with undergoer focus:

48a Isai mangakun do paMALANJAwon-ku (*poN*$_2$-BALANJA-on$_1$)
who agree that *Clar*-PAY-THE-EXPENSES-UF-me

do rayat-ku.
Mk subordinates-my
'Who will agree that the expenses of my people be paid for for me?'

Examples with referent focus:

48b Au okuat iri pinaMAALan (in-*po*N_2-VAAL-an$_1$).
not strong that (Piv) Comp-*Clar*-MAKE-RF
'That place where it was built was not strong.'

48c Osodu ilo jamban paNAGAan (*po*N_2-SAGOU-an$_1$).
far that (Piv) toilet *Clar*-FETCH-WATER-RF
'The toilet is far away for fetching water.'

Examples with accessory focus:

48d Onu nipoNINSIB-nu (n-i$_1$-*po*N_2-SINSIB)?
what (Piv) Comp-AcF-*Clar*-SLICE-you (Sg)
'What was used by you to slice it with?'

48e IpoNGOTOB-ku (i$_1$-*po*N_2-KOTOB) diri banang.
AcF-*Clar*-CUT-I that thread
'It will be used by me to cut that thread with.'

Examples with temporal focus:

48f Sangadau-po suvab pongOKUTan-ja (*po*N_2-AKUT-an$_2$)
one-day (Piv)-NCompM tomorrow *Clar*-CARRY-RICE-TF-we (Ex)

di parai-nu.
Mk rice-your (Sg)
'For one more day tomorrow your rice will be carried by us.'

48g Sangadau pinongOKUTan-ja (in-*po*N_2-AKUT-an$_2$) di parai.
one-day (Piv) Comp-*Clar*-CARRY-RICE-TF-we (Ex) Mk rice
'All day the rice was carried by us.'

In 48a the clarification morpheme occurs in undergoer focus non-completive aspect with an activity verb **balanja* 'pay the expenses'.

In 48b it occurs in referent focus completive aspect with a complex change of state verb **vaal* 'make'. In 48c it occurs in referent focus non-completive aspect with an activity verb **sagou* 'fetch water'.

In 48d it occurs in accessory focus completive aspect with the single change of state verb **sinsib* 'slice'. In 48e it also occurs in accessory focus non-completive aspect on the single change of state verb **kotob* 'cut (of thread)'. In 48f and g it occurs in temporal focus non-completive and completive aspects respectively with the complex change of state verb **akut* 'carry rice'.

4.5.4 *i*N_1- continuative

The prefix *i*N_1-, continuative, expresses continuing action.

Example in actor focus:

49a MingKAKAT (m-*i*N_1-KAKAT) isido.
AF-(Intr)-*Cont*-LIFT he (Piv)
'He is standing up.'
(See also 35d)

Example with referent focus:

49b Araat ialo ininTULUSan (in-iN_1-TULUS-an$_1$)
bad he Comp-*Cont*-CURSE-RF

soro marong isido.
they-say very he (Piv)
'He (specific) is bad, he (general) was really being sworn at by him, they say.'

Example with accessory focus:

49c Ogumu niinTULUS (n-i$_1$-iN_1-TULUS) dialo diri.
a-lot (Piv) Comp-AcF-*Cont*-CURSE he that
'A lot of things were being sworn at by him.'

In 49a the morpheme iN_1- occurs in actor focus non-completive aspect on the activity verb **kakat* 'lift' with a change in the sense of the verb to mean 'stand'. In 49b and c it occurs in completive aspect with referent and accessory focuses respectively on the activity verb **tulus* 'curse'.

4.5.5 iN$_2$- agentiviser

The morpheme iN_2- functions to change non-agentive stems to agentive. Other affixes can then be added to the stem.

Example with undergoer focus:

50a InimVULAI-ku (in-iN_2-VULAI-Ø) dii.
Comp-*Ag*-APPEAR-UF-I Emph
'The things (that I had stolen) were produced by me.'

Example with referent focus:

50b IndoROSIjan-ku (iN$_2$-*ro*-ROSI-an$_1$) ika.
Ag-*Iter*-AFRAID-RF-I you (Sg)
'You will be scared (or you will be made afraid) by me.'

Example with directional focus:

50c IninTIRUNGon-ku (in-iN_2-TIRUNG-on$_2$) isido.
Comp-*Ag*-SHELTER-DF-I he (Piv)
'He was sheltered by me.'

Example with ablative focus:

50d NiinTUTUNan (n-i$_2$-iN_2-TUTUN-an$_3$) dialo i minanakau.
Comp-AbF-*Ag*-RECOGNISE-AbF he PivM steal
'The one who stole was looked at intently to be recognised by him.'
(See also 10a)

In 50a the agentiviser morpheme co-occurs in completive aspect with undergoer focus on the activity verb **vulai* 'appear' giving the meaning 'produce'. In 50b it co-occurs with iterative on the psychological state verb **rosi* 'fear' in referent focus to give the meaning 'scare'. In 50c it co-occurs with completive aspect in directional focus on the activity verb **tirung* 'shelter'. In 50d it also co-occurs with completive aspect in ablative focus on the achievement verb **tutun* 'recognise' and produces an accomplishment verb.

4.5.6 *iN*$_3$- verbaliser

The morpheme *iN*$_3$- functions to verbalise a noun. The resulting verb may be an activity verb (51a) or a stative verb (51b) depending on the meaning of the verbalised noun.

Example in actor focus:

51a MogiginSADA-no (m-pog$_1$-ig-*iN*$_3$-SADA) isido.
AF-Mid-Iter-*Vb*-FISH-CompM he (Piv)
'He catches fish regularly.'

Example in undergoer focus:

51b NoimPURU (n-o-*iN*$_3$-PURU-Ø) iti Sabah.
Comp-NInten-*Vb*-ISLAND-UF this (Piv) Sabah
'This Sabah is on an island.'

In 51a the morpheme *iN*$_3$- co-occurs with middle voice and iterative in actor focus non-completive aspect on the stem *sada* 'fish' to produce the activity verb meaning 'catch fish'. In 51b it co-occurs with non-intentive mode in undergoer focus completive aspect on the stem *puru* 'island' to produce the stative verb 'be an island'.

4.5.7 *soN*$_2$- diminutive

Diminutive has the meaning of a decreasing or already small amount. It is indicated by the prefix *soN*$_2$-.

Example with actor focus:

52. SumangANU (-um-*soN*$_2$-ANU) isido di tiningkusan.
AF-*Dim*-GET he (Piv) Mk inheritance
'He receives (lit. is the-one-to-get) the inheritance.'

In 52 the morpheme *soN*$_2$- occurs in actor focus non-completive aspect on the activity verb **anu* 'get'.

4.5.8 *siN*- non-serious$_1$

Non-serious$_1$ action is indicated by the prefix *siN*-. It always seems to co-occur with other affixes but it cannot co-occur with *poN*$_1$-.

53. SingkoboBOBOU (Ø$_1$-*siN*-ko$_4$-bo-BOBOU) au songkuro kavava
AF-*NSer*$_1$-Aug$_3$-Iter-DUMB not very clearly

mitangar.
speak
'He is like a dumb person, he cannot speak very clearly.'

The morpheme *siN*- 'non-serious action' co-occurs with augmentative and iterative in 53 in actor focus on the stem *bobou* 'dumb' to form what is probably an idiom.

4.5.9 *toN*- non-serious$_2$

The prefix *toN*- occurs rarely. The meaning seems to be somewhat similar to *siN*- above. It is difficult to determine the exact meaning because it always occurs preceded by other affixes. All examples so far occur on activity verbs in actor focus. Only one example will be included here. (See section 5.5.2 for other examples.)

54. Nong mokitongKUYUNG-no (m-poki-*toN*-KUYUNG) soro...
if AF-Pet-*NSer*$_2$-SING-WHEN-DRUNK-CompM they (Piv)
'If they are singing drinking songs when drunk...'

In example 54 the morpheme *toN*- occurs preceded by the petitive morpheme in actor focus on the activity verb **kuyung* 'sing when drunk'.

4.5.10 *suN*- purposeful repetition

Purposeful repetition occurs only rarely, and is indicated by the prefix *suN*-. *suN*- has the allomorphs *suN*- and *su*-. Similar to the allomorphs of *soN*$_2$- 'quantitative' no conditioning factor has been discovered for the variation of the allomorphs of *suN*-. It is usually found preceded by other affixation. Most occurrences of *suN*- seem to be idiomatic (see section 5.5.3).

Example with actor focus:

55a MisunSULI (m-pi-*suN*-SULI) ialo.
AF-DuRec-*Purp*-RECIPROCATE he (Piv)
'He will give as good as he gets (either good or bad).'

Example with undergoer focus:

55b SinuLAPID-nu (in-*su*-LAPID-Ø) iti dika sirung?
Comp-*Purp*-WEAVE-UF-you (Sg) this (Piv) your (Sg) hat
'Was this hat of yours woven by you?'

In 55a purposeful repetition co-occurs with dual reciprocal on the agentive activity verb **suli* 'reciprocate' in actor focus. In 55b purposeful repetition occurs in undergoer focus completive aspect on the stem **lapid* 'weave'.

4.6 order 1 prefixes

The prefixes of order 1, like those of order 2, are infrequent. Several of them are clearly limited to order 1 by following order 2 prefixes. Others have great latitude of order and thus are arbitrarily placed in order 1.

4.6.1 *pogo*- repetitive

The affix *pogo*- 'repetitive'[16] means that the action is done repeatedly. As for *piriN*- (see section 4.4.2.4) pattern pressure leads to calling this affix *pogo*- rather than *mogo*-. Since it has been found only in actor focus so far, *pogo*- in fact has never occurred in any examples. It may be that, like *mogin*- (4.6.3) and possibly *miriN*-, the affix is *mogo*-. In completive aspect the infix *in*- is added to the root instead of the affix.

56a MogoLinOMBUS (in-m-*pogo*-LOMBUS) tokou.
Comp-AF-*Rep*-PROCEED/GO-ON we (In) (Piv)
'Let's keep on stopping to visit and going on to the next place.'

56b MogoniUNJUNG (m-*pogoni*-UNJUNG) iolo.
AF-*Rep*-PAY-A-VISIT they (Piv)
'They stop for visits at many places.'

In 56a the allomorph *mogo-* occurs in completive aspect on the activity verb *lombus* 'proceed/go on'. In 56b the allomorph *mogoni-* occurs on the activity verb **unjung* 'visit'.

4.6.2 *biN-* habitual

The prefix *biN-* 'habitual' has the meaning of 'always'.

Example with actor focus:

57a Ada-ko Ø$_1$-ko$_3$-*bin*-TANGKAR.
don't-you (Sg) (Piv) AF-Apt-*Hab*-ARGUE/BARGAIN
'Don't you always argue.'

Example with undergoer focus:

57b ObingOGOM (o-*biN*-OGOM-Ø) isido.
NInten-*Hab*-SIT-UF he
'He is always sitting down (i.e. getting up and sitting down again).'

Example with referent focus:

57c BininTANGKARan-ku (in-*biN*-TANGKAR-an$_1$).
Comp-*Hab*-ARGUE/BARGAIN-RF-I
'(He) was argued/bargained with by me.'

In 57a habitual co-occurs with aptative in actor focus on the activity verb **tangkar* 'argue/bargain'. In 57b the morpheme *biN-* co-occurs with non-intentive mode in undergoer focus on the activity verb *ogom* 'sit down'. In 57c it occurs in referent focus completive aspect on **tangkar* 'argue/bargain' again.

4.6.3 *mogin-* durative

The prefix *mogin-* 'durative' means that the action takes place over an extended period of time. Both in morphological shape and meaning it shows similarity to *iN*$_1$- 'continuative'. If that is the historical root of *mogin-* then *pog-* could have arisen from either *pog*$_1$- 'middle voice' or *pog*$_3$- 'immediacy'. However, *mogin-* is synchronically distinct for two reasons. Firstly, *mogin-* (with lower case *n*) does not interact with following phonological elements as *iN*$_1$- does. Secondly, *mogin-* occurs with undergoer and referent focuses, where *pogin-* would be expected. No distinct examples of dramatic present aspect occur to demonstrate whether it is possible for *mogin-* to become *pogin-*.

Example with actor focus:

58a Turu tadau moginAKAN (m-*mogin*-AKAN).
seven day (Piv) AF-*Dur*-EAT
'For seven days they feasted.'

Example with undergoer focus:

58b *Mogin*-IUP-on$_1$-no dino soro iri do kinomol.
Dur-DRINK-UF-CompM those they that (Piv) Mk beer
'A beer-drinking festival was held by them.'

Example with referent focus:

58c *Mogin*-AKAN-an$_1$ diolo siri Batu 4.
Dur-EAT-RF they LocM Mile 4
'Mile 4 is where a feast was held by them.'

In 58a the morpheme *mogin-* occurs with actor focus on the activity verb **akan* 'eat'. In 58b it occurs with undergoer focus on the activity verb **iup* 'drink'. In 58c it occurs with referent focus on **akan*.

4.6.4 *ku-* augmentative$_2$

The prefix *ku-* 'augmentative$_2$' strengthens the idea contained in the stem. (Augmentative$_1$ will be dealt with in section 6.1.1.1.2.) When *ku-* occurs on noun stems it verbalises them. It usually co-occurs with other affixes (see sections 5.1.1.5, 5.2.2.3, 5.3.1.1.2).

59a KinuRAAS (in-Ø$_1$-*ku*-RAAS) nga auso.
Comp-AF-*Aug*$_2$-RUB-TOGETHER then none
'There was no sound of rubbing together.'

59b Au kalalaid norongou-ja do Ø$_1$-ku-RAAS.
not a-long-time hear-we (Ex) that AF-Aug$_2$-RUB-TOGETHER
'It was not long before we heard it make the sound of rubbing together.'

In 59a and b the morpheme *ku-* occurs in completive and non-completive respectively on the activity verb **raas* 'rub together'.

4.6.5 *ko*$_4$- augmentative$_3$

The morpheme *ko*$_4$- is relatively rare and because it always occurs preceded by other affixation the meaning is obscure. It seems to have an augmentative meaning and may be an allomorph of *ku-* above. (See examples 113d and e in section 5.5.3 where the two alternate with no change in meaning. Alternation does not occur with other verb roots, however.) It can occur on both stative and active verbs.

Example with actor focus:

60. Ø$_1$-si-*ko*$_4$-bo-BOBOU ialo, au songkuro kavava mitangar.
AF-Des-*Aug*$_3$-Iter-DUMB he (Piv) not much clearly speak
'He is dumb, he cannot speak very clearly.'

In 60 augmentative$_3$ co-occurs with several other affixes in actor focus on a stative verb in what is probably an idiom.

4.6.6 *pu-* production

The prefix *pu-* 'production' usually functions to verbalise a noun. It co-occurs with several other prefixes (see 101b, 103a and b, 104, 105), but when it occurs alone it is found only in referent and accessory focuses.

Examples with referent focus:

61a … om torus puVOIGan (*pu*-VAIG-an$_1$) om posumpakan.
and at-once *Pro*-WATER-RF and put-on-fire
'… and at once water is poured on and it is put on the fire.'

61b PinuNGARANan[17] (in-*pu*-NGARAN-an$_1$) dialo iri tanak-jo,
Comp-*Pro*-NAME-RF he that (Piv) child-his

i Moria.
PivM Marie
'His child was named Marie by him.'

Example with accessory focus:

61c Isai n-i$_1$-*pu*-NGARAN-nu dialo?
who (Piv) Comp-AcF-*Pro*-NAME-you(Sg) he
'What name was given him by you?'

In 61a and b the production morpheme occurs with referent focus. In 61a it co-occurs with non-completive on the noun *vaig* 'water' to give the meaning 'add water'. In 61b it occurs in completive aspect on the noun *ngaran* 'name' to give the meaning 'to name'. In 61c it occurs in accessory focus completive aspect on the same stem.

4.6.7 *pod-* qualification

It is difficult to define precisely the meaning of the prefix *pod-*[18] 'qualification'. It generally acts as a pluraliser, or augments the meaning of the root in some way. If it occurs in the singular it acts like a progressive aspect.

Examples with actor focus:

62a Inong do modTORUOL (m-*pod*-TORUOL) om napatai.
like that AF-*Qual*-BE-ILL and die
'It is like being ill and having died.'

62b MomPATAI (m-*pod*-PATAI) i sapi.
AF-*Qual*-DIE PivM cow
'The cows are all dying.'

62c MonDADANG (m-*pod*-DADANG) oku.
AF-*Qual*-WARM-AT-A-FIRE I (Piv)
'I am warming myself at the fire.'

Compare the above with the following:

62d DumADANG (*um*-DADANG) oku.
AF-(Intr)-WARM-AT-A-FIRE I (Piv)
'I am about to warm myself at the fire.'
(See also 28c)

Example with referent focus:

62e Koponogit diri valai di pinonSUSUvan (in-*pod*-SUSU-an$_1$)
sacrifice that house that Comp-*Qual*-BREAST/GIVE-BIRTH-RF

irad do vutun, vogok om limo pirok.
like that porcupine, pig and five dollar
'What is sacrificed for that house at which the birth took place is a pig as big as a porcupine and five dollars.'

In 62a the allomorph *pod-* occurs with actor focus on the noun stem *toruol* 'illness'. In 62b the allomorph *poN-* occurs with actor focus on the single change of state verb **patai* 'die'. In 62c and d there is a contrast between the allomorph *poN-* and *-um-* where both are on the intransitive stem **dadang* 'to warm' in actor focus. In 62e the allomorph *poN-* occurs with referent focus completive aspect on the noun stem *susu* 'breast' with the meaning 'to give birth'.

4.6.8 *po*$_3$- causative

The prefix *po*$_3$- 'causative' seems to be the same as *po*$_1$- causative. Because *po*$_3$- occurs in order 1 of the affixes preceded by other affixes, the meaning is obscured. It rarely occurs but with more examples its use could perhaps be defined more accurately. All examples so far occur with actor focus. The clearest examples are included here. Others are to be found in sections 5.2.1.1, 5.2.2.7, 5.5.2.

63a MokipoILO-ko (m-poki-*po*$_3$-ILO)?
AF-Pet-*Caus*-KNOW-you (Sg) (Piv)
'Do you want to find out (or be told)?'

63b Ø$_1$-po$_1$-*po*$_3$-ISOP ialo dilo vaig.
AF-Caus-*Caus*-SUCK he (Piv) that water
'He made him suck the water.'

In 63a the morpheme *po*$_3$- occurs following *poki-* 'petitive' on the stative verb **ilo* 'know'. In 63b *po*$_3$- occurs following *po*$_1$- 'causative' on the activity verb **isop* 'suck'.

4.6.9 *ti-* unnatural

The prefix *ti-* 'unnatural' has a variety of meanings which include 'implied death', 'excessive haste', and 'impoliteness'. Since none of these are normal results of the action expressed in the verb root, the cover term 'unnatural' has been used. In undergoer focus the *-Ø* allomorph occurs in non-completive aspect which is contrary to the expected pattern.

Example in actor focus:

64a Au-no kaapit oku diti torus
not-CompM stop-by I this at-once
tumiLOMBUS (-um-*ti*-LOMBUS) oku.
AF-(Intr)-*Unna*-GO-ON/THROUGH I (Piv)
'I cannot stop, I have to go straight on.'

Example in undergoer focus:

64b Onu *ti*-VAJA-Ø-nu?
what (Piv) *Unna*-FOLLOW/ACCOMPANY-UF-you(Sg)
'What are you going along for?'

In 64a the unnatural morpheme occurs with the intransitive allomorph of actor focus -*um*- on the activity verb *lombus* 'proceed/go on'. In 64b it occurs alone on the stem in undergoer focus on the activity verb *vaja* 'follow/accompany'.

4.6.10 Perceptual affixes

There are two perceptual affixes, *pir*- and *tor*-, both of which occur only on the root *odop* 'to sleep'.

4.6.10.1 *pir*- perceptual$_1$

The prefix *pir*- 'perceptual' has the meaning of 'bad'. This form has been found only in Ansuan village so far. The examples here occur with directional focus.

65a Modop oku kosodop *pir*-ODOP-on$_2$ oku.
sleep I last-night *Perc*$_1$-SLEEP-DF I (Piv)
'I slept last night, but slept badly (because something scared me - implied).'

65b Araat rasa-ku do pinirODOPon (in-*pir*-ODOP-on$_2$) oku.
bad feeling-my because Comp-*Perc*$_1$-SLEEP-DF I (Piv)
'I feel unwell because I slept badly.'

In 65a and b the morpheme *pir*- occurs with non-completive and completive aspects respectively.

4.6.10.2 *tor*- perceptual$_2$

The prefix *tor*- 'perceptual' has the meaning of 'restless' (66a). It has been found only in Kamansi village. A variant *turi*- occurs in Ponimbanan village (66b). The meaning may be slightly different. Both variants occur only in directional focus.

66a *Tor*-ODOP-on$_2$ ialo.
Perc$_2$-SLEEP-DF he (Piv)
'He is sleepwalking now.'

66b TuriODOPon (*turi*-ODOP-on$_2$) ialo.
Perc$_2$-SLEEP-DF he (Piv)
'He is sleepwalking.'

In 66a the morpheme *tor-* occurs on the stative verb *odop* 'sleep' to change the meaning to 'sleepwalking now'. Similarly, in 66b the morpheme *turi-* occurs on the same stem with the meaning 'sleepwalking'.

4.6.11 *ki-* possession

Possession is indicated by the prefix *ki-*. The meaning is 'having' or 'possessing' something. When it occurs on noun stems it acts as a governing affix to make a phrase 'have an X'. It occurs only in actor focus. The completive infix *in-* cannot occur in the prefix, so it occurs in the root (67a).

67a KiSinUUN (in-Ø$_1$-*ki*-SUUN) ialo do siduvon.
Comp-AF-*Poss*-CARRY-ON-THE-HEAD she (Piv) Mk firewood
'She carried firewood on her head.'

67b Ø$_1$-*ki*-TAMBOL iti do au osusu.
AF-*Poss*-BLOCK this (Piv) because not breast/give-birth
'This one has a blockage because she cannot give birth.'

In 67a the morpheme *ki-* occurs in completive aspect on the activity verb **suun* 'carry on the head'. In 67b it occurs in non-completive aspect on the activity verb **tambol* 'block'.

4.6.12 Other verbalising prefixes

There are a number of non-productive derivational affixes which can be added to certain noun roots to verbalise them producing activity verbs. No meanings have been determined for the individual derivational affixes.

68. Ada tumoLIKUD (um-*to*-LIKUD).
don't AF-*Vb*-BACK
'Don't turn your back.'

69. TinonDILAi-ku (in-*toN*-DILA-*i*-Ø).
Comp-*Vb*-TONGUE-*Vb*-UF-I
'My tongue was stuck out by me.'

70a TumingKABANG (-um-*tiN*-KABANG) oku.
AF-*Vb*-MOUTH I
'I open my mouth.'

70b TumimPUUN (-um-*tiN*-PUUN) isido tumungkaaung.
AF-*Vb*-SOURCE he crawl
'He is just beginning to crawl.'

71. SolimPUUNon (so-*liN*-PUUN-on$_1$) gia monorita!
Compr-*Vb*-SOURCE/BEGINNING-UF Emph tell-a-story
'Let it be from the beginning that you tell the story!'

72. DumaTANGA (um-*da*-TANGA) oku.
AF-*Vb*-CENTRE I (Piv)
'I am going into the middle.'

In 68 the addition of the morpheme *to-* to *likud* 'back' gives the meaning of 'turn'. In 69 the addition of the morphemes *toN-* and *i-* to *dila* 'tongue' give the meaning of 'stick out'. In 70a the addition of *tiN-* to *kabang* 'mouth' gives the meaning of 'open'. In 70b the addition of *tiN-* to *puun* 'source' gives the meaning of 'begin'. In 71 the addition of *liN-* to the same stem *puun* 'source' also gives the meaning of 'begin'. (The form *liN-* is less common than *tiN-*.) In 72 the addition of the morpheme *da-* to the stem *tanga* 'centre' gives the meaning 'go into'.

4.7 Infixation

There are three infixes: intransitive, completive and plural.

4.7.1 Intransitive and completive

The intransitive infix *-um-* is dealt with under actor focus (see 3.4.1). The completive infix *in-* is dealt with under completive aspect (see 3.5.1).

4.7.2 *ong-* plural

The infix *ong-* is rather rare and has the meaning of plurality. It is inserted after the first consonant of a consonant-initial stem or prefix, or occurs before a vowel-initial stem.

73. *Ong*-Ø$_1$-ANDAI   ikoji.
    Plur-AF-GOOD   we (Ex) (Piv)
    'We are all well.'

In 73 the morpheme *ong-* occurs on the stative verb **andai* 'be good' to give the meaning 'all are good/well'.

4.8 -*an*$_4$ restrictive derivational suffix

The morpheme -*an*$_4$ is a restrictive derivational affix, that is, one which changes the meaning of the verb but does not change the classification of the verb. (The suffixes -*an*$_1$, -*an*$_2$, and -*an*$_3$ are focus suffixes which are dealt with in 3.4.3, 3.4.5 and 3.4.7.) The suffix -*an*$_4$ acts on a restricted set of roots to produce new stems that can be inflected and can take other derivational affixes.

Examples with subject focus:

74a   MoNIRUvan (m-poN$_1$-TIRU-*an*$_4$)   ialo   dikau   bala.
      AF-Inten-COPY-*Res*   he (Piv)   you (Sg)   Emph
      'He is the one after all that will copy you.'

74b   RumAATan (um-RAAT-*an*$_4$)   isido.
      (Intr)-BAD-*Res*   he
      'He is getting angry.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

74c KURUPISIono-po (KURUPISI-*an*$_4$-o) ilo karatas!
CRUMPLE-*Res*-UF-NCompM that (Piv) paper
'Let that paper be crumpled up!'

74d Gaam nogi do pononSOVOonon (ponoN-SAVO-*an*$_4$-on$_1$) too.
better also that Ass-SPOUSE-*Res*-UF really
'It would be better also that he be made to get married really.'
(See also 45f)

Examples with referent focus:

74e SOKSIanai (SAKSI-*an*$_4$-ai$_1$) oku-no!
BEAR-WITNESS-*Res*-RF I (Piv)-CompM
'Let me be born witness for by you!'

74f Siou, owo, n-o-SUNSURI-*an*$_4$-an$_1$-ku ikau!
sorry friend Comp-NInten-GO-BACKWARD-*Res*-RF-I you (Sg) (Piv)
'Sorry, friend, you were pushed backward by me!'

In 74a the suffix *-an* is added to the activity verb ****tiru*** 'to copy an action' to change it to mean 'to copy a person'. In 74b it is added to the stative ****raat*** 'bad' to change it to 'angry'. In 74c it is added to the activity verb ****kurupisi*** 'crumple' with no apparent change in meaning. In 74d it is added to a noun *savo* 'spouse' to form a complex change of state verb. (Any verbal affixation added to the stem *savo* forms a complex change of state verb. There does not seem to be any special change in meaning with the addition of *-an*.) In 74e and f it is added to the activity verbs ****saksi*** and ****sunsuri*** with no apparent change in meaning except that the meaning is augmented in some way.

4.9 Attitudinal marker: *to-* exasperation

The prefix *to-* is an attitudinal marker which expresses exasperation with whatever circumstances are expressed in the root. It occurs in non-completive aspect only and when it occurs in actor focus it always seems to co-occur with iterative.

Examples with actor focus:

75a Inombo-no dii Ø$_1$-*to*-ri-RIKOT diti?
where (Piv)-CompM Emph AF-*Exas*-Iter-ARRIVE/REACH this
'How can that be enough?' (lit. 'reach' (implied) 'the right amount')
Or 'How will I ever reach there in time?'

75b Onu-no dii Ø$_1$-*to*-ongoi-ONGOI diti?
what (Piv)-CompM Emph AF-*Exas*-Iter-GO this
'Where else can I go (to find work)?'

Example with undergoer focus:

75c Onu *to*-OVIT-on$_1$-nu do mampanau?
what (Piv) *Exas*-CARRY/BRING-UF-you (Sg) that walk
'What things are you taking when you set off?'

In 75a and b the morpheme *to-* occurs with the intransitive activity verbs **rikot* 'arrive' and *ongoi* 'go' respectively in actor focus iterative aspect. In 75c it occurs with undergoer focus with the transitive activity verb **ovit* 'bring'.

4.10 Subordinate clause markers

In Kadazan there are two affixes which are rather unusual in that they do not affect the meaning of the verb, but are syntax markers, acting as subordinate clause markers. The subordinate clause occurs first in the sentence, and has either the marker *pog*$_3$- 'as soon as' with the verb in undergoer focus or the marker *ko*$_5$- 'when' with the verb in either actor or undergoer focus.

4.10.1 *pog*$_3$- immediacy

The prefix *pog*$_3$- 'immediacy' means 'as soon as'. It is morphologically non-distinct from *pog*$_2$-, but is separated from it semantically. *pog*$_3$- only occurs with undergoer focus and takes the *-Ø* undergoer focus morpheme. With additional data it may also prove to be distinct from *pog*$_2$- based on whether *pog*$_2$- responds to undergoer focus as *pog*$_3$- does.

76a *Pog*$_3$-TINGAA-Ø-ku naantangan-ku 'Rumah-Sakit Ranau'.
Imm-LOOK-UP-UF-I see-I hospital Ranau
'As soon as I looked up I saw "Ranau Hospital"'.

76b *Pog*$_3$-SUAT-Ø isido, nga ilo-no dii.
Imm-GET-HIT/UNDERGO-UF he (Piv) then that-CompM Emph
'As soon as he was hit, then that was that.'

In 76a the morpheme *pog*$_3$- is added to the intransitive activity verb *tingaa* 'look up' to form a subordinate clause. Similarly, in 76b it is added to the stative verb *suat* 'suffer/undergo' to form a subordinate clause.

4.10.2 *ko*$_5$- 'when'

The prefix *ko*$_5$-, meaning 'when', occurs in a subordinate clause to indicate temporal succession. It occurs with the focus appropriate for the context. When no overt pivot appears the pivot can be recovered from the context.

77a Jadi kaSABUT-i (*ko*$_5$-SABUT) auso-no dii dogon
so *when*-EXTRACT-Emph none-CompM Emph my

toruol gia.
illness Emph
'So when (they) pulled it out, I did not have any more pain.'

Example with undergoer focus:

77b Na kaAKANon-no (*ko*$_5$-AKAN-on$_1$) iri, "Mongintong
then *when*-EAT-UF-CompM that (Piv) look

kopou gia sino pipinsuk", ka-dino di moloingon.
you (Pl-NCompM) Emph LocM corner say-that Mk parent
'Then when (the food) had been eaten, the father said, "You go and look in the corner".'

In 77a the morpheme *ko*$_5$- is added to the activity verb **sabut* 'extract' in actor focus to form a subordinate clause. In 77b it is added to the activity verb **akan* 'eat' in undergoer focus to form the subordinate clause.

4.11 Conclusion

In this chapter the prefixes, infixes and suffixes of Kadazan have been introduced except for those of focus and completive aspect which were dealt with in Chapter 3. There are several types of affixation: inflectional, derivational, attitudinal and syntactic. There are also some affixes that do not fit any recognised category. More examples of these will be found in Chapter 6.

Kadazan is a 'polysynthetic' (Sapir 1951) or agglutinating language which tends to incorporate multiple morphemes in a word. Not only are inflectional and derivational affixes found on the verb root, but the verb also attracts other types of morphemes to it, such as attitudinal and subordinate clause markers, in the form of affixes. This drift towards closer combinations of morphemes culminates in vowel harmony which knits the verb phrase together. Vowel harmony is not evident in the non-Kadazan languages of Sabah, and even in related dialects of Kadazan it is not as strongly evident as in Eastern Kadazan.

Chapter 5

COMBINATORIAL POSSIBILITIES FOR DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

5. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the combinations of derivational affixes will be exemplified. There are large numbers of combinatorial possibilities for derivational affixation. In order to help simplify the discussion for the reader this chapter will be divided into eight classes following Dowty's semantic classes. Where an affix combination being illustrated can co-occur with completive aspect, the example will be in completive aspect. Otherwise non-completive aspect will be used.

5.1 Stative verbs

There are four categories of stative verbs included in Dowty's classification in Table 3, Chapter 2, two of which are non-agentive and two are agentive. Each of these categories may be further subdivided into kinds of stative verbs. The non-agentive verbs can be divided into at least nine categories: condition state verbs such as *good, dumb* (what are traditionally called adjectives, but in Kadazan, as well as other languages, act like verbs); cognition states such as *know, forget;* location states such as *be behind, be in front;* perception states such as *hear, see;* possession states such as *have;* psychological states such as *fear;* and question words, nouns and numerals that can be verbalised.

There are no occurrences of stative verbs in ablative focus.

5.1.1 Stative, non-agentive verbs

There are five affixes that co-occur with others on stative, non-agentive verbs: non-intentive, aptative, equal distribution, diminutive and augmentative$_2$.

5.1.1.1 *ko*$_2$-/*o*- non-intentive

Non-intentive as noted above occurs with stative non-agentive verbs. Stative verbs include condition states, such as *good, bad,* etc. as well as other stative verbs.

Example with actor focus:

78a	No-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-ku-KURO	ialo	do	matab-katab	mampanau?
	Comp-AF-*NInten*-Iter-WHY	he (Piv)	that	slap-one's-feet	walk

'Why does he keep slapping his feet as he walks along?'

Examples with undergoer focus:

78b	Nokotot-no	ma	iti	auso
	full	Dou	this (Piv)	none (Piv)

n-*o*-po$_1$-RURAN-Ø	gia.
Comp-NInten-Caus-SPACE-TO-PUT-IN-UF	Emph

'This seems quite full, there is no room for anything to be put in.'

78c	NoimPURU (n-*o*-iN$_3$-PURU-Ø)	iti	Sabah.
	Comp-*NInten*-Vb-ISLAND-UF	this (Piv)	Sabah

'This Sabah is on an island.'
(See also 51b)

Examples with referent focus:

78d	N-*o*-TIJAN-an$_1$	ialo.
	Comp-*NInten*-ABDOMEN-RF	she (Piv)

'She was made pregnant by adultery.'

78e	NopiOliLINGan-ku (n-*o*-pi-li-OLING-an$_1$).
	Comp-*NInten*-DuRec-Iter-FORGET-RF-I

'I kept forgetting about it.'

Example with directional focus:

78f	Onggo	pantok	noingKOKOTon-nu (n-*o*-iN$_1$-KAKAT-on$_2$)	batoi
	where (Piv)	place	Comp-*NInten*-Cont-LIFT-DF-you (Sg)	Inter

do	au	noilaan	i	barang	tumatak?
that	not	know	PivM	things	lose

'Where were you standing that you don't know where the things got lost?'
(See also 24p)

In sentence 78a non-intentive mode co-occurs with completive aspect in actor focus on the stative question verb ****kuro*** 'why'.

Examples 78b and c are in undergoer focus. In 78b the condition state ****ruran*** 'have space to put in', co-occurs with completive aspect and causative. In 78c non-intentive co-occurs with the verbaliser *iN*$_3$- on the nominal root *puru* 'island'.

Examples 78d and e are both in referent focus. In 78d non-intentive co-occurs with completive on the noun root *tijan* 'abdomen'. Here there is no verbaliser, and non-intentive mode has the dual function of changing the class of the noun to a verb and also making it non-agentive. (See example 83a for the intentive mode counterpart of this sentence.) In 78e non-intentive co-occurs with dual reciprocal and iterative on the cognitive state verb ****oling*** 'forget'.

In 78f non-intentive co-occurs with completive and continuative in directional focus on the accomplishment verb ****kakat*** 'lift'. The addition of continuative changes the meaning to 'stand' and the addition of non-intentive forms a stative verb.

5.1.1.2 *ko*$_3$- aptative

Aptative seems to co-occur only with the verbaliser *iN*$_3$- which verbalises numeral roots to form stative verbs.

79. KumoinTOLU (-um-*ko*$_3$-iN$_3$-TOLU) om au-no dii lumingos.
AF-(Intr)-*Apt*-Vb-THREE and not-CompM Emph heal
'After three times, then they did not shrink (lit. get better) any more (of breasts).'
(See also 28b)

In 79 aptative co-occurs with the verbaliser and intransitive morpheme on the numeral root *tolu* 'three' in non-completive aspect.

5.1.1.3 *toro-* equal distribution

The morpheme *toro-* 'equal distribution' means that something is divided up equally. It can occur only in non-completive aspect.

Example with actor focus:

80a Mosti do tambaan do raa sampai toroinTOLU (*toro*-iN$_3$-TOLU)
must Lig add Mk blood until *EqDist*-Vb-THREE

tambaai do raa sangadau.
add Mk blood one-day
'She must be given blood, up to three times in one day she is given blood.'

Example with undergoer focus:

80b ToroipiIPIjon (*toro*-ipi-IPI-on$_1$) isido.
EqDist-Iter-DREAM-UF he (Piv)
'He has several short dreams.'

In 80a equal distribution occurs with actor focus on the numeral root *tolu* 'three' which has been verbalised by the affix *iN*$_3$-. In 80b it occurs in undergoer focus with iterative on the stative verb **ipi* 'dream'.

5.1.1.4 *soN*$_2$- diminutive

When diminutive occurs on stative roots it co-occurs with iterative only.

81a SongongONGGOM (Ø$_1$-*soN*$_2$-ong-ONGGOM) i parai.
AF-*Dim*-Iter-HOLD-IN-HAND PivM rice
'The rice is only a handful.'

81b SangkaKAA (Ø$_1$-*soN*$_2$-ka-KAA) nitaak dogon, odoot ialo.
AF-*Dim*-Iter-GO/BE LIKE give me stingy he
'He gave me a (small) amount like this, he is stingy.'

In 81a and b diminutive occurs with actor focus on the stative verbs **onggom* 'hold in the hand' and *kaa* 'go, be like'.

5.1.1.5 *ku-* augmentative$_2$

The occurrence of augmentative$_2$ on the stative root **kuro* 'why' could be interpreted as reduplication rather than as an affix. The reason it has been interpreted as an affix is because of the meaning of the sentences, and also because in the second example there are two occurrences of the morpheme *ku*-. Since there are no other known occurrences of reduplication that occurs twice the *ku*- has been taken as the affix *ku*- with reduplication of the affix which itself indicates a type of augmentation.

82a KumuKURO-po (-um-*ku*-KURO) dii?
AF-(Intr)-*Aug*$_2$-WHAT/HOW-NCompM Emph
'What can be done about it?'
(or 'How can anything be done about it?)

82b KumukuKURO (-um-ku-*ku*-KURO) oku diti?
AF-(Intr)-Aug$_1$-*Aug*$_2$-WHAT/HOW I (Piv) this
'Whatever am I going to do?'

In 82a augmentative co-occurs with the intransitive morpheme on the question stative verb *kuro* 'why'. In 82b it co-occurs with intransitive and the reduplication of the prefix adds further augmentation on the same stem.

5.1.2 Stative, agentive verbs

Stative agentive verbs are mainly the same roots as the non-agentive statives, but they take an agent. There are five affixes that co-occur with other affixes on agentive stative verbs: intentive, causative, middle, pretend and the agentiviser iN$_2$-.

5.1.2.1 *poN*$_1$- intentive

As mentioned above in section 4.2.1 intentive mode is agentive and some statives can take the intentive mode.

Examples in actor focus:

83a MinomonTIJAN (in-m-*poN*$_1$-poN$_2$-TIJAN) i tondu.
Comp-AF-*Inten*-Clar-ABDOMEN PivM woman
'The woman was pregnant.'
(Pregnancy out of wedlock uses *tijan* with non-intentive mode affixation.)

83b MomirODOP (m-*poN*$_1$-pir-ODOP) isido.
AF-*Inten*-Perc$_1$-SLEEP he (Piv)
'He walks in his sleep.'

Examples 83a and b are both in actor focus. In 83a intentive co-occurs with clarification on the noun root *tijan* 'abdomen'. The intentive mode has a dual function here of verbalising the noun as well as making it agentive. (See the non-agentive counterpart example in 78d.) In 83b intentive co-occurs with perceptual on the stative verb *odop* 'sleep'.

5.1.2.2 *po*$_1$- causative

Causative voice *po*$_1$- is a class-changing morpheme and implies agency as well as adding one argument, the causee, to the verb.

84. PokoRUALan (*po*$_1$-ko$_4$-RUOL-an$_1$) oku disido do tinangaran.
Caus-Aug$_3$-PAIN-RF I (Piv) his Mk words
'I had a curse put on me (lit. I was made sore by his words).'

In 84 causative co-occurs with augmentative$_3$ on the stative verb **ruol* 'pain' in referent focus.

5.1.2.3 *pog*$_1$- middle

Middle voice *pog*$_1$- is a class-changing morpheme which may add agency to an inherently non-agentive stem.

85. MinogpoPORI (in-m-*pog*$_1$-po-PORI) ialo.
Comp-AF-*Mid*-Iter-INDIVIDUAL he (Piv)
'He tried to be independent.'

In 85 middle voice co-occurs with iterative and verbalises the noun **pori* 'individual'.

5.1.2.4 *mosiN*- dissimulation

The morpheme *mosiN*- 'dissimulation' is a class-changing morpheme which adds agency to stative roots. It always co-occurs with iterative in non-completive aspect.

86. MosingkoboBOBOU (m-*posiN*-ko$_4$-bo-BOBOU) ialo.
AF-*Diss*-Aug$_3$-Iter-DUMB he (Piv)
'He is pretending he cannot speak.'

In 86 dissimulation co-occurs with augmentative$_3$ and iterative on the stative verb **bobou* 'dumb'.

5.1.2.5 *iN*$_2$- agentiviser

The agentiviser *iN*$_2$- adds an agent to psychological and other stative verbs.

87. IndoROSIjan-ku (*iN*$_2$-ro-ROSI-an$_1$) ika.
Ag-Iter-AFRAID/SCARE-RF-I you (Sg) (Piv)
'You will be scared (or you will be made afraid) by me.'

In 87 the agentiviser *iN*$_2$- co-occurs with iterative on the psychological state verb **rosi* 'fear, afraid' to form an agentive verb.

5.2 Activity verbs

There are two types of activity verbs, agentive and non-agentive.

5.2.1 Activity, non-agentive verbs

Non-agentive activity verbs are those which are inherently activity verbs, such as *roll*, or *fall*, which have no agent. Other verbs may be inherently agentive, but by the addition of non-intentive affixation the entity that does the action becomes an effector rather than an agent. Non-intentive, aptative and multiple serial distribution co-occur with other affixation on non-agentive activity verbs.

There are no occurrences of ablative focus with non-agentive activity verbs.

5.2.1.1 *ko*$_2$- non-intentive

Non-intentive mode is class-changing for verbs that are inherently agentive, but class-maintaining for inherently non-agentive verbs. One of the functions of non-intentive seems to be for asking questions, perhaps as a form of politeness (see 88f, h, n and q).

Examples in actor focus:

88a No-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-pi-DAMOT iolo mampanau.
Comp-AF-*NInten*-DuRec-DO-AT-ONE-TIME they (Piv) walk
'They happened to set off at the same time.'

88b NokopingULI-no (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-piN-ULI) dii.
Comp-AF-*NInten*-UnDist-RETURN-HOME-CompM Emph
'(It happened that) they have all gone to their respective homes.'

88c No-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-ti-LOMBUS i soro
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Unna-GO-ON/THROUGH PivM person

sii tana.
LocM ground
'The person fell accidentally right through to the ground.'

88d NokoingangARAN (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-iN$_1$-ang-ARAN) oku-no.
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Cont-Iter-EAT (polite) I (Piv)-CompM
'I happen to have eaten already.'

88e NakapagALAI-no (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-pog$_1$-ALAI) ialo.
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Mid-DANCE (a men's dance)-CompM he (Piv)
'He happened to dance.'

88f No-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-poki-UBAT konou dii?
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Pet-MEDICINE you (Pl-CompM) (Piv) Emph
'Did you happen to ask for medicine?'

88g NokopomuNGARIT (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-poN$_2$-pu-NGARIT).
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Clar-Pro-GRIND-ONE'S-TEETH
'He unintentionally ground his teeth.'

88h NokopongkoLIU (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-poN$_2$-ko$_4$-LIU) ko-po
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Clar-Aug$_3$-CHASE-AFTER you (Sg) (Piv)-NCompM

di karabau?
Mk water-buffalo
'Did you happen to chase after the water-buffalo?'

88i NokopomoGOMOS (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-poN$_2$-po$_2$-GOMOS)
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Clar-Caus-SQUEEZE-WITH-THE-HAND

oku-no di linutau supaya apaga iri paa disido.
I(Piv)-CompM Mk solids so-that squeeze that juice his
'I happened to squeeze the solids at the bottom of the beer in order to squeeze the juice out of it.'

88j NokopisinloLONGOI-no (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-pi-siN-lo-LONGOI).
Comp-AF-*NInten*-DuRec-NSer$_1$-Iter-SING-CompM
'He already happened to sing it.'

88k No-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-pi-ko$_4$-LIPUT iolo.
Comp-AF-*NInten*-DuRec-Aug$_3$-GO-AROUND they (Piv)
'They went round and round in circles.'

88l NakapananSABUNG-no (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-ponoN-SABUNG) ialo.
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Ass-SHIRT-CompM he (Piv)
'He has gotten dressed already.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

88m NopoisusungGAMIT (n-*o*-poi-su-suN-GAMIT-Ø) i sorita.
Comp-*NInten*-MulRec-Aug$_1$-Purp-CATCH-UF PivM story
'The story has happened to be passed from one language or place to another.'

88n Onu nopoNINSIB-nu (n-*o*-poN$_2$-SINSIB-Ø)?
what (Piv) Comp-*NInten*-Clar-SLICE-UF-you (Sg)
'What did you slice?'

88o ObingOGOM (*o*-biN-OGOM-Ø) isido.
NInten-Hab-SIT-UF he
'He is always sitting down to no purpose (i.e. getting up and sitting down again).'
(See also 57b)

Examples with referent focus:

88p N-*o*-pog$_2$-BAYA-an$_1$ do tulun manakau.
Comp-*NInten*-AssCol-IGNORE-SOMEONE-RF Mk person steal
'(The owner) was ignored by the person who stole the things freely.'

88q NopoNUTUvan-nu-no (n-*o*-poN$_2$-TUTU-an$_1$) ilo
Comp-*NInten*-Clar-POUND-RICE-RF-you(Sg)-CompM that (Piv)

tosung-nu?
mortar-your(Sg)
'That mortar of yours, have you pounded in it yet?'

88r NoingGAJAan-no (n-*o*-iN$_1$-GAJO-an$_1$) iri.
Comp-*NInten*-Cont-BIG-RF-CompM that (Piv)
'That has got bigger and bigger (of a tear or a pregnant abdomen).'

Example with accessory focus:

88s NokopongUGAR-ku (no-Ø$_2$-*ko*$_2$-poN$_2$-UGAR) iri gampa
Comp-AcF-*NInten*-Clar-DIG-I that (Piv) bush-knife

koniab.
yesterday
'I used that bush-knife to dig with yesterday.'

Examples with temporal focus:

88t Sominggu-no no-*ko*$_2$-pog$_1$-IUM-an$_2$-ja
one-week (Piv)-CompM Comp-*NInten*-Mid-LOOK-FOR-TF-we(Ex)

di tanganak.
Mk child
'It was for a week that the child was searched for by us.'

88u Sombulan-no nokopoNGURIan (no-*ko*$_2$-poN$_2$-KURI-an$_2$)
one-month(Piv)-CompM Comp-*NInten*-Clar-WORK-TF

dialo di dumo.
he Mk field
'It was for a month his field was worked in by him.'

Examples 88a-l are all in actor focus and in all cases non-intentive co-occurs with completive aspect. In 88a non-intentive co-occurs with dual reciprocal on the activity verb **damot* 'do at one time'. In 88b it co-occurs with unequal distribution on the inherently agentive activity verb *uli* 'return home' to cancel the agency of the verb. In 88c non-intentive co-occurs with unnatural on the inherently agentive activity verb *lombus* 'go on, go through' to indicate the accidental nature of the action. In 88d non-intentive co-occurs with continuative and iterative on the activity verb **aran* 'eat (polite)'. The occurrence of non-intentive probably adds to the politeness by indicating that the person did not intentionally want to refuse an invitation but they happened to have already eaten. In 88e non-intentive co-occurs with middle voice on the activity verb **alai* 'dance'. In 88f non-intentive co-occurs with petitive on the noun stem *ubat* 'medicine'. In this case *poki-* acts as a class-changing morpheme to change the noun into an agentive activity verb. In 88g non-intentive co-occurs with clarification and production on the inherently non-agentive activity verb **ngarit* 'grind one's teeth'. In 88h non-intentive co-occurs with clarification and augmentative$_3$ on the inherently agentive activity verb **liu* 'chase'. In 88i non-intentive co-occurs with clarification and causative on the inherently agentive accomplishment verb **gomos* 'squeeze'. In 88j non-intentive co-occurs with dual reciprocal, non-serious and iterative on the activity verb **longoi* 'sing'. In 88k non-intentive co-occurs with dual reciprocal and augmentative$_3$ on the inherently agentive activity verb *liput* 'go around'. In 88l non-intentive co-occurs with associative on the noun stem *sabung* 'shirt'. Associative acts as a verbaliser to produce an agentive activity verb.

Examples 88m-o occur with undergoer focus. In 88m non-intentive co-occurs with multiple reciprocal, augmentative$_1$ and purposeful repetition in completive aspect on the inherently agentive accomplishment verb **gamit* 'catch'. In 88n non-intentive co-occurs with completive aspect and clarification on the inherently agentive activity verb **sinsib* 'slice'. In 88o non-intentive co-occurs with habitual in non-completive aspect on the inherently agentive activity verb *ogom* 'sit down' to show that the action was without purpose.

Examples 88p to r all take completive aspect in referent focus. In 88p non-intentive co-occurs with associative collective on the activity verb **baya* 'ignore someone'. In 88q it co-occurs with clarification on the inherently agentive activity verb **tutu* 'pound rice'. In 88r it co-occurs with continuative on the condition state **gajo* 'be big'.

In 88s non-intentive co-occurs with clarification and completive aspect in accessory focus on the inherently agentive activity verb **ugar* 'dig'.

Examples 88t and 88u both occur with completive aspect in temporal focus. In 88t non-intentive co-occurs with middle voice on the inherently agentive activity verb **ium* 'look for'. In 88u it co-occurs with clarification on the inherently agentive activity verb **kuri* 'work'.

5.2.1.2 *ko*$_3$- aptative

Aptative occurs on activity verbs to express the ability to perform the action inherent in the root. The actor becomes an effector rather than an agent.

Examples with actor focus:

89a Ø1-*ko*$_3$-poi-ro-ROMUT tokou sodi suruga.
AF-*Apt*-MulRec-Iter-MEET we (In) (Piv) LocM heaven
'We will all be able to meet each other in heaven.'

89b Nokuro ma ikoi do au kopongIDU (Ø$_1$-*ko*$_3$-poN$_2$-IDU)
why Dou we(Ex) (Piv) that not AF-*Apt*-Clar-RUN-AWAY

di rogon?
Mk demon
'Why is it that we cannot chase out the demon?'

89c Ada sakaai tandang kumoRINGGID (-um-*ko*$_3$-RINGGID).
don't get-up-on gunwhale AF-(Intr)-*Apt*-TIP
'Don't get up on the gunwhale, it will tip.'

89d Ada-ko kobinTANGKAR (Ø-*ko*$_3$-biN-TANGKAR).
don't-you (Sg) (Piv) AF-*Apt*-Hab-ARGUE/BARGAIN
'Don't you always argue.'

Example with referent focus:

89e Onu kopingGULIan-nu (*ko*$_3$-piN-GULI-an$_1$) dino do
what (Piv) *Apt*-UnDist-RETURN/REPEAT-RF-you (Sg) that for

au-no moo?
not-CompM want
'What is the use of you returning again and again, for he doesn't want it?'

Examples with temporal focus:

89f KinopoOSUKan-ku (in-*ko*$_3$-po$_1$-ASUK-an$_2$) dii iri bulan-satu.
Comp-*Apt*-Caus-ENTER-TF-I Emph that (Piv) January
'It was January that I was able to start work.'

89g Sominggu kinopogIUMan-ja (in-*ko*$_3$-pog$_1$-IUM-an$_2$) di tanak.
one-week (Piv) Comp-*Apt*-Mid-LOOK-FOR-TF-we (Ex) Mk child
'It's a week since we began to look for the child.'

89h ... sampai orikot kopongOPILan (*ko*$_3$-poN$_2$-APIL-an$_2$) dogo.
until arrive/reach *Apt*-Clar-DEFEND-TF me
'... until the time arrives that I will be defended by someone.'

Examples 89a to 89d all occur in non-completive aspect with actor focus. In 89a aptative co-occurs with multiple reciprocal and iterative on the non-agentive activity verb **romut* 'meet'. In 89b it co-occurs with clarification on the inherently agentive activity verb **idu* 'run away, chase away'. In 89c aptative co-occurs with the intransitive morpheme on an inherently non-agentive activity verb **ringgid* 'tip'. In 89d aptative co-occurs with habitual on the activity verb **tangkar* 'argue/bargain'.

In 89e aptative co-occurs in non-completive aspect with unequal distribution in referent focus on the inherently agentive activity verb *guli* 'return'.

Examples 89f to h all occur in temporal focus and 89f and 89g are in completive aspect while 89h is in non-completive aspect. In 89f aptative co-occurs with causative on the inherently agentive activity verb **asuk* 'enter'. In 89g aptative co-occurs with middle voice on the inherently agentive activity verb **ium* 'look for'. In 89h aptative co-occurs with clarification on the inherently agentive activity verb **apil* 'defend in court'.

5.2.1.3 *piriN*- multiple serial distribution

Multiple serial distribution means that several things happen one after another. It only co-occurs with iterative.

90. Miringopung-OPUNG (M-*piriN*-opung-OPUNG) iri barang-jo.
AF-*MulSer*-Iter-LEAVE-BEHIND those (Piv) things-his
'His things keep dropping every step as he goes.'

In example 90 multiple serial distribution co-occurs with iterative in actor focus on the verb **opung* 'leave behind' which could be either agentive or non-agentive.

5.2.2 Activity, agentive verbs

Agentive activity verbs express an action or motion. An agent does something or moves something. The verb may be inherently non-agentive and take affixation which requires an agent. There are nine affixes co-occurring with other affixes on agentive activity verbs: intentive, causative, middle voice, two types of distributive, comitative, petitive, associative and unnatural.

5.2.2.1 *poN*$_1$- intentive

The intentive mode occurs with transitive stems to indicate the agency of the entity doing the action. In non-actor focuses the *Ø*- allomorph of intentive mode co-occurs with completive and iterative aspects. The allomorph *poN*$_1$- co-occurs with all other affixation.

Examples with actor focus:

91a MonginginSADA-no (m-poN_1-iN$_1$-iN$_3$-SADA) ialo.
AF-*Inten*-Cont-Vb-FISH-CompM he (Piv)
'He just keeps on catching fish (and intentionally neglecting his work).'

91b MongintoTORI (m-poN_1-iN$_1$-to-TORI) isido.
AF-*Inten*-Cont-Iter-SPEAK-EVIL-OF he
'He keeps on speaking evil of (people).'

91c Ada kou monoroISO (m-poN_1-toro-ISO) nong
don't you (Pl) (Piv) AF-*Inten*-EqDist-ONE if

mongoi-no sumikul.
go-CompM to-be-in-school
'Don't you go (intentionally) one by one if you go to school.'

91d MinamaRAMPUK (in-m-poN_1-po$_1$-RAMPUK) i Lintagu
Comp-AF-*Inten*-Caus-BURGLE pivM Ogre

iri di Koliwai.
that Mk Koliwai
'The Ogre burgled Koliwai's place.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

91e PompisomPUTULon (poN_1-pi-soN$_2$-PUTUL-on$_1$) magansak.
Inten-DuRec-Dim-CUT-OFF-AN-END-UF cook
'She is cooking at both ends of the stove at the same time.'

91f PompingGOGORon (poN_1-piN-GOGOR-on$_1$) di langu
Inten-UnDist-SHAKE-UF Mk brother-in-law

ilo stiring.
that (Piv) steering-wheel
'That steering-wheel was shaken (on purpose) by my brother-in-law.'

91g Ø$_4$-runtuk-RUNTUK-on$_1$ bakai dialo ilo tandang do talud.
(Inten)-Iter-CHOP-UF contra he that (Piv) gunwhale Mk boat
'The gunwhale of the boat is so being chopped at (and spoiled) by him.'

Examples with referent focus:

91h PonginTARAJan-nu (poN_1-iN$_2$-TARAI-an$_1$) dikau
Inten-Ag-TRY-RF-you (Sg) you (Sg)

ino do rumosi ko gia do akala.
that (Piv) because afraid you (Sg) Emph that defeat
'That is your way of purposely trying (to answer back) because you are afraid of being defeated.'

91i Onu ilo Ø$_4$-pu-PURUN-an$_1$ diolo dilo?
what that (Piv) *(Inten)*-Iter-GATHER-RF they those
'What is it that they are gathering for?'

Example with accessory focus:

91j I$_1$-Ø$_4$-ada-ADA dialo ilo tanak.
AcF-*(Inten)*-Iter-IGNORE/DIVORCE he that (Piv) child
'That child is being purposely ignored by him.'

Examples 91a to d all occur in actor focus, 91a to 91c are in non-completive aspect and 91d is in completive aspect. In 91a intentive co-occurs with continuative and the verbaliser *iN*$_3$- on the noun *sada* 'fish'. In 91b intentive co-occurs with iterative and continuative on the activity verb **tori* 'speak evil of'. In 91c intentive co-occurs with equal distribution on the numeral root *iso* 'one'. In this case the equal distribution morpheme verbalises the numeral. In 91d intentive co-occurs with causative on the inherently agentive activity verb **rampuk* 'burgle'.

Examples 91e to 91g are in non-completive aspect with undergoer focus. In 91e intentive co-occurs with dual reciprocal and diminutive on the inherently agentive accomplishment verb **putul* 'cut an end off'. The dimunutive morpheme is a class-changing morpheme which nominalises the stem to mean 'the end cut off'. Intentive mode then verbalises the stem. In 91f intentive co-occurs with unequal distribution on the activity verb **gogor* 'shake' which can be either intentive or non-intentive. In 91g intentive co-occurs with iterative on the activity verb **runtuk* 'chop'.

Examples 91h to 91i are both in non-completive aspect with referent focus. In 91h intentive co-occurs with the agentiviser on the activity verb **tarai* 'try'. In 91i it co-occurs with iterative on the inherently agentive activity verb **purun* 'gather'.

In 91j intentive mode co-occurs with iterative in accessory focus on the activity verb **ada* 'ignore, divorce'.

5.2.2.2 *po*$_1$- causative

The causative morpheme occurs with agentive activity verbs to indicate that the action being done is caused by the agent. It may be performed by him or the causee may be the one who performs the action expressed by the root.

Examples with undergoer focus:

92a PinopoiODU (in-*po*$_1$-poi-ODU-Ø) dialo ilo tanganak.
Comp-*Caus*-MulRec-QUARREL-UF he those (Piv) children
'He made those children quarrel with each other.'

92b PopiANDAAwon (*po*$_1$-pi-ANDAA-on$_1$) oku diolo.
Caus-DuRec-VISIT-UF I (Piv) they
'I will be introduced (lit. caused to visit) to them (by them).'

92c Mangan *po*$_1$-pi-ko-KOPOR-o$_1$ diri sii savat.
do *Caus*-DuRec-Iter-SHAKE-UF that LocM above
'It (e.g. a rope) is caused to be shaken back and forth by the one up above.'
(See also 27r)

92d Miinggijak isido om popingKOPORon (*po*$_1$-piN-KOPOR-on$_1$)
call-out he and *Caus*-UnDist-SHAKE-UF

di rogon.
Mk demon
'He keeps screaming again and again and being shaken by the demon.'

92e PoSUNSURIonon-ku (*po*$_1$-SUNSURI-an$_4$-on$_1$) i korita.
Caus-GO-BACKWARDS-Res-UF-I PivM vehicle
'The car will be caused to go backwards by me.'

92f Rumosi oku do *po*-ko$_4$-VUDUT-on$_1$.
afraid I that *Caus*-Aug$_3$-LIE-UF
'I am afraid of telling a lie.'

Examples in referent focus:

92g PinoimPASAGan (in-*po*$_1$-iN$_1$-PASAG-an$_1$) diolo ilo parai.
Comp-*Caus*-Cont-TRAMPLE-RF they that (Piv) rice
'That rice was caused to be trampled on by them.'

92h *Po*$_1$-ti-LOMBUS-ai$_1$-ku mongoi sii alun-alun.
Caus-Unna-GO-ON/THROUGH-RF-I go LocM road
'I went straight on to the road.'
(See also 27v)

Examples 92a to 92f are all in undergoer focus, 92a is in completive aspect and b-f are in non-completive aspect. In 92a causative co-occurs with multiple reciprocal on the inherently agentive activity verb **odu* 'quarrel'. In 92b causative co-occurs with dual reciprocal on the inherently agentive activity verb **andaa* 'visit'. In 92c it co-occurs with dual reciprocal and iterative on the activity verb **kopor* 'shake' to make it agentive. In 92d it co-occurs with unequal distribution on the same activity verb **kopor*. In 92e it co-occurs with the restrictive derivational affix on the activity verb **sunsuri* 'go backwards'. In 92f it co-occurs with augmentative$_3$ on the inherently agentive activity verb **vudut* 'lie'.

Examples 92g and h are both in referent focus. In 92g causative co-occurs with continuative in completive aspect on the inherently agentive activity verb **pasag* 'trample'. In 92h it co-occurs with unnatural on the inherently agentive activity verb *lombus* 'go on, go through'.

5.2.2.3 *pog*$_1$- middle voice

The middle voice occurs with agentive activity verbs to show that the actor acts in some way for himself.

Examples with actor focus:

93a Galango-no iri o, mogiliLIPUT (m-*pog*$_1$-ki-li-LIPUT)
horizontal-bar-CompM that Emph AF-*Mid*-Poss-Iter-GO-AROUND

dii.
Emph
'Let horizontal bars be put (there) to go all around that.'

93b MoguAPIT (m-*pog*$_1$-ku-APIT) iolo.
AF-*Mid*-Aug$_2$-STOP-BY they (Piv)
'They stopped off at many places for a visit.'

93c Ii, mogkoGUSA (m-*pog*$_1$-ko$_4$-GUSA) bang soiso kojuvan.
oh AF-*Mid*-Aug$_3$-CHASE if only-one (Piv) body
'Oh, it will really chase one, if there is only one person.'

93d MogogOVIT (m-*pog*$_1$-og-OVIT) oku.
AF-*Mid*-Iter-CARRY/BRING I (Piv)
'I carry it again and again.'

93e PogiNANGKUS-no (Ø$_1$-*pog*$_1$-iN$_1$-TANGKUS)!
(Per)-AF-*Mid*-Cont-RUN-CompM
'Run (at once)!'

All of the examples in 93 are in actor focus non-completive aspect. In 93a middle co-occurs with possessive and iterative on the inherently agentive activity verb **liput* 'go around'. In 93b it co-occurs with augmentative$_2$ on the inherently agentive activity verb **apit* 'stop by'. In 93c it co-occurs with augmentative$_3$ on the inherently agentive activity verb **gusa* 'chase'. In 93d middle co-occurs with iterative on the inherently agentive activity verb **ovit* 'bring'. In 93e it co-occurs with continuative on the inherently agentive activity verb **tangkus* 'run'.

5.2.2.4 *piN-* unequal distribution

The morpheme *piN-* 'unequal distribution' indicates that a variety of actions were done and may be repeated.

Examples with actor focus:

94a MiningkuboBOJO-ko (in-m-*piN*-ku-bo-BOJO) suuon dialo.
Comp-AF-*UnDist*-Aug$_2$-Iter-OBEY-you (Sg) (Piv) order he
'You have obeyed implicitly everything that he ordered.'

94b MintongkukuVORO (m-*piN*-toN-ku-ku-VORO) isido.
AF-*UnDist*-NSer$_2$-Aug$_1$-Aug$_2$-LOOK-TO-ONE-SIDE he (Piv)
'He keeps looking around as if about to do something but does nothing but look.'

Example with undergoer focus:

94c PinimvaVAAL (in-*piN*-va-VAAL-Ø) iri tongotangkawang.
Comp-*UnDist*-Iter-MAKE-UF those (Piv) dipterocarps
'All those dipterocarps were damaged (lit. had something done to them).'

Examples 94a and b are in actor focus. In 94a unequal distribution co-occurs with augmentative$_2$ and iterative in completive aspect on the activity verb **bojo* 'obey'. In 94b it co-occurs with non-serious$_2$ and also augmentative$_2$ which is reduplicated itself increasing the augmentation on the activity verb **voro* 'look to one side'.

In 94c unequal distribution co-occurs with iterative and completive aspect in undergoer focus on the accomplishment verb **vaal* 'make'.

5.2.2.5 *toro-* equal distribution

The morpheme *toro-* means that something is divided up equally. It is both a class-changing and a class-maintaining morpheme.

Example with actor focus:

95. Tarasangkakib-KAKIB (Ø$_1$-*toro*-soN$_2$-kakib-KAKIB).
AF-*EqDist*-Dim-Iter-BREAK-IN-PIECES
'(He) breaks it up in small pieces.'

In 95 equal distribution co-occurs with diminutive in actor focus on the accomplishment verb ***kakib** 'break in pieces' and acts as a class-changing morpheme to form an activity verb.

5.2.2.6 *kumi-* comitative

Comitative *kumi-* co-occurs with a limited number of affixes on both activity verbs and accomplishment verbs. Both examples below are in actor focus.

96a Au moilo Ø$_1$-*kumi*-ta-TANGAR dagai do au moilo
not know AF-*Com*-Iter-SPEAK us (Ex) because not know

do Malayu.
Mk Malay
'They don't know how to talk with us because they don't know how to speak Malay.'

96b Ø$_1$-*kumi*-som$_2$-PUTUL mangakat.
AF-*Com*-Dim-CUT-OFF-AN-END lift
'There is someone at each end lifting it.'

In 96a comitative co-occurs with iterative on the activity verb **tangar* 'to speak'. In 96b it co-occurs with diminutive on the inherently agentive accomplishment verb **putul* 'cut off an end'. Diminutive functions as a nominaliser here to give the meaning 'one end'. Comitative acts as a class-changing morpheme to verbalise the stem.

5.2.2.7 *poki-* petitive

The morpheme *poki-* 'petitive' can occur on both verbal and nominal stems. On nominal stems it acts as a class-changing morpheme to verbalise the stem. On verbal stems it can also act as a class-changing morpheme to change the verb stem class.

97a MinokisangANU (in-m-*poki*-soN$_2$-ANU) oku dialo.
Comp-AF-*Pet*-Dim-GET/TAKE I (Piv) him
'I asked him to get it for me.'

97b Nong mokitongKUYUNG-no (m-*poki*-toN-KUYUNG) soro ...
if AF-*Pet*-NSer$_2$-SING-WHEN-DRUNK-CompM they (Piv)
'If they are singing drinking songs when drunk ...'
(See also 54)

97c MokipoILO-ko (m-*poki*-po$_3$-ILO)?
AF-*Pet*-Caus-KNOW-you (Sg) (Piv)
'Are you wanting to find out (lit. asking to know)?'
(See also 63a)

In 97a-c all of the examples are in actor focus, 97a is in completive aspect and 97b and 97c are in non-completive aspect. In 97a petitive co-occurs with diminutive on the activity verb **anu* 'get'. In 97b it co-occurs with non-serious$_2$ on the activity verb **kuyung* 'sing when drunk'. In 97c petitive co-occurs with causative on the stative verb **ilo* 'know'. The causative morpheme adds agency to an inherently non-agentive stative verb and petitive forms an activity verb from a stative one.

5.2.2.8 *ponoN-* associative

Associative *ponoN-* co-occurs with a limited number of other affixes. Both examples are in actor focus.

98a MonongkuAVOR (m-*ponoN*-ku-AVOR) oku.
AF-*Ass*-Aug$_2$-FEEL-IN-THE-DARK I (Piv)
'I feel my way in the dark.'

98b Sinumuung isido monongkiODU (m-*ponoN*-ki-ODU).
go-to-look-for he (Piv) AF-*Ass*-Poss-QUARREL
'He went to look for a fight with someone.'
(See also 24c)

In 98a associative co-occurs with augmentative$_2$ on the activity verb **avor* 'feel in the dark'. In 98b it co-occurs with possessive on the inherently agentive activity verb **odu* 'quarrel'.

5.2.2.9 *ti-* unnatural

The morpheme *ti-* 'unnatural' can be preceded by a number of other affixes, but when it occurs first it co-occurs only with iterative. It is irregular in that the zero allomorph of undergoer focus occurs where *-on*$_1$ would be expected.

99. Onu *ti*-konos-KONOS-Ø-nu?
what (Piv) *Unna*-Iter-WHISPER-UF-you (Sg)
'What are you whispering about?'

In 99 unnatural co-occurs with iterative on the verb **konos* 'whisper' in undergoer focus.

5.3 Achievement verbs

Achievement verbs are non-agentive, single change of state verbs. There are three affixes that co-occur with other affixation on achievement verbs: intransitive, intentive and non-intentive. There are no occurrences of achievement verbs in accessory focus which is what one would predict.

5.3.1 Single change of state

There are two types of single change of state verbs: non-agentive and agentive. The non-agentive verbs are achievement verbs and agentive verbs are accomplishment verbs.

5.3.1.1 Single change of state, non-agentive verbs

Non-agentive single change of state verbs are those which have an inchoative meaning, that is 'become' or 'come to be'. For example, the word *enlarge* means 'become large', *realise* means 'come to know' and *ignite* means 'become burning'.

5.3.1.1.1 *-um-* intransitive

The intransitive morpheme *-um-* can occur with non-agentive verbs to express achievement. The pivot of the clause is an effector. The intransitive morpheme *-um-* is very productive as it has many functions, so an example is included where *-um-* occurs alone as well as where it co-occurs with other affixation.

100a TumUTUD (*um*-TUTUD) oku do sigup.
AF-*(Intr)*-LIGHT-A-FIRE I (Piv) Mk cigarette
'I will light my cigarette from yours.'

100b MinOMPILIT-pilit (in-*um*-OMPILIT-pilit).
Comp-AF-*(Intr)*-Iter-WIND-AROUND
'It wound itself around and around.'

In 100a the intransitive morpheme occurs on a root that appears to be transitive, but in fact is intransitive as the meaning shows. The phrase *do sigup* refers to the other person's cigarette, and a more literal translation might be, 'I will light up from (your) cigarette'. In 100b the intransitive allomorph *m-* co-occurs with completive aspect on the inherently non-agentive verb **ompilit* 'wind around'.

5.3.1.1.2 *poN*$_1$- intentive

The morpheme *poN*$_1$- which normally means 'intentive' occurs on some stative roots with non-animate pivots to change the meaning of the word. The *poN-* here may be intentive mode or it may be a homophone with a different meaning.

101a MonguDIOM (m-*poN*$_1$-ku-DIOM) ilo tavan.
AF-*Inten*-Aug$_2$-BLACK-RAIN-CLOUDS that (Piv) sky
'That sky is getting black.'
(*diom* can only occur with intentive mode in this sentence.)

101b Au minomuONSI (in-m-*poN*$_1$-pu-ONSI) i bajag-ku.
not Comp-AF-*Inten*-Pro-FLESH PivM sweet-potatoes-my
'My sweet potatoes didn't grow any flesh.'
(Implies that 'I planted them and waited a long time for them to grow flesh, but they didn't.')

Both 101a and b are in actor focus. In 101a the intentive mode co-occurs with augmentative$_2$ on the noun *diom* 'black rain clouds'. The augmentative morpheme acts as a verbaliser. In 101b it co-occurs with produce in completive aspect on the root **onsi* 'flesh'. The production morpheme *pu-* acts as a verbaliser. The intentive mode here seems to express intention on the part of the farmer, not of the sweet potatoes, though the sweet potatoes are the effector.

5.3.1.1.3 ***ko_2*- non-intentive**

The non-intentive morpheme *ko_2-* occurs on non-agentive roots or makes agentive roots non-agentive.

Examples in undergoes focus:

102a NopinSAPU (N-*o*-piN-SAPU-Ø) ngavi.
Comp-*NInten*-UnDist-WATER-ENTERS-A-HOUSE-UF all (Piv)
'They were all accidentally flooded.'

102b NopinsaSAVO (N-*o*-piN-sa-SAVO-Ø) i tongondu.
Comp-*NInten*-UnDist-Iter-SPOUSE-UF PivM women
'Each of the women (or all of the women) got married.'

Example in referent focus:

102c NoingGAJAan-no (n-*o*-iN_1-GAJO-an_1) iri.
Comp-*NInten*-Cont-BIG-RF-CompM that (Piv)
'That has been getting bigger (of a tear, or a pregnant abdomen).'

Examples 102a and b are in completive aspect with undergoer focus. In 102a non-intentive co-occurs with unequal distribution on the inherently non-agentive single change of state verb **sapu* 'water enters a house'. In 102b non-intentive co-occurs with unequal distribution and iterative on the noun root *savo* 'spouse'. When *savo* collocates with a male to form a verb then it takes intentive mode, but when it collocates with a female to form a verb it takes non-intentive mode. In 102c non-intentive co-occurs with continuative in referent focus on the condition state verb **gajo* 'be big'.

5.4 Accomplishment verbs

Accomplishment verbs are those which express a change of state or location that is caused by someone or something, such as *kill, dissolve* and *build*. There are three types of accomplishment verbs: two agentive types, which have single and complex change of state verbs, and one non-agentive type, which has complex change of state verbs. As might be predicted there are no occurrences of directional focus with accomplishment verbs. With agentive accomplishment verbs there are no occurrences of temporal focus which also could be predicted.

5.4.1 Single change of state, agentive verbs

There is only one type of accomplishment verb that expresses a single change of state, and it is agentive. There are three affixes that co-occur with others on agentive single change of state verbs: intentive mode, unequal distribution and the agentiviser *iN_2-*.

5.4.1.1 *poN*$_1$- intentive

The intentive mode *poN*$_1$- can occur on non-agentive accomplishment verbs to make them agentive and on potentially agentive accomplishment verbs to maintain them as agentive.

Example in referent focus:

103a PomuNGARANan (*poN*$_1$-pu-NGARAN-an$_1$) ilo tanak-nu
Inten-Pro-NAME-RF that (Piv) child-your (Sg)

Yaya.
John
'That child of yours is to be named John.'

Example in accessory focus:

103b NipomuNGARAN (n-i$_1$-*poN*$_1$-pu-NGARAN) diolo disido.
Comp-AcF-*Inten*-Pro-NAME they him
'A name was given to him by them.'

Example in ablative focus:

103c NiinTUTUNan (n-i$_2$-Ø$_4$-iN$_2$-TUTUN-an$_3$) dialo i minanakau.
Comp-AbF-*(Inten)*-Ag-RECOGNISE-AbF him PivM steal
'The one who stole was looked at intently by him to be recognised.'
(See also 10a)

In 103a and b intentive co-occurs with production in referent focus and accessory focus respectively on the noun root *ngaran* 'name'. The production morpheme *pu*- verbalises the noun. In 103c the Ø$_4$- allomorph of intentive co-occurs with the agentiviser in ablative focus on the inherently non-agentive achievement verb **tutun* 'recognise'.

5.4.1.2 *piN*- unequal distribution

The morpheme *piN*- 'unequal distribution' changes a non-agentive verb to an agentive one.

Example with actor focus:

104. Nokuro-ko do mimpuLABAS (m-*piN*-pu-LABAS).
why-you (Sg) (Piv) that AF-*UnDist*-Pro-NAKED
'Why is it that you are naked?'
(Implies that all the clothes have been removed one after another.)

In 104 unequal distribution occurs in actor focus and co-occurs with production, a class-changing affix, which changes the stative verb **labas* 'naked' to an active verb.

5.4.1.3 *iN*$_2$- agentiviser

The agentiviser *iN*$_2$- changes a verb from a non-agentive to an agentive stem.

105. Minangan impuRAAai (iN$_2$-pu-RAA-ai$_1$) iri votis
do Ag-Pro-BLOOD-RF that (Piv) calf-of-leg

do kusai.
Mk man
'The calf of the man was bled.'
(See also 27bb)

In 105 the agentiviser co-occurs with the production morpheme which verbalises the noun *raa* 'blood' to form a verb in referent focus.

5.4.2 Complex change of state

There are two types of complex change of state verbs, non-agentive and agentive.

5.4.2.1 Complex change of state, non-agentive verbs

Non-agentive complex change of state verbs are those which involve a change of state with an effector rather than an agent in such expressions as *flow from X to Y* or *dissolve*. Only non-intentive and aptative co-occur with other affixes on non-agentive complex change of state verbs. As one might predict there is no occurrence of directional focus. There are also no occurrences of undergoer, accessory or ablative focus. One might expect an absence of ablative focus parallel with activity verbs, but the absence of undergoer and accessory focuses is probably an accident of the data.

5.4.2.1.1 *ko*$_2$- non-intentive

The non-intentive morpheme *ko*$_2$- changes agentive accomplishment verbs to non-agentive.

106. NakapaMATOU (no-Ø$_1$-*ko*$_2$-poN$_2$-VATOU) oku-no.
Comp-AF-*NInten*-Clar-WEAVE I (Piv)-CompM
'I have woven it (neutral with respect to intention).'

In 106 non-intentive co-occurs with clarification in actor focus completive aspect on the inherently agentive accomplishment verb **vatou* 'weave'.

5.4.2.1.2 *ko*$_3$- aptative

The aptative morpheme *ko*$_3$- changes agentive accomplishment verbs to non-agentive.

107. Songgia kopongOKUTan-nu (*ko*$_3$-poN$_2$-AKUT-an$_2$)?
when (Piv) *Apt*-Clar-CARRY-RICE-TF-you (Sg)
'When can the rice be carried by you?'

In 107 aptative co-occurs with clarification in temporal focus on the inherently agentive accomplishment verb **akut* 'carry rice'.

5.4.2.2 Complex change of state, agentive verbs

Agentive complex change of state verbs are those that give an acceptable answer to the question, 'Is x finished ø-ing?'. Various types of both derived and underived stems can be included in this class. Intentive, causative and unequal distribution co-occur with other affixes on agentive complex change of state verbs.

5.4.2.2.1 poN_1- intentive

The major affix occurring with agentive complex change of state verbs is the intentive poN_1-.

108. MongiRALAN (m-poN_1-ki-RALAN) ialo diri vajaan diri.
AF-*Inten*-Poss-ROAD he (Piv) that way that
'He is making a trail through on that way.'

In 108 intentive mode co-occurs with possessive in actor focus which acts as a verbaliser on the noun root *ralan* 'trail, road'.

5.4.2.2.2 po_1- causative

The morpheme po_1- 'causative' can occur with complex change of state verbs.

109. PinapangAKUT-ku (in-po_1-poN_2-AKUT-Ø) diri parai.
Comp-*Caus*-Clar-CARRY-RICE-UF-I that rice
'He was made to carry that rice by me.'

In 109 causative co-occurs with clarification in undergoer focus on the accomplishment verb **akut* 'carry rice'.

5.4.2.2.3 *piN*- unequal distribution

The morpheme *piN*- 'unequal distribution' changes a non-agentive verb to an agentive one.

110. MinimvaVAAL (in-m-*piN*-va-VAAL) ialo.
Comp-AF-*UnDist*-Iter-MAKE he (Piv)
'He kept on making one after another.'

In 110 unequal distribution co-occurs with iterative and completive aspect in actor focus on the accomplishment verb **vaal* 'make'.

5.5 Idioms

There are a number of minor affixes that occur only with certain roots. They seem to produce idioms and are not productive. In some cases an affix which does not follow its normal pattern is included here as probably being an idiom.

5.5.1 *siN*- non-serious$_1$

In certain contexts the morpheme *siN*- 'non-serious' is productive, expecially when it co-occurs with dual reciprocal *pi*-. The example below seems to be an idiom. Compare sentence 111a with sentence 111b.

111a Ø$_1$-*sing*-ko$_4$-bo-BOBOU au songkuro kavava mitangar.
AF-*NSer*$_1$-Aug$_3$-Iter-DUMB not very clearly speak
'He is like a dumb person, he cannot speak very clearly.'
(See also 53)

111b Ø$_1$-*si*-ko$_4$-bo-BOBOU ialo, au songkuro kavava mitangar.
AF-*Des*-Aug$_3$-Iter-DUMB he (Piv) not much clearly speak
'He is dumb, he cannot speak very clearly.'
(See also 60)

The above examples have already been discussed in sections 4.5.8. and 4.6.5.

5.5.2 *toN*- non-serious$_2$

The morpheme *toN*- is very rare, and for this reason it has been difficult to determine its meaning. It seems to be similar to *siN*- above. It always co-occurs with several other affixes. One example occurs in Chapter 4 54. All the others are included below.

112a MitotompoLIDUK (m-pi-to-*toN*-po$_3$-LIDUK) ino.
AF-DuRec-Aug$_1$-*NSer*$_2$-Caus-RUN-AND-HIDE that (Piv)
'That (creature) keeps running and hiding hither and thither.'

112b MintongkukuVORO (m-piN-*toN*-ku-ku-VORO) isido.
AF-UnDist-*NSer*$_2$-Aug$_1$-Aug$_2$-LOOK-TO-ONE-SIDE he (Piv)
'He keeps looking around as if about to do something but does nothing but look.'
(See also 94b)

112c MitongkuVORO (m-pi-*toN*-ku-VORO) ialo.
AF-DuRec-NSer$_2$-Aug$_2$-LOOK-TO-ONE-SIDE he (Piv)
'He keeps looking from side to side.'

In 112a dual reciprocal co-occurs with non-serious$_2$ which is augmented and with causative on the activity verb *liduk* 'run and hide'. In 112b unequal distribution co-occurs with non-serious$_2$ and augmentative$_2$ which is further augmented by reduplication of the prefix on the activity verb *voro* 'look to one side'. In 112c dual reciprocal co-occurs with non-serious$_2$ and augmentative$_2$ on the same activity verb.

5.5.3 *suN*- purposeful repetition

The morpheme *suN*- purposeful repetition is another rather unproductive affix. It occurs on very few roots. Note especially the examples under referent focus which could be composed of separate combinations of affixes or could be phonological changes on some of the morphemes. If the changes are phonological there is no way to determine which is the basic combination of affixes.

Examples with undergoer focus:

113a Onu pisuLOPIDon-nu (pi-*suN*-LAPID-on$_1$) sino?
what (Piv) DuRec-*Purp*-WEAVE-UF-you (Sg) LocM
'What is being woven by you there?'

113b SinuLAPID (in-*suN*-LAPID-Ø) dialo mamatou.
Comp-*Purp*-WEAVE-UF he weave
'He is making it by weaving it.'

Examples with referent focus:

113c Nokukuro pisungkoOLING-an-nu (pi-*suN*-ko$_4$-OLING-an$_1$)?
why (Piv) DuRec-*Purp*-Aug$_3$-FORGET-RF-you (Sg)
'Why is it being neglected by you (forgotten-on-purpose)?'

113d Ada pisungkoOLINGai (pi-*suN*-ko$_4$-OLING-ai$_1$)!
don't (Per)-DuRec-*Purp*-Aug$_3$-FORGET-RF
'Don't let it be neglected!'

Compare the following two examples with 113d.

113e Ada pisingkuOLINGai (pi-siN-ku-OLING-ai$_1$)!
don't (Per)-DuRec-NSer$_1$-Aug$_2$-FORGET-RF
'Don't let it be neglected!'

113f Ada tokou pisongkoOLINGai (pi-soN$_2$-ko$_4$-OLING-ai1)!
don't we (In) (Piv) (Per)-DuRec-Dim-Aug$_3$-FORGET-RF
'Don't let it be neglected by us!'

In 113a and b both examples have the accomplishment verb **lapid* 'weave' in undergoer focus. In 113a dual reciprocal co-occurs with purposeful repetition and in 113b purposeful repetition alone occurs. In 113c dual reciprocal co-occurs with purposeful repetition and augmentative$_3$ on the activity verb *oling* 'forget' which has the meaning here of 'neglect'. Note that all of the examples from 113c to 113f have dual reciprocal on the same stem. The only difference between the other affixes on 113d compared with 113e and 113f is the change in vowels. Although each of these morphemes occurs elsewhere with different meanings, it seems that in these particular examples there may be only phonological variation in the sounds with no significance as far as meaning is concerned. The verb in example 113c is the usual counterpart of 113d which is in peremptory mode.

5.5.4 *biN-* habitual

The prefix *biN-* 'habitual' normally is an inflectional affix meaning 'always'. In the following examples it seems to have developed an idiomatic meaning when occurring on the stem **tanok* 'boil rice, roots, etc.'. All the examples are in undergoer focus.

114a Aandai ino do mangan binTONOKo (*biN*-TANOK-o$_1$).
good that (Piv) Mk go *Hab*-BOIL-BANANAS-AND-RICE-UF
'That will be good to be made into banana and rice cakes.'
(See also 27o)

114b BinTONOKon-ku (*biN*-TANOK-on$_1$) ilo.
Hab-BOIL-BANANAS-AND-RICE-UF-I that (Piv)
'I made rice and banana cakes with that.'

114c BininTANOK-ku (in-*biN*-TANOK-0).
Comp-*Hab*-BOIL-BANANAS-AND-RICE-UF-I
'Rice and banana cakes were made by me.'

5.5.5 *mi-* dual reciprocal

The morpheme *pi-* normally is a non-derivational affix meaning dual reciprocal. Usually the morpheme *mi-* occurs in actor focus but here it occurs in referent focus (see below). This may be a homophone of *mi-* or it may be an idiomatic usage.

115. MisinTANGARan (*mi*-siN-TANGAR-an$_1$) disido.
DuRec-NSer$_1$-SPEAK-RF he
'He is eloquent at speaking about himself (i.e. boastful).'

In 115 dual reciprocal co-occurs with non-serious$_1$ giving the meaning 'pretend'.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter is divided into sections following Dowty's classification. Non-intentive mode affixes can occur on any of the non-agentive verbs, that is on any of the class 1, 3, 5 or 7 verbs of Dowty's classification. Intentive mode affixes occur on verbs in classes 2, 4, 6 or 8 though not necessarily on all verbs in those classes.

The first division of verbs in this chapter is that of stative verbs which has both non-agentive and agentive verbs. Each of these may be further subdivided.

The second division is the class of activity verbs which also has non-agentive and agentive verbs. This is by far the largest class of verbs and takes the greatest variety of affixation.

The third division is that of achievement verbs which, in Dowty's classification, has non-agentive verbs only, but in Kadazan there are a few verbs which seem to have agentive affixation and yet semantically they belong with the achievement verbs.

The fourth division is that of accomplishment verbs which includes three classes of verbs: agentive single change of state verbs and non-agentive and agentive complex change of state verbs.

Finally a section is included with a few idioms which do not seem to fit with the rest of the paper, either because the affixation is irregular or because it is non-productive with very few examples.

Chapter 6

COMBINATORIAL POSSIBILITIES OF INFLECTIONAL AND OTHER AFFIXES

6. INTRODUCTION

Inflectional affixation in Kadazan includes focus prefixes and suffixes, tense aspects, iterative, punctiliar and durative. There are other types of affixation in Kadazan that do not seem to be either inflectional or derivational. These include a group of 'multiple' type affixes: comprehensive, plural and reciprocal. Another type is the desiderative mode affix which seems to be the only one of its type. In this chapter the combinatorial possibilities of all of these will be included with examples.

6.1 Other inflectional affixation

In addition to the inflectional affixation of focus and the completive aspects there are other inflectional affixes which are aspectual affixes. These are: iterative, punctiliar and durative.

6.1.1 Iterative versus punctiliar

Iterative aspect is indicated by reduplication and punctiliar is indicated by an absence of reduplication.

6.1.1.1 Reduplication and augmentative$_1$

Reduplication refers to the reduplication of a whole stem or part of it. The reduplication may or may not include the whole or part of one of the affixes. Augmentative$_1$ refers to reduplication of whole or part of one of the prefixes.

6.1.1.1.1 Reduplication

Reduplication usually consists of reduplication of the initial CV of a consonant initial root (e.g. *mi**su**SUPUT*), or deduplication of the whole root, (e.g. *ni**taak**-TAAK*). In a vowel-initial root the initial vowel only is repeated, followed by the *-g-* or *-ng-* of the preceding prefix (e.g. *mo**gug**UNI*, *misin**gung**UGAR*). There are a number of types of reduplication. Some of these contrast with each other in meaning, so examples will be given to show the contrasts before giving examples in the various focuses.

The basic meaning of reduplication is iterative, but with various kinds of reduplication other components of meaning are added. When the whole root is reduplicated there seems to be a type of more complete action than when only the first CV of the root is reduplicated.

Other less usual forms of reduplication are reduplication of the second CV of the root, the CVCV(C) of the root or part of the affix and the root, e.g. *mING**ko**KOJOD* (119h), *miniSUVOLI**-voli*** (119c), *mongOBI**-ngobi*** (119j). If only an infix occurs on a root with no prefixes the infix *in-* or *-um-* is infixed first, then the initial CV reduplication takes place, e.g. ***vi**VinAAL* (118d), ***ru**RumAVUNG* (119f).

Several examples also occur in imperative mode (see section 6.3.2).

116a Asagub-SAGUB-po (o-*sagub*-SAGUB-Ø) dii maino.
NInten-*Iter*-COOL-OFF-UF-NCompM Emph now
'He is cool now.' (i.e. he is all right, not sick any more)

116b AsaSAGUB-po (o-*sa*-SAGUB-Ø) dii ialo maino.
NInten-*Iter*-COOL-OFF-UF-NCompM Emph he (Piv) now
'He is cooling down now (after having a fever).'

116c Po$_1$-*suut*-SUUT-on$_1$ ino dogo.
Caus-*Iter*-FOLLOW-UF that (Piv) me
'That one is to be caused to follow me.' (said when one has gone down the trail, and calls back)

116d Po$_1$-*su*-SUUT-on$_1$ ialo dogon.
Caus-*Iter*-FOLLOW-UF he (Piv) me
'He is to be caused to follow me.' (said when one is in the house, and is going ahead and not waiting for the person to follow)

116e PinosuSUUT-ku (in-po$_1$-*su*-SUUT-Ø) dii disido iri.
Comp-Caus-*Iter*-FOLLOW-UF-I Emph him that (Piv)
'I made him follow after that person.'

But the form **pino**suut**-SUUT* is not permitted.

In the above examples 116a-e there is evidence that different kinds of reduplication have different functions. Sentences 116a and b contrast in that reduplication of the whole root seems to have a completive aspect with other components of meaning specific to the verb stem, whereas reduplication of the first syllable has a progressive aspect. Similarly, in 116c and d there is a contrast in meaning. In 116c with reduplication of the whole root there is somewhat of a completive aspect in that the person who gave the command had already gone down the trail whereas in 116d the person was about to go ahead and not wait. In 116e there is also a contrast with non-occurrent form **pinosuut-SUUT*. The contrast seems to be a contrast again between the completive and progressive. Since reduplication of the whole stem has a completive sense it cannot co-occur with another completive aspect, whereas the reduplication of the first syllable with progression can co-occur with completive aspect.

Another kind of reduplication is where the whole root is repeated, but the actor focus allomorph *m-* replaces the initial consonant if it is present, otherwise *m-* is added to a vowel-initial root. The meaning expresses progression as well as iterative aspect.

117a Moyok-POYOK (m-*poyok*-POYOK) iti sabun.
AF-*Iter*-SMALL this (Piv) soap
'This soap is getting smaller and smaller.'

117b Muntug-TUNTUG (m-*tuntug*-TUNTUG) i vasai.
AF-*Iter*-POUR PivM waterfall
'The waterfall keeps on pouring down.'

117c Mujuu-GUJUU (m-*gujuu*-GUJUU) i tabid.
AF-*Iter*-DESCEND PivM rope
'The rope keeps coming down lower and lower.'

117d Modop-ODOP (m-*odop*-ODOP) diti o auso kurion.
AF-*Iter*-SLEEP this Emph none work
'I am just lying down for a sleep, there is no work to be done.'

In 117a-d the meaning of progression, not completion, occurs with this special reduplication of the root. In 117a the stative verb ****poyok*** 'small' occurs, in 117b the activity verb **tuntug* 'pour' occurs, in 117c the activity verb **gujuu* 'descent' occurs in in 117d the stative verb *odop* 'sleep' occurs.

Another kind of reduplication is reduplication of the first CV or the whole root with a completive aspect affix giving a restrictive sense. This means that something was just done without purpose, or was not true. This restrictive sense is not to be confused with the restrictive suffix *-an*$_4$ which is a class-maintaining affix.

118a Barang-i iti n-i$_1$-*taak*-TAAK dialo.
things (Piv)-Emph those Comp-AcF-*Res*-GIVE he
'Those things were just given by him (no reason for the gift).'

118b Tinangar-TANGAR-nu (in-*tangar*-TANGAR-Ø).
Comp-*Res*-SPEAK-UF-you (Sg)
'It was just said by you (i.e. you just made that up).'

118c Vinaal-VAAL (in-*vaal*-VAAL-Ø) saja.
Comp-*Res*-MAKE-UF only
'It was just made up.'

118d ViVinAAL (in-*vi*-VAAL) saja.
Comp-*Res*-MAKE-UF only
'It was just made up.'

In 118a restrictive occurs with the accomplishment verb **taak* 'give'. In 118b it occurs with the activity verb **tangar* 'speak'. In 118c and d it occurs with the accomplishment verb **vaal* 'make'. There seems to be no contrast in meaning between examples 118c and d where the whole root and the first syllable respectively are reduplicated.

Examples of various types of reduplication will now be included under each focus.

Examples with actor focus:

119a MisuSUPUT (m-pi-*su*-SUPUT) iolo mampanau.
AF-DuRec-*Iter*-CONNECT they (Piv) walk
'They are following each other, and trying to be first.'

119b Miogom-OGOM (m-pi-*ogom*-OGOM).
AF-DuRec-*Iter*-SIT
'He keeps on sitting down and standing up.'

119c MiniSUVOLI-voli (in-m-pi-SUVOLI-*voli*) ikoi.
Comp-AF-DuRec-*Iter*-EXCHANGE we (Ex) (Piv)
'We traded clothes with each other.'

119d Minoisamung-SAMUNG (in-m-poi-*samung*-SAMUNG) ikoi.
Comp-AF-MulRec-*Iter*-MEET we (Ex) (Piv)
'We have all met each other.'
(See also 38a)

119e Sumagub-SAGUB (um-*sagub*-SAGUB) ialo maino.
AF-*Iter*-COOL-OFF he (Piv) now
'He is chilly now (from a sickness).'

119f Kivaa ruRumAVUNG (-um-*ra*-RAVUNG).
there-are AF-*Iter*-COME (of bad things)
'There are times when he has bad thoughts coming.'

119g Marad-NGARAD (m-*ngarad*-NGARAD) iri vatu.
AF-*Iter*-GRATE those (Piv) stones
'Those stones are grating together.'

119h MINGkoKOJOD (m-*ko*-INGKOJOD) ialo.
AF-*Iter*-STOP he (Piv)
'He keeps stopping to take a rest when working hard.'

119i Tiap sodop mingguli-mingGULI (m-piN-*guli*-GULI) ka ino.
every night AF-UnDist-*Iter*-RETURN/REPEAT they-say that (Piv)
'Every night that animal returned again and again, they say.'

119j MongOBI-ngobi (m-poN$_1$-OBI-*ngobi*) isido diolo.
AF-Inten-*Iter*-HELP he (Piv) them
'He often helps them out.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

119k Povojo-VOJOon (po$_1$-*vaja*-VAJA-on$_1$) dogo!
Caus-*Iter*-FOLLOW/ACCOMPANY-UF me
'He is to be caused to accompany me!'

119l Nokuro do pinduRUAKon-nu (piN-*ru*-RUAK-on$_1$)?
why lig UnDist-*Iter*-TEAR-UF-you (Sg)
'Why is it being torn up in pieces by you?'

119m *Gu*-GULI-on$_1$-po vagu do mongkinongou
Iter-RETURN/REPEAT-UF-NCompM again so-that listen

oku do tinangaran-nu.
I (Piv) Mk words-your (Sg)
'Repeat it again so that I can listen to what you say.'

119n Onu *ta*-TANGAR-on$_1$-nu sino?
what *Iter*-SPEAK-UF-you (Sg) LocM
'What was said by you (could not hear)?'

119o NoROmuMUK-i (n-o$_1$-*mu*-ROMUK-Ø).
Comp-NInten-*Iter*-BREAK-UP/WASTE-UF-Emph
'It's being wasted (you should have finished it off).'

Examples with referent focus:

119p INdaDADan-po (-*da*-INDAD-an$_1$) oruai!
Iter-WAIT-RF-NCompM a-short-while
'Wait awhile!'

119q IduDUan-ku (*du*-IDU-an$_1$) iti parai-ku diti.
Iter-RUN-AWAY-RF-I this (Piv) rice-my this
'This rice of mine is being left behind by me.'

119r IndoROSIjan-ku (iN$_2$-*ro*-ROSI-an$_1$) ika.
Ag-*Iter*-AFRAID/SCARE-RF-I you (Sg)
'You will be scared (or you will be made afraid) by me.'
(See also 87)

119s Ogumu nosoSOMUNGan-ku (n-o$_1$-*sa*-SAMUNG-an$_1$).
many (Piv) Comp-NInten-*Iter*-MEET-RF-I
'There were lots (of people) that were met by me.'

119t Pi-*imat*-IMAT-an$_1$-ku ialo tumalib.
DuRec-*Iter*-KEEP-AN-EYE-ON-RF-I he (Piv) go-by
'I am keeping my eyes open for him to go by.'

Example with accessory focus:

119u I$_1$-*ada*-ADA dialo ilo tanak.
AcF-*Iter*-DIVORCE/IGNORE he that (Piv) child
'That child is purposely ignored by him.'
(See also 91j)

Examples 119a-j are all in actor focus. In 119a-c dual reciprocal occurs on activity verbs in actor focus with different kinds of reduplication. In 119a the first syllable is reduplicated on the activity verb **suput* 'connect'. In 119b the whole root is reduplicated on the activity verb *ogom* 'sit'. In 119c the final two syllables are reduplicated on the accomplishment verb **suvoli* 'exchange'. In 119d multiple reciprocal occurs with reduplication of the whole root on the accomplishment verb **samung* 'meet'. In 119e and f the intransitive allomorph *-um-* and different kinds of reduplication occur on inherently stative verbs **sagub* 'be cool' and **ravung* 'come (of bad things)' respectively. In 119e an achievement verb 'become cool' is formed. In 119f the meaning seems to be purely iterative. In 119g and h only the subject focus allomorph *m-* occurs with different kinds of reduplication on the activity verbs **ngarad* 'grate' and *ingkojod* 'stop' respectively. In 119g the combination gives a progressive meaning but in 119h where the middle syllable of the word is reduplicated it seems to be purely iterative. In 119i unequal distribution occurs on the activity verb *guli* 'return, repeat' with reduplication of the whole stem and its affixes. In 119j intentive mode occurs with reduplication of part of the affix and the whole root to give an iterative meaning.

Examples 119k-o are in undergoer focus. In 119k causative occurs with reduplication of the root of the activity verb *vaja* 'follow, accompany'. In 119l unequal distribution occurs with reduplication of the first syllable of the root of the activity verb **ruak* 'tear'. In 119m and n reduplication of the first syllable occurs on the activity verbs *guli* 'return, repeat' and **tangar* 'speak' respectively. In 119m the verb is a command and in 119n it is a question. In 119o the middle syllable of the verb is reduplicated and occurs with non-intentive mode on the stative verb **romuk* 'break up, waste'.

In examples 119p to t reduplication occurs with referent focus. In 119p and 119q the middle or final syllable is reduplicated on the activity verbs **indad* 'wait' and **idu* 'run away' respectively. In 119p the verb is a command and in 119q it is indicative. In 119r it seems to be obligatory that reduplication of the first syllable occur on stative verbs with the agentiviser *iN*$_2$-. (Another example is *mongindaRAAT* 'to slander' from the root **raat* 'bad'.) In 119s the first syllable is reduplicated and co-occurs with non-intentive mode on the accomplishment verb **samung* 'meet'. In 119t dual reciprocal occurs with reduplication of the whole root on the activity verb **imat* 'to keep an eye on'.

In 119u reduplication occurs with accessory focus on the activity verb **ada* 'divorce, ignore'.

6.1.1.1.2 Augmentative$_1$

Augmentative$_1$ is a reduplication of the first CV of a following prefix. It is more clearly augmentative than iterative.

120a KumukuKURO (-um-*ku*-ku-KURO) oku diti?
AF-(Intr)-*Aug*$_1$-Aug$_2$-WHY I (Piv) this
'Whatever am I going to do?'
(See also 82b)

120b MintongkukuVORO (m-piN-toN-*ku*-ku-VORO) isido.
AF-UnDist-NSer$_2$-*Aug*$_1$-Aug$_2$-LOOK-TO-ONE-SIDE he (Piv)
'He keeps looking around as if about to do something but does nothing but look.'
(See also 94b)

120c MitotompoLIDUK (m-pi$_1$-*to*-toN-po$_3$-LIDUK) ino.
AF-DuRec-*Aug*$_1$-NSer$_2$-Caus-RUN-AND-HIDE that (Piv)
'That (creature) keeps running and hiding hither and thither.'
(See also 112a)

120d Mongoi silo mitotoGILAI (m-pi-*to*-to-GILAI).
go LocM AF-DuRec-*Aug*$_1$-Exas-DANCE
'Go there and dance.'

In 120a and b prefix *ku-* is reduplicated with a stative verb formed from the root **kuro* 'shy' and an activity verb **voro* 'look to one side' respectively. In 120c the first CV of the prefix *toN-* is reduplicated on the activity verb **liduk* 'run and hide'. In 120d the prefix *to-* is reduplicated on the activity verb **gilai* 'dance'.

6.1.1.2 Punctiliar aspect

The basic meaning of reduplication is iterative. No reduplication means that the action occurs only once. Note the contrast in these examples.

121a ASAGUB (o-SAGUB-Ø) iti maino.
NInten-COOL-OFF-UF this (Piv) now
'This is cool (weather) now.'

121b AsaSAGUB-po (o-sa-SAGUB-Ø) dii ialo maino.
NInten-Iter-COOL-OFF-UF Emph he (Piv) now
'He is cooling down now (after having a fever).'
(See also 116b)

121c MingKAKAT (m-iN$_1$-KAKAT) isido.
AF-Cont-LIFT he (Piv)
'He is standing up (i.e. rising to an erect position)'
(See also 35d)

121d MingkaKAKAT (m-iN$_1$-ka-KAKAT) ialo.
AF-Cont-Iter-LIFT he (Piv)
'He keeps on standing up and sitting down.'

In 121a and b the stative verb **sagub* 'be cool' contrasts in punctiliar and iterative aspects. In 121a the stative form of the verb occurs with punctiliar, but in b the reduplication changes the verb to an achievement verb. There seems to be a fuzzy line here in the distinction between inflectional and derivational affixation since in some cases reduplication is clearly inflectional but in others, as here, it seems to be derivational. In 121c and d also there is a contrast between punctiliar and iterative on the accomplishment verb **kakat* 'raise'. With the addition of the continuative prefix *iN*$_1$- the verb changes to a potentially stative or activity verb, depending on the affixation. With the addition of the actor focus allomorph *m-* the meaning is 'stand up from a sitting or lying position' but with reduplication it means 'standing up repeatedly'.

6.1.2 *mogin-* durative

The prefix *mogin-* 'durative' occurs only with activity verbs.

Examples with actor focus:

122a MinoginsiSIDANG (in-m-*mogin*-si-SIDANG) isido.
Comp-AF-*Dur*-Iter-TO-SUN he (Piv)
'He kept going out and staying in the sun.'

122b MogiginAKAN (m-ig-*mogin*-AKAN) i tongotulun.
AF-Aug$_1$-*Dur*-EAT PivM people
'The people are having a feast.'

In 122a the morpheme *mogin-* co-occurs with completive aspect and iterative on the stative verb **sidang* 'to sun' and in 122b it co-occurs with augmentative$_1$ on the activity verb **akan* 'eat'.

6.2 Non-inflectional affixation

There are a number of affixes that do not fit the category of either inflectional or derivational affixation. This group of affixes act like inflectional affixes in that they can occur on any verb class and are not class-changing morphemes. They do not meet the criterion for inflectional affixation in that they do not signal grammatical relationships such as plural, past tense, etc. They seem to form a separate class or classes of affixes and will be dealt with in this section.

6.2.1 *soN*$_1$- comprehensive

Comprehensive meaning 'many' or 'all' can occur on stems in any verb class. It co-occurs with several other affixes but only in non-completive aspect.

Examples with actor focus:

123a Ø$_1$-*so*$_1$-go-GORONTOK babalo.
AF-*Compr*-Iter-POCK-MARK face (Piv)
'The face has many pock-marks on it.'
(See also 33)

123b SongiLIONG (Ø$_1$-*so*N$_1$-ki-LIONG) iolo.
AF-*Compr*-Poss-LOSE they
'They are all lost.'

123c Aandai ilo tobuk dialo Ø$_1$-*so*$_1$-ku-li-LINGKONG.
good that (Piv) hair her AF-*Compr*-Aug$_2$-Iter-CURLY
'Her hair is nice, it is all curly.'

123d SonginSUVANG (Ø$_1$-*soN*$_1$-iN$_1$-SUVANG) i karatas sii bakul.
AF-*Compr*-Cont-ENTER PivM paper LocM basket
'The paper is all going into the basket.'

123e Ø$_1$-*so*$_1$-pi-luvap-LUVAP iolo.
AF-*Compr*-DuRec-Iter-YELL they (Piv)
'They are all yelling at each other in anger.'

Example with referent focus:

123f *So*$_1$-pi-TOPIK-an$_1$ dialo kumuri.
Compr-DuRec-JUMP-ACROSS-RF he work
'It was from one to the other he went to work first for one, then for the other.'

Examples 123a-e are all in actor focus. In 123a comprehensive co-occurs with iterative in actor focus on a nominal stem *gorontok* 'pock-mark'. In 123b it co-occurs with *ki-* 'possession' on the achievement verb **liong* 'lose'. In 123c it co-occurs with *ku-* 'augmentative' and iterative on the stative verb **lingkong* 'curly'. In 123d it co-occurs with continuative on the activity verb *suvang* 'enter'. In 123e it co-occurs with dual reciprocal on the activity verb **luvap* 'yell'.

In 123f comprehensive co-occurs with dual reciprocal in referent focus on the activity verb **topik* 'jump across'.

6.2.2 *ong-* plural

The morpheme *ong-* 'plural' occurs mainly with stative verbs. It is inserted after the first consonant of a consonant-initial stem or prefix, or occurs before a vowel-initial stem.

124. NongokoODOP (no-*ong*-Ø$_1$-ko$_2$-ODOP) kopou kavagu?
Comp-*Plur*-AF-NInten-SLEEP you (Pl-NCompM) (Piv) again
'Have you all fallen asleep again?'

In 124 plural co-occurs with completive and non-intentive on the stative verb *odop* 'sleep'.

6.2.3 *pi-* dual reciprocal

The dual reciprocal aspect prefix *pi-* indicates a mutual action done by two persons to each other or a similar action done in two locations by one person.

Examples with actor focus:

125a Minisuut-SUUT (in-m-*pi*-suut-SUUT) iolo.
Comp-AF-*DuRec*-Iter-FOLLOW they (Piv)
'They followed after one another.'

125b MitotompoLIDUK (m-*pi*-to-toN-po$_3$-LIDUK) ino.
AF-*DuRec*-Aug$_1$-NSer$_2$-Caus-RUN-AND-HIDE that (Piv)
'That (creature) keeps running and hiding hither and thither.'
(See also 112a)

125c Mongoi silo mitotoGILAI (m-*pi*-to-to-GILAI).
go LocM AF-*DuRec*-Aug$_1$-Exas-DANCE
'Go there and dance.'
(See also 120d)

125d MisingangALUD (m-*pi*-siN-ang-ALUD) oku silo vaig.
AF-*DuRec*-NSer$_1$-Iter-PADDLE-A-BOAT I (Piv) LocM water
'I am paddling a boat aimlessly back and forth in the water.'

125e Iri mulai nogi misimuMULOK (m-*pi*-siN-pu-MULOK).
that (Piv) begin also AF-*DuRec*-NSer$_1$-Pro-YOUTH
'That one is just beginning to be a teenager.'

125f Mikovingo-VINGO (m-*pi*-ko$_4$-vingo-VINGO) ialo.
AF-*DuRec*-Aug$_3$-Iter-REFUSE-TO-LISTEN he (Piv)
'He refuses to listen to anything that is said.'

125g MikuboBOJO (m-*pi*-ku-bo-BOJO) ialo suuon.
AF-*DuRec*-Aug$_2$-Iter-OBEY he (Piv) order
'He obeys implicitly what he is ordered to do.'

125h MitongkuVORO (m-*pi*-toN-ku-VORO) ialo.
AF-*DuRec*-NSer$_2$-Aug$_2$-LOOK-TO-ONE-SIDE he(Piv)
'He keeps looking from side to side.'
(See also 112c)

125i MisunSULI (m-*pi*-suN-SULI) ialo.
AF-*DuRec*-Purp-RECIPROCATE he (Piv)
'He will give as good as he gets (either good or bad).'
(See also 55a)

125j MiinSUU (m-*pi*-iN_1-SUU) iolo disido om mingkubobojo isido.
AF-*DuRec*-Cont-ORDER they (Piv) him and obey he
'They keep on telling him to do things and he keeps on obeying implicitly.'

When certain affixes that normally occur on agentive stems occur instead on non-agentive stems the completive infix *in-* occurs in the root instead of the prefix.

125k MiRinUANG (in-m-*pi*-RUANG) i toruol-jo.
Comp-AF-*DuRec*-INCREASE PivM illness-her
'Her illness got worse and worse.'

Examples with undergoer focus:

125l Ovogui isido piinSUUon (*pi*-iN_1-SUU-on_1) do tongotulun.
diligent he (Piv) *DuRec*-Cont-ORDER-UF Mk people
'He is diligent at doing whatever he is told to do by people.'

125m *Pi*-ro-ROMUT-an_1-ku maino.
DuRec-Iter-VISIT-RF-I now
'I am going to visit at nearby places now.'

125n Kivaro turu tanak-ku pisoMILIon-ku (*pi*-soN_2-PILI-on_1)
there-are seven child (Piv)-my *DuRec*-Dim-CHOOSE-UF-I

dikau.
you(Sg)
'There are my seven daughters from whom I will let you choose one.'

125o Onu pisuLOPIDon-nu (*pi*-suN-LAPID-on_1) sino?
what (Piv) *DuRec*-Purp-WEAVE-UF-you (Sg) LocM
'What are you weaving there?'
(See also 113a)

Examples with referent focus:

125p PisingkuOLINGan (*pi*-siN-ku-OLING-an_1) disido.
DuRec-$NSer_1$-Aug_2-FORGET-RF he
'It is being neglected by him.'

125q Ada pisungkoOLINGai (*pi*-suN-ko_4-OLING-ai_1)!
don't *(Per)*-DuRec-Purp-Aug_3-FORGET-RF
'Don't let it be neglected!'
(See also 113d)

125r Ada tokou pisongkoOLINGai (*pi*-soN_2-ko_4-OLING-ai_1)!
don't we (In) (Piv) *(Per)*-DuRec-Dim-Aug_3-FORGET-RF
'Don't let it be neglected by us!'
(See also 113f)

The sentences in 125a-k occur in actor focus. In 125a-d there is reduplication of a root, an affix or an initial syllable. Sentences 125b and c have occurred above under reduplication and augmentative respectively. In 125a dual reciprocal co-occurs with completive on the activity verb **suut* 'follow'. In 125d dual reciprocal co-occurs with non-serious action and the meaning of this combination is often 'pretend'. In this case it also co-occurs with iterative on the activity verb **alud* 'paddle a boat' giving the meaning of 'aimlessness'. In 125e the combination *misim-* dual reciprocal and non-serious action has the meaning of 'just beginning' on the nominal root **mulok* 'youth' which is made into a stative verb by the affix *pu-* meaning 'production'. In 125f dual reciprocal co-occurs with iterative and augmentative$_3$ on the activity verb **vingo* 'refuse to listen'. In 125g dual reciprocal co-occurs with augmentative$_2$ and iterative on the activity verb **bojo* 'obey'. In 125h dual reciprocal co-occurs with non-serious$_2$ and augmentative$_2$ on the activity verb **voro* 'look to one side'. In 125i dual reciprocal co-occurs with purposeful repetition on the activity verb **suli* 'reciprocate'. In 125j it co-occurs with continuative on the activity verb **suu* 'order'. In 125k it occurs on the activity verb **ruang* 'increase'. See the accompanying note.

Examples 125l to 125o all occur in undergoer focus. In 125l dual reciprocal co-occurs with continuative on the activity verb **suu* 'order'. In 125m it co-occurs with iterative on the activity verb **romut* 'visit'. In 125n it co-occurs with diminutive on the accomplishment verb **pili* 'choose'. In 125o it co-occurs with purposeful repetition on the accomplishment verb **lapid* 'weave'.

Examples 125p to r occur with referent focus. In 125p dual reciprocal co-occurs with non-serious and augmentative$_2$ on the stative verb **oling* 'forget'. In 125q and r it co-occurs with purposeful repetition and diminutive respectively as well as augmentative$_3$ on the same stem as 125p.

6.2.4 *poi-* multiple reciprocal

The multiple reciprocal prefix *poi-* indicates that more than two people are doing an action together or to each other.

Example with actor focus:

126a Moiija-IJA (m-*poi*-ija-IJA) tokou mampanau.
AF-*MulRec*-Iter-DO-AT-THE-SAME-TIME we (In) (Piv) walk
'Several of us will set off (lit. walk) at the same time.'

Example with undergoer focus:

126b Jadi pinoigaGANDING (in-*poi*-ga-GANDING -Ø) diolo ilo
so Comp-*MulRec*-Iter-BE-SIDE-BY-SIDE-UF they those (Piv)

talud.
boat
'So they fastened those boats side-by-side.'

Example with referent focus:

126c PoiroROMUTan (*poi*-ro-ROMUT-an$_1$) diolo kumuri.
MulRec-Iter-MEET-RF they work
'They went to nearby places to work.'

In 126a multiple reciprocal occurs in non-completive aspect on the stative verb **ija* 'do at the same time'. In 126b it co-occurs with iterative in undergoer focus completive aspect on the activity verb **ganding* 'be side by side'. In 126c it co-occurs with iterative in referent focus non-completive aspect on the activity verb **romut* 'meet'.

6.2.5 *si-* desiderative mode

The morpheme *si-* 'desiderative' means that the actor wants to carry out the action expressed in the verb root. It occurs only in non-completive aspect.

127a Ø$_1$-*si*-ki-KILI oku-no.
AF-*Des*-Iter-LIE-DOWN I (Piv)-CompM
'I want to lie down.'

127b SipongONTIO (Ø$_1$-*si*-poN$_2$-ONTIO) oku.
AF-*Des*-Clar-SNEEZE I (Piv)
'I want to sneeze.'

127c Ø$_1$-*si*-poki-ADA oku.
AF-*Des*-Pet-DIVORCE/IGNORE I (Piv)
'I want to ask for a divorce.'

127d Ø$_1$-*si*-pog-IAD ialo.
AF-*Des*-Mid-CRY he (Piv)
'He wants to cry.'

127e SikaABA (Ø$_1$-si-ko$_4$-ABA) ilo.
AF-Des-Aug$_3$-DOWNWARD-MOTION that (Piv)
'That looks as if it is about to fall down.'

127f Ø$_1$-*si*-ko$_4$-bo-BOBOU ialo, au songkuro kavava mitangar.
AF-*Des*-Aug$_3$-Iter-DUMB he (Piv) not much clearly speak
'He is dumb, he cannot speak very clearly.'
(See also 60)

127g SipapaMAAL (Ø$_1$-*si*-po$_1$-poN$_2$-VAAL) oku do tangkawang.
AF-*Des*-Caus-Clar-MAKE I (Piv) Mk dipterocarps
'I want to plant (lit. cause to make) some dipterocarps.'

In 127 all examples occur in actor focus. In 127a desiderative co-occurs with iterative on the activity verb *kili* 'lie down'. In 127b it co-occurs with clarification on the stative verb **ontio* 'sneeze'. In 127c it co-occurs with petitive on the accomplishment verb **ada* 'divorce, ignore'. In 127d it co-occurs with middle voice on the activity verb **iad* 'cry'. In 127e it co-occurs with augmentative$_3$ on the activity verb **aba* 'downward motion'. In 127f it co-occurs again with augmentative$_3$ as well as iterative on the stative verb **bobou* 'dumb'. In 127g it co-occurs with causative and clarification on the accomplishment verb **vaal.*

6.3 Irrealis

Irrealis means that the action has not yet been realised or does not occur in real time. In Kadazan irrealis includes three hortatory modes: peremptory, imperative and injunctive. These are different modes of commanding. 'Peremptory'[19] means that a command is being given to do something quickly or immediately; 'imperative' is a command with no emphasis on immediacy; and 'injunctive' is a command to a third party to do something. Negative commands, that is, prohibitions, take the same form of the verb as positive commands. The examples show a broad range of co-occurrence of other affixation with hortatory mode.

6.3.1 Peremptory mode

The peremptory mode is similar to dramatic present aspect in its manifestations. Context will distinguish dramatic present aspect from peremptory mode. As with dramatic present aspect examples, so here there is no overt marker of peremptory mode. In actor focus the zero allomorph occurs, in undergoer focus the allomorph *-o*$_1$ occurs and in referent focus the allomorph *-ai*$_1$ occurs. In accessory focus the allomorph *i-* occurs which is homophonous with the indicative form in intentive mode.

Optative may be manifested by a root idea impossible to successfully command. Only the undergoer focus affix occurs with reduplication of part of the root which gives the meaning 'may such-and-such happen' (128v).

Examples with actor focus:

128a	PangAKAN (Ø$_1$-poN$_1$-AKAN)	oku-po	om	mampanau
	(Per)-AF-Inten-EAT	I (Piv)-NCompM	and	walk

kito	nogi!
we (Du)	also

'Let me eat first, then let's go!'

128b	PaNAUK-po (Ø$_1$-poN$_1$-SAUK)	dilo	vaig!
	(Per)-AF-Inten-DIP-OUT-NCompM	that	water

'Dip out that water (at once)!'

128c	Ø$_1$-ONGOI-po	Ø$_1$-pog$_1$-ONSOK	do	vaig!
	(Per)-AF-GO-NCompM	*(Per)*-AF-Mid-BOIL	Mk	water

'Go and boil some water (at once)!'

128d	Ada	tokonou	pomiDUSO (Ø$_1$-poN$_1$-pi-DUSO)	vagu!
	don't	we (In-CompM) (Piv)	*(Per)*-AF-Inten-DuRec-SIN	again

'Let us not commit sin again!'

128e	PamaMANGGIL-po (Ø$_1$-poN$_1$-poN$_2$-PANGGIL)	di	koruang!
	(Per)-AF-Inten-Clar-CALL-NCompM	Mk	friends

'Go and call some friends!'

128f	Ø$_1$-pong$_1$-ong-ONGOI-no!
	(Per)-AF-Inten-Iter-GO-CompM

'Go and fetch it first!'

128g	Ø$_1$-INDAKOD	konou!
	(Per)-AF-GO-UP	you (Pl-CompM) (Piv)

'Come on up (at once)!'

128h	Ø$_1$-PANAU	oku-po!
	(Per)-AF-WALK	I (Piv)-NCompM

'Let me go now!' (said when just starting out)

128i	PogiNANGKUS-no (Ø$_1$-pog$_1$-iN$_1$-TANGKUS)!
	(Per)-AF-Mid-Cont-RUN-CompM

'Run (at once)!'

128j	Ø$_1$-pi-DAMOT	kou-no	manangkus!
	(Per)-AF-DuRec-SAME-TIME	you (Pl) (Piv)-CompM	run

'You run at the same time!'

128k Ø$_1$-posin-lo-LONGOI-po gia!
(Per)-AF-Diss-Iter-SING-NCompM Emph
'Try to sing!'

128l Mogoogo Ø$_1$-poki-AVI do sangadau!
hurry *(Per)*-AF-Pet-FINISH Mk day
'Hurry and finish it in one day!'

Examples with undergoer focus:

128m ONDOT-o$_1$!
(Per)-PRESS-WITH-ONE-FINGER-UF
'Press on it with one finger (at once)!

128n Ada VOLOK-o$_1$ ino!
don't *(Per)*-SHOVE-NOSE-OR-HAND-INTO-FOOD-UF that (Piv)
'Don't shove your hand down into that food!'

128o PoILIo (po$_1$-ILIU-o$_1$) silo!
(Per)-Caus-PUT-DOWN-UF LocM
'Put it down there (at once)!'

128p Ada po$_1$-ti-LOMBUS-o$_1$!
don't *(Per)*-Caus-Unna-GO-ON/THROUGH-UF
'Don't let him (of a child) go through there!'

128q SongONUvo-po (soN$_2$-ANU-o$_1$)!
(Per)-Dim-GET/TAKE-UF-NCompM
'Take it for yourself (at once)!

128r PokiONUo-po (poki-ANU-o$_1$) dogo dialo iri barang-ku
(Per)-Pet-GET/TAKE-UF-NCompM me him those (Piv) things-my

siri kawan!
LocM friend
'Go and ask him to get my things for me at a friend's place!'

128s PongUNUNo-po (poN$_2$-UNUN-o$_1$) ialo!
(Per)-Clar-SMUDGE-UF-NCompM he (Piv)
'Tell him to make a smudge!'

128t Ada pompingGOGORo (poN$_1$-piN-GOGOR-o$_1$)!
don't *(Per)*-Inten-UnDist-SHAKE-UF
'Don't shake it!'

128u KURUPISIono-po (KURUPISI-an$_4$-o$_1$) ilo karatas!
(Per)-CRUMPLE-Res-UF-NCompM that (Piv) paper
'Crumple up that paper!'

128v Ru-RUVANG-o$_1$-ko diti toruol-ku!
(Per)-Iter-CATCH-AN ILLNESS-UF-you (Sg) (Piv) this sickness-my
'May you catch my illness!'

Examples with referent focus:

128w SOKSIai (SAKSI-ai$_1$) oku-no!
(Per)-BEAR-WITNESS-RF I (Piv)-CompM
'Bear witness for me (for something that has just happened)!'

128x PokiONUai (poki-ANU-ai$_1$) oku-po do pinang
(Per)-Pet-GET/TAKE-RF I (Piv)-NCompM Mk betelnut

sii dialo!
LocM hers
'Go and ask for some betelnut for me at her place!'

128y Po$_1$-TURU-ai$_1$-po do ubat mato-ku!
(Per)-Caus-PUT-DROPS-IN-RF-NCompM Mk medicine eyes (Piv)-my
'Drop the medicine into my eyes!'

128z Ada guGULIai (gu-GULI-ai$_1$) do pikiran-nu
don't *(Per)*-Iter-RETURN/REPEAT-RF Mk thoughts-your (Sg)

do irad dino!
that like that
'Don't repeat your thinking like that (i.e. don't think the same thoughts that you did before)!'

128aa Pod-TUKANG-ai$_1$ ino!
(Per)-Qual-EXPERT-AT-MAKING-RF that (Piv)
'That is to be made!'

128bb Pog$_1$-UMBAL-ai$_1$-po ialo mitangar nong
(Per)-Mid-TEMPT/TRY-RF-NCompM he (Piv) speak if

onu ilo!
what that
'Let him be tempted to say what that is!'

128cc Ada pisingkuOLINGai (pi-siN-ku-OLING-ai$_1$)!
don't *(Per)*-DuRec-NSer$_1$-Aug$_2$-FORGET-RF
'Don't let it be neglected!'
(See also 113e)

128dd Ada pisungkoOLINGai (pi-suN-ko$_4$-OLING-ai$_1$)!
don't *(Per)*-DuRec-Purp-Aug$_3$-FORGET-RF
'Don't let it be neglected!'
(See also 113d)

128ee Ada tokou pisongkoOLINGai (pi-soN$_2$-ko$_4$-OLING-ai$_1$)!
don't we (In) (Piv) *(Per)*-DuRec-Dim-Aug$_3$-FORGET-RF
'Don't let it be neglected by us!'
(See also 113f)

128ff IngKOSUPai (iN$_2$-KOSUP-ai$_1$)!
(Per)-Ag-CATCH-UP-TO-RF
'Catch up to him!'

Example in accessory focus:

128gg	I_1-ATOD-no	ialo	dino!
	(Per)-AcF-ACCOMPANY-CompM	he (Piv)	that
	'Accompany him home!'		

In 128a-l all the examples are in actor focus. In 128a peremptory occurs with first person in intentive mode and in 128b it occurs with second person in intentive mode on the activity verbs **akan* 'eat' and **sauk* 'dip out' respectively. In 128c there are two verbs in peremptory mode, the first is the intransitive verb *ongoi* 'go' with the zero allomorph and the second co-occurs with middle voice on the accomplishment verb **ansak*/*onsok* 'cook'. In 128d peremptory mode occurs with first person and co-occurs with intentive mode and dual reciprocal on the nominal stem *duso* 'sin'. In 128e peremptory mode co-occurs with intentive mode and clarification on the activity verb **panggil* 'call'. In 128f it co-occurs with intentive mode and iterative on the activity verb *ongoi* 'go'. In 128g peremptory mode occurs with second person on an intransitive verb *indakod* 'go up' which takes the zero allomorph of the actor focus morpheme, hence the root alone occurs. In 128h peremptory mode occurs with first person on the intransitive verb *panau* 'walk' also with the zero allomorph. In 128i peremptory mode co-occurs with middle voice and continuative on the activity verb *tangkus* 'run'. In 128j it co-occurs with dual reciprocal on the temporal stem *damot* 'same time'. In 128k it co-occurs with the dissimulation prefix and iterative on the activity verb **longoi* 'sing'. In 128l it co-occurs with petitive on the accomplishment verb **avi* 'finish'.

Examples 128m-v occur in undergoer focus. In 128m peremptory mode occurs on the activity verb **ondot* 'press with one finger'. In 128n it occurs in a negative command with the activity verb **volok* 'shove nose or hand into food'. In 128o it co-occurs with causative on the activity verb **iliu* 'put down' and in 128p it co-occurs with both causative and unnatural on the activity verb *lombus* 'go on, proceed'. In 128q it co-occurs with diminutive on the activity verb **anu* 'get'. In 128r it co-occurs with petitive on the same verb **anu.* In 128s it co-occurs with clarification to give a command that is to be passed on to someone else on the activity verb **unun* 'to make a smudge'. In 128t it co-occurs with intentive mode and unequal distribution in a negative command on the activity verb **gogor* 'shake'. In 128u peremptory mode co-occurs with the restrictive derivational affix on the activity verb **kurupisi* 'crumple'. In 128v peremptory mode occurs on a stative verb **ruvang* 'catch an illness' giving an optative meaning.

Examples 128w-ff are all in referent focus. In 128w peremptory mode occurs on the activity verb **saksi* 'bear witness'. In 128x peremptory mode co-occurs with petitive on the activity verb **anu* 'get'. In 128y peremptory mode co-occurs with causative on the activity verb **turu* 'put drops in'. In 128z peremptory mode co-occurs with iterative on the activity verb *gulin* 'return, repeat'. In 128aa it co-occurs with qualification on the nominal root **tukang* 'expert at making' which functions as an accomplishment verb. In 128bb peremptory mode co-occurs with middle voice on the activity verb **umbal* 'try, tempt'. In 128cc, 128dd and 128ee peremptory mode co-occurs with several different combinations of affixes on the same stative verb **oling* 'forget' in a negative command with the same meaning 'neglect'. These are probably idiomatic phrases (see section 5.5). In 128ff peremptory mode co-occurs with the agentiviser *iN*$_2$- on the activity verb **kosup* 'catch up to'.

In 128gg peremptory mode occurs in accessory focus on the activity verb **atod* 'accompany'.

6.3.2 Imperative mode

Imperative mode has the same affixation as regular declarative statements, but can be distinguished from them by context. Peremptory mode and imperative mode may occur in the same utterance, as in 128a and 129b, where the first verb is peremptory and the second imperative showing that the first action is more urgent or more immediate than the second.

Examples with actor focus:

129a TumIRUvan (um-TIRU-an) dogo!
(Imp)-AF-COPY-Res me
'You copy me!'

129b Pangakan oku-po om mamPANAU (m-poN$_1$-PANAU)
eat I-NCompM and *(Imp)*-AF-Inten-WALK

kito nogi!
we (Du) (Piv) also
'Let me eat first, then let's go!'
(See also 128a)

129c M-AKAN oku-po!
(Imp)-AF-EAT I (Piv)-NCompM
'Let me eat first!'

129d Ada-ko m-ONGOI silo do odorunan!
don't-you (Sg) (Piv) *(Imp)*-AF-GO LocM because rain
'Don't go there, because you'll get rained on!'

129e Nong muli, m-ULI-no!
if return-home *(Imp)*-AF-GO-HOME-CompM
'If you're going home, go!'

129f MogINUM-po (m-pog$_1$-INUM)!
(Imp)-AF-Mid-DRINK-NCompM
'Drink first (and then go)!'

129g Ada Ø$_1$-mogin-si-SIDANG sino tosidangan!
don't *(Imp)*-AF-Dur-Iter-TO-SUN LocM hot-sun
'Don't go out and get sunned in the hot sun!'

Examples with undergoer focus:

129h Bobo-BOBOon (babo-BABO-on$_1$) ino, osusa nong
(Imp)-Iter-CARRY-ON-BACK-UF that (Piv) difficult if

gigintajon!
carry-by-hand
'Let that be carried on your back, it's hard if it is carried by hand!'

129i Po$_1$-SUUT-on$_1$ ialo dogo!
(Imp)-Caus-FOLLOW-UF he (Piv) me
'Make him come after me!'

129j PovoVOJOon (po$_1$-va-VAJA-on$_1$) dogo!
(Imp)-Caus-Iter-FOLLOW/ACCOMPANY-UF me
'Make him accompany me!'

129k Pog$_1$-IUM-on$_1$ iamo-nu do
(Imp)-Mid-LOOK-FOR-UF father (Piv)-your (Sg) Mk

kanas!
meat-and-vegetables
'Have your father look for some meat and vegetables!'

129l SolimPUUNon (so-liN-PUUN-on) gia monorita!
(Imp)-Compr-Vb-SOURCE/BEGINNING-UF Emph tell-a-story
'Let it be from the beginning you well the story!'
(See also 71)

129m PoMOLIjon (poN$_2$-BOLI-on$_1$) iolo do kokorui doisido!
(Imp)-Clar-SELL/BUY-UF they (Piv) some food each-of-them
'Have them buy food for themselves!'

Examples with referent focus:

129n INdaDADan-po (da-INDAD-an$_1$) oruai!
(Imp)-Iter-WAIT-RF-NCompM a-short-while
'Wait awhile!'
(See also 119p)

129o Po$_1$-TUNTUG-an$_1$-i bo ino!
(Imp)-Caus-POUR-RF-Emph just that (Piv)
'Just pour that in!'

Examples 129a-g are all in actor focus. In 129a imperative occurs with the intransitive activity verb **tiruvan* 'copy someone'. Here it seems to mean 'you act like I act'. In 129b imperative occurs with intentive mode on the activity verb **panau* 'walk'. In 129c imperative occurs with first person on the activity verb **akan* 'eat' which is transitive normally but here is intransitive. In 129d it occurs with second person in a negative command on the intransitive activity verb *ongoi* 'go'. In 129e it occurs on the intransitive activity verb *uli* 'go home'. In 129f it co-occurs with middle voice on the activity verb **inum* 'drink'. In 129g it co-occurs with durative and iterative on the stative verb **sidang* 'to sun'.

Examples 129h-m are all in undergoer focus. In 129h imperative co-occurs with iterative on the activity verb **babo* 'carry on the back'. In 129i it co-occurs with causative on the activity verb **suut* 'follow'. In 129j it also co-occurs with causative as well as iterative on the activity verb **vaja* 'follow, accompany'. In 129k imperative co-occurs with middle voice on the activity verb **ium* 'look for'. In 129l imperative co-occurs with comprehensive on the noun root *puun* 'source, beginning' which has been verbalised with the affix *liN-* to form an activity verb. In 129m it co-occurs with clarification on the accomplishment verb **boli* 'buy'.

Examples 129n and o are both in referent focus. In 129n imperative co-occurs with iterative on the activity verb **indad* 'wait', and in 129o it co-occurs with causative on the activity verb **tuntug* 'pour'.

6.3.3 Injunctive mode

Injunctive mode enjoins an action on a third party. The only examples available are in undergoer focus, and the allomorph *-Ø* of undergoer focus occurs. Compare examples 130a and b with 128o and 128r which are peremptory mode with -o_1 and 129i, which is imperative mode with -on_1.

130a Poki-BABO-Ø di Nawon!
(Inj)-Pet-CARRY-ON-BACK-UF Mk Nawon
'Ask Nawon to carry you on his back!'

130b Po$_1$-pi-ANDAA-Ø-ku diolo.
(Inj)-Caus-DuRec-VISIT-UF-I them
'I will have someone introduce them to each other.'

In 130a injunctive co-occurs with petitive on the activity verb **babo* 'carry on the back'. In 130b injunctive co-occurs with causative and dual reciprocal on the activity verb **andaa* 'visit'.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the combinatorial possibilities of inflectional and other affixation have been illustrated. Inflectional affixation includes iterative, punctiliar and durative. Other affixation that does not seem to fit either the inflectional or derivational category are 'multiple' type affixes which include comprehensive, plural and two kinds of reciprocal. Another kind of affixation that does not seem to fit any category is desiderative. The problem with calling some of these latter affixes inflectional is that they do not fit the classification of inflectional. As a class they are not obligatory on the verb, and do not show opposition with other affixes. On the other hand they are not class-changing affixes as derivational affixes are. Therefore it seems better to leave them as a separate classification.

The final section is on irrealis which includes three types of commands.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Kadazan is one of the Bornean languages which is related to Philippine languages and shares many of the same grammatical features such as the focus system. An elaborate system of affixes has developed over the years as Kadazan has become more and more divergent from the parent language. Many functors have been reduced to affixes and have become attached to the verb. This has also led to an increase in the number of focuses so that Kadazan has a system whereby any argument in a clause, whether core or peripheral, can be made the pivot of the clause with special marking on the verb to indicate its status. There seems to be a drift towards everything important in the sentence being closely associated with the verb, usually in the form of affixes. This has led further to the development of vowel harmony which acts as a cohesive device on each word.

In the study of the affixes there were problems in deciding which were inflectional and which derivational affixes. The focus affixes and tense aspect affixes seem to be definitely classed as inflectional since they are obligatory on the verb and form a regular paradigm, but they are not without problems. For example, the addition of a referent focus affix to a noun root can verbalise the noun. Similarly, the addition of the completive aspect to a noun can verbalise it. In other respects these affixes act like inflectional affixes. In addition to the easily identified inflectional and derivational affixes there is a substantial group of affixes that do not seem to fit either category, as they have characteristics of both inflectional and derivational affixation. Probably more study needs to be done on affixation to determine what categories of affixation are found in other languages. Kadazan certainly seems to have more than the traditional categories of inflectional and derivational affixation, as there are at least two plural-like affixes, two syntactic affixes and other affixes such as desiderative and reciprocal which have characteristics of both inflectional and derivational affixes.

In Chapter 2 it was stated that the purpose of this study was to use a semantic classification of Kadazan verbs in order to account for the semantic relation between a given predicate and its arguments. Classification was done following Dowty's (1979) theory of verb semantics. Although a semantic classification does not simplify all the complexities of the Kadazan verbal system, nor does it account for all the relations between the predicate and its arguments, yet there are some regularities seen. Much of the morphology can be accounted for by using this approach. More study needs to be done particularly in the area of co-occurrences of affixes on the different classes of verbs, especially where there seem to be gaps in the data. It has been noted that there is a basic dichotomy in Kadazan between intentive and non-intentive affixation. In using Dowty's classification, the intentive mode affixes occurred on the agentive verbs found in his classification and non-intentive mode affixes occurred on the non-agentive verbs. These affixes also function to change the class of many verbs from agentive to non-agentive and vice versa.

In Chapters 5 and 6 the combinatorial possibilities of the affixes are illustrated. Restrictions of co-occurrence of affixation were noted. There is a finite set of co-occurrences of the affixes, and most of those encountered to date have been illustrated. No doubt a skilled native speaker would have a much larger repertoire than those included in this study, but the ones included are undoubtedly the commonly used ones. It would be useful to try to fill in the gaps with the help of a native speaker in order to understand better this rich and varied language.

One other topic that could be a fruitful one for a future study of the language is determining the status of Kadazan as an accusative or ergative language. Beatrice Clayre (personal communication) claims that object focus is the preferred focus in Ranau Dusun which is closely related to Eastern Kadazan. This also is said to be true of Tagalog in the Philippines. According to Walton (1983) Pangutaran Sama, another Philippine language, is an ergative language. It may be that Kadazan/Dusun could be considered a partially ergative language also.

Another approach to the study of the Kadazan verb and its affixes could be taken following De Guzman (1979). She follows a lexicase framework to analyse and describe the affixation of Tagalog. Using this approach she describes the case relations and case frames of Tagalog verbs and writes rules for the derivation of the verbs. A similar approach could be followed for Kadazan and this would lead to much deeper insights into the regularities of the verbal system.

Appendix 1

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

The Kadazan alphabet contains the following letters: *a, b, d, g, i, j, k, l, ll, m, n, ng, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y*. The /*a*/ is a low, central, unrounded vowel. /*i*/ is a high, close, front, unrounded vowel. /*o*/ is a mid, open, central, unrounded vowel. /*u*/ is a high, close, back, rounded vowel. Most of the consonants are pronounced as in English except for the following: /*j*/ is a voiced alveolopalatal grooved fricative on some parts of the river, but on other parts it is a voiced alveolopalatal grooved affricate. In some families it is pronounced as *y*. The /*l*/ is a dark *l* in most Kadazan words, but a clear *l* in borrowed words. There are very few cases where there is contrast between them; in these cases the dark *l* is written as /*ll*/. Some speakers speak with a dental *t* and *d*, while most do not. The /*v*/ is a voiced bilabial fricative. A glottal stop is found in very few words so there is no need to include it in the orthography. It does not occur in any of the examples. It does not occur between like vowels, all of which are interpreted as long vowels even when an affix ending in a vowel occurs before a vowel-initial root.

Stress occurs on the penultimate syllable of a word. When suffixes and clitics are added to a stem the stress shifts from the penultimate syllable of the stem to the penultimate syllable of the new word. For example, with the root *ongoi* the stress is on *o* giving *o'ngoi*. With the addition of the suffix *-on* the stress shifts giving *ongoi'on*. With the addition of the clitic *-ku* the stress shifts again giving *ongoion'ku*.

Appendix 2

ALLOMORPHY AND VOWEL HARMONY

Most prefixes that have a CVC pattern end in *N*. *N* stands for a nasalised consonant which assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant. The following affixes have the *N* : *biN-, iN-, piN-, poN-, soN-, toN-*. For example, *poN-* has the following variants:

poN- + *p, b, v* becomes *pom-*
poN- + *t, s,* becomes *pon-*
poN- + *k* becomes *pong-*
poN- followed by a vowel becomes *pong-*
poN- + *d, g, j, l, r* becomes *pongo-*

with the prefixes *piN-*, *poN*$_1$-, *poN*$_2$- and *soN-* the following *p, b, v, t, d, s, k* are suppleted by the preceding nasal;

with the prefixes *toN-* and *biN-* there is no suppletion (see also note 18);

the prefix *iN*$_1$- seems to be irregular, but two morphemes may be involved here.

In all cases *d, g, j, l, r* retain the initial consonant after the allomorph *pongo-*.

Vowel harmony takes place following a simple set of rules.

(1) If the first vowel in the root is an /*a*/ then the /*o*/'s in the prefix become /*a*/ also. Similarly if the suffix has an /*a*/ then the /*o*/'s in the root become /*a*/ by vowel harmony going from right to left. Vowel harmony is blocked by the vowels /*i*/ or /*u*/ (e.g. *RONGOU* becomes *kinaRANGan*, but *ODU* becomes *piODUan*, and *OBI* becomes *noOBIan*).

(2) If the suffix contains /*o*/ then /*a*/ in the root becomes /*o*/ by vowel harmony from right to left (e.g. *AVI* becomes *OVIo* and *GANTI* becomes *poGONTIo*).

(3) If the suffix contains an /*a*/ then all /*a*/'s preceding the vowels /*i*/ or /*u*/ become /*o*/ (e.g. *JANJI* becomes *noJONJIan* and *RATU* becomes *noROTUan*). The prefixes *pod-* 'qualification', *pog*$_3$- 'immediacy' and *pog*$_2$- 'associative collective' do not follow the rules of vowel harmony (e.g. *modPATAI* and *pogNAVAU*).

In some villages when reduplication of the *rV-* takes place and is preceded by an affix ending in /*n*/, the /*r*/ changes to /*d*/ (e.g. *pinduRUAKan*, *mongindoROSI*).

Appendix 3

SOME MAJOR AFFIXATION OF THE VERB

	AF	UF		RF		AcF	TF		DF		AbF	
Apt												
NComp	*ko-*	*ko-*	*-on*	*ko-*	*-an*	*iko-*	*ko-*	*-an*	*ko-*	*-on*		
Comp				*kino-*	*-an*	*niko-*	*kino-*	*-an*	*kino-*	*-on*		
Dram												
NComp		*ko-*	*-o*	*ko-*	*-ai*		*ko-*	*-ai*				
Comp		*kino-*	*-o*	*kino-*	*-ai*		*kono-*	*-ai*				
Caus												
NComp	*mo-/po-*	*po-*	*-on*	*po-*	*-an*	*ipo-*					*ipo-*	*-an*
Comp	*mino-*	*pino-*		*pino-*	*-an*	*nipo-*					*nipo-*	*-an*
Dram	*po-*	*po-*	*-o*	*po-*	*-ai*							
Mid												
NComp	*mog-*	*pog-*	*-on*	*pog-*	*-an*	*ipog-*	*pog-*	*-an*				
Comp	*minog-*	*pinog-*		*pinog-*	*-an*	*nipog-*	*pinog-*	*-an*				
Dram	*pog-*	*pog-*	*-o*	*pog-*	*-ai*							
DuRec												
NComp	*mi-*	*pi-*	*-on*	*pi-*	*-an*	*ipi-*						
Comp	*mini-*	*pini-*		*pini-*	*-an*	*nipi-*						
Dram	*pi-*	*pi-*	*-o*	*pi-*	*-ai*							
UnDist												
NComp	*miN-*	*piN-*	*-on*	*piN-*	*-an*	*ipiN-*						
Comp	*miniN-*	*piniN-*		*piniN-*	*-an*	*nipiN-*						
Dram	*piN-*	*piN-*	*-o*	*piN-*	*-ai*							

Appendix 4

MINI DICTIONARY PART 1

(This section contains a few representative entries with typical roots to illustrate their affixation. A * means a non-occurrent form.)

***gamit** V.

1 mangagamit, minangagamit, gomiton, ginamit, gomito (AF, UF) *catch (caught), is (was caught)*

2 pononggomiton (UF) *be helped with getting*

3 nopoisusunggamit (UF) *was passed on from one generation or language to another*

***ilo** V.

1 koilo, nokoilo, oilaan noilaan (AF, RF NInten) *know, knew, is (was) known*

2 moilo (AF) *know how to, be useful*

3 koilaan, nokoilaan (AbF) *how it is (was) known*

4 mongiloilo (AF Inten) *study, learn*

5 poilo, poiloon, pinoilo (AF, UF Caus) *tell (told)*

6 mokipoilo (AF) *ask to know* (lit. *ask [someone] to tell)*

***kakat** V.

1 mangakat, minangakat, kakaton, kinakat (AF, UF Inten) *lift(ed), is (was) lifted*

2 kakato (UF) *let it be lifted!*

3 mingkakat, miningkakat (AF Intran) *stand (stood)*

4 ingkakat (AF) *stand up!*

5 poingkakat (AF) *be in a standing position*

6 ingkokoton, ningkokoton, noingkokoton (DF) *place that is (was) stood at*

odop V.

1 modop, minodop (AF Intran) *sleep (slept)*

2 odop (AF Per) *sleep!*

3 modop-odop (AF Intr) *lie down to sleep*

4 siodop, siodopon (AF, UF) *sleepy*

5 nokoodop (AF NInten) *fell asleep*

6 nongokoodop (AF NInten) *all fell asleep*

7 koodop (AF Apt) *able to sleep*

8 poodopon, poodopo (UF) *put to sleep, cause to sleep*

9 poingodop (AF) *be asleep*

10 mosingongodop (AF) *pretend to be asleep*

11 pirodopon, pinirodopon (DF) *sleep (slept) badly*

12 momirodop, torodopon, turiodopon (AF, DF) *sleep walk* (there may be slight variations in the meaning of these terms)

13 kaadapan (TF) *time to sleep, bedtime*

14 mokiodop (AF) *ask to sleep*

odop N.

toodopon *sleeping place, bed*

***odu** V.

1 miodu, miniodu, pioduan (AF, RF DuRep) *quarrel(led), is quarrelled about (implies at least two participants)*

2 popiodu (AF) *cause to quarrel*

3 moiodu, minoiodu (AF MulRec) *quarrel(led) (more than two participants)*
4 popoiodu (AF) *cause more than two to quarrel*
5 monongkiodu (AF) *look for a quarrel*

ongoi V.
1 mongoi, minongoi (AF Intran) *go (went)*
2 ongoi (AF Per) *go!*
3 koongoi, nokoongoi (AF NInten) *happen(ed) to go*
4 koongoi (AF Apt) *able to go*
5 siongoi (AF) *want to go*
6 toongoi-ongoi (AF Exas) *would go (but doesn't know where)*
7 kaangaian (TF) *time to go*
8 ongoion, nongoion (DF Intran) *place that is (was) gone to*
9 koongoion, kinoongongoion, kinoongongoio (DF) *visit(ed) here and there*
10 poongoi, poongoion, poongoio (AF, UF Caus) *invite, be invited* (lit. *cause [be caused] to come)*
11 mongongoi, minongongoi, ongoion, inongoi, ongoio (AF, UF) *fetch(ed), is (was) fetched*
12 pongongongoi (AF Per) *fetch it!*

MINI DICTIONARY PART 2

(In this section all the verbs in the study, except those in Mini Dictionary Part 1, are listed alphabetically with the affixation that occurs in the examples. Where applicable a citation form is given first for each stem, then the stem and its affixes are given with the meanings.)

***aba** V.
1 maba (Af Intr) *go downstream (downward motion)*
2 kaabaai (RF Dram) *(time) when trees are felled*
3 sikaaba (AF) *want to or about to fall (of trees)*

***ada** V.
1 mangada (AF Inten) *divorce/ignore*
2 iada-ada (AcF) *was ignored*
3 sipokiada (AF) *want to ask for a divorce*

***adau** N.
tadau *sun, day*

***adau** V.
kapagadaai (RF Dram) *is shined on by the sun*

***adung** V.
1 mangadung (AF Inten) *be near*
2 poodungai (RF Dram) *be put near*

***akan** V.
1 mangakan (AF Inten) *eat*
2 minangakan (AF) *ate*
3 pangakan (AF Per) *eat!*
4 makan (AF Intr) *eat*
5 moginakan (AF) *eat (for several days)*
6 mogiginakan (AF) *have a feast (keep eating for several days)*
7 moginakanan (RF) *feasting for several days (at a certain place)*
8 nakaakan (AF NInten) *happened to eat*
9 kaakanon (UF) *when it was eaten*

***akut** V.
1 mangakut (AF Inten) *carry rice*
2 pongokutan, pinongokutan (TF) *is (was) carried (of rice)*
3 nipookutan (AbF) *was caused to be carried (of rice)*
4 pinapangakut (UF) *caused rice to be carried*
5 kopongokutan (TF) *time that rice was carried*

***alai** V.
1 magalai (AF) *dance*
2 nakapagalai (AF NInten) *danced*

***alud** N.
talud *a boat*

***alud** V.
1 mingalud (AF UnDist) *paddle a boat*
2 misingangalud (AF) *paddle a boat aimlessly about*
3 piningoludan (RF) *(a boat) was paddled back and forth*

ama N.
ama *father*

ama V.
1 mangama (AF Inten) *be a father*
2 ponongomoon (UF) *be fathered by*

***anak** N.
tanak *child*

***anak** V.
1 maganak, minaganak (AF) *give (gave) birth*
2 paganakon, pinaganak (UF) *is (was) given birth to*
3 manganak (AF) *adopt* (lit. *have a child)*
4 mananganak (AF) *treat as one's own child* (lit. *take as a child)*

***andaa** V.
1 mandaa (AF Intr) *visit*
2 popiandaawon (UF Caus) *will be introduced* (lit. *be caused to visit)*
3 popiandaa (UF Inj) *(someone) is caused to introduce two people*

***andai** V.
1 aandai (UF NInten) *be good*
2 ongandai (UF) *all are well*
3 andaian (RF) *like*
4 posingandaian (RF) *adorn* (lit. *be made good)*

***anu** V.
1 maganu (AF) *get*
2 sumanganu (AF Intr) *own (get as one's own)*
3 songonuvo (UF Per) *let it be taken as (your) own!*
4 mokisanganu (AF) *ask to get for oneself*
5 pokionuo (UF Per) *ask for it to be taken*
6 pokionuai (RF Per) *let someone be asked to get something for someone else*

***apad** V.
1 mangapad (AF Inten) *block the way*
2 niapad (AcF) *was used to block the way*

***apil** V.
1 mangapil (Af Inten) *defend (in court)*
2 kopongopilan (RF) *time that one is defended (in court)*

***apit** V.
1 mapit (AF Intr) *stop by to visit*
2 moguapit (AF) *stop off to visit at many places*

***arag** V.
1 aarag (UF NInten) *enjoy*
2 nakaaragan (TF) *time something was enjoyed*

***aran** V.
1 mangaran (AF Inten) *eat (polite)*
2 nokoingangaran (AF NInten) *have happened to eat*

***asa** V.
1 mangasa (AF Inten) *sharpen (as a knife)*
2 pangasa (AF Per) *sharpen it!*

***asu** N.
tasu *dog*

***asu** V.
1 magasu (AF) *hunt with dogs*
2 pagasu (AF Dram) *hunt with dogs*
3 pogosuvan (RF) *place which was hunted at with dogs*

asuk V.
1 masuk (AF Intr) *enter*
2 inosukon (DF) *place that was entered*
3 kinopoosukan (TF) *time that something was entered*

***atod** V.
1 mangatod (AF Inten) *accompany*
2 iatod (AcF Imp) *let (him) be accompanied !*

***avi** V.
1 mangavi (AF Inten) *finish*
2 pokiavi (AF) *try to finish* (lit. *ask to finish)*
3 kinooviai (RF) *reason something was finished off*

***avor** V.
1 mangavor (AF Inten) *feel in the dark*
2 monongkuavor (AF) *feel one's way in the dark*

***baagi** V.
1 mamaagi (AF Inten) *divide*
2 poiboboogijon (UF MulRec) *is divided amongst all*

***babo** V.
1 mamabo (AF Inten) *carry on back*
2 bobo-boboon (UF Inten) *be carried on someone's back*
3 pokibabo (UF Inj) *let someone be asked to carry (you) on his back*

***balanja** V.
1 mamalanja (AF Inten) *pay expenses*
2 pamalanjawon (UF) *have expenses paid*

***barai** V.
1 mamarai (AF Inten) *pay*
2 pokibarajon (UF) *ask to be paid*

***baya** V.
1 mogbaya (AF) *ignore someone*
2 pogbabayaan (RF) *someone is ignored (while their goods are taken)*
3 nopogbayaan (RF) *be ignored while (having goods taken)*

***bobou** V.
1 obobou (UF) *dumb/cannot speak*
2 singkobobobou, sikobobobou (AF) *be like a dumb person*
3 mosingkobobobou (AF) *pretend to be dumb/unable to speak*

***bojo** V.
1 mibojo (AF) *obey implicitly*
2 mikubobojo (AF) *obey everything implicitly*
3 miningkubobojo (AF) *obeyed everything implicitly*

***boli** V.
1 momoli (AF Inten) *buy*
2 pomolijon (UF) *let something be bought (by them)!*
3 nipiboli (AcF DuRec) *was bartered for something else*
4 nipimboli (AcF UnDist) *all was sold to various people*

***dadang** V.
1 dumadang (AF Intr) *about to warm oneself*
2 mandadang (AF) *be warming oneself*

***damot** V.
1 midamot (AF DuRec) *do at the same time*
2 pidamot (AF Per) *do it at the same time!*
3 nokopidamot (Af NInten) *happened to do at the same time*

dila N.
dila *tongue*

dila V.
tinondilai (UF) *tongue was stuck out*

diom N.
diom *dark clouds*

diom V.
mongudiom (AF Inten) *become black from dark clouds*

duso N.
duso *sin*

duso V.
pomiduso (AF Per) *commit sin*

duvo Num.
duvo *two*

duvo V.
piniduvaan (RF DuRec) *was divided in two for (them)*

***gajo** V.
1 agajo (UF) *be big*
2 nikagajo (AcF) *honour was shown to*
3 noinggajaan (RF NInten) *kept getting bigger and bigger*

***gamit** V.
1 mangagamit (Af Inten) *catch*
2 pononggomiton (UF) *be helped to get (as bride price)*
3 nopoisusunggamit (UF NInten) *was passed from one language, place or generation to the next*

***ganding** V.
1 miganding (AF DuRec) *be side-by-side*
2 pinoigaganding (UF MulRec) *several were fastened side-by-side*

***gijak** V.
1 gumijak (AF Intr) *scream*
2 poinggijak (AF) *keep on screaming*
3 miinggijak (AF) *scream again and again*

***gilai** V.
1 mogilai (AF) *dance*
2 mitotogilai (AF Exas) *dance!*

***gogor** V.
1 gumogor (AF Intr) *shake*
2 pompinggogoron (Uf Inten) *be shaken by someone purposely*
3 pompinggogoro (UF Per) *let it be shaken!*

***gomos** V.
1 mongogomos (AF Inten) *squeeze*
2 nokopomogomos (AF NInten) *squeezed with the hand*

***gorontok** V.
1 ogorontok (UF) *have pock-marks*
2 sogogorontok (AF) *be covered with pock-marks*

gotuvang Prep.
gotuvang *in front of*

gotuvang V.
ogotuvangan (RF) *is in front of*

***gugu** V.
1 nokogugu (AF NInten) *banged one's head accidentally*
2 poguguon, pinogugu (UF Caus) *cause(d) to bang one's head*

***gujuu** V.
1 gumujuu (AF Intr) *to descend*
2 mujuu-gujuu (AF) *to go lower and lower*

guli V.
1 gumuli (AF) *return*
2 mingguli (AF) *return several times*
3 gugulion (UF Inten) *be repeated*
4 kopinggulian (RF) *reason for returning again and again*
5 guliai (RF Per) *is repeated*

guru N.
guru *teacher*

guru V.
moguru (AF) *learn*

***gusa** V.
1 gumusa (AF Intr) *chase*
2 mogkogusa (AF) *really chases*

***iad** V.
1 mogiad (AF) *cry*
2 sipogiad (AF) *want to cry*

***idu** V.
1 mogidu (AF) *run away*
2 kopongidu (AF Apt) *able to chase away*
3 iduduan (RF) *is run away from*
4 kinoiduai (RF) *time that something was run away from*

***igit** V.
1 mongigit (AF Inten) *hold*
2 ipoigitan, nipoigitan (AbF Caus) *is (was) caused to be held*

***iit** V.
1 mongiit (AF Inten) *bite*
2 niitan (RF Inten) *was bitten*

***ija** V.
1 miija-ija (AF DuRec) *do at the same time*
2 moiija-ija (AF MulRec) *all do at the same time*

***ijon** V.
1 mijon (AF Intr) *live at*
2 pinoijanan (RF Caus) *was caused to be/live at*

***iliu** V.
1 mongiliu (AF Inten) *put down*
2 poilio (UF Per) *let it be put down!*

***ilo** V.
1 oilaan (RF) *is known*
2 koilaan, nokoilaan (AbF) *how it is (was) known*

***imat** V.
1 mongimat (AF Inten) *keep an eye on, watch for*
2 piimat-imatan (RF DuRec) *someone is being watched for closely*

indaau V.
1 mindaau (AF Intr) *go down*
2 indaau (AF Dram) *go down!*

***indad** V.
1 mongindad (AF Inten) *wait*
2 indadadan (RF Per) *let someone be waited for!*

indakod V.
1 mindakod (AF Intr) *go up*
2 indakod (AF Per) *come up!*
3 kinoindokodon (DF Apt) *having been able to go up (into the house)*

ingkojod V.
1 mingkojod (AF Intr) *to stop*
2 mingkokojod (AF Intr) *keep stopping (to take a rest)*

inong V.
1 inong *be like*
2 minong (AF) *be like*
3 piinongon (UF DuRec) *(two things) were made alike*
4 koinongo (UF Dram) *can be compared to*

***inum** V.
moginum (AF) *drink (usually strong drink)*

***ipi** V.
1 oipi, noipi (UF NInten) *dream(t)*
2 toroipiipijon (UF) have several short dreams
3 kinoipijan (TF) *time it was dreamt by someone*

iso Num.
iso *one*

iso V.
monoroiso (AF Inten) *go one by one*

***isop** V.
1 mongisop (AF Inten) *suck*
2 popoisop (AF Caus) *make someone drink something*

***ium** V.
1 mogium (AF) *look for*
2 pogiumon (UF Imp) *have something be looked for!*
3 nokopogiuman (TF) *time that someone happened to be looked for*
4 kinopogiuman (TF) *time that someone was looked for*

***iup** V.
1 mongiup (AF Inten) *drink*
2 moginiupon (UF) *was being drunk over a period of time*
3 nipoiup (AcF Caus) *was caused to drink*

kaa V.
1 kumaa (AF Intr) *go*
2 sangkakaa (AF) *be like this*

kabang N.
kabang *mouth*

kabang V.
tumingkabang (AF Intr) *open one's mouth*

***kakat** V.
1 mangakat (AF Inten) *lift*
2 ingkakat (AF Per) *stand up!*
3 mingkakat (AF) *stand up (from another position)*
4 mingkakakat (AF) *keep standing up (and sitting down again)*

***kakib** V.
1 mangakib (AF Inten) *break off a piece*

2 tarasangkakib-kakib (AF) *break up in small pieces*

kasut N.
kasut *shoes*

kasut V.
1 mangangkasut (AF) *put on shoes*
2 mogkasut (AF) *put on shoes*

***kibit** V.
1 mongibit (AF Inten) *to carry in arms*
2 pikikibitai (RF Dram) *be carried by someone*

***kili** V.
1 kumili (AF Intr) *lie down*
2 sikikili (AF) *want to lie down*

***kinam** V.
1 monginam (AF Inten) *to try*
2 kinamai (RF Per) *let it be tried!*

kongkog N.
kongkog *fever*

kongkog V.
1 kangkagai (RF Dram) *have a fever*
2 kangkagan (RF) *have a fever*

***konos** V.
1 mongonos (AF Inten) *whisper*
2 tikonos-konos (UF) *be whispering*

***kopor** V.
1 kumopor (AF Intr) *shake*
2 popikoporo (UF Per) *let it be caused to be shaken!*
3 popingkoporon (UF Caus) *is being caused to be shaken*

***kosup** V.
1 mingkosup (AF Intr) *to catch up*
2 ingkosupai (RF Per) *let (him) be caught up to!*

***kotob** V.
1 mongotob (AF Inten) *cut (as a thread)*
2 ipongotob (AcF) *is used to cut (as thread)*

***kotot** V.
nokotot (UF NInten) *was full*

***kuri** V.
1 monguri (AF Inten) *work, cook*
2 kurion (UF Inten) *be cooked*
3 nokopongurian (AF NInten) *time that work was done*

***kuro**
1 nokuro (UF) *why*
2 nokokukuro (AF) *why ever*
3 kumukuro, kumukukuro (AF) *whatever*

***kurupisi** V.
1 mongurupisi (AF Inten) *crumple*
2 kurupisio (UF Per) *let it be crumpled!*

***kuyung** V.
mokitongkuyung (AF) *sing drunken songs*

***labas** V.
1 nalabas (UF NInten) *naked*
2 mimpulabas (AF) *become naked by taking clothes off one at a time*

***lantung** V.
1 lumantung (AF Intr) *be afloat*
2 poilantung (AF MulRec) *be floating (seems to imply bobbing up and down on the water)*

***lapid** V.
1 mangalapid (AF Inten) *weave (as a mat)*
2 sinulapid (UF) *was woven*
3 pisulopidon (UF) *is woven*

***liduk** V.
1 lumiduk (AF Intr) *run and hide*
2 mitotompoliduk (AF DuRec) *run and hide hither and thither*

likud N.
likud *back (of body)*

likud V.
tumolikud (AF Intr) *turn one's back*

***lingkong** V.
sokulilingkong (AF) *be all curly*

***lingos** V.
1 lumingos (AF) *heal*

2 nolingos (UF NInten) *was healed (of an illness)*
3 nolingasan (RF Inten) *was healed (of a person)*

***liong** V.
1 oliong (UF NInten) *disappear*
2 songiliong (AF) *all have disappeared*

***liput** V.
1 lumiput (AF Intr) *go around*
2 mogililiput (AF) *put all around*
3 nokopikoliput (AF NInten) *happened to go around and around*

***liu** V.
1 mongkoliu (AF Inten) *chase*
2 nokopongkoliu (AF NInten) *happened to chase*

lombus V.
1 lumombus (AF) *go through*
2 mogolinombus (AF) *keep stopping to visit and going on to the next place*
3 tumilombus (AF) *go straight on without stopping*
4 potilombusai (RF Caus) *cause to be gone through (without stopping)*
5 potilombuso (UF) *be allowed to go through*
6 nokotilombus (AF NInten) *went right through accidentally*

***longoi** V.
1 lumongoi (AF Intr) *sing*
2 posinlolongoi (AF Per) *try to sing* (lit. *pretend to sing)*
3 nokopisinlolongoi (AF NInten) *happened to sing*

***lukat** V.
1 mongolukat (AF Inten) *to redeem*
2 polukato (UF Caus) *cause something to be redeemed*

lumpanit N.
lumpanit *blister*

lumpanit V.
linumponiton (DF) *developed blisters*

***luvap** V.
1 lumuvap (AF Intr) *shout*
2 sopiluvap-luvap (AF) *all yelling at each other (implies anger)*

***mulok** N.
tomulok *youth*

***mulok** V.
misimumulok (AF) *beginning to become a youth*

***ngarad** V.
marad-ngarad (AF Iter) *making a grating sound*

ngaran N.
ngaran *name*

ngaran V.
1 pinungaranan (RF) *was named*
2 nipungaran (AcF) *name was used for someone*
3 pungaranai (RF Dram) *is named*
4 pomungaranan (RF Inten) *is named*
5 nipomungaran (AcF) *a name was given to (him)*

***ngarit** V.
1 mangarit (AF) *grind one's teeth*
2 nokopomungarit (AF) *accidently ground one's teeth*

***obi** V.
1 mongobi (AF Inten) *to help someone*
2 mongobi-ngobi (AF Inten) *often help someone*

ogom V.
1 mogom (AF Intr) *sit down*
2 miogom-ogom (AF) *keep sitting down (and standing up again)*
3 obingogom (UF) *always sitting down (i.e. getting up and sitting down again)*

***olim** V.
mogolim (AF) *hide a fact (keep something secret, deny)*

***oling** V.
1 oolingan (RF) *is forgotten*
2 pisingkuolingan, pisungkoolingan, pisongkoolingan (RF) *be neglected*

3 pisingkuolingai, pisungkoolingai, pisongkoolingai (RF Per) *let it be neglected!* (with negative command ada *don't)*
4 nopiolilingan (RF) *kept being forgotten*

***omot** V.
1 mongomot (AF) *harvest*
2 kinaamatan (RF) *time that (rice) was harvested*

***ompilit** V.
1 mompilit (AF Intr) *wind itself around*
2 minompilit-pilit (AF Intr) *keep winding itself around and around*

***ondot** V.
1 mongondot (AF Inten) *press with one finger*
2 ondoto (UF Per) *let it be pressed with one finger!*

***onggom** V.
1 songonggom (AF) *have a handful*
2 songongonggom (AF) *have only one handful*

***onsi** N.
tonsi *flesh*

***onsi** V.
minomuonsi (AF Inten) *developed flesh (the farmer waits until the vegetables are plump)*

***onsok** V.
1 mogonsok (AF) *cook, boil (water)*
2 pogonsok (AF Per) *cook! boil (the water)!* (alternate form - *ansak)

***ontio** V.
1 mongontio (AF) *sneeze*
2 sipongontio (AF) *want to sneeze*

***ontong** V.
1 mongontong (AF Inten) *look at*
2 ipoontong (AcF Caus) *(what) is shown* (lit. *[what] is caused to be looked at)*

***opung** V.
1 mongopung (AF Inten) *leave behind*
2 iopung, niopung (AcF Inten) *leave (left) behind (on purpose)*
3 miringopung-opung (AF) *dropping things as one walks along*
4 nokoopung (AcF NInten) *left behind (accidentally)*

***ovit** V.
1 mongovit (AF Inten) *carry*
2 mogogovit (AF) *carry again and again*
3 nipoovitan (AbF) *(someone) was caused to bring something*
4 kooviton (DF) *(something that) is brought to (someone)*
5 tooviton (UF Exas) *things to be carried (speaker seems annoyed)*

***paau** V.
1 mamaau (AF Inten) *call out*
2 paavo (UF Dram) *someone was called out to*

pakaian N.
pakaian *clothing*

pakaian V.
mogpakaian (AF) *put on clothes*

***pandai** V.
1 apandai (UF NInten) *be clever*
2 pisimpapandai (AF) *use one's own methods to do something* (lit. *pretend to be clever)*

***panggil** V.
1 mamanggil (AF Inten) *call*
2 pamamanggil (AF Per) *go and call!*

***pasag** V.
1 mamasag (AF Inten) *trample*
2 pinoimpasagan (RF) *(it) was caused to be trampled*

***patai** V.
1 napatai (UF NInten) *died*
2 pipatajo (UF Dram) *were made to fight each other (fight* and *die* are only distinguished by affixation)
3 tumupatai, tumipatai (AF) *die one by one*
4 mompatai (AF) *all are dying*

***pili** V.
1 momili (AF Inten) *choose*
2 pisomilion (UF DuRec) *be chosen from among several*

***pitak** V.
1 nopitak (UF NInten) *dropped (of fruit)*
2 mirimpitak (AF) *fall a few at a time*

***piubo** V.
1 momiubo (AF Inten) *breathe*
2 pomimiubo (AF Dram) *take a few breaths*

***podsu** V.
modsu (AF Intr) *bathe*

***pori** N.
sompori *each one*

***pori** V.
minogpopori (AF) *try to be independent*

***poyok** V.
1 opoyok (UF NInten) *small*
2 moyok-poyok (AF) *get smaller and smaller*

puru N.
puru *island*

puru V.
noimpuru (UF) *be on an island*

***purun** V.
1 momurun (AF Inten) *gather together*
2 pupurunan (RF) *being gathered together*

***putul** V.
1 momutul (AF Inten) *cut off an end*
2 pompisomputulon (UF Inten) *is done at both ends at the same time*
3 kumisomputul (AF) *do at each end*

***puu** V.
1 momuu (AF Inten) *pick up*
2 kopupuu (UF) *has just been picked up*

puun N.
puun *source/beginning*

puun V.
solimpuunan (RF) *be told from the beginning*

raa N.
raa *blood*

raa V.
impuraaai (RF Dram) *is bled* (lit. *blood is produced)*

raas N.
raas *scraping sound*

raas V.
kuraas, kinuraas (AF) *make (made) a scraping sound*

ralan N.
ralan *path*

ralan V.
mongiralan (AF Inten) *make a path*

***rampuk** V.
1 mangarampuk (AF Inten) *burgle*
2 minamarampuk (AF) *burgled*

***ratu** V.
1 naratu (UF NInten) *fell down*
2 tumuratu (AF) *fall one by one*

***ravung** V.
1 rumavung (AF Intr) *come (of bad things)*
2 rurumavung (AF) *keep coming (of bad things)*

***rikot** V.
1 rumikot (AF) *arrive*
2 pompirikot (AF Inten) *have someone come*
3 soririkot (AF Exas) *reach the right amount (or reach a place in time)*

***ringgid** V.
1 noringgid (UF NInten) *tipped to one side*
2 kumoringgid (AF Apt) *will (can) tip*

***romuk** V.
1 noromuk (UF NInten) *broken up*
2 noromumuk (UF NInten) *was wasted* (lit. *was broken up)*

***romut** V.
1 rumomut (AF Intr) *meet someone*
2 piroromutan (RF DuRec) *several places are gone to to do something (one or two people)*
3 poiroromutan (RF MulRec) *several places are gone to to do something (three or more people)*
4 kopoiroromut (AF Apt) *can meet each other (three or more people)*

***rongou** V.
1 norongou (UF) *was heard*
2 korongou (AF, AcF) *can hear, is able to be heard*

***rosi** V.
1 rumosi (AF Intr) *be afraid*
2 indorosijan (RF Inten) *be scared by someone* (lit. *is made afraid)*

***ruak** V.
1 noruak (UF NInten) *tear*
2 pinduruakon (UF) *be torn up in many pieces*

***ruang** V.
1 rumuang (AF Intr) *increase*
2 mirinuang (AF) *get worse and worse (of an illness)*

***rulun** V.
1 norulun (UF NInten) *drifted*
2 korurulun (UF) *has just drifted away*

***rulus** V.
1 norulus (UF NInten) *skin was peeling*
2 mongorinulus (AF Inten) *skin peeled off*

***runtuk** V.
1 mongoruntuk (AF Inten) *damage by chopping*
2 runtuk-runtukon (UF Inten) *be damaged by chopping*

***ruol** V.
1 oruol (UF) *be painful*
2 pokoruol, pokorualan (AF, RF) *curse* (lit. *cause pain)*

***ruran** V.
1 noruran (UF) *had space to be put in*
2 noporuran (UF) *made space to be put in*

ruuk V.
rumuuk, rinumuuk (AF Intr) *go (went) down a hill*

***ruvang** V.
1 noruvang (UF NInten) *caught an illness*
2 ruruvango (UF Per) *may (you) catch an illness!*

sabung N.
sabung *shirt*

sabung V.
1 panansabung (AF Dram) *put on a shirt*
2 nakapanansabung (AF NInten) *happened to put on a shirt*

sada N.
sada *fish*

sada V.
1 mogiginsada (AD) *catch fish regularly*
2 monginginsada (AF Inten) *keep catching fish (and neglecting one's work)*

***sagou** V.
1 managou (AF Inten) *carry water*
2 panagaan (RF) *where water is fetched from*

***sagub** V.
1 asagub (UF NInten) *cool off (of the weather)*
2 asasagub (UF NInten) *be cooling off (of a sick person)*
3 asagub-sagub (UF NInten) *be cooled off (of a sick person)*
4 sumagub-sagub (AF Intr) *be chilly (because of illness)*

***saksi** V.
1 manaksi (AF Inten) *bear witness*
2 soksiai (RF Per) *let (me) be born witness for!*

3 soksianai (RF Per) *let (me) be born witness for!*

***sampak** V.
1 manampak (AF Inten) *punch*
2 misampak (AF DuRec) *punch each other*

***samung** V.
1 sumamung (AF Intr) *meet*
2 minoisamung-samung (AF) *all have met each other*
3 nososomungan (RF NInten) *(several) were met*

***sapu** V.
1 nasapu (UF NInten) *was reached up to (by water)*
2 nopinsapu (UF NInten) *all were flooded*

***sapul** V.
1 sumapul (AF Intr) *attend a function*
2 sopulon, sinopulon (DF Inten) *(the place where) the function is (was) attended*

***sauk** V.
1 manauk (AF Inten) *dip out (the water)*
2 panauk (AF Per) *dip out (the water)!*

savo N.
savo *spouse*

savo V.
1 manansavo (AF) *get married*
2 pononsovoonon (UF) *be (persuaded) to get married*
3 nopinsasavo (UF NInten) *all were married (of women)*

***sayau** V.
1 sumayau (AF Intr) *dance*
2 moginsayau (AF) *dance about for a while*

***sidang** V.
1 monidang (AF Inten) *to put in the sun*
2 moginsisidang, minoginsisidang (AF) *keep (kept) going out and getting sunned*

***sikup** V.
1 nosikup (UF) *something was covered*
2 osikupan (RF) *is covered (of a person)*

***sinsib** V.
1 moninsib (AF Inten) *slice (as meat)*
2 niponinsib (AcF Inten) *was used to slice something*
3 noponinsib (UF NInten) *happened to be sliced*

sodop N.
sodop *night*

sodop V.
manadapan, minanadapan (TF) *do (did) all day until night*

***sogit** V.
1 osogit (UF) *cool, cold*
2 sogiton (UF) *have chills*

soruai N.
soruai *trousers*

soruai V.
1 mongonsoruai (AF) *put on trousers*
2 pononsoruai (AF Dram) *put on trousers*

***suat** V.
1 osuat (UF) *be hit, undergo*
2 pogsuat (UF) *as soon as (he) was hit*

***suli** V.
1 sumuli (AF Intr) *reciprocate*
2 misunsuli (AF) *give as good as one gets (reciprocate good or bad)*

***sunsub** V.
1 monunsub (AF Inten) *chase away*
2 pinokisunsuban (RF) *asked that it be chased away*

***sunsuri** V.
1 sumunsuri (AF Intr) *go backwards*
2 minosunsuri (AF) *went backwards*
3 posunsurionon (UF Caus) *is caused to go backwards*
4 nosunsurianan (RF NInten) *(someone) was backed into*

***suput** V.
1 monuput (AF Inten) *connect*
2 misusuput (AF DuRec) *follow one another*

susu N.
susu *breast*

susu V.
1 monusu (AF Inten) *nurse at the breast*
2 sumusu (AF Intr) *nurse at the breast* (can also mean *be born)*
3 mogsusu (AF) *give birth*
4 pinonsusuvan (RF) *(place) where birth took place*

***suu** V.
1 monuu (AF Inten) *command*
2 miinsuu (AF DuRec) *keep on ordering someone (two people)*
3 piinsuuon (UF) *keep on being ordered*

***suun** V.
1 monuun (AF Inten) *carry on head*
2 kisinuun (AF) *have something being carried on the head*

suung V.
1 sumuung (AF Intr) *go to look for*
2 sinumuung (AF Intr) *went to look for*

***suut** V.
1 sumuut (AF Intr) *follow*
2 posuuton (UF Caus) *is caused to follow*
3 posuut-suuton (UF Caus) *is caused to follow*
4 posusuuton, pinosusuut (UF Caus) *is (was) caused to follow*
5 minisuut-suut (AF) *followed after one another*

suvab N.
suvab *tomorrow*

suvab V.
minonubavan (TF) *did all night until morning*

suvang V.
1 sumuvang (AF Intr) *enter*
2 sinuvangan (RF) *(place that) was entered*
3 songinsuvang (AF) *all are entering*

***suvoli** V.
1 sumuvoli (AF Intr) *exchange, take turns*
2 minisuvoli (AF DuRec) *traded with each other*

***taak** V.
1 manaak (AF Inten) *give*
2 pintaakai (RF Dram) *be given away to various people*
3 nitaak-taak (AcF) *were just given (no reason for the gift)*

***taam** V.
1 manaam (AF Inten) *throw*
2 pointaamon-pointaamon (UF) *keep throwing (as a fishing-line)*

***tagad** V.
1 managad (AF Inten) *cut down trees*
2 tagadon, tinagad (UF Inten) *is (was) cut down*

***tambol** V.
1 manambol (AF Inten) *block*
2 kitambol (AF Poss) *have a blockage*

tanga N.
tanga *centre*

tanga V.
dumatanga (AF Intr) *go into the centre*

***tangar** V.
1 mitangar (AF DuRec) *speak*
2 misintangaran (RF) *boastful* (lit. *eloquent at speaking about oneself)*
3 tinangar-tangar (UF Inten) *was just said (but was not true)*
4 tatangaron (UF Inten) *being spoken, being said*
5 kumitatangar (AF) *speak to each other*

***tangkar** V.
1 tumangkar (AF Intr) *argue/bargain*
2 kobintangkar (AF Apt) *always arguing*

3 binintangkaran (RF) *was argued/bargained with*

***tangkus** V.
1 tumangkus (AF Intr) *run*
2 poginangkus (AF (Per) *keep on running!*

***tanok** V.
1 mananok (AF Inten) *boil (of food)*
2 bintonoko (UF Dram) *be boiled (of bananas and rice)*
3 bintonokon, binintanok (UF) *is (was) boiled (of bananas and rice)*

tanud V.
1 tumanud (AF Intr) *follow*
2 tonudon (DF Intr) *(the one) being followed*
3 notonudon (DF NInten) *(the ones) who happened to be followed*

tapi N.
tapi *skirt*

tapi V.
minanantapi (AF) *put on a skirt*

***tarai** V.
1 manarai (AF Inten) *try*
2 pongintarajan (RF Inten) *something is tried to be done*

***tatak** V.
1 tinatak (UF Inten) *was lost (on purpose)*
2 natatak (UF NInten) *was lost (accidentally)*

tijan N.
tijan *abdomen*

tijan V.
1 momontijan (AF) *be pregnant*
2 notijanan (RF NInten) *got pregnant by adultery*

***tijuk** V.
1 monijuk (AF Inten) *dig in a crack*
2 nitijuk (AcF Inten) *was used to dig in a crack*
3 nokotijuk (AcF NInten) *happened to be used to dig in a crack*

***tingaa** V.
1 tumingaa (AF Intr) *look up*
2 pogtingaa (UF) *as soon as (he) looked up*

***tiru** V.
1 moniru (AF Inten) *copy something*
2 moniruvan (AF Inten) *copy someone*
3 tumiruvan (AF Intr) *copy someone*

***tirung** V.
1 monirung (AF Inten) *shelter*
2 inintirungon (UF) *was being sheltered*

***tokis** V.
1 notokis (UF NInten) *got spattered (of a thing)*
2 tinokisan (RF Inten) *got spattered purposely (of a person)*
3 notokisan (RF NInten) *got spattered accidentally (of a person)*

tolu Num.
tolu *three*

tolu V.
1 pinitolu (UF) *divided in three*
2 kumointolu (AF) *after three times*
3 torointolu (AF) *do three times*

***tongkop** V.
1 tumongkop (AF Intr) *go all over*
2 pitotongkop (AF Dram) *spread all over (as news)*

***topik** V.
1 tumopik (AF Intr)*jump across*
2 sopitopikan (RF) *(he) went back and forth for one then for the other*

***tori** V.
1 tumori (AF Intr) *speak evil*
2 mongintotori (AF Inten) *keep on speaking evil*

toudi Loc.
toudi *at the back/end*

toudi V.
morintoudi (AF) *walk at the end of the line*

tullung V.
1 tumullung (AF Intr) *look down at*

2 podtullung (AF Dram) *look down at (with intent to harm)*

***tulus** V.
1 mongintulus (AF Inten) *curse*
2 inintulusan (RF Inten) *was being cursed*
3 niintulus (AcF) *(what) cursing was said*

***turu** V.
1 tumuru (AF Intr) *to drop, to drip*
2 poturuai (RF Per) *cause (drops) to be put in*

toruol N.
turuol *illness, disease*

toruol V.
1 modtoruol (AF) *have an illness*
2 mosingtotoruol (AF) *pretend to be ill*

***tutu** V.
1 monutu (AF Inten) *pound rice*
2 noponutuvan (RF) *(something) was pounded in*

***tutud** V.
1 monutud (AF Inten) *light (a fire)*
2 tumutud (AF Intr) *light (from something else – as a cigarette)*

***tutun** V.
1 kotutun (AF NInten) *recognise*
2 niintutunan (AbF) *was looked at intently to be recognised*

ubat N.
ubat *medicine*

ubat V.
1 minokiubat (AF) *asked for medicine*
2 nokopokiubat (AF NInten) *happened to ask for medicine*

***ugar** V.
1 mongugar (AF Inten) *dig*
2 nokopongugar (AcF NInten) *happened to be used to dig with*

***ukab** V.
1 mongukab (AF Inten) *open*
2 piukab-ukabai (RF Dram) *is opened and closed*

***ukad** V.
1 mogukad (AF) *dig*
2 ipogukad, nipogukad (AcF) *is (was) used to dig with*

uli V.
1 muli (AF Intr) *return home*
2 nokopinguli (AF) *all have happened to return home*

***ulu** N.
tulu *head*

***ulu** V.
niulu (AcF) was *used to make a handle* (lit. *head)*

***umbal** V.
1 mogumbal (AF) *try, tempt*
2 pinogumbalan (RF) *was tried, tempted*

***unjung** V.
1 munjung (AF Intr) *visit*
2 mogoniunjung (AF) *stop for visits at many places*

***untun** V.
1 muntun (AF Intr) *gather together*
2 potiuntun (AF) *be gathered in a pile*

***upag** V.
1 mongupag (AF Inten) *thresh*
2 noupagan (RF NInten) *happened to be threshed for*

***uup** V.
1 muup (AF Intr) *help/substitute for*
2 mokiuup (AF) *ask for help*

***vaal** V.
1 mamaal (AF Inten) *make*
2 minamaal (AF Inten) *made*
3 vaalon, vinaal (UF Inten) *is (was) made*
4 vinaalan (RF Inten) *was made for*
5 nivaal (AcF Inten) *was used to make*
6 pinamaalan (RF) *place where something was made*
7 minimvavaal (AF) *kept making one after another*
8 vivinaal, vinaal-vaal (UF Inten) *was just made up (was not true)*
9 pinimvavaal (UF) *were damaged*

10 sipapamaal (AF) *want to plant* (lit. *cause to make)*

vaig N.
vaig *water*

vaig V.
puvoigan (RF) *water is put on*

vaja V.
1 maja (AF Intr) *follow, accompany*
2 pavaja (AF Caus) *cause to follow, accompany*
3 tivaja (UF) *follow without permission*
4 povovojoon, povojo-vojoon (UF Caus) *be caused to follow*

valu Num.
valu *eight*

valu V.
torovoluan (RF) *eight are given to each one*

***vatou** V.
1 mamatou (AF Inten) *weave (as a mat)*
2 nakapamatou (AF NInten) *happened to weave*

***vingo** V.
1 momingo (AF Inten) *refuse to listen*
2 mikovingo-vingo (AF DuRec) *refuse to listen to anything*

***voro** V.
1 momoro (AF Inten) *look to one side*
2 mitongkuvoro (AF DuRec) *keep looking from side to side*
3 mintongkukuvoro (AF UnDist) *keep looking around as if about to do something (but does not do anything)*

***vorun** V.
1 momorun (AF Inten) *create*
2 kinovorunan (RF) *reason something was created*

***vudut** V.
1 momudut (AF Inten) *tell a lie*
2 pokovuduton (UF Caus) *someone may be caused to tell a lie*

***vulai** V.
1 mimvulai (AF Intr) *appear*
2 inimvulai (UF) *was produced (made to appear)*

NOTES

1. The field research in Eastern Kadazan on which this study is based was carried out by the author over a period of almost 20 years starting in 1965 when the author first began to study the language during a period of residence at Mile 86 on the Labuk Road. More recently, since 1978, the author has been working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Most of the examples in the study have been taken from tape recordings of texts collected in 1972 and l973 during brief visits with Kadazan friends on the Labuk River. The texts collected were of several different genre: first person narratives, folk tales, procedural texts, expository texts, hortatory texts and a few prayers. The language helpers were of both sexes and all ages of adults from different areas on the river. After they had been transcribed they were checked for accuracy, either with the original speaker or with someone from that village when possible. In some cases it was not possible to return to the original village of the narrator, and the texts were checked with other speakers of the language. In the latter case the material was not used as part of the input for this study, though it was entered in the dictionary.

2. In actor focus (see section 2.4) for all noun phrases there is an hierarchy of agent non-agent, where the agent always precedes non-agent arguments. In other focuses if the arguments are manifested by noun phrases this rule still holds. However, if the arguments are pronouns the hierarchy is first person second person third person. (Note that this hierarchy is only applicable to core arguments which are explained in section 2.6.2.)

3. Wherever there is an infix or a morphophonemic change obscuring the affixes or the root, or when vowel harmony is in effect, the component parts of the verb and its affixes will be repeated in brackets following the example.

4. The term 'focus' has also been termed 'focussed activity-relation' and 'focus complement' by Pike (1963); 'topic' by McKaughan (1962); 'topic-voice relationship' by Kerr (1965).

5. These seven terms have been used differently by different authors. For that reason, in this study each of these terms will be defined separately in the respective sections where they are discussed in Chapter 3.

6. The term valence means the number of arguments that a verb can take. For example an intransitive verb takes only one argument, traditionally called 'subject', and hence has a valence of one, e.g. *The boy is swimming.* (The term 'valence' is taken from chemistry where each element has its 'valence'. For instance water has two parts of hydrogen and one of oxygen, written as H_20.) A transitive verb, such as *eat*, can take two arguments, traditionally called 'subject' and 'object', and hence has a valence of two, e.g. *The boy ate a banana.* Some transitive verbs, such as *give*, can take three arguments, 'subject', 'object' and 'indirect object', e.g. 'The boy gave me a book.'.

7. See Wolfenden (1961)

8. The two clitics can be phonologically joined to the verb. They appear frequently in the examples. Example 88q shows both the pronoun clitic and an outer clitic together.

9. When the completive co-occurs with the actor focus allomorph *-um-* on an intransitive verb it precedes the *-um-* as in *r-**in-um**-uuk* 'went downhill'. When it co-occurs with the actor focus allomorph *m-* which occurs on vowel-initial intransitive stems it follows the *m-* as in ***m-in***-*ongoi* 'went'. (Similarly it follows the *m-* which replaces a bilabial consonant as in ***m-in***-*odsu* *m-in-podsu* 'bathed'.)

10. There are some idiosyncratic functions of undergoer and referent focus when they occur on stative verbs. When undergoer focus occurs with non-intentive mode on certain stative verbs the *thing* affected becomes pivot. With the same stem using referent focus and non-intentive mode the *person* affected becomes the pivot. On other stative verbs intentive mode affixation functions to make the affected person the pivot in either undergoer or referent focus depending on the verb. Compare the following sets of examples.

1a N-o-LINGOS-Ø i kongkog-ku.
Comp-NInten-HEAL-UF PivM fever-my
'My fever was healed.'

1b NoLINGASan (n-o-LINGOS-an$_1$) oku.
Comp-NInten-HEAL-RF I
'I was healed.'

2a O-SOGIT-Ø kosodop.
NInten-COLD-UF last-night
'It was cold last night.'

2b Ø$_4$-SOGIT-on$_1$ oku.
(Inten)-COLD-UF I
'I have chills.'

2c KANGKAGan (Ø$_4$-KONGKOG-an$_1$) oku.
(Inten)-FEVER-RF I
'I have a fever.'

3a ALASU (o-LASU-Ø) ilo tadau.
NInten-HOT-UF that sun
'That sun is hot.'

3b LOSUan (Ø$_4$-LASU-an$_1$) oku.
(Inten)-HOT-RF I
'I am perspiring (from the heat).'

4a AANDAI (o-ANDAI-Ø) ilo.
NInten-GOOD-UF that
'That is good.'

4b Ø-ANDAI-an$_1$ oku.
(Inten)-GOOD-RF I
'I like it.'

11. It could be posited that *-an*$_3$ has an allomorph *-ai*$_3$ based on the analogy of what happens with referent and temporal focuses. No example occurs in the texts nor has it been possible to elicit one, therefore it will not be included.

12. The auxiliary verb *mangan* is irregular. It appears in the following forms *mangan, maan, minangan, mangai, angai.* The suffixes *-an* and *-ai* seem to be referent focus suffixes, but there seems to be no way to analyse this verb that is consistent with the analysis of the other verbs in the language. Even an analysis of the root as zero is not without problems.

13.In this example the /*b*/ and /*v*/ of *SUVAB* are metathesised to **SUBAV* which is affixed as a verb (**SUBAV* unaffixed is an impossible form).

14. In some villages there are restrictions on the combinations of pronouns that can co-occur when the verb is causative voice with ablative focus. Example 34j can be used in any village.

15. The prefix *pog*$_2$- does not follow the rules of vowel harmony, but retains the vowel /*o*/. Also it does not follow the normal pattern in which adjacent consonants must occur at the same point of articulation.

16.In the examples given *pogo-* occurs before roots that have /*i*/ or /*o*/ following the initial consonant, and *pogoni-* occurs before vowel-initial roots. Other allomorphs are not relevant to the examples cited.

17. The form *pinuNGARANan* is very rare. The preferred pronunciation is *pinoNGURANan* where there is metathesis of the vowels and vowel harmony is in effect.

18. The prefix *pod-*, like *-pog*$_2$- is irregular in that it does not follow the rules of vowel harmony. Also it does not follow the normal pattern in which adjacent consonants must occur at the same point of articulation. In Telupid and its surrounding villages in the upper part of the Labuk River, the phoneme /*d*/ cannot be adjacent to other consonants so it occurs as an /*N*/. Here the initial consonant deletion that takes place following other *poN-* prefixes does not occur resulting in the occurrence of prefix + root with no changes, except that the /*N*/ is assimilated to the point of articulation of the following consonant. This fact made it easier to identify occurrences of this prefix since it was homophonous with a number of other prefixes.

19. Clayre (1967) uses the term 'immediate imperative' where I use 'peremptory'.

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