

A GRAMMAR OF WEST COAST BAJAU

by

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Edith Mirafuentes, whose loving service to the West Coast Bajau people has always inspired me.

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ABSTRACT
A GRAMMAR OF WEST COAST BAJAU

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This dissertation is a description of the grammar of West Coast (WC) Bajau, a western Austronesian language spoken in Sabah, Malaysia by some 60,000 people. Drawing extensively from elicited data as well as a corpus of compiled texts, I describe the language at its various levels: phonology, morphology, phrase structure, clause structure, clause-combining operations, and discourse. In its verbal morphology, WC Bajau shows a (marked) actor-orientation vs. (unmarked) undergoer orientation with both transitive and intransitive verb roots. I show evidence for a verb phrase in WC Bajau, in one (and possibly two) voices. Investigation of the pragmatic structure of the clause shows that WC Bajau has both a topic and a focal position preverbally.

Though primarily descriptive in nature, the grammar devotes some space to theoretical issues concerned with the voice system, which has long been the subject of debate among linguists and typologists studying western Austronesian languages. I argue on primarily

syntactic grounds that WC Bajau shows little evidence for an ergative-antipassive voice system, as has been proposed for a number of other Sama-Bajaw languages. Instead, WC Bajau patterns as a symmetrical voice language with two transitive voices, as well as a ‘true passive’ voice. In this and other respects, WC Bajau resembles Malay/ Indonesian and Balinese (‘Indonesian-type’ languages) as opposed to the indigenous languages of Sabah and some Sama-Bajaw languages, which show greater resemblance to the ‘Philippine-type’ languages.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	xxviii
LIST OF TABLES	xxix
LIST OF MAPS	xxxi
ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONS	xxxii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 General background.....	1
1.1.1 The Sama-Bajaw: languages and origins.....	1
1.1.2 The setting of the WC Bajau today: Sabah.....	4
1.1.3 The local setting: Kota Belud District	6
1.1.3.1 Historical background.....	6
1.1.3.2 The WC Bajau and their neighbors	7
1.2 WC Bajau society and language use	10
1.2.1 Kinship.....	10
1.2.2 Marriage and other social customs	11
1.2.3 Language use and language vitality.....	12
1.3 The WC Bajau language	14
1.3.1 Dialects.....	14

1.3.2 Internal typology.....	16
1.3.2.1 ‘Philippine-type’ vs. ‘Indonesian-type’ languages.....	16
1.3.2.2 WC Bajau and other languages of Borneo.....	18
1.3.3 Earlier research	21
1.3.4 WC Bajau literature and language development	22
1.4 Methodology, consultants, and corpus.....	24
1.5 Main features and organization of this grammar	26
2. PHONOLOGY.....	30
2.1 Introduction.....	30
2.2 Phonemes.....	30
2.2.1 Consonant phonemes	30
2.2.1.1 Consonant phonemes and their allophones.....	31
2.2.1.2 Phonemic contrasts	35
2.2.2 Vowel phonemes.....	35
2.2.2.1 Vowel phonemes and their allophones.....	36
2.2.2.2 Phonemic contrasts	37
2.3 Non-segmental phonology	38
2.3.1 Stress.....	38
2.3.1.1 Penultimate stress	38
2.3.1.2 Exceptions to penultimate stress.....	39
2.3.1.2.1 Regular ultimate stress with penultimate schwa	39
2.3.1.2.2 Irregular stress.....	40
2.3.2 Length.....	41

2.6	Loan words.....	56
2.7	The WC Bajau orthography	58
3.	MORPHOLOGY: TERMS AND OPERATIONS.....	60
3.1	Introduction.....	60
3.2	Morphological terms defined and illustrated	60
3.2.1	Morpheme, root, affix, base	60
3.2.2	Bound forms, free forms, and clitics.....	61
3.2.2.1	Pronominal enclitics	62
3.2.2.2	Second-position clitics.....	63
3.3	Affixes and their constraints	64
3.4	Morphological typology.....	67
3.5	Inflection vs. derivation	68
3.6	Compounds.....	71
3.6.1	Head-dependent compounds	71
3.6.2	Coordinative compounds	73
3.7	Reduplication.....	74
3.7.1	Types of reduplication	74
3.7.1.1	Reduplication as an inherent structural feature.....	74
3.7.1.2	Reduplication as a word-formation process.....	75
3.7.1.3	Productive reduplication.....	75
3.7.2	The interaction of reduplication and affixation.....	75
3.7.3	Meanings associated with syntactic reduplication	77
3.7.3.1	‘Distributive force’ uses of reduplication	78

3.7.3.1.1	Continued action	78
3.7.3.1.2	Indefinite or ‘diffuse’ action	78
3.7.3.1.3	Plurality.....	79
3.7.3.2	‘Intensification’ uses of reduplication	80
3.7.3.2.1	Emphatic	80
3.7.3.2.2	Diminutive.....	81
3.7.4	Partial Ce- reduplication	82
4.	WORD CLASSES.....	83
4.1	Introduction.....	83
4.2	Nouns.....	84
4.2.1	Distributional properties of nouns.....	84
4.2.2	Structural properties of nouns	86
4.2.3	Subclasses of nouns	86
4.2.3.1	Common nouns.....	86
4.2.3.2	Pronouns	87
4.2.3.2.1	Personal pronouns	87
4.2.3.2.2	Interrogative pronouns	88
4.2.3.3	Identificational nouns	88
4.2.3.4	Locative nouns.....	89
4.2.3.5	Measure nouns.....	90
4.2.4	Affixed nouns.....	90
4.2.4.1	With <i>-an₂</i>	90
4.2.4.1.1	To derive nouns describing the action of the verb	90

4.2.4.1.2	To derive nouns which are undergoers or products	91
4.2.4.1.3	To derive nominal instruments or location of action	92
4.2.4.2	With <i>peN-</i>	92
4.2.4.3	With <i>pe(N)-...-an</i>	93
4.2.4.4	With <i>pe-...-an</i>	94
4.2.4.5	With [<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	94
4.3	Verbs	95
4.3.1	<i>Aktionsart</i> verb classes	95
4.3.2	Verbs in WC Bajau: an overview	97
4.3.2.1	Bound roots	97
4.3.2.2	Actor vs. undergoer orientation	98
4.3.2.3	‘Adjectives’: a subclass of verbs?	101
4.4	Minor classes	105
4.4.1	Prepositions.	105
4.4.2	Quantifiers	106
4.4.2.1	Numerals	107
4.4.2.1.1	Cardinal numerals	107
4.4.2.1.2	Ordinal numerals	108
4.4.2.1.3	The counting prefix <i>eN-</i>	108
4.4.2.2	Numeral classifiers	109
4.4.2.3	Measure nouns	111
4.4.2.4	Other quantifiers	112
4.4.3	Demonstratives (and other deictic elements)	114

4.4.3.1	Demonstrative pronouns.....	115
4.4.3.1.1	Use of the demonstrative pronouns to mark definiteness/ information status	116
4.4.3.2	Deictic adverbs of location	118
4.4.3.3	Deictic adverbs of directed motion.....	119
4.4.3.4	Similative deictic <i>bege</i>	120
4.4.3.5	Summary.....	121
4.4.4	Adverbs.....	121
4.4.5	Interjections	122
5.	SUBJECTHOOD, VOICE, AND TRANSITIVITY	123
5.1	Introduction.....	123
5.2	The problem of defining ‘subject’	123
5.3	Voice in WC Bajau.....	125
5.4	‘Core’ vs. ‘periphery’, ‘direct’ vs. ‘oblique’	129
5.5	Transitivity defined.....	134
5.6	Tests for subjecthood.....	135
5.6.1	Preverbal position	136
5.6.2	Access to relativization	136
5.6.3	Quantifier float (?)	138
5.7	Pronouns and case-marking	139
5.7.1	The normal pattern	139
5.7.2	Some irregular pronominal expressions.....	143
6.	BASIC CLAUSE TYPES.....	145
6.1	Introduction.....	145
6.2	Simple verbal clauses.. ..	145

6.2.1	Transitive clause types	145
6.2.1.1	Word order and evidence for a VP	146
6.2.1.1.1	Word order in UV clauses	146
6.2.1.1.2	Evidence for a VP in UV clauses	148
6.2.1.1.3	Word order in AV clauses	149
6.2.1.1.4	Evidence for a VP in AV clauses	153
6.2.1.1.5	Summary	157
6.2.1.2	Morphosyntactic expressions of core arguments	158
6.2.1.2.1	The UV actor.....	158
6.2.1.2.2	The UV undergoer.....	159
6.2.1.2.3	The AV actor.....	161
6.2.1.2.4	The AV undergoer.....	162
6.2.1.2.5	The use of AV in intransitive clauses.....	164
6.2.1.2.5.1	The use of AV with non-specific arguments	164
6.2.1.2.5.2	The use of AV with oblique patients.....	165
6.2.2	The passive (-in-) construction.....	168
6.2.2.1	Referential properties of the passive actor.....	170
6.2.2.2	Referential properties of the passive undergoer	172
6.2.3	Reflexives.....	172
6.2.3.1	The prominence condition for reflexive binding	174
6.2.3.2	<i>diri</i> as an emphatic pronoun	177
6.2.4	Other non-transitive verbal clause types	177

6.2.4.1 Ambient clauses.....	178
6.2.4.2 Intransitive clauses	179
6.2.4.2.1 Stative clauses	179
6.2.4.2.1.1 ‘Bodily condition’ and emotion predicates	180
6.2.4.2.1.1.1 Body part noun as possessive NP	181
6.2.4.2.1.1.2 Predicate + body part noun as a phrasal unit.....	182
6.2.4.2.1.2 Stative existential clauses (with <i>uun</i>).....	183
6.2.4.2.1.2.1 <i>uun</i> with existential meaning.....	184
6.2.4.2.1.2.2 <i>uun</i> with possessive meaning.....	186
6.2.4.2.1.2.3 <i>uun</i> with emphatic meaning	187
6.2.4.2.1.3 Inceptive existential clauses (with <i>jadi</i>)	187
6.2.4.2.2 Active intransitive clauses.....	188
6.3 Non-verbal clauses.....	189
6.3.1 NP predicates (equative clauses).....	189
6.3.1.1 Discourse functions of equative clauses	190
6.3.2 PP as predicate	191
6.3.3 Quantifier phrase or number phrase as predicate	191
7. INFORMATION STRUCTURE.....	193
7.1 Introduction.....	193
7.2 Pragmatics and normal fronting	193

7.2.1	Subject fronting.....	194
7.2.1.1	Narrow focus and subject fronting	194
7.2.1.1.1	WH-question fronting	198
7.2.1.2	Predicate focus and subject fronting.....	199
7.2.1.3	Subject fronting in narrative text	201
7.2.1.4	Pragmatically marked vs. unmarked focal structures	204
7.2.2	Oblique fronting	
7.2.2.1	Ineligibility of ‘secondary objects’ for fronting.....	206
7.2.2.2	Ineligibility of passive actors for fronting	207
7.2.2.3	Pragmatic status of fronted adjuncts.....	207
7.2.3	A proposal for the pragmatic structure of the clause	211
7.3	Clefting.....	214
7.4	Left-dislocation.....	218
7.4.1	Pragmatic status of left-dislocated constituents	221
8.	THE QUANTIFIED ANALYSIS OF VOICE.....	223
8.1	Introduction.....	223
8.2	The distribution of AV, UV, and passive clauses in texts.....	223
8.3	Voice selection and topicality	230
8.4	Voice selection and grounding.....	232
8.5	Voice selection, grounding, and word order	235
8.6	Conclusion.....	238
9.	DERIVATION AND CATEGORIZATION OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS.....	240
9.1	Introduction.....	240

9.2 The actor-oriented prefix <i>N-</i>	241
9.2.1 <i>N-</i> with bound roots.....	241
9.2.2 <i>N-</i> with noun bases.....	241
9.2.3 <i>N-</i> with color states.....	242
9.3 The actor-oriented prefix <i>be-</i>	243
9.3.1 <i>be-</i> with transitive bases and bound roots.....	243
9.3.2 <i>be-</i> with noun bases.....	244
9.3.3 <i>be-</i> with intransitive bases.....	245
9.4 The actor-oriented infix <i>-em-</i>	245
9.5 The intransitive prefix <i>pe₁-</i>	245
9.5.1 <i>pe₁-</i> with transitive bases.....	246
9.5.2 <i>pe₁-</i> with bound roots.....	246
9.5.3 <i>pe₁-</i> with inherent states.....	247
9.5.4 <i>pe₁-</i> with locative nouns and adverbs.....	247
9.6 The distributive circumfix <i>be-...-an</i>	249
9.7 The reciprocal prefix <i>si-</i>	250
9.7.1 <i>si-</i> with bound roots.....	250
9.7.2 <i>si-</i> with transitive bases.....	251
9.7.3 <i>si-</i> with locative nouns.....	251
9.7.4 <i>si-</i> with reduplicated bases.....	251
9.8 The adversative circumfix [<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₁	251
9.8.1 Syntactic and semantic features of the adversative construction.....	251
9.8.2 [<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₁ with adjectival states and noun bases.....	254

9.8.3	[<i>ke</i> -...- <i>an</i>] ₁ added to bound roots and other verbs.....	255
9.9	The agentive prefix <i>pe</i> ₃ -	255
9.10	The semantic categorization of WC Bajau intransitive verbs	257
9.10.1	Volitional activities.....	258
9.10.2	Change of state verbs	258
9.10.3	Inherent state verbs	260
9.10.4	‘Characterized by x’ relation.....	261
9.10.5	Emission verbs	261
9.10.6	Spatial configuration verbs	262
9.10.7	Inherently directed motion verbs	263
9.10.8	Manner of motion verbs	264
9.10.9	The ‘detransitivizing’ pattern with motion verbs	267
9.10.10	WC Bajau as a ‘split-intransitive’ language?.....	268
10.	VALENCE-INCREASING OPERATIONS	273
10.1	Introduction.....	273
10.2	The suffix <i>an</i> ₁ -	276
10.2.1	Adding or promoting recipient undergoers.....	277
10.2.1.1	To add a beneficiary-recipient	277
10.2.1.2	To promote the recipient of a transfer verb	281
10.2.2	Promoting locative undergoers	282
10.2.2.1	With bound roots	283
10.2.2.2	With three-place ‘transfer’ predicates	284
10.2.2.3	To promote an addressee/ person argument	286
10.2.3	Promoting or adding theme undergoers	287

10.2.3.1	With two- and three-place verbs.....	287
10.2.3.2	With one-place verbs.....	291
10.2.4	Vacuous application of <i>-an₁</i>	292
10.2.5	Summary: the <i>-an₁</i> suffix.....	294
10.3	The <i>peN-</i> instrument prefix.....	295
10.4	The <i>pe(N)-... -an</i> location circumfix.....	299
10.5	Causation.....	301
10.5.1	The morphological causative <i>pe₂-</i>	302
10.5.1.1	With one-place verbs.....	303
10.5.1.2	With two-place verbs.....	305
10.5.2	Periphrastic causatives.....	308
11.	PHRASE STRUCTURE... ..	312
11.1	Introduction.....	312
11.2	Noun phrases.....	312
11.2.1	Measure slot.....	313
11.2.2	Head slot... ..	314
11.2.3	Possessive slot.....	315
11.2.4	Descriptive slot.....	316
11.2.5	Determiner slot.....	318
11.2.6	Apposition of NPs.....	319
11.3	Prepositional phrases.....	319
11.3.1	Locative prepositions.....	319
11.3.1.1	The generalized locative prepositions <i>em-</i> and <i>ta'</i>	320
11.3.1.2	<i>lekat</i> 'from' and <i>lua'</i> 'from'.....	321

11.3.2 Non-locative prepositions	323
11.3.2.1 <i>engko</i> ‘with’	322
11.3.2.2 <i>man</i> ‘than’ (comparative PPs)	324
11.3.2.3 <i>le</i> ‘by; on account of’	325
11.3.2.4 <i>doko</i> / <i>dokon</i> and <i>masam</i> ‘like, as’ (similative PPs)	327
11.3.2.5 <i>sampay</i> ‘until’	327
12. CLAUSAL MODIFICATIONS	329
12.1 Introduction	329
12.2 Tense and aspect	329
12.2.1 The ‘completive’ particle <i>boi</i>	329
12.2.2 The perfect (and perfective) aspect marker <i>ai</i>	331
12.2.3 <i>ai</i> and <i>boi</i> further contrasted	333
12.2.3.1 With negative events	333
12.2.3.2 Discourse functions	334
12.2.4 Progressive aspect	335
12.2.5 Future tense	336
12.2.5.1 Prospective aspect	337
12.2.6 Phasal verbs	338
12.3 Negation	340
12.3.1 <i>nya</i> ‘not’	340
12.3.2 <i>enggai</i> (<i>ko</i> / <i>do</i>) ‘not’	341
12.4 Modality	341
12.4.1 <i>mesti</i> ‘must’	342

12.4.2	<i>buli</i> ‘can’	343
12.4.3	The modal use of <i>teko</i> ‘to arrive’	344
12.4.4	The modal use of <i>ngerati</i> ‘to know’	344
12.4.5	The modal use of <i>panday</i> ‘to be skilled’ able to’	344
12.5	Adverbs	345
12.5.1	Narrative adverbs	345
12.5.2	Aspectual adverbs	346
12.5.3	Adverbs of frequency	348
12.5.4	Manner adverbs	349
12.5.5	Adverbs of degree	349
12.5.6	Adverbs of time	350
12.5.7	Sentence adverbs	352
12.5.7.1	Feeling/ opinion	352
12.5.7.2	Degree of certainty	353
12.5.7.3	Reported speech	353
12.6	Discourse particles	354
12.6.1	The focal particle <i>no</i>	355
12.6.1.1	With NPs	355
12.6.1.2	With verbs	355
12.6.1.3	With aspectual markers and adverbials	356
12.6.2	The focal particle <i>jo</i>	358
12.6.3	The topic particle <i>pan</i>	360
12.6.3.1	<i>pan</i> to mark addition	360
12.6.3.2	<i>pan</i> as a linker	361

12.6.3.3	<i>pan</i> as an emphatic marker	362
12.6.4	The emphatic particles <i>te'</i> and <i>do'</i>	363
12.6.5	Ordering of particles in combination	364
13.	MOOD.....	368
13.1	Introduction.....	368
13.2	Decontrolled mood.....	369
13.2.1	Morphosyntactic and semantic properties of <i>te-</i>	369
13.2.2	<i>te-</i> on perception and psych verbs.....	372
13.2.3	Decontrolled mood in AV.....	373
13.3	Imperative mood.....	375
13.3.1	Imperative mood with intransitive verbs, and verbs with a non-specific undergoer	375
13.3.2	Imperative mood with transitive verbs (specific undergoer): <i>-in</i> and <i>-un</i>	376
13.3.3	Imperative mood and applicativization.....	378
13.3.4	Negative imperatives <i>dong</i> and <i>daa</i>	381
13.3.5	'Urgent' vs. 'soft' imperatives.....	382
13.3.5.1	Particles <i>do'</i> (emphatic) and <i>jo</i> (softener).....	382
13.3.5.2	Passive imperatives.....	383
13.3.6	Permissive imperatives	384
13.3.7	Hortatives.....	384
13.4	Interrogative mood.....	385
13.4.1	Polar questions	385
13.4.2	Content questions.....	387
13.4.2.1	Questioning DCAs.....	387

13.4.2.2	Questioning obliques and other adjuncts	388
13.4.2.3	The use of WH-words as indefinite pronouns	389
14.	CLAUSE COMBINING...	391
14.1	Introduction.....	391
14.2	Relative clauses.....	391
14.2.1	Relative clauses of subjects (= the gap strategy)	392
14.2.1.1	Relative clauses based on intransitive verbs.....	392
14.2.1.2	Relative clauses based on transitive verbs.....	393
14.2.1.3	Separation of a relative clause from its head	396
14.2.1.4	Headless relative clauses	396
14.2.2	Relative clauses (and other descriptive clauses of location) with <i>tungan</i> ‘place’	397
14.2.2.1	<i>tungan</i> as a relative pronoun.....	397
14.2.2.2	<i>tungan</i> as a head noun.....	398
14.2.3	Relative clauses of possessors.....	400
14.3	Complementation.....	401
14.3.1	Sentential complements (S-COMP).....	401
14.3.1.1	Psych verbs	401
14.3.1.2	Verbs taking an indirect speech complement	404
14.3.1.3	Apparent raising with the verb <i>soo</i> ’	405
14.3.2	Quotative verbs (direct speech).....	406
14.3.3	Open complements (X-COMP).....	408
14.3.3.1	‘Order/ permit’ control verbs.....	409
14.3.3.2	‘Promise’ control verbs	410
14.3.3.3	‘Want/ expect’ control verbs	411

14.3.3.4 Immediate perception verbs.....	412
14.4 Adverbial subordinate clauses.....	414
14.4.1 Time clauses.....	414
14.4.1.1 Time clauses with a subordinator	414
14.4.1.2 Time clauses without a subordinator	415
14.4.1.3 <i>sambil</i> ‘while’	416
14.4.3 Locative clauses	418
14.4.4 Manner clauses.....	418
14.4.5 Condition clauses	419
14.4.6 Reason clauses	420
14.4.7 Purpose clauses	421
14.4.8 Extent clauses.....	423
14.4.9 Concessive clauses.....	424
14.4.9.1 Definite concessive clauses	424
14.4.9.2 Indefinite concessive clauses.....	425
14.5 Coordination.....	425
14.5.1 <i>engko</i> ‘and’	425
14.5.2 <i>atau</i> ‘or’	426
14.5.3 <i>tapi</i> ‘but’	427
14.5.4 <i>jadi</i> ‘so; therefore’	427
14.5.5 <i>bo</i> ‘(and) then’	429
14.6 Parataxis.....	430
14.7 Serialization.....	432
14.7.1 Accompaniment	432

14.7.2 Reason.....	433
15. CONCLUSION.....	435
Appendix	
A. SAMPLE TEXT (<i>KERABAW</i>).....	439
B. TEXTS USED IN THE CORPUS.....	451
REFERENCES.....	455
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	464

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

3.1	Affixation of a root, where base = root.....	61
3.2	Affixation of a base, base \neq root.....	61
3.3	Order of affixation with pe_2 -.....	66
5.1	Hierarchy and mapping to pronoun sets for AV undergoer.....	141
6.1	The VP in WC Bajau.....	156
10.1	The thematic relations continuum.....	275
10.2	The actor-undergoer hierarchy.....	276
11.1	Slots in the WC Bajau NP.....	312

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1.1 Typological features of WC Bajau and other Bornean languages.....	21
2.1 Consonant phonemes.....	31
2.2 Vowel phonemes	36
2.3 Syllable types.....	42
2.4 Vowel combinations	46
3.1 Voice affixes.....	64
3.2 Intransitive affixes	65
3.3 Valence-increasing affixes	65
3.4 Nominal affixes	65
3.5 The properties of inflection vs. derivation.....	69
4.1 The WC Bajau pronoun sets.....	88
4.2 The basic <i>Aktionsart</i> verb classes	96
4.3 ‘Active’ affixes on intransitive verbs	100
4.4 The demonstrative pronouns	115
4.5 The deictic adverbs.....	118
4.6 Deictic adverbs of direction.....	119
4.7 Summary of the demonstrative forms	121
5.1 Pronominal expressions of direct core arguments	143
6.1 Word orders in WC Bajau UV and AV clauses	157
6.2 Properties of ‘true’ passive actor vs. UV actor.....	169

8.1	Distribution of voice constructions for semantically transitive clauses in Chamorro text.....	224
8.2	Text frequency of voices	226
8.3	Text frequency of voices (transitive).....	227
8.4	Status of AV patients.....	227
8.5	Status of UV patients.....	228
8.6	Distribution of grounding for the three voices	233
8.7	Distribution of the three voices in foreground vs. background material	234
8.8	Word order and UV clauses (with two realized core arguments).....	237
8.9	Word order and UV foreground clauses.....	237
8.10	Word order and UV background clauses.....	237
9.1	Affixes that derive intransitive verbs.....	240
9.2	Intransitive verb categorization	271
10.1	Valence-increasing affixes in WC Bajau.....	273
12.1	Ordering of clitics in combination.....	366
13.1	Occurrence of <i>te-</i> with the suffix <i>-an₁</i>	370
13.2	Alternative forms of ‘decontrolled’ perception and psych verbs in WC Bajau	374
15.1	WC Bajau and its relation to Malay and other neighboring languages	437

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
1.1 Malaysia and its neighbors.....	1
1.2 Languages spoken in northwestern Sabah.....	9
1.3 West Coast Bajau dialect locations in Sabah.....	15

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONS

ACT	actor-oriented (intransitive prefix)
ADVRS	adversative
ADR	term of address
AGT	agentive
AV	actor voice
APPL	applicative
CL	classifier
CMPL	completive aspect
CNT	counting prefix
DC	decontrol
DC.AV	decontrolled actor voice
DC.PASS	decontrolled passive
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DISTR	distributive
EMPH	emphatic particle
EMPH.PRO	emphatic pronoun
EXCL	exclamation
EXIST	existential verb
FOC	focal particle
FREQ	frequentative
IMP	imperative
INTR	intransitive
LOC	location
NEG	negator
NEG.EXIST	negative existential verb
NEG.IMP	negative imperative
NEW.REAL	new realization
NOM	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
NP _{rel}	relativized noun phrase
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect aspect
PL	plural marker
PP	prepositional phrase
PASS	passive
PREP	preposition
PRT	particle (unknown function)
Q	question marker (for yes-no questions)
REC	reciprocal

REDUP	reduplication
REL	relativizer
REFL	reflexive pronoun
S _{rel}	relative clause
THM	theme
TOP	topic particle
TZ	transitive
UV	undergoer voice
UV.IMP	undergoer voice imperative
VBL	verbalizer

Pronouns are glossed as:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
s	singular
p	plural
incl	inclusive
excl	exclusive
I	set I pronoun
II	set II pronoun

Bracketing conventions are:

/.../	phonemic transcription
[...]	phonetic transcription
=	clitic (word boundary)
-	morpheme boundary

Notations for marking ungrammaticality are:

(?)	no clear consensus on whether or not the sentence is acceptable
*	the sentence was rejected by every native speaker consulted
(*?)	the sentence was rejected by a majority (but not all) of native speakers consulted

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 General background

West Coast Bajau is a language spoken along the western and northern coast of Sabah, which together with Sarawak comprise the Malaysian portion of Borneo island. To the west of Sabah, across the South China Sea, lies Peninsular Malaysia. To the south lies Kalimantan, the Indonesian portion of the island. To the northeast, across the Sulu Sea, lies the Philippines. See Map 1.1 below.



Map 1.1 Malaysia and its neighbors

1.1.1 The Sama-Bajaw: languages and origins

The West Coast (WC) Bajau of Sabah belong to a cluster of peoples related linguistically and culturally. These peoples are generally known to outsiders by the name of ‘Bajaw’ (variant spellings

include Badjaw, Bajau, Badjao, Bajao, Bajo).¹ The Bajaw peoples most commonly refer to themselves as ‘Sama’; their total numbers have been estimated at 750,000 to 900,000 (Sather 1997:2, 5). The composite term ‘Sama-Bajaw’ has been used by linguists to refer collectively to these peoples and their languages. According to Ruhlen (1987:167), the Sama-Bajaw languages form one of eleven subgroups of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian languages.

A total of nine Sama-Bajaw languages have been identified (Grimes 2003:496-8). Seven of these are located in the southern Philippines, most of them in the Sulu region:² (1) Balangingi (Bangingi’, Northern Sama), (2) Central Sama (Siasi Sama); (3) Southern Sama (Sinama); (4) Pangutaran Sama; (5) Mapun (Kagayan); (6) Yakan; and (7) Abaknun (Inabaknon). Indonesian Bajau is spoken primarily on the coasts of Sulawesi. WC Bajau is the only language geographically centered in Borneo, specifically in Sabah. Part of their wide geographical distribution owes to the fact that the Sama-Bajaw have long been known as boat dwellers or ‘sea nomads’, though some have now adopted a sedentary lifestyle (Blust 2005:41). Despite their scattered distribution, the Sama-Bajaw languages “continue to exhibit clear evidence of a close genetic relationship, in phonology, lexicon, semantic structure and syntax” (Pallesen 1985:43).

While most of the Sama-Bajaw languages are geographically located in the Philippines, in terms of linguistic classification they are excluded from the Philippine group. In fact, “to date no one has been able to establish their linguistic position” (Blust 2005:41). Pallesen (1985) has done extensive reconstruction of Proto Sama-Bajaw (PSB) from its daughter languages. He acknowledges that, given “a number of distinctive characteristics” of PSB, including a seven-vowel system and a marked agentive phrase, PSB likely had an Indonesian origin (245). Blust (2005) advances this notion of an

¹ According to Sather (1997:7), “In Indonesia and Malaysia the terms ‘Bajau’ and ‘Bajo’ are regularly used in the national vernaculars, Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia, as a general ethnic-term for all Sama-Bajau speakers”.

² Alternate names of these Sama-Bajaw languages are shown in parentheses.

Indonesian origin of PSB. On the basis of lexical evidence, he infers that the Sama-Bajaw languages originate in Borneo, and more specifically, in the Barito river basin of southeast Kalimantan, which is also the original home of the Malagasy. Even so, Blust notes that the modern Sama-Bajaw languages “do not subgroup closely with any of the modern Barito languages, including Malagasy” (43). Blust proposes that the Sama-Bajaw early on had contact with the Sriwijayan Malay through trade, which eventually led to their migration out of the Barito basin area to become “sea nomads centered in the southern Philippines”, perhaps by AD 800 if Pallesen’s “dispersion hypothesis” (see below) is correct (Blust 2005:52-53). Interestingly, this supposed early contact with Malay traders in Kalimantan might explain why there are so many Malay loans in the Sama-Bajaw languages today. As noted by Blust (2005:43), “if anything, borrowing from Malay in the Samalan [Sama-Bajaw] languages of the Zamboanga-Sulu region has been even heavier than borrowing from Tausug,³ and there are intriguing indications that some Malay loans entered the Samalan languages before the arrival of Islam.”

Whatever their origin, Pallesen (1985) has proposed on the basis of extensive comparative-historical research that PSB speakers were living in the area around the Basilan Strait (near the present-day city of Zomboanga, in the extreme southeast corner of the Philippines) about AD 800. From there, he claims, PSB speakers moved out in a series of dispersions to inhabit islands and coastlands across the Sulu Archipelago and beyond. One of these dispersions, which occurred in the eleventh century, saw the eventual arrival of Sama-Bajaw peoples to the northern coast of Borneo. These coast-dwellers were the ancestors of the present-day West Coast Bajau and Mapun peoples.

³ The Tausug, who speak a Central Philippine language belonging to the East Mindanao subgroup, have had ongoing cultural contact with Sama-Bajaw peoples in the Sulu area for hundreds of years. Pallesen (1985) has shown that this culture contact has resulted in linguistic convergences in both directions.

Some of the Mapun moved on to their present homeland (the island of Cagayan de Sulu)⁴ while the WC Bajau eventually moved inland and southwards (Pallesen 1985:121), in keeping with the present concentration of WC Bajau speakers slightly inland along the western coast of Sabah.

Origin myths among the Sama-Bajaw themselves (including the WC Bajau) set forth a different origin than the hypothesis stated above. Folk traditions recorded in the Sulu as well as Sabah and eastern Indonesia cite the Malay kingdom of Johore (in what is now peninsular Malaysia) as their original homeland (Sather 1997:17).⁵ According to such traditions, the ruler of Johore sent his daughter to Sulu to marry the ruler of Sulu. The fleet of Johore warriors which escorted her was attacked by the Bruneians. The Johore princess was captured and married off to the ruler of Brunei. The Johore warriors could not return to Johore because they had failed in their mission. So some of them settled along the west coast of Borneo, while others became sea wanderers known as Bajau Laut ('Sea Bajau'). If the Brunei ruler mentioned above is to be identified with the first Sultan of Brunei (Sultan Muhamad), as has been suggested, this initial Bajau migration could have occurred in the latter part of the 14th century (Hamzah 1995:3, 5). This is a more recent date than that put forth by Pallesen in his dispersion hypothesis.

1.1.2 The setting of the WC Bajau today: Sabah

Currently, the WC Bajau number about 60,000, spread along Sabah's coastal regions (primarily west and north).⁶ Because most WC Bajau have an agrarian lifestyle and seldom live directly on the shoreline, the Malay term *Bajau Darat* (lit. 'inland Bajau') is sometimes used to designate them. The

⁴ Interestingly, there is still today an extensive Mapun [Kagayan] population in the east coast district of Sandakan in Sabah. Apparently these people settled in Sabah rather than move on to the island of Cagayan de Sulu. This means that "the Kagayan people may have been living in the area [of Sandakan] for nearly 800 years" (Walton and Moody 1984:114).

⁵ In Sather's view, "the association of the Bajau with Johore... linked them to the most prestigious of all Malay kingdoms having historical connection to the region". He thus considers the stories linked to Johore as having "more to do with political ideologies... than they do with actual migrations or literal origins" (1997:17-18).

⁶ This population estimate is based on the previous estimate of 40,000 given in Banker (1984:112) and assuming an annual population growth estimate of roughly 2% from 1984 to 2006.

WC Bajau sometimes refer to themselves as ‘Bajau’ (especially when speaking with outsiders), but more commonly they use the autonym ‘Sama’ to refer to themselves and to their language (*ling Sama*, ‘Sama speech’).

While Sabah is the present homeland for the WC Bajau, it also has large numbers of speakers of several other Sama-Bajaw languages who trace their origins to islands in the Philippines.⁷ As noted by Sather (1997:10), there is “some overlap” of WC Bajau with the Mapun and Southern Sama (especially the Ubian dialect) in the Kudat and Pitas districts along the northern coast.⁸ Yet the great majority of speakers of other Sama-Bajaw languages have settled on Sabah’s east coast. Smith (1984:12) refers to the “East Coast Bajau language” of Sabah, comprised of a complex chain of dialects. Walton and Moody (1984:116) show that most of these dialects correlate with the Southern Sama language of the Philippines. The East Coast Bajau language(s) have borrowed from Suluk (Tausug), the trade language of the Sulu region, whereas the WC Bajau language has been influenced by the Malayic languages further south on Borneo’s west coast, such as Malay (Bahasa Malaysia, the national language of Malaysia) and Brunei/Kedayan (Smith 1984:12-13). Intelligibility testing has confirmed that “West Coast Bajau and East Coast Bajau are indeed separate languages” (Banker 1984:110). The dichotomy of land versus sea orientation is readily observed in these two groups. The West Coast Bajau, settled slightly inland along the western and northern coasts, have become proficient in rice cultivation and livestock rearing. They are famous as horsemen, the reknowned

⁷ Boutin & Soderberg (1998) claim that at least six Sama-Bajaw languages are spoken in Sabah, with a combined population of 100,000. These languages are: West Coast Bajau (50,000); Southern Sama (30,000); Yakan (10,000); Balangingi Sama (7,000); Kagayan (3,000); and Pangutaran Sama. Sather (1997:10) claims that a number of Central Sama speakers have also begun to settle in south-eastern Sabah.

⁸ I have observed this overlap on the west coast as well, notably between Ubian and West Coast Bajau in the fishing village of Kuala Abai in Kota Belud District.

‘Cowboys of the East’.⁹ The East Coast Bajau, who reside along Sabah’s east coast and particularly in Semporna, are oriented toward the sea, being skilled fishermen and boat-builders.

1.1.3 The local setting: Kota Belud District

The variety of WC Bajau described in this grammar is spoken in Kota Belud. Kota Belud District (which includes the major town of Kota Belud) is located on the Tempasuk plain, about halfway between Kota Kinabalu (Sabah’s capital city) and Kudat (Sabah’s northernmost district). (See Map 1.2 on pg. 9 below.) Kota Belud is home to the greatest number of WC Bajau speakers of any district in Sabah. The WC Bajau in Kota Belud numbered nearly 20,000 according to the 1991 census (Malaysia, Department of Statistics, 1995, quoted in Sather 1997:25).¹⁰ Kota Belud is the cultural heartland of the WC Bajau, or so it is regarded by the Bajau living there.

1.1.3.1 Historical background

It is not certain when the WC Bajau initially settled in Kota Belud, but their presence here has been documented since Spenser St. John wrote about them in the 1850s and 1860s (Yap 1995:2). Prior to British colonial rule, which began in Sabah in the 1880s, the WC Bajau were (like the Kadazandusun and Brunei-Malay communities) under the nominal rule of the Brunei sultanate. According to Yap (1995), the WC Bajau were in those earlier days closely tied to the sea, harvesting fish and other marine resources. But increasing contact with the rice-growing Kadazandusuns brought a gradual shift to the exploitation of land resources, mostly at a subsistence level. Barter trading occurred between the WC Bajau and other ethnic communities, primarily the Kadazandusun. This gave rise to the periodical rural markets known as *tamu*, which helped to promote good will

⁹ Horses are not an integral part of most people’s lives in WC Bajau villages today, but on special occasions (such as the once-a-year *Tamu Besar* ‘large market’) they are paraded about, horse and rider alike clothed in bright and lavish costumes and ceremonial regalia.

¹⁰ One problem with relying on census data for determining Bajau population figures is that ‘Bajau’ has become a “generic term” for lumping together members of different linguistic subgroups (Boutin & Soderberg 1998). One example cited is the 1960 and 1970 Sabah census, where the Iranun were included as a subtype of Bajau, even though the Iranun belong to the Danao (not the Sama-Bajaw) subgroup of languages.

between the different ethnic groups. Some WC Bajau traveled further inland for barter trading with Kadazandusun villages.

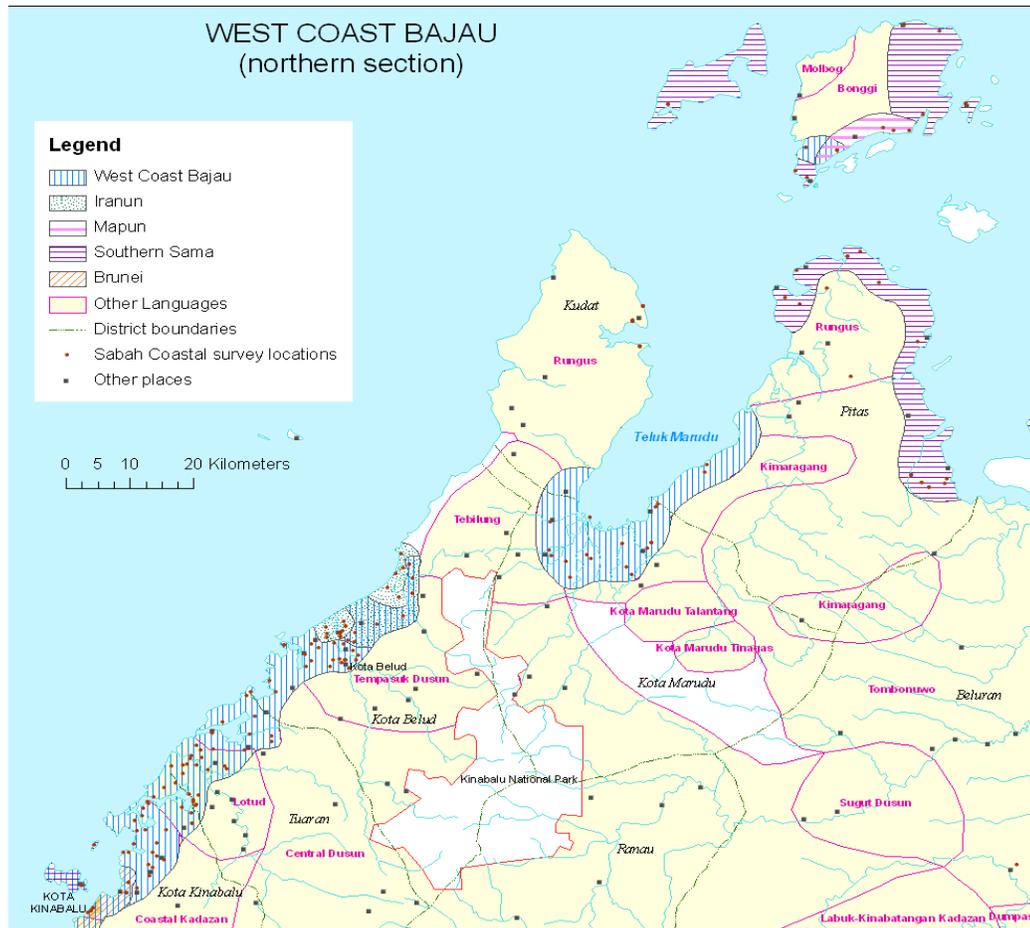
During the period of British colonial rule, WC Bajau resentment toward restrictions to their freedom and having to comply with taxation and a new system of land management led to discontent and even rebellion. Gradually, with the help of traditional leaders incorporated into the colonial administrative system, peace and order were achieved. Interethnic hostility also lessened, which encouraged permanent settlement as well as trade (Yap 1995).

Since the time of independence from British rule in the mid-1960s, a number of trends are bringing changes to the WC Bajau in food production, education, and business/ wage-earning activities. Government subsidies and the increasing availability of tractors have encouraged wet-rice cultivation, at the expense of WC Bajau interest in fishing. There is increased reliance upon hired labor in the rice fields, whereas at one time this work had been done by families and organized work parties. WC Bajau farmers have moved from subsistence production to production for cash (though in the 1980s most of them were still small producers). Subsidiary crops are also grown for home consumption or for supplemental income. WC Bajau businesses are growing in number, but tend to be small and mostly related to food-selling. The number of schools in Kota Belud has mushroomed in the last forty years. Owing largely to the increased opportunity for and appreciation of education, WC Bajau are working today in a variety of wage-earning jobs, including white-collar or professional employment. Improved transportation has enabled many WC Bajau to work in other parts of Sabah, whereas poor transport in former times had discouraged people from leaving their villages (Yap 1995).

1.1.3.2 The WC Bajau and their neighbors

The WC Bajau are not the most populous ethnic group in the Kota Belud District, as they are outnumbered by the Tempasuk Dusun. The Tempasuk Dusun are one of several Dusunic groups

which together with the Kadazan make up the ‘Kadazandusun’, which is the largest (politically defined) ethnic group in Sabah. While there are some mixed Dusun-Bajau villages, the Dusun tend to live further inland, inhabiting areas of higher elevation where they cultivate hill rice and vegetables. Other races in the district are represented in smaller numbers, including the Chinese (centered in Kota Belud town) and the Iranun (concentrated in villages north of the town, along the coast). The WC Bajau and the Iranun practice Islam, whereas the Kadazandusun and Chinese communities practice Christianity and Buddhism, respectively. Some Kadazandusun adhere to traditional religious practices. Map 1.2 below (based on 1998-99 SIL survey data) shows the overlapping distributions of the WC Bajau, Iranun, and Tempasuk Dusun communities on the west coast of Sabah, as well as the locations of speakers of Sama-Bajaw languages other than WC Bajau on the west and north coasts of the state.



Map 1.2 Languages spoken in northwestern Sabah
(Map provided courtesy of Irene Tucker of SIL International)

Intermarriage between the WC Bajau and other races is somewhat common, particularly with the Kadazandusun (where the Kadazandusun spouse converts to Islam). The WC Bajau also intermarry to some degree with the Iranun. However, while there has been extensive cultural borrowing between the Iranun and the WC Bajau, they generally do not live in the same villages. The majority of Iranun live in close proximity to the sea and many earn their living as fishermen. Their social structure is more hierarchical whereas the WC Bajau are more egalitarian. Furthermore, the Iranun language is quite distinct from WC Bajau, as it is closely related to the Maranao language spoken in Mindanao (Philippines) and is not closely related to any Sama-Bajaw language. Hence, although intermarriage

occurs between the WC Bajau and the Iranun, the two groups remain distinct from each another culturally as well as linguistically. There are also speakers of other Sama-Bajaw languages in the area, such as in the mixed village of Kuala Abai (as noted above), though intermarriage does not appear to be common between WC Bajau and speakers of other Sama-Bajaw languages in the area.

While the WC Bajau are not the largest group in Kota Belud District, they are likely the most influential, as reflected by the fact that most people in the district, whatever their ethnic identity, have learned to speak WC Bajau with varying degrees of proficiency. It is a sort of trade language in this region. Conversely, few WC Bajau have learned to speak the Kadazandusun or Iranun languages.

1.2 WC Bajau society and language use

1.2.1 Kinship

The WC Bajau, like many other Bornean societies, are a cognatic bilateral society. Victor King (1978:12) has acknowledged that bilateral societies tend to lay greater emphasis on choice in cooperating with kinsmen. Choice of residence, rather than prescribed kinship roles, is the most important organizing feature of WC Bajau society. Although residence is primarily among kin, the emphasis is on choice.

Only one type of kinship terminology has been identified among the WC Bajau. For the Mapun, a Sama-Bajaw people who inhabit the island of Cagayan de Sulu, three distinct kinship terminologies have been cited, based on whether one belongs to the commoner class or two different nobility classes (Casino 1976:139). The fact that only one kinship terminology is used among the WC Bajau reflects the egalitarian nature of their social system, as contrasted (especially in former times) with the Mapun.

One of the most commonly used WC Bajau kinship words is *denakan*, which literally means 'sibling' but can also mean 'relative' (extending collaterally, e.g. 'cousin', rather than lineally, e.g. 'father'). The word *denakan* can even be used to address someone not personally related to the

speaker, to indicate friendship or brotherhood. Specific kinship terms are shown below, consanguineal terms in (1.1) and affinal terms in (1.2). When the term of address differs from the kinship term, the term of address is shown in parentheses.

- (1.1) *emma* ‘father’
emma too ‘grandfather’
iyang ‘mother’
iyang too ‘grandmother’
pa ‘uncle’ (also what a speaker calls a man his/her father’s age)
bu ‘aunt’ (also what a speaker calls a woman his/her mother’s age)
ka ‘older sibling’
di ‘younger sibling’
sioko ‘oldest sibling’
siari ‘youngest sibling’
kaki ‘cousin’ (no specific term of address; may use *ka*’ or *di*’)
anak ‘child’ (term of address: *nak*)
empu ‘grandchild’ (term of address: *nak*)
anak bua ‘nephew/ niece’ (term of address: *nak*)
- (1.2) *ella* ‘husband’
endo ‘wife’
metoo ‘parent-in-law’
ayuwan ‘child-in-law’
bayaw ‘brother-in-law’ (only used by a male)
langu ‘sister-in-law’ (when used by a male); ‘sibling-in-law’ (when used by a female)
biras ‘co-sibling-in-law’ (the term used for spouse’s sibling’s spouse)

Close family and friends are often called by their nicknames, except when the addressee is at least a generation older than the speaker. Nicknames are usually shortened forms (i.e. the last syllable) of the person’s official name.

1.2.2 Marriage and other social customs

Traditionally in WC Bajau culture, parents chose marriage partners for their children. Today, young people have more choice in the matter. But the customary practices associated with marriage are still observed. For example, representative parties of the bride and groom arrange the actual

engagement (*seruan*). At the *seruan*, someone skilled in the art of highly indirect (metaphorical) speech (*tilaw-tilaw Idaan*) makes the actual marriage proposal, and the bridewealth (*berian*) is negotiated. The wedding is held at the home of the bride, whose family is responsible for putting on an elaborate feast for the entire village. Traditionally, the playing of gongs and drums (*betitik*) and the *runsay* dance are performed the night before the wedding, though frequently nowadays the entertainment of choice is karaoke. After they get married, a couple is generally free to decide where they want to live, and often it is initially in (or next to) the home of either the bride's or the groom's family.

The principle of reciprocity is crucial to WC Bajau social organization. This is observed not only at weddings, where family and close friends pitch in to help with all the food preparation, etc., but also whenever a death in the village occurs. For seven days immediately following a death, a series of night watches (*bejogo*) is held at the home of the deceased, where nearly the whole village gathers to pay their respects and to 'keep watch'. Also, at certain intervals of days (*bangi*) over the next year, a series of ritual prayers (*meseduo*), often accompanied by a meal, are hosted by the family in behalf of the deceased. These events require considerable labor on the part of the family, who will call upon neighbors and relatives alike to help make the necessary preparations. One day they will likely reciprocate when asked to help at someone else's event. In this way, relationships in the village are strengthened and community affirmed. Perhaps this helps account for the popular WC Bajau saying, *Mangan nya' mangan, asal jo kurung-kurung* ('Whether we eat or not, the important thing is that we gather together').

Religion plays an important role in community life. Many of the WC Bajau village events are tied to Islamic practices. When a baby is born, typically within a few days of birth (s)he undergoes a haircutting ceremony (*gunting rambut*) which includes the recitation of prayers in Arabic. On various occasions a family may decide to hold a *mosoduo* 'reading of prayers'. During

this event a man with religious stature in the community (the *pakir*) is summoned to lead the prayers (in Arabic), and *sedeka* ‘alms’ may be given by the participants. The Islamic fasting month of Ramadan (*buan poso*) involves nightly prayers at the village mosque (*surau*) and a village-served community meal. The end of Ramadan (Hari Raya) is celebrated by prayers at the mosque followed by three days of house-to-house visitation. These are but a few examples of the central role of religion in the shaping of WC Bajau society.

1.2.3 Language use and language vitality

Most WC Bajau people are bilingual to some degree with the national language, Malay. Banker (1984) reports in her study of national language intelligibility among the WC Bajau that the average intelligibility was 89% (inclusive of both educated and non-educated WC Bajau speakers). Malay is the language used in education (as the medium of instruction, together with English in higher grades), in government, and in much of the business sector. Meanwhile, the WC Bajau language continues to thrive in predominantly WC Bajau villages, where the vernacular (not Malay) is spoken among young and old alike: on people’s porches and in their gardens, on the soccer field, at the roadside coffee shops and small stores, and at most social gatherings centered in people’s homes. However, some parents are speaking Malay to their toddlers with the intention of better preparing them for their education (in the Malay medium). In fact, in the WC Bajau village of Menunggu where I stayed, I found that of 29 families surveyed, 16 of them used Malay with the children and 13 used Bajau. In some cases, even when both parents were WC Bajau and spoke to each other in WC Bajau, they spoke to their kids in Malay. From my observation, children tend to acquire WC Bajau at some point even if it is from their friends and older relatives. But if the trend of parents using Malay with their young kids continues, it is hard to say whether or for how long the Bajau language will continue to thrive in domestic and village settings. Importantly, the WC Bajau are proud of their language, and

some WC Bajau leaders have called for their language to be introduced as a subject in the local schools.

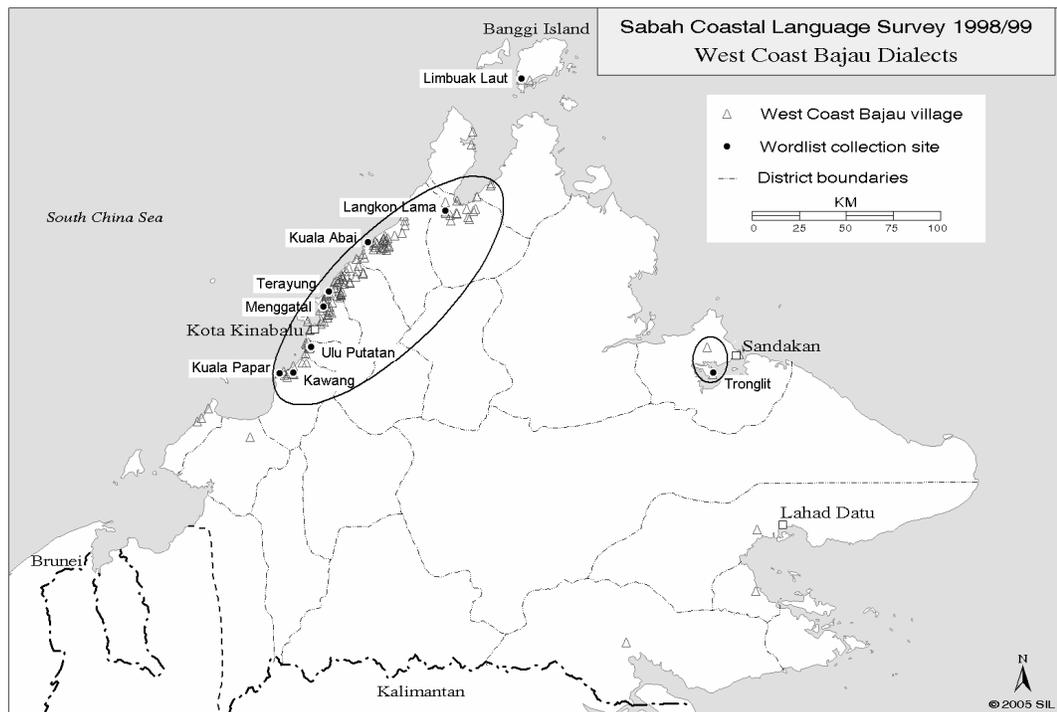
It is also apparent that the older or ‘classic’ language (*Sama dau-dau* ‘Sama of long ago’) is increasingly being replaced by loan words from Malay. For example, the word *male* ‘tired; exhausted’ is an original WC Bajau word, but nowadays some people use the word *lati* (a loan from Malay *letih*). The WC Bajau recognize this trend and they often comment on how only a few older people (if any) can really speak the ‘classic’ language. The trend is more obvious perhaps with lexical items than with grammatical structures. However, it seems likely that Malay syntactic structures are taking hold as well. For example, the predominant ‘actor voice’ word order in WC Bajau today is actor-verb-undergoer, parallel to the ‘active voice’ word order in Malay. This word order in actor voice is much rarer in Sama-Bajaw languages spoken in the Philippines, where there is less contact with Malay.

1.3 The WC Bajau language

1.3.1 Dialects

The WC Bajau consider themselves to speak but one language, though the WC Bajau in Kota Belud recognize that their variety of speech is different from neighboring WC Bajau communities such as Tuaran (the district immediately to the south of Kota Belud) or Kota Marudu (to the north). The precise number of dialects is uncertain. Pallesen (1985) recognizes five varieties of WC Bajau: Kota Belud, Putatan, Kawang, Papar (all on the west coast) and Banggi (off the northern coast), though he purposely avoids using the terms ‘dialect’ or ‘subdialect’ which would indicate degree of similarity or difference (44). Banker (1984:111), citing the results of an SIL survey conducted in 1978-79, identifies three dialects of WC Bajau: “one large central dialect” spoken along the west coast of Sabah; one dialect spoken in Pitas District (on the north coast), and one dialect spoken in Sandakan (on the east coast). Recent survey work by SIL, conducted in 1998-99, has confirmed

Banker’s original findings, except that the Pitas dialect cited by Banker is instead identified with Banggi island¹¹ (Soderberg and Miller, in prep.). Map 1.3 below shows the test points and approximate locations of the three WC Bajau dialects as determined by the recent (1998-99) survey. Circled are (1) the West Coast dialect (along the west coast) and (2) the Sandakan Bajau dialect. The third dialect, Banggi Bajau is spoken on Banggi island and other parts of Pitas District.



Map 1.3 WC Bajau dialect locations in Sabah

A detailed account of the phonological changes between these different dialects is not provided here, except for the following observations: (1) the Sandakan WC Bajau dialect has word-initial [h] whereas the other dialects of WC Bajau do not; and (2) both the Sandakan and Bonggi dialects have

¹¹ Since Banggi island is part of Pitas district, and since speakers of Bajau in Pitas District felt that they spoke the same variety of Bajau as that spoken on Banggi island, the ‘Pitas’ and ‘Banggi’ dialects appear to be the same (Soderberg and Miller, in prep.).

word-medial [l] between identical vowels where it has often been deleted in the West Coast dialect of WC Bajau (Soderberg and Miller, in prep.).

The variety of WC Bajau spoken in Kota Belud belongs to the west coast dialect, though as mentioned above, the WC Bajau in Kota Belud recognize differences between their form of speech and that of other WC Bajau communities along the west coast. For example, a number of Kota Belud residents said that the WC Bajau people in Tuaran (the district just south of Kota Belud) speak more *lembut* ‘softly’ than themselves. Some words are pronounced a bit differently (i.e. [di:ŋ] ‘fish’ in Kota Belud WC Bajau is pronounced [daiŋ] in Tuaran), though I do not (yet) have evidence of systematic sound changes that distinguish these two speech communities. Some of the Tuaran WC Bajau lexical items are obviously of a different source. For example, in Kota Belud the WC Bajau word for ‘plate’ is *saan* whereas in Tuaran it is *kudut*. The difference in this case can be attributed to borrowing, because *kudut* is a Malay word (actually Brunei Malay, according to one Kota Belud informant).¹² The WC Bajau in Kota Belud refer to the WC Bajau in other communities (such as Tuaran) as *Sama dopo*’ (lit. ‘half Sama’) to indicate their minority status in those places. One Kota Belud informant acknowledged that, because of their relative smaller numbers, the *Sama dopo*’ are more likely to be influenced by other, more dominant languages in their area. In this grammar, I focus exclusively on the variety of WC Bajau spoken in Kota Belud District. The degree to which it differs from the other varieties of WC Bajau spoken on the west coast is worthy of further investigation, but the issue is not further taken up here.

¹² The lexical differences extend to items of other word classes besides nouns. For example, the preposition *lua*’ ‘from’ in Kota Belud WC Bajau is replaced by *nang* in Tuaran.

1.3.2 Internal typology

1.3.2.1 ‘Philippine-type’ vs. ‘Indonesian-type’ languages

Western Austronesian languages have been broadly categorized into ‘Philippine-type’ and ‘Indonesian-type’ languages. As noted by Himmelman (2002:8), “This two-way distinction provides a useful start for investigating the (internal) typology of Austronesian languages... [but] needs a lot of further empirical scrutiny”. Crucial to this distinction are the voice systems found with the two types.

Arka and Ross (2005:7) characterize Philippine-type voice systems as follows:

Languages with multiple voice types, marked by verbal morphology and often accompanied by case marking of free nominal arguments. There is always one actor voice, which is either intransitive or lower in transitivity than the remaining voices, which are conveniently grouped together as undergoer voices. The undergoer voices allow noun phrases with a variety of semantic roles to become subject: patient, theme, location, instrument, beneficiary, etc.

Arka and Ross note that Philippine-type systems are also found outside the Philippines, including Taiwan, northern Borneo, and northern Sulawesi.

The other group to consider is the Indonesian-type languages, which can be found in western Indonesia as well as Malaysia. Arka and Ross (2005:7) characterize Indonesian-type voice systems as “Languages conventionally analyzed as having two voices, actor and undergoer, supplemented by applicative suffixes which allow locations, instruments, beneficiaries and noun phrases of other semantic roles to become the undergoer”. Furthermore, in Indonesian-type languages the actor and undergoer voices are often both syntactically transitive, in which case they are termed ‘symmetrical voice’ systems. Ross (2002b:458) considers that “probably a large majority of Indonesian-type languages have a

symmetrical voice system”,¹³ though he says that such systems do not necessarily imply that the actor and undergoer voices have the same semantic transitivity.¹⁴

Using the criteria established by Arka and Ross (2005) above, WC Bajau is an Indonesian-type language. In WC Bajau there are two voices, actor and undergoer. Since these voices are both syntactically transitive, WC Bajau has a symmetrical voice system. In WC Bajau there is also a ‘true’ passive voice (in which the actor argument is syntactically demoted), as is true of certain other Indonesian-type languages such as Indonesian, Javanese, and Balinese (Ross 2002:458). WC Bajau has an applicative suffix (*-an_i*) which promotes a variety of oblique argument types to undergoer status, and this suffix can co-occur with the actor voice prefix (*N-*). Thus WC Bajau meets the criteria established by Arka and Ross (2005) for an Indonesian-type language.¹⁵

1.3.2.2 WC Bajau and other languages of Borneo

Given WC Bajau’s status as an Indonesian-type language, we might ask how it compares with other Bornean languages. As mentioned above, most of Sabah’s indigenous languages have been grouped with the Philippine type. Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that WC Bajau differs markedly from the Sabahan languages with regard to several morphosyntactic features. These include: (1) (lack of) case-marking particles; (2) case-marking on pronouns; (3) voice affixation; and (4) word order. We shall see that in these respects WC Bajau more closely resembles the languages of Sarawak and southeast Kalimantan.

¹³ There is less certainty about whether Philippine-type languages could be described as symmetrical, owing to questions surrounding the transitivity of the actor voice (Ross 2002a:24). Some analysts (e.g. Foley 1998; Himmelman 2002, 2005) have applied the term ‘symmetrical voice’ to the Philippine-type languages, particularly if the actor voice in these languages is analyzed as syntactically transitive. In this case there is one actor voice and several undergoer voices, all syntactically transitive and therefore ‘symmetrical’.

¹⁴ For example, the actor voice might (in independent clauses) only be used for non-specific patients. In WC Bajau, the actor voice can be used for clauses that are semantically as well as syntactically transitive.

¹⁵ Ross (2002:453) groups the two Sama-Bajaw languages he considers (Sama Bangingi’ and SS Sinama [Southern Sama]) with the Philippine-type languages, presumably because they do not meet the criteria for Indonesian-type languages given above.

Most Sabahan languages have case-marking particles to mark NPs, although they vary with regard to the extent of such marking.¹⁶ The language of Coastal Kadazan, for example, marks both focused NPs (with one set) and nonfocused NPs (with a different set), in this way resembling Tagalog. (Note: the term ‘focus’ here and throughout this section refers to voice marking that identifies the nominative argument, not to be confused with pragmatic focus.) In the language of Bonggi, focus marking on NPs is limited to some human arguments (Boutin 1988:55-57). WC Bajau has no case-marking on NPs. Similarly Clayre (1996), in her survey of Bornean languages, found no examples of case-marking (on common nouns) in any language of Sarawak or eastern Kalimantan.

In terms of pronouns and voice (‘focus’) marking, Boutin (1988:60) reports that there are basically three sets of pronouns in the languages of Sabah: (1) focused; (2) non-focused actor; and (3) nonfocused non-actor. In WC Bajau, there are only two sets of pronouns, one set to express the non-focused actor (possessive form, ‘Set I’) and one set to express focused constituents and the non-focused undergoer (‘Set II’). Oblique case on pronouns is expressed using a preposition with the Set II forms. Clayre (1996:56-7) states that in general the languages of Sarawak have the same two pronoun sets and oblique marking strategy.

The indigenous languages of Sabah (the Dusunic, Murutic, and Paitanic groups) on the whole show Philippine-type voice affixation (Clayre 1996:81), with most having at least three voices (actor, undergoer, and benefactive) and some having four or more (Boutin 1988:62-64). As mentioned above, WC Bajau has only two primary voices (actor and undergoer),¹⁷ which among the indigenous Sabahan languages is apparently only true of Ida’an (Begak) (Goudswaard 2005:4). A two-voice

¹⁶ The Ida’an (Begak) language is the only indigenous language of Sabah to my knowledge that has no case-marking on NPs. It is regarded as “an isolate within the Sabahan subgroup” (Goudswaard 2005:4), as is the Bonggi language spoken off the northern tip of Borneo.

¹⁷ However, it is possible that WC Bajau has an ‘instrument voice’ or some remnant thereof, marked by the *peN-* prefix. The data is ambiguous, as discussed in §10.3. In any case, WC Bajau does not have a ‘benefactive’ voice as do most Sabahan languages. Rather, it uses the applicative suffix *-an₁* to promote (recipient) beneficiaries to undergoer (§10.2.1.1).

system is typical, however, in the languages of Sarawak and southeast Kalimantan, where (like WC Bajau) the undergoer voice is commonly unmarked (Clayre 1996:81). One way in which WC Bajau differs from both the indigenous languages of Sabah and the languages in Sarawak and southeast Kalimantan is that in WC Bajau, aspect is not morphologically marked on the verb (in any voice). Instead, WC Bajau relies on auxiliary markers and aspectual adverbs to express completed action, perfect tense, and other aspectual categories.¹⁸ Also apparently unlike any of these other languages, WC Bajau has an applicative suffix (*-an₁*), which makes it more obviously an Indonesian-type language than these other Bornean languages.

In terms of word order, for the indigenous Sabahan languages verb initial order is apparently preferred, though frequently the nominative NP (and only the nominative NP) can be fronted (Peck 1988:vii). Clayre (1996:60) notes that for most Sabahan languages word order is “relatively flexible”, owing to “adequate signals in the clause” to clarify the meaning. In contrast, for the languages of Sarawak and southeastern Kalimantan there is a more rigid word order, particularly in the requirement that the non-subject core argument¹⁹ immediately follow the verb, while the subject (focused or nominative) NP has more flexible word order (i.e. preverbal or else following the verb + non-subject core argument). This is precisely the pattern found in WC Bajau, particularly in the undergoer voice.²⁰

In summary, WC Bajau patterns as an Indonesian-type language in its voice system, having two primary voices (actor and undergoer). Furthermore it is a ‘symmetrical voice language’ because both actor and undergoer voices are transitive. In its syntactic features of word order, (absence of) case-

¹⁸ This is not to deny that aspect is to some degree correlated with voice in Bajau. For example, the actor voice is often used to express imperfective contexts. However, there is no morphological marking (voice or otherwise) that requires a given aspectual category.

¹⁹ The ‘non-subject core argument’ refers to a non-subject argument which is subcategorized by the verb and which (in contrast to an oblique) is not preceded by a preposition (see §5.4).

²⁰ As will be shown in Chapter 6, only in undergoer voice is the verb + non-subject core argument truly rigid (such that no particles or other words can ever intervene).

marking on nominals, simplified case-marking on pronouns (with only two sets), and basic two-voice system, WC Bajau typologically resembles the languages of Sarawak and south-eastern Kalimantan more closely than it does the indigenous languages of Sabah. The typological data are summarized in Table 1.1 below:

Table 1.1 Typological features of WC Bajau and other Bornean languages

	West Coast Bajau	Indigenous languages of Sabah (based on Boutin 1988)	Languages of Sarawak and southeastern Kalimantan (based on Clayre 1996)
case-marking on NPs	none	variable	none
pronoun sets	two	at least three	usually two
number of voices	three (?) ²¹	at least three (excepting Begak)	usually two
rigidity of word order	rigid (verb + non-subject core argument)	flexible	rigid (verb + non-subject core argument)

1.3.3 Earlier research

A few efforts have been made to document the WC Bajau language in various ways. These include a short vocabulary (Schneeberger 1937), a short interlinear text (Abdul Ghani Bin Bagul 1950),²² and a brief grammar sketch authored by Asmah Haji Omar (1980; 1983:107-28). More recently, Saidatul Nornis Haji Mahali (1997) did a comparative lexical and phonological study between WC Bajau and East Coast Bajau ('Bajau Laut'), as well as a morphological description of WC Bajau (2002). Mohamad Said Hinayat (2003) compiled a glossary which compared words from several Bajaw-Sama languages, including WC Bajau words from Kota Belud.

²¹ The question mark reveals some uncertainty since (as mentioned above) the 'instrument' affix *peN-* could be interpreted as a voice construction. Here only the UV, AV, and 'true' passive voices are counted.

²² The references are cited in Boutin & Soderberg 1998.

Editha M. Mirafuentes did several years of linguistic field work among the WC Bajau of Kota Belud. She began her research on the language in 1987, and for her MA thesis (1991) wrote a contrastive account of verbal morphology in WC Bajau and Central Sinama (another Sama-Bajaw language) for purposes of the CADA (Computer Assisted Dialect Adaptation) program. Her thesis included a description of phonemes and a proposed orthography for WC Bajau. Mirafuentes proceeded to write her doctoral dissertation (1999) on developing literacy materials in WC Bajau as a ‘bridge’ for learning Malay. During her several years of linguistic field work among the WC Bajau prior to her death in January 2001, Mirafuentes had compiled in electronic format a WC Bajau lexicon and numerous texts. These materials were never published. However, she made her work available to me for my study of the language. In Appendix B, I identify those texts in my corpus which were compiled by Edith.

1.3.4 WC Bajau literature and language development

The WC Bajau language has a rich oral tradition. For example, some WC Bajau speakers are skilled at composing *kalang*, which may be similar in form to Malay quatrains (*pantun*). *Kalang* are frequently exchanged on special occasions such as the *runsay* dance mentioned in §1.2.2 above. In terms of a written language, people have been informally writing the WC Bajau for some time, such as to prepare scripts for radio broadcasts or to print lyrics for cassette tapes featuring Bajau popular music. Without an established orthography, however, attempts at spelling the language were inconsistent at best. An orthography for WC Bajau was developed by Edith Mirafuentes in the 1990s and used on a trial basis with some literacy materials she had developed as part of her doctoral program. Meanwhile, I did some orthography testing in Kota Belud in 1998 which incorporated Edith’s spellings and presented some alternative ones as well. On the basis of such testing, I came up with a modified proposal for a WC Bajau orthography.

It was during this time that the WC Bajau community began to get involved in the formation of an orthography for their language. In October 1998, the first symposium on the subject was held in Kota Kinabalu, sponsored by the Sabah Bajau Arts and Cultural Association (PSBB). The symposium raised awareness about the values that underlie orthography decisions. In July 2001 I met with some of the PSBB leadership and discussed with them some spelling alternatives in their language. The PSBB responded with their recommendations for a 'working orthography' of WC Bajau. Nearly three years later, in February 2004, the PSBB published the first WC Bajau book, a picture dictionary in three languages (WC Bajau, Malay, and English) which I had compiled a few years earlier. (WC Bajau artists provided several of the drawings.) On the same day the book was 'launched' in a public ceremony, the PSBB held a Bajau orthography workshop attended by about 30 Bajau community leaders and educators. Participants discussed the spelling issues in small groups and arrived at a consensus for each of the issues presented. Their decisions, in most cases mirroring those reached at the PSBB meeting in 2001, form the basis for the current West Coast Bajau orthography. Most recently, in 2006 a second book was published, this time by the Sabah State Museum: *Learn to Speak West Coast Bajau (Kota Belud Dialect)*, which I put together with the extensive help of my language consultants and other WC Bajau speakers.

A priority for the PSBB (now called USBO, or 'United Sabah Bajau Organization') is to see WC Bajau taught in the local schools, as is already true for the Kadazandusun language. Toward this end, it would be necessary to hold writers workshops to develop curriculum materials and, in the process, to expose any problem areas in the orthography. Also, the present orthography is based solely on the Kota Belud variety. As was noted above, there are other varieties/ dialects of the language which may need greater representation in the orthography if it is to best serve the needs of the WC Bajau community.

1.4 Methodology, consultants, and corpus

My fieldwork was conducted in Sabah, Malaysia over four different periods: 1996-1998 (26 months); 2001 (2 months); 2003-2004 (12 months); and 2006 (4 months), for a total of 44 months. About half of that time was actually spent in the language area, where I was graciously welcomed by a WC Bajau host family in the village of Menunggu, Kota Belud (about one mile from Kota Belud town). Only WC Bajau was spoken in the home and (generally) in the village. It was there that I learned to speak WC Bajau and was invited to participate extensively in the life of the local community.

My initial research of the WC Bajau language (1996-98) was carried out as a participant in SIL's Graduate Intern Program (GRIP), during which time I was mentored in my fieldwork by SIL linguist Dr. C. Henry Bradley. I obtained a two-year research pass from the Malaysia federal government to prepare language-learning materials in WC Bajau: a picture dictionary, trilingual phrase book (in WC Bajau, Malay, and English), and 25 language learning lessons.²³ Using an SIL-developed linguistics software program called Shoebox, I began to build a lexicon of WC Bajau words, which was augmented considerably by interlinearized text material. A few of the texts I elicited and recorded myself (using a tape recorder), transcribed them with the help of a native speaker, and interlinearized them in Shoebox. During that period (1996-98) my mentor Dr. Bradley and I led a series of workshops involving a small number of WC Bajau speakers. Our purpose was to train a core of committed WC Bajau to further develop their own language by acquiring some basic linguistic awareness as well as practical skills in eliciting, transcribing, and interlinearizing texts. These workshops were a marvelous opportunity to stimulate our "thinking together" about the language, and also provided a source of texts for my corpus, which participants had elicited and transcribed themselves.

²³ Two of these materials have now been published, as discussed in §1.3.4 above.

My subsequent visits to Sabah (in 2001, 2003-04, and 2006) involved more concentrated focus on the WC Bajau grammar, since by this time I was preparing to write my dissertation. I met fairly regularly with a small number of language consultants over the course of my fieldwork: five men and two women, all of them over age 40 except for one young man in his twenties. In eliciting data from my consultants, I would sometimes use text material as a springboard for further elicitation and discussion. Two consultants have helped me continuously since I began my research: Jumel Hj. Ghani (my host father) of Menunggui village, and Adnan Hj. Abdul Razak of Karang Benai village. Others who served as my language consultants were Mohamad Sirun Siboh of Sembirai village, Subian Bte Sangki of Sembirai village, Jenair Subeh of Karang Benai village, Rajin Hj. Nor of Sembirai village, and Kaili Bte Said of Taun Gusi village.

A further word about the corpus of texts used in my research: 40 texts were used, containing a total of 2436 sentences. All of the texts were entered into my Shoebox database and thus accessible to that program's concordance tools. The majority of the texts were narrative (27), including folk tales, personal experience narratives, and historical/epic narratives. Narrative texts accounted for 74% of the total number of sentences in the corpus.²⁴ The remainder of texts belonged to the procedural (8) and expository (5) genres, with procedural texts comprising 12.7% of the corpus and expository text comprising 13.2% of the corpus. All but two of the texts were interlinearized. Twelve of the texts (mostly folk tales) were compiled previously by Edith Mirafuentes, who then made them available for my use. (Though Edith had already interlinearized them for her study of the language, I re-interlinearized them using my own lexicon.) The texts in my own compilation were a mix of transcriptions (from oral recordings) and texts that came from native authors (i.e., their

²⁴ Note that this percentage (and the following percentage values) do not account for embedded discourse within a text (see Longacre 1996:16). For example, a narrative text may contain extensive portions of (embedded) expository text, but in the counts above, they would be classified as narrative since the text as a whole is narrative.

original form was written). A few of the oral recordings and transcriptions I did myself, but others were recorded and transcribed by WC Bajau participants at our language development workshops. See Appendix B for a list of texts (and their sources) in my corpus.

Example sentences in this grammar are drawn largely from the corpus, although I had to rely more on elicited examples in certain sections (such as the chapter on information structure) to fill in some areas of the grammar. A few example sentences are also drawn from my book *Learn to Speak West Coast Bajau (Kota Belud Dialect)* which consists mostly of short dialogues and drills based on those dialogues (the dialogues were elicited from my language consultants).

1.5 Main features and organization of this grammar

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a descriptive account of the grammar of WC Bajau. The scope is comprehensive, encompassing the phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures of the language. However, I give more attention to WC Bajau's 'symmetrical' voice system and how derivational affixation in the language functions within the voice system. While I do not delve deeply into theoretical issues, I have sometimes found it useful to draw upon the insights of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), the most thorough treatment of which can be found in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). The concept of semantic macroroles ('actor' and 'undergoer'), which is foundational to RRG, is used extensively used in this grammar. In Chapter Four the major Aktionsart verb classes (as defined in the RRG framework) are introduced and subsequently referred often in the account of verb derivations and voice alternations in WC Bajau. In Chapter Ten, I employ RRG's 'Actor-Undergoer' hierarchy to give a principled account of marked undergoer selection in applicative constructions.

I have made extensive use of other reference grammars of western Austronesian languages as models for writing this one. Here I would especially mention Eades (2005), Goudswaard (2005), and Woollams (1996). In this grammar I have often found it useful to compare WC Bajau with Malay/

Indonesian, since many WC Bajau speakers are to some degree bilingual in Malay and there may be signs of linguistic convergence. Here Sneddon (1996) has been an excellent resource. I have also noted in several places how WC Bajau compares or contrasts with other Sama-Bajaw languages, and here I have found the works by Walton (1986) for Pangutaran Sama and Gault (1999) for Sama Bangingi' particularly helpful.

An overview of the phonology and morphophonology of WC Bajau is provided in Chapter 2 and morphology in Chapter 3. A series of tables is included toward the beginning of chapter 3 which show the various voice, intransitive verb, and valence-increasing affixes in WC Bajau.

Chapter 4 presents the word classes of WC Bajau, including the morphosyntactic evidence for distinguishing between the major classes (nouns and verbs) and for not distinguishing a distinct class of adjectives in the language. The chapter concludes by describing several minor word classes: prepositions, numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives, adverbs, and interjections.

Chapter 5 establishes some foundational syntactic categories like 'subject', 'voice', and 'direct core argument', with some treatment of how the notions 'subject' and 'voice' have been debated in the analysis of Philippine-type languages. I provide subjecthood tests that uniquely identify subjects in WC Bajau, as well as morphosyntactic evidence for the 'core' vs. 'oblique' status of NPs.

Chapter 6 deals with basic clause structure in WC Bajau. This chapter lays out the voice system in WC Bajau and provides morphosyntactic evidence for the claim (at the heart of this grammar) that WC Bajau is a 'symmetrical voice' language. The 'true passive' construction is contrasted with the undergoer voice construction to demonstrate that the latter but not the former is syntactically transitive. Intransitive and non-verbal clauses are described as well.

Chapter 7, on information structure, examines how the pragmatic status of focused constituents (whether of NPs or of the predicate) helps determine clause structure. Pragmatically marked syntactic constructions, namely, clefts and left-dislocations, are also described in this chapter.

Chapter 8 provides evidence for the analysis of WC Bajau as a ‘symmetrical voice’ language by reporting the quantitative distribution of the three voices (AV, UV, and ‘true’ passive) in a sample of 8 narrative texts. I consider possible determinants of voice selection (topicality and grounding), as well as the relationship between voice, grounding, and word order.

Chapter 9 treats the derivation and morphology of intransitive verbs. After describing the various derivational affixes, I group WC Bajau intransitive verbs according to their semantic classes, noting how these classes pattern with regard to both morphological and syntactic properties. Finally, I attempt to place these classes within the framework of an unergative/ unaccusative dichotomy.

Chapter 10 describes the valence-increasing operations in WC Bajau, including affixation with the basic applicative suffix (*-an₁*) and the causative prefix (*pe₂-*). In this chapter I show that the interplay of the voice system with applicativization enables the promotion of a variety of oblique semantic roles to undergoer and/or subject status in the clause.

Chapter 11 covers phrase structure, both noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

Chapter 12 describes clausal modifications, beginning with aspect. In WC Bajau, aspect is not explicitly marked on the verb but can be expressed through the aspectual particles *ai* and *boi*. The chapter continues with a brief treatment of negation, modals, various kinds of adverbs, and discourse particles (some of which occur as second-position clitics).

Chapter 13 treats various categories of mood: ‘decontrolled’ mood (marked by *te-* on the verb), imperative mood (marked by *-in/ -un*), and interrogative mood. I provide evidence that the morphemes associated with the decontrolled and imperative moods are undergoer-oriented (that is, they are UV or possibly ‘passive’ constructions). Interestingly, in the imperative mood the semantic properties of the undergoer (e.g. specificity) determine voice selection, unlike in the indicative mood.

Chapter 14 covers clause combining operations, including subordination (relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial subordinate clauses) and coordination (including parataxis). In many

subordinate and coordinate clause types, a missing or pronominal referent is interpreted according to the strategy of preserving actor/topic continuity, regardless of the syntactic status of the antecedent. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of verb serialization in WC Bajau.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the phonological structure of WC Bajau. Beginning with the inventory of phonemes and a brief discussion of non-segmental phonology (primarily stress), I then consider syllable types and phoneme distribution, including the interpretation of ambiguous consonant clusters and vowel combinations and also the interpretation of phonetically lengthened consonants and vowels. Next I discuss morphophonology, that is, phonological changes that occur with affixation. These include nasal fusion, glottal stop elision, and the application of vowel harmony in suffixation. Then I discuss Malay borrowings. I end the chapter by summarizing the development of a WC Bajau working orthography and presenting some of its main features.

2.2 Phonemes

WC Bajau has a total of 23 phonemes: 17 consonants and 6 vowels.

2.2.1 Consonant phonemes

The consonant phonemes are illustrated in Table 2.1 below. For each phoneme, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbol is shown on the left, and its orthographic representation is shown in parentheses on the right.

Table 2.1 Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stop	p (<i>p</i>)	t (<i>t</i>)			k (<i>k</i>)	ʔ (')
Voiced stop	b (<i>b</i>)	d (<i>d</i>)	dʒ (<i>j</i>)		g (<i>g</i>)	
Nasal	m (<i>m</i>)	n (<i>n</i>)		ɲ (<i>ny</i>)	ŋ (<i>ng</i>)	
Trill		r (<i>r</i>)				
Fricative		s (<i>s</i>)				
Approximant				j (<i>y</i>)	w (<i>w</i>)	
Lateral approximant		l (<i>l</i>)				

2.2.1.1 Consonant phonemes and their allophones

Stops are unreleased in word-final position, and released elsewhere. The trill /r/ is realized as a flap intervocalically. Nasals and the lateral segment are syllabic in word-initial position when they precede a consonant.

/p/ voiceless bilabial plosive

→ [p] in word-initial or word-medial positions

poon /po.on/ [ˈpo:n] 'tree'
apo /a.po/ [ˈapo] 'lime'

→ [p̚] unreleased in word-final position

alap /a.lap/ [ˈalap̚] 'good'

/t/ voiceless dental plosive

→ [t] in word-initial or word-medial positions

timbun /tim.bun/ [ˈtimbun] 'to set down'
moto /mo.to/ [ˈmoto] 'eye'

→ [t̚] unreleased in word-final position

laat /la.at/ [ˈla:t̚] 'place'

/k/	voiceless velar plosive			
	→	[k] in word-initial or word-medial positions		
		<i>keket</i>	/ke.ket/	['keket ^ˀ] 'to bite'
		<i>paku</i>	/pa.ku/	['paku] 'to request'
	→	[k ^ˀ] unreleased in word-final position		
		<i>luuk</i>	/lu.uk/	['lu:k ^ˀ] 'viand'
/ʔ/	glottal plosive			
	→	[ʔ] in word-final position only		
		<i>opo'</i>	/o.poʔ/	['opoʔ] 'to break; to snap'
		<i>see'</i>	/se.eʔ/	['seeʔ] 'companion'
/b/	voiced bilabial plosive			
	→	[b] in word-initial or word-medial positions		
		<i>baba'</i>	/ba.baʔ/	['babaʔ] 'to carry on shoulders/back'
		<i>labu'</i>	/la.buʔ/	['labuʔ] 'to fall'
	→	[b ^ˀ] unreleased in word-final position		
		<i>sangab</i>	/sa.ŋab/	['saŋab ^ˀ] 'to snatch with mouth'
/d/	voiced dental plosive			
	→	[d] in word-initial or word-medial positions		
		<i>dangan</i>	/da.ŋan/	['daŋan] 'one (person)'
		<i>pida'</i>	/pi.daʔ/	['pidaʔ] 'machete'
	→	[d ^ˀ] unreleased in word-final position		
		<i>liud</i>	/li.ud/	['li'jud ^ˀ] 'to flood'
/g/	voiced velar plosive			
	→	[g] in word-initial or word-medial positions		
		<i>gorot</i>	/go.rot/	['gorot ^ˀ] 'to often do or happen'
		<i>agad</i>	/a.gad/	['agad ^ˀ] 'to wait'
	→	[g ^ˀ] in word-final position		
		<i>darag</i>	/da.rag/	['darag ^ˀ] 'red'

/s/	voiceless alveolar grooved fricative → [s] in all word positions			
	<i>suang</i>	/su.aŋ/	[¹ suwaŋ]	‘river’
	<i>sasat</i>	/sa.sat/	[¹ sasat ^ʔ]	‘lost’
	<i>daras</i>	/da.ras/	[¹ daras]	‘strong’
/dʒ/	voiced palatal-alveolar affricate → [dʒ] in word-initial or word-medial positions only			
	<i>jomo</i>	/dʒo.mo/	[¹ dʒomo]	‘person’
	<i>panjut</i>	/pan.dʒut/	[¹ panʒut ^ʔ]	‘to fling using a swinging cloth’
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal → [m] in all word positions			
	<i>mamis</i>	/ma.mis/	[¹ mamis]	‘sweet’
	<i>limpas</i>	/lim.pas/	[¹ limpas]	‘last, previous’
	<i>torom</i>	/to.rom/	[¹ torom]	‘sharp’
	→ [m] syllabic in word-initial position before a consonant			
	<i>emberen</i>	/əm.be.ren/	[m ¹ beren]	‘when?’
	<i>emma’</i>	/əm.maʔ/	[m ¹ maʔ]	‘father’
/n/	voiced dental nasal → [n] in all word positions			
	<i>nangka’</i>	/naŋ.kaʔ/	[¹ naŋkaʔ]	‘jackfruit’
	<i>pene’</i>	/pe.neʔ/	[¹ peneʔ]	‘to choose’
	<i>oron</i>	/o.ron/	[¹ oron]	‘name’
	→ [ŋ] syllabic in word-initial position before a consonant			
	<i>endo</i>	/ən.do/	[ŋ ¹ do]	‘wife’
	<i>enna’</i>	/ən.naʔ/	[ŋ ¹ naʔ]	‘to set; to place’
/ɲ/	voiced palatal nasal → [ɲ] in word-initial or word-medial positions only			
	<i>nya’</i>	/ɲaʔ/	[¹ ɲaʔ]	‘no, not’
	<i>kanyab</i>	/ka.ɲab/	[¹ kaɲab ^ʔ]	‘numb (from shock)’
	<i>penyaram</i>	/pə.ɲa.ram/	[pə ¹ ɲaram]	‘(type of cake)’

/ŋ/ voiced velar nasal

→ [ŋ] in all word positions

<i>nganga</i>	/ŋa.ŋa/	[ˈŋaŋa]	‘spicy-hot’
<i>bangkur</i>	/baŋ.kur/	[ˈbaŋkur]	‘shin’
<i>using</i>	/u.siŋ/	[ˈusiŋ]	‘cat’
→ [ŋ] syllabic in word-initial position before a consonant			
<i>enggo</i>	/əŋ.go/	[ŋˈgo]	‘which?’
<i>engko’</i>	/əŋ.koʔ/	[ŋˈgkoʔ]	‘and, or’

/l/ voiced dental lateral

→ [l] in word-initial or word-medial positions

<i>londos</i>	/lon.dos/	[ˈlondos]	‘strong (rain or current)’
<i>male’</i>	/ma.leʔ/	[ˈmaleʔ]	‘tired’

→ [ɭ] retroflexed in word-final position

<i>tombol</i>	/tom.bol/	[ˈtomboɭ]	‘to close’
<i>ngakal</i>	/ŋa.kal/	[ˈŋakaɭ]	‘to tell a lie’

→ [l̥] syllabic in word-initial position before another lateral

<i>ellu</i>	/əl.lu/	[l̥ˈlu]	‘pestle’
<i>ellaw</i>	/əl.law/	[l̥ˈlaw]	‘day’

/r/ vibrant

→ [r] voiced trill in word-initial or word-final positions

<i>raat</i>	/ra.at/	[ˈraːtː]	‘evil’
<i>ingor</i>	/i.ŋor/	[ˈiŋor]	‘noisy’

→ [ɾ] voiced dental flap in intervocalic position

<i>bara’</i>	/ba.raʔ/	[ˈbaraʔ]	‘to tell’
<i>iram</i>	/i.ram/	[ˈiram]	‘black’

/w/ voiced labio-velar approximant

→ [w] in all word positions

<i>wau’</i>	/wa.uʔ/	[ˈwauʔ]	‘eight’
<i>lawa’</i>	/la.waʔ/	[ˈlawaʔ]	‘attractive’
<i>kabaw</i>	/ka.baw/	[ˈkabaw]	‘crab’

/j/	voiced palatal approximant				
	→	[j]	in all word positions		
	<i>yu</i>	/ju/		['ju]	'shark'
	<i>oyo</i>	/o.jo/		['ojo]	'big'
	<i>rungay</i>	/ru.ŋaj/		['ruŋaj]	'missing'

2.2.1.2 Phonemic contrasts

The following minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs provide evidence for the phonemic status of phonetically similar consonants in WC Bajau:

(2.1)					
/p/ ~ /b/	/po.o/	'thigh'	/bo.o/		'to bring'
/t/ ~ /d/	/ba.tu/	'rock'	/ba.du/		'shirt'
/k/ ~ /g/	/ka.rak/	'encrusted rice'	/ga.rak/		'to shake'
/k/ ~ /ŋ/	/o.pok/	'foul-smelling'	/o.poŋ/		'to break'
/ŋ/ ~ /ø/	/bo.oŋ/	'bamboo'	/bo.o/		'to bring'
/m/ ~ /n/	/si.am/	'nine'	/si.an/		'who?'
/n/ ~ /ŋ/	/ba.ni/	'brave'	/ba.ŋi/		'day'
/n/ ~ /ŋ/	/nak/	'child [addressed]'	/ŋaŋ/		'no, not'
	/ni.at/	'intention'	/ŋaŋ/		'no, not'
/m/ ~ /b/	/ma.na/	'ripe'	/ba.na/		'true; very'
/m/ ~ /w/	/ka.ma/	'dirty'	/ka.wa/		'cauldron'
/d/ ~ /dʒ/	/doŋ/	(particle)	/dʒo/		(particle)
/d/ ~ /r/	/o.don/	'stairs'	/o.ron/		'name'
/d/ ~ /l/	/ən.tə.do/	'once'	/ən.tə.lo/		'egg'
/l/ ~ /r/	/lə.goŋ/	'dialect'	/rə.go/		'price'
/w/ ~ /y/	/ba.waŋ/	'onion'	/ba.yad/		'to pay'

2.2.2 Vowel phonemes

The vowel phonemes are illustrated in Table 2.2 below, with the IPA symbol shown on the left, and its orthographic representation shown in parentheses on the right.

Table 2.2 Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
High	i (<i>i</i>)		u (<i>u</i>)
high-mid	e (<i>e</i>)		o (<i>o</i>)
mid		ə (<i>e</i>)	
low-mid			
low		a (<i>a</i>)	

2.2.2.1 Vowel phonemes and their allophones

The vowel /e/ has a lax, more central allophone that occurs in closed syllables (except before the glottal stop). The high vowels (/i/ and /u/) have lax, more central allophones that only occur before word-final /t/. The schwa /ə/ is set apart from the other vowels in that it only occurs prior to the stressed syllable in a word. Although /ə/ and /e/ are distinct phonemes, their distributions overlap only slightly, allowing for the use of one symbol *e* to represent both phonemes in the orthography (§2.6).

/i/ high front unrounded vowel

→ [ɪ] in closed final syllables before the voiceless alveolar stop

belit /bə.lit/ [bə'lit̚] 'to turn over'

→ [i] elsewhere

iran /i.ran/ ['iran] 'amazed'

sapi' /sa.piʔ/ ['sapiʔ] 'cow'

betis /bə.tis / [bə'tis] 'leg'

/u/ high back rounded vowel

→ [ʊ] in closed final syllables before the voiceless alveolar stop

pungut /pu.ŋut/ ['puŋʊt̚] 'cut off'

→ [u] elsewhere

turi /tu.ri/ ['turi] 'to sleep'

langu' /la.ŋuʔ/ ['laŋuʔ] 'sister-in-law'

urung /u.ruŋ/ ['uruŋ] 'nose'

/ə/	mid-central unrounded vowel (schwa)			
	→ [ə] only in pre-stressed syllables			
	<i>betong</i>	/bə.tɔŋ/	[bə'tɔŋ]	'stomach'
	<i>beli</i>	/bə.li/	[bə'li]	'buy'
	<i>telumpa'</i>	/tə.lum.paʔ/	[tə'lumpaʔ]	'shoe'
/a/	low unrounded vowel			
	→ [a] in all word positions			
	<i>nganga</i>	/ŋa.ŋa/	[¹ŋa.ŋa]	'spicy-hot'
	<i>tana'</i>	/ta.naʔ/	[¹tanaʔ]	'land'
	<i>panduk</i>	/pan.duk/	[¹pan.dukˀ]	'mousedeer'
	<i>bekat</i>	/bə.kat/	[bə'katˀ]	'severed'
/e/	high-mid front unrounded vowel			
	→ [ɛ] in closed syllables except before a glottal stop			
	<i>sembet</i>	/sem.bet/	[¹sembetˀ]	'to chase'
	<i>bengen</i>	/be.ŋen/	[¹beŋen]	'to have'
	→ [e] elsewhere			
	<i>pene'</i>	/pe.neʔ/	[¹peneʔ]	'to choose'
	<i>kale</i>	/ka.le/	[¹kale]	'to hear'
/o/	low-mid back rounded vowel			
	→ [o] in all word positions			
	<i>opo'</i>	/o.poʔ/	[¹opoʔ]	'to break'
	<i>umo</i>	/u.mo/	[¹umo]	'wet-padi field'
	<i>odon</i>	/o.don/	[¹o.don]	'ladder'

2.2.2.2 Phonemic contrasts

The following minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs provide evidence for the phonemic status of the vowels in WC Bajau. The semivowels /j/ and /w/ are shown to minimally contrast with the vowels /i/ and /u/ respectively.¹

¹ These contrasts are distinguished phonetically based on the penultimate stress rule. See §2.4.2.2.3.3 for further discussion.

(2.2)				
/u/ ~ /o/	/bu.u/	‘hair’	/bo.o/	‘to bring’
/i/ ~ /e/	/sa.piʔ/	‘cow’	/sa.peʔ/	‘to divorce’
/e/ ~ /a/	/be.seʔ/	‘to tear’	/ba.seʔ/	‘wet’
/a/ ~ /ə/	/ra.buŋ/	‘thick (fur)’	/rə.buŋ/	‘bamboo shoots’
/e/ ~ /ə/	/pe.neʔ/	‘to choose’	/pə.deʔ/	‘sting’
/i/ ~ /ə/	/ti.po/	‘mat’	/tə.po/	‘to pound’
/o/ ~ /ə/	/go.rot/	‘often’	/gə.ro/	‘to chase away’
/j/ ~ /i/	/du.aj/	‘(kind of fish)’	/du.a.i/	‘to descend’
/w/ ~ /u/	/nibaw/	‘pay one’s respects’	/ni.ba.u/	‘to poison (fish)’

2.3 Non-segmental phonology

2.3.1 Stress

2.3.1.1 Penultimate stress

Stress is a non-segmental feature expressed by heightened pitch, length and loudness in the stressed syllable. Stress in WC Bajau normally occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word. Because of its predictable nature, stress in WC Bajau is non-phonemic. It is indicated with a raised stress mark [ˈ] preceding the stressed syllable. The following are examples:

(2.3)	/sa.piʔ/	[ˈsapiʔ]	‘cow’
	/bo.kog/	[ˈbokog]	‘bone’
	/puŋ.kaw/	[ˈpuŋkaw]	‘to wake up’
	/bo.o/	[ˈbo:]	‘to bring’ ²
	/b-in-o.o/	[biˈno:]	‘to be brought’
	/pən.ta.ran/	[pənˈtaran]	‘porch’
	/kə.li.ŋaŋgaʔ/	[kəliˈŋaŋgaʔ]	‘red ant’

Where there is full reduplication of a root form (§3.7), double-word stress occurs:

² Phonetically long vowels in WC Bajau are interpreted as sequences of two short vowels (§2.3.2.2.3), each being the nucleus of its own syllable. Thus *boo* ‘to bring’ has two syllables CV + V, and stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

(2.4)	/i.ŋor-i.ŋor/	[i'ŋor-i'ŋor]	‘be noisy’
	/si-pa.lu-pa.lu/	[si-'palu-'palu]	‘to exchange blows’
	/p-in-i.sak-pi.sak/	[pɪ'nisak ^ɿ -'pisak ^ɿ]	‘crushed repeatedly’

The penultimate stress rule applies to the phonological word, which is not necessarily the lexical word. WC Bajau contains a set of pronominal enclitics (§4.2.3.2.1). When the pronominal enclitic attaches to a zero-prefixed transitive verb, the enclitic denotes the actor, resulting in a verb phrase (§6.2.1.1). These units are treated phonologically as one word,³ such that stress often shifts to the ultimate syllable of the root:

(2.5)	/ka.kan =ku/	[ka ¹ kan=kɪ]	‘I eat (s.thing)’
	/u.saʔ =ni/	[u ¹ saʔ=ni]	‘(s)he takes care of (s.thing)’

2.3.1.2 Exceptions to penultimate stress

2.3.1.2.1 Regular ultimate stress with penultimate schwa

WC Bajau is the only Sama-Bajaw language which does not have universal penultimate stress (Pallesen (1979:127), owing to the fact that the schwa vowel /ə/ in WC Bajau generally does not bear stress. According to Pallesen, in Proto Sama-Bajaw (PSB) there was a shift from the contrastive stress of Proto-Austronesian to universal penultimate stress, and since /ə/ was a short vowel, compensatory lengthening occurred via gemination of the following consonant. This pattern is reflected in all the PSB daughter languages except WC Bajau, where “the length of the medial geminate is substantially reduced, so that it no longer carries the length feature of the stressed

³ This is true for stress patterning, but not for determining consonant clusters. If there is a nasal coda on the stem, for example, it does not assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant (the onset consonant of the enclitic). Normally such homorganic assimilation is required for consonant clusters in a word (§2.3.2.1.2).

syllable” (127). Hence, stress has “reverted” to the ultimate syllable in WC Bajau words where /ə/ is the vowel in the penultimate syllable.

Even though stress has moved to the ultimate syllable in such words, the medial geminate is not always fully reduced, particularly in careful or emphatic speech. As noted by Pallesen, the slight lengthening of the consonant following /ə/ is most evident when /ə/ is initial. (For the interpretation of lengthened consonants, see §2.4.2.1.2.)

2.3.1.2.2 *Irregular stress*

The exceptional stress pattern observed with the schwa vowel is regular. However, there are a few cases of apparently irregular stress. One case involves a high vowel /i/ or /u/ preceding the ultimate syllable. Examples:

(2.6)	/ti.o/	[ti'jo]	‘far’
	/bu.eʔ/	[bu'weʔ]	‘water’
	/kə.mu.ap/	[kəmu'wapʰ]	‘afternoon’
	/də.bu.iʔ/	[dəbu'wiʔ]	‘last night’
	/bə.ri.u/	[bəri'ju]	‘wind’

These examples contrast with words in which the same phonological environment produces the normal (penultimate) stress pattern, such as:

(2.7)	/bu.an/	[buwan]	‘month’
	/du.aŋ/	[duwaŋ]	‘food gift’
	/i.aʔ/	[i'jaʔ]	‘shy’

I have no ready explanation for this exceptional stress pattern, though it might be noted that where a consonant precedes the high vowel in the penultimate syllable, the pronunciation of the syllable nearly reduces (in fast speech) to a palatalized or labialized consonant: Thus [ti'jo] ‘far’ might be

represented phonetically as [tʰo], and [bu'weʔ] ‘water’ as [b^weʔ]. Similarly, words like [i'jo] ‘3p’ and [u'waʔ] ‘dog’ are sometimes reduced to the monosyllabic forms [jo] and [waʔ], respectively, in normal speech.

Another case of irregular stress involves suffixed forms, where addition of the suffix (usually *-an*, or the imperative suffix *-in*) often shifts stress to the ultimate (rather than to the new penultimate) syllable of the affixed word. In some cases this can be explained by the attachment of a following enclitic, which would preserve stress on the penultimate syllable of the phonological word:

- (2.8) /pa.ku.-an=ku/ [pəku'wan=ku] ‘I ask for ____’
 /un.dʒu.k-in=doʔ/ [əndʒu'kin=doʔ] ‘Please pass ____.’

However, ultimate stress on suffixed forms occurs even when no following enclitic is attached. A possible explanation for this would be that, since an enclitic pronoun or discourse particle often does attach to the suffixed form, the resultant stress pattern is unconsciously applied even to suffixed forms that do not have the attached enclitic.

2.3.2 Length

Vowel length is sometimes the result of the combination of two short vowels (§2.4.2.2.3.1). Other vowel lengthening in WC Bajau is usually predictable and therefore not phonemic. When a root ending in a vowel is suffixed with *-an* or the imperative *-in/-un*, there is vowel assimilation that results in a lengthened vowel sound (§2.5.5.2).

2.3.3 Intonation

Intonation in WC Bajau is significant, because sometimes it is intonation alone that determines whether an utterance is intended (for example) as an assertion or a question.⁴ Intonation with polar questions is discussed further in §13.4.1.

2.4 Syllable types and phoneme distribution

2.4.1 Syllable types

The syllable structure in WC Bajau may be represented as (C)V(C), with the V nucleus being the only obligatory constituent of the syllable. The four syllable types signified by this template are: V, VC, CV, and CVC. Each syllable type may occur word-initially or word-finally, as illustrated in Table 2.3 below:

Table 2.3 Syllable types

(1)	V	/i-num/ /pa-u/	'to drink' 'to call'
(2)	VC	/oŋ-kob/ /ta-un/	'rice-storage bin' 'forest'
(3)	CV	/ti-mus/ /iŋ-ko/	'salt' 'tail'
(4)	CVC	/pan-di/ /o-don/	'to bathe (someone)' 'stairs'

2.4.1.1 Word structure

Root words in WC Bajau may contain up to four syllables. Monosyllabic forms are almost always non-content words such as clitics (which are not stressed), though monosyllabic content words do exist and can bear stress. Some of these content words are borrowings from English, such as *bol* 'ball', while other appear to be original to the language, such as *pak* 'frog' and *suk* 'thin'.

⁴ WC Bajau does have a yes-no question marker *ka* (§13.4.1), but it is often omitted.

Disyllabic roots (shown in Table 2.3 above) are the most common, while three-syllable roots are less common and four-syllable roots quite rare. In three- or four-syllable roots, the usual vowel to fill the pre-stressed syllable(s) is schwa, though /i/, /u/, and /a/ can also occur in prestressed syllables. Root words having three or four syllables are often nouns referring to concrete entities, whether natural or man-made. Examples of trisyllabic and four-syllable roots:

(2.9)	/pən-da-wan/	‘window’
	/tə-ŋa-ŋaŋ/	‘spider’
	/liŋ-gu-ŋan/	‘placeholder for gongs’
	/pə-raŋ-giʔ/	‘pineapple’
	/pə-ri-o-mo/	‘season’
	/ka-li-mam-baŋ/	‘butterfly’

When root words are affixed and/or when clitics attach to them, the number of syllables may exceed four.

2.4.2 *Phoneme Distribution*

2.4.2.1 Consonants

2.4.2.1.1 *Within a syllable*

Within a syllable, any consonant may appear in the onset position (apparently including the glottal stop, though in this position it is difficult to hear and never contrastive). Any consonant may appear in the coda position of a syllable except /dʒ/ and /ɲ/.

2.4.2.1.2 *Within a word*

No consonant clusters occur word-finally. Word-medially, there is a constraint on which consonants are allowed to cluster across syllable boundaries. In general, consonant clusters are limited to nasal + stop, where the nasal (coda) of the preceding syllable has the same place of

articulation of the stop (onset) of the following syllable. This rule allows for the following clusters:

/mb, mp, nd, nt, ns, ndʒ, ŋg, ŋk/. Examples:

(2.10)	<i>tombol</i>	/tom- bol /	‘to close’
	<i>limpas</i>	/lim- pas /	‘to pass’
	<i>londos</i>	/lon- dos /	‘strong (current)’
	<i>anjung</i>	/an- dʒ uŋ/	‘to carry on the head’
	<i>mangga</i> ’	/maŋ- ga ?/	‘mango’

Word-initially, the nasal + consonant clusters also occur. In emphatic speech, a schwa vowel preceding the cluster is phonetically realized:

(2.11)	/əm.be.ren/	[m̩ ¹ berɛn] ~ [ʔm ¹ berɛn]	‘when?’
	/ən.doʔ/	[n̩ ¹ doʔ] ~ [ʔn ¹ doʔ]	‘to take’

Also word-initially, certain consonants—usually nasals and /l/—can occur as phonetically lengthened to the extent that they form a geminate cluster. The lengthening is most evident in careful or emphatic speech, and under these conditions a schwa vowel is also sometimes phonetically realized. Examples:

(2.12)	/əm.maʔ/	[m̩ ¹ maʔ] ~ [əm ¹ maʔ]	‘father’
	/ən.naʔ/	[n̩ ¹ naʔ] ~ [ən ¹ naʔ]	‘to place’
	/əl.lu/	[l̩ ¹ lu] ~ [əl ¹ lu]	‘pestle’
	/əb.baʔ/	[b̩ ¹ baʔ] ~ [əb ¹ baʔ]	‘to fall headlong’ ⁵
	/əs.so/	[s̩ ¹ so] ~ [əs ¹ so]	‘satiated’

All word-initial consonant clusters represent ambiguous sequences. The initial consonant is best interpreted as syllabic, with an underlying (phonological) VC syllable. The V here is the schwa

⁵ The examples given for geminate /b/ and /s/ are the only two I have encountered of initial segments that are not either nasal or /l/.

vowel, which (as just mentioned) is sometimes phonetically realized in careful speech. The same analysis of nasal-obstruent clusters is given by Walton (1979:196) for Pangutaran Sama, and by Pallesen for Siasi (Central) Sama (cited in Allison 1979:72).

2.4.2.2 Vowels

2.4.2.2.1 *Distribution of vowels*

Any vowel may occur in the penultimate syllable. Any vowel except /ə/ may occur in the ultimate syllable. The vowel /e/ never precedes any vowel except itself in a word, and the same applies to the vowel /o/. In other words, when /e/ occurs in the penultimate syllable, /e/ must occur in the final syllable; and when /o/ occurs in the penultimate syllable, then /o/ must occur in the final syllable. This pattern of vowel harmony is also observed with affixation (§2.5.5.1). In roots of three or more syllables, the vowel in any syllable preceding the last two syllables tends to be schwa, though /i/, /u/, and /a/ are also possible. The vowels /e/ and /o/ rarely or never occur prior to the penultimate syllable of root words.

2.4.2.2.2 *Vowel combinations*

Vowel combinations in WC Bajau only occur across syllable boundaries. In disyllabic roots, vowel combinations may be represented as (C) V V (C). The schwa vowel cannot cluster with any other vowel. Each of the remaining vowels may cluster either with itself (to produce a phonetically lengthened vowel; see §2.4.2.2.3.1) or with another vowel, though certain constraints apply. Table 2.4 below shows the possible vowel combinations.

Table 2.4 Vowel combinations⁶

	i	a	u	o	e
i	<i>tiis</i>	<i>sian</i>	<i>liud</i>	<i>tio</i>	---
a	<i>pai</i>	<i>laan</i>	<i>bau</i>	---	---
u	<i>debui'</i>	<i>buas</i>	<i>duun</i>	<i>duo</i>	<i>bue'</i>
o	<i>boi</i>	---	---	<i>boo</i>	---
e	---	---	---	---	<i>keet</i>

From Table 2.4, it is evident that /o/ and /e/ show the most restrictive distributions. The combination of /o/ with /i/ (represented by *boi* in Table 2.4) is very rare, possibly occurring only with this one word. In general, then, each of the vowels /o/ and /e/ cannot combine with any vowel except itself.

2.4.2.2.3 Interpretation of ambiguous vowel sequences

All the vowel combinations shown in Table 2.4 are ambiguous. Dissimilar vowel combinations can pair as two high vowels, or as a non-high vowel with a high vowel (where the high vowel can be interpreted either as a vowel or as a glide). The interpretation of ambiguous vowel sequences are dealt with below according to the following types:

1. phonetically long vowels
2. sequences beginning with a high vowel (possible glide formation)
3. sequences of a non-high vowel + high vowel (possible diphthong or glide formation)

2.4.2.2.3.1 Phonetically long vowels

Every vowel except schwa can occur as phonetically lengthened. The following minimal or near-minimal pairs show that there is phonemic contrast between short and long vowels:

⁶ Note that these data describe only the Kota Belud variety of WC Bajau. Asmah Haji Omar (1980), whose descriptive article on the West Coast WC Bajau language includes the varieties spoken in Mengkabong-Tuaran and possibly Papar, cites the occurrence of *ae*, *ou*, *oa*, *oe*, and *ei* in the language. I have not encountered these vowel combinations in the Kota Belud variety of WC Bajau.

(2.13)	[taʔ]	‘at’ (locative preposition)
	[ta:ʔ]	‘long’
	[boʔ]	‘and then’ (conjunction)
	[bo:ʔ]	‘bamboo’
	[suk ^ɿ]	‘thin’
	[su:k ^ɿ]	‘to scoop’
	[sun]	‘money’
	[si:t ^ɿ]	‘to hang’ (bound root)

Lengthened vowels could be interpreted as phonemic long vowels: /ā/, /ō/, etc. Alternatively, they could be interpreted as sequences of two short vowels. Positing phonemic long vowels has the disadvantage of considerably enlarging the inventory of phonemes, thus increasing the complexity of the language. Also, while nonsuspect monosyllabic root words do occur in WC Bajau, they are rare. Positing phonemic long vowels would require many root words to have one rather than two syllables. The ‘sequence of two short vowels’ analysis is thus to be preferred over the ‘phonemic long vowel’ analysis.

Additional evidence for the ‘two short vowels’ vs. ‘phonemic long vowel’ analysis comes from the fact that, in WC Bajau, several words with geminate vowels or vowel clusters have been produced as a result of the loss of intervocalic /ʔ/, as well as intervocalic /h/ and intervocalic /l/ (in certain environments), as documented by Pallesen (1985). These intervocalic consonants are retained in several other Sama-Bajaw languages. Note these comparisons, compiled from Pallesen (1985) and Saidatul Nornis (1997):

(2.14) /ra.at/ ‘bad’ in WC Bajau	→	/la.ʔat/ ‘bad’ in Yakan
/la.aʔ/ ‘blood’ in WC Bajau	→	/la.haʔ/ ‘blood’ in Bajau Laut (Sabah)
/lo.oʔ/ ‘gravy’ in WC Bajau	→	/lo.hoʔ/ ‘soup’ in Yakan, Northern Sulu, Southern Sulu, Jama Mapun, Indonesian Bajau
/wa.uʔ/ ‘eight’ in WC Bajau	→	/wa.luʔ/ ‘eight’ in Sibutu Sama

In fact, intervocalic glottal stop has been found to occur in some varieties of WC Bajau (Pallesen 1985:72), though not in the Kota Belud area.

2.4.2.2.3.2 Sequences beginning with a high vowel

When a high vowel initiates a vowel sequence, whether with a non-high vowel or with another high vowel, sometimes a glide is pronounced following the high vowel, particularly in careful or emphatic speech. The glide takes the place features of the high vowel. Examples:

(2.15) [ti'o]	or	[ti'jo]			‘far’
[li'udʷ]	or	[li'judʷ]			‘flood’
[bu'eʔ]	or	[bu'weʔ]	or	[b ^w eʔ]	‘water’
[ku'i]	or	[ku'wi]	or	[k ^w i]	‘willing’

Most likely, the glide has been inserted postlexically in these words and can be described in the same way that Himmelman (1991:58) does for the palatal glide after a front high vowel in Lauje, as “a purely phonetically motivated epenthetic glide”.⁷ As a postlexical process, the glide is not present in the underlying form, and it is not represented in the orthography. However, when the vowel sequence initiated by a high vowel occurs at the beginning of the word, the inserted glide is more clearly enunciated, and the glide is represented in the orthography (§2.6).

⁷ Cited in Quick 2003:72-3, where Quick discusses post-lexical glide insertion in Pendau.

2.4.2.2.3.3 Sequences of a non-high plus high vowel

For clusters consisting of a non-high vowel followed by a high vowel (e.g., [au] and [ai]), the syllabicity of both vowels is not always apparent. There is generally no phonetic realization of a glide with these combinations. Examples:

- (2.16) ['paudʔ] 'yoke'
 ['dau] 'first,before'
 ['paitʔ] 'bitter'
 ['gai] (third person plural pronoun)

The question arises whether to treat these sequences as monosyllabic or disyllabic. In the monosyllabic interpretation, these vowel sequences could be diphthongs, containing a single syllabic nucleus (\widehat{au} , \widehat{ai} , etc.), or they could be the sequence of a vowel plus a glide. In the disyllabic interpretation, both segments are vowels, and each vowel is the nucleus of a separate syllable.

The disyllabic interpretation is preferred in most environments, in part because there are otherwise few cases of unambiguous one-syllable content words in WC Bajau. However, there is one environment where the [au] and [ai] sequences are sometimes best interpreted as vowel + glide rather than as two syllabic vowels. The motivation here is the rule of penultimate stress. Consider the following words:

- (2.17) ['daŋai] /da.ŋaj/ 'how many, how much'
 ['pakai] /pa.kaj/ 'to use'
 ['kabau] /ka.baw/ 'crab'
 ['mantau] /man.taw/ 'to stand'

If these words are interpreted as having final /i/ or /u/ (syllabic), then there are three syllables, and stress falls on the pre-penultimate syllable. However, if these words were interpreted as having final /j/ or /w/, there are only two syllables, and stress falls (as expected) on the penultimate syllable.

Two minimal pairs have been found which support the contrastive status of word-final high vowels vs. word-final glides. These are shown in (2.18) and (2.19) below:

(2.18)	A	[¹ duwai]	/du.aj/	‘(kind of fish)’	'CV.CVC
	B	[du ¹ wai]	/du.a.i/	‘to descend’	CV.'CV.V
(2.19)	A	[¹ nibau]	/ni.baw/	‘to pay one’s respects’	'CV.CVC
	B	[ni ¹ bau]	/ni.ba.u/	‘to poison fish’	CV.'CV.V

In (A) of each pair, interpretation of the final high segment as a glide preserves the penultimate stress rule which regularly applies to unambiguous data. Similarly, in (B) of each pair, interpretation of the final high segment as a vowel preserves the rule of penultimate stress.

2.5 Morphophonology

This section discusses the morphophonological processes that occur in WC Bajau, particularly those involved in affixation. The major processes to be described involve the replacement of segments (as in nasal fusion), the elision of segments (usually schwa or glottal stop), and changes in root vowels upon affixation (including the result of vowel harmony).

2.5.1 Nasal fusion

WC Bajau has a nasal prefix, represented as *N-*, the particular realization of which depends on the place articulation of the base-initial consonant to which it prefixes. There are in fact two additional prefixes containing *N-*, which are the ‘instrument’ prefix *peN₁-* (§10.3) and the ‘location’ prefix *pe(N-)...-an* (§10.4), but with all these morphemes the same basic pattern of allomorphic

variation with *N-* is observed. Where a given prefix differs in its allomorphic variation from the pattern presented below, it will be noted as part of the discussion of that prefix.

The phonological processes that apply in nasal fusion involve either replacement of the first letter of the base with its homorganic nasal (with /p/ and /b/, /s/ and /t/, /k/ and /g/), or the addition of *ng(e)-* to the base (where *e* is the schwa vowel /ə/). The forms listed on the right show the realization of *N-* combined with the first letter of the base:

(2.20) <i>N-</i> + /p/ or /b/ in the base	→	<i>m-</i>	(replacement)
<i>N-</i> + /s/ or /t/ in the base	→	<i>n-</i>	(replacement)
<i>N-</i> + /k/ or /g/ in the base	→	<i>ng-</i>	(replacement)
<i>N-</i> + /d/ in the base	→	<i>ngend-</i>	
<i>N-</i> + /dʒ/, /l/, or /r/ in the base	→	<i>ngej-, ngel-, or nger-</i>	
<i>N-</i> + any vowel /V/	→	<i>ngV-</i>	

These processes are illustrated by the examples in (2.21) below.

(2.21)

Base begins with /p/ or /b/:

<i>N-</i> + <i>boso</i>	→	<i>moso</i>	‘to read’
<i>N-</i> + <i>pedagang</i>	→	<i>medagang</i>	‘to sell’

Base begins with /t/ or /s/:

<i>N-</i> + <i>tulis</i>	→	<i>nulis</i>	‘to write’
<i>N-</i> + <i>sapu</i>	→	<i>napu</i>	‘to sweep’

Base begins with /k/ or /g/:

<i>N-</i> + <i>kuse’</i>	→	<i>nguse’</i>	‘to wash’
<i>N-</i> + <i>gambar</i>	→	<i>ngambar</i>	‘to take a picture’

Base begins with /d/:

<i>N-</i> + <i>dokop</i>	→	<i>ngen-dokop</i>	‘to catch’
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Base begins with /r/, /l/, or /dʒ/:

<i>N-</i> + <i>rambat</i>	→	<i>nge-rambat</i>	‘to use a cast-net’
<i>N-</i> + <i>lawat</i>	→	<i>nge-lawat</i>	‘to visit’
<i>N-</i> + <i>jomo</i>	→	<i>nge-jomo</i>	‘to look after someone’

Base begins with a vowel:

<i>N-</i> + <i>inum</i>	→	<i>ng-inum</i>	‘to drink’
<i>N-</i> + <i>enda</i>	→	<i>ng-enda</i>	‘to see’

With a few roots that begin with /g/, the nasal prefix does not replace the /g/ as expected, but instead precedes it as the homorganic form *eng-*. Examples:

(2.22) <i>N-</i> + <i>gulay</i>	→	<i>enggulay</i>	‘to cook vegetables’
<i>N-</i> + <i>gayung</i>	→	<i>enggayung</i>	‘to use a bucket’

Nasal fusion does not apply to roots beginning with a nasal consonant or a glide. The reason is that prefixes containing *N-* apply primarily to transitive verbs, and I know of no transitive roots that begin with a nasal consonant or a glide.

2.5.2 Glottal stop elision

The glottal stop elides when it occurs intervocally in a word. This process is observed when bases ending with a glottal stop are suffixed, since all suffixes in WC Bajau begin with a vowel.

Examples:

(2.23) ['baraʔ] ‘to tell (s.thing)’	+ <i>-an₁</i>	→	[bə ¹ ra:n]	‘to tell (s.thing) (to someone)’
['kunsiʔ] ‘to lock’	+ <i>-in</i>	→	[kun ¹ si:n]	‘lock (it)!’

2.5.3 Schwa elision

Most WC Bajau prefixes have the schwa vowel /ə/. When the prefix is /pə-/ ‘causative’ (§10.5) or /pə-/ ‘intransitive’ (§9.5), and it combines with a base that begins with a vowel, the schwa vowel elides. Examples:

(2.24)	[pə-]	+	[¹ alap ^ɿ] ‘good’	→	[¹ palap ^ɿ]	‘to fix’
	[pə-]	+	[¹ ojo] ‘big’	→	[¹ pojo]	‘to make or become big’
	[pə-]	+	[¹ indam] ‘to borrow’	→	[¹ pindam]	‘to lend’

However, with the /tə-/ ‘decontrolled’ prefix (§13.2.1), the pronunciation of the schwa is retained:

(2.25)	[tə-]	+	[¹ abut ^ɿ] ‘to reach’	→	[tə ¹ abut ^ɿ]	‘able to reach or touch’
	[tə-]	+	[¹ ogo] ‘to go to’	→	[tə ¹ ogo]	‘able to go to’
	[tə-]	+	[¹ uruk ^ɿ] ‘to smell’	→	[tə ¹ uruk ^ɿ]	‘catch the smell of’

The bound root **angguk* ‘to nod’ may combine with either /pə-/ or /tə-/ to form a viable word.

When it combines with /pə-/, the schwa vowel elides. When it combines with

/tə-/, the schwa vowel is retained:

(2.26)	[pə-]	+	[¹ angguk ^ɿ] ‘to nod’	→	[¹ paŋguk ^ɿ]	‘to nod, sway, or rock’
	[tə-]	+	[¹ angguk ^ɿ] ‘to nod’	→	[tə ¹ angguk ^ɿ]	‘to accidentally nod’

Thus, it appears that schwa elision is at least partially motivated by grammatical or lexical, not phonological, constraints.⁸

⁸ An alternative hypothesis would be that the prefixes [pə-] and [tə-] do not have the same vowel, and this might explain the different behaviors with regard to vowel elision. The schwa sound that occurs in the prefix could

2.5.4 Vowel ‘weakening’

By far the most frequent suffix form in WC Bajau is *-an*, which occurs as the homophonous forms *-an₁* (§10.2) and *-an₂* (§4.2.4.1). When added to a normal bisyllabic root, the stress shifts to the right in order to preserve the penultimate syllable rule. The vowel that was previously stressed is now in the prestressed syllable, and in this position a non-high vowel often weakens phonetically to the schwa. Examples:

(2.27)	[¹ paku]	‘to ask for’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	[pəku ¹ wan]	‘to ask for (s.thing)’
	[¹ dʒogo]	‘to watch over’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	[dʒə ¹ go:n]	‘to watch over (s.one)’
	[¹ peneʔ]	‘to choose’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	[pə ¹ neən] ⁹	‘to choose (s.thing)’

2.5.5 Vowel harmony in suffixation

2.5.5.1 with *-an*

In root words, any vowel to the right of /o/ must also be /o/. The same rule applies to the vowel /e/ (§2.3.2.2.1). This vowel harmony rule for /o/ and /e/ is operative in affixed forms, as shown when a root word containing /o/ or /e/ is suffixed by *-an*. In this case, the phonetic realization of the suffix vowel harmonizes with the /o/ or /e/ in the root word. This is shown in the example above (§2.5.4) for [¹dʒogo], where the vowel in the suffix is realized as [o]. Further examples:

(2.28)	[sə ¹ nəmbət ¹]	‘to be chased’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	[sənəmbə ¹ tən]	‘to be chased with (s.thing)’
	[¹ pogos]	‘to force’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	[pəgo ¹ son]	‘to force (s.one)’

feasibly be the result of ‘vowel weakening’ as explained in the following section. Further investigation is needed.

⁹ In this form the suffix vowel also apparently reduces phonetically to the schwa. I suspect this happens regularly in forms where the root vowel contains [e], such that the suffix vowel also harmonizes to [e] (see §2.5.5.1 below) and then reduces to schwa in post-stressed syllables. Further investigation is required.

2.5.5.2 with *-in* and *-un*

The imperative mood suffix *-in* is realized as either *-in* or *-un* (§13.3.2). With the imperative forms there is a strong tendency for the vowel(s) in the immediately preceding syllable(s) to become raised (and sometimes then weakened to schwa in prestressed syllables), as shown by the following examples:

- (2.29) [ˈsembetʰ] ‘to chase’ + *-in* → [səmbɪtʰɪn] ‘chase (s.one or s.thing)!’
[ˈpogos] ‘to force’ + *-in* → [puguˈsɪn] ‘force (s.one or s.thing)!’

This raising effect is even more pronounced when the root ends in a vowel (with or without a following glottal stop). Here, addition of *-in* or *-un* causes the final vowel in the root (or final two vowels, if geminate) to assimilate to the high vowel in the suffix, creating a phonetically long final high vowel. Examples:

- (2.30) [ˈboo] ‘to bring’ + *-un* → [ˈbuːn] ‘bring (s.one or s.thing)!’
[ˈdedeʔ] ‘to send’ + *-in* → [dɪˈdiːn] ‘send (s.one or s.thing)!’

When the final vowel in the root is low, however, no such assimilation occurs:

- (2.31) [ˈbaraʔ] ‘to tell’ + *-in* → [bəˈrain] ‘tell(s.thing to s.one)!’

2.5.6 Allomorphy with passive *-in-*

WC Bajau has a passive infix *-in-* (§6.2.2) which occurs as the allomorph *ni-* before base forms beginning with /d/, /dʒ/, /l/, and /r/, and vowels (Mirafuentes 1991:94, whose data correlates with mine). The *ni-* form is probably the result of metathesis of *-in-*, and seems to reflect the prohibition in some Austronesian languages on the occurrence of infixes containing a sonorant in stems starting

with a sonorant (Klein 2005, cited in Goudswaard 2005:49).¹⁰ It is not clear, however, why the *ni-* form applies also to roots beginning with a non-sonorant alveolar consonant.

Infixation with *-in-* occurs just after the first consonant of the root and results in a resyllabification of the stem, with the initial consonant of the root + *i* in the first syllable, and *n* beginning the second syllable of the affixed word. Examples:

(2.32)	<i>palu</i>	‘to hit’	+ <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>pinalu</i>	‘to be hit’
	<i>boo</i>	‘to bring’	+ <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>binoo</i>	‘to be brought’
	<i>kakan</i>	‘to eat’	+ <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>kinakan</i>	‘to be eaten’

Prefixation with *ni-* occurs in a straightforward manner. Prefixation of *ni-* to vowel-initial roots usually results in the full pronunciation of both the prefix and initial root vowel:

(2.33)	<i>dokop</i>	‘to catch’	+ <i>ni-</i>	→	<i>nidokop</i>	‘to be caught’
	<i>randang</i>	‘to fry’	+ <i>ni-</i>	→	<i>nirandang</i>	‘to be fried’
	<i>ogo</i>	‘to visit’	+ <i>ni-</i>	→	<i>niogo</i>	‘to be visited’

When the root begins with a syllabic nasal (preceded by a schwa in the underlying phonological form; see §2.4.2.1.2), only the *i* in the prefix is pronounced prior to the nasal, and the *i* is slightly lengthened. Examples:

(2.34)	<i>enda</i>	[ŋ ^h daʔ]	‘to look’	+ <i>ni-</i>	→	<i>nienda</i>	[^h ni:ndaʔ]	‘to be watched’
	<i>enna</i>	[ŋ ^h naʔ]	‘to set down’	+ <i>ni-</i>	→	<i>nienna</i>	[^h ni:nnaʔ]	‘to be set down’

2.6 Loan words

Most loan words in WC Bajau come from Malay, with a small number also from English. In Malay, there are a few sounds that do not occur naturally in WC Bajau: [tʃ], [h], [f], and [z]. Where

¹⁰ Goudswaard describes for Begak a variation between the infixes *-ən-* / *-əm-* and the prefixes *nə-* / *mə-*. She analyzes the prefixes as metathesized forms of the infixes. “Metathesis prevents infixes from occurring after stems starting with a sonorant” (49), in accordance with the prohibition observed by Klein (2005).

any of these sounds appear in Malay loan words, WC Bajau speakers pronounce them according to their own sound system, which involves some regular changes:

[tʃ] in Malay becomes [s] in WC Bajau

cara → *sara* ‘method’
cincin → *sinsim* ‘ring’

[h] in Malay is deleted in WC Bajau

habis → *abis* ‘finished, all gone’
faham → *paam* ‘to understand’

[f] in Malay becomes [p] in WC Bajau¹¹

fakir → *pakir* ‘religious officiant’
fikiran → *pikiran* ‘idea, opinion’

[z] in Malay becomes [dʒ] in WC Bajau

zaman → *jaman* ‘age, period of time’
zakat → *jakat* ‘religious tax’

Note that WC Bajau speakers who are bilingual in Malay will sometimes use the Malay pronunciation of these sounds.

Another phonological adaptation of Malay borrowings in WC Bajau is the replacement of the schwa vowel /ə/ in Malay by /a/ in WC Bajau, when the schwa occurs in the penultimate (stressed) syllable in Malay. Some examples are shown in (2.35) below:

(2.35) <u>Malay</u>	<u>WC Bajau</u>	
/sədʒuk/	/sadʒuk/	‘cold’
/mənən/	/manən/	‘to win’
/kədaj/	/kadaj/	‘town’

¹¹ Some Malay speakers also use [p] in place of [f] in these examples.

Note that several of the above sound changes may simply reflect features of the Sabah Malay dialect. For example, Wong (2000:27-51), in her phonological study of Sabah Malay, asserts that the phoneme /ə/ in Standard Malay is usually realized as /a/ in Sabah Malay, and the phoneme /h/ in Standard Malay is sometimes deleted in Sabah Malay.

2.7 The WC Bajau orthography

The development of the WC Bajau orthography was discussed in §1.3.4. In what follows, I summarize the key decisions that have helped shape the present WC Bajau working orthography.

The glottal stop is written in WC Bajau with an apostrophe (’), as with other Sabahan (and some Sama-Bajaw) languages. Phonetically long vowels in WC Bajau are best interpreted as a sequence of two short vowels, and they are written as such in the WC Bajau orthography. Both /e/ and /ə/ in WC Bajau are represented by the one symbol ‘e’ (the two phonemes are similarly underdifferentiated in the Malay orthography). However, there is less potential for confusion in WC Bajau than in Malay, owing primarily to the more limited distribution of /e/ in WC Bajau. Syllabic nasals in word-initial position are written with a schwa (‘e’) preceding the cluster, even though the schwa is not always pronounced. When a syllabic nasal or liquid consonant clusters with itself, the resultant geminate consonant is written as two identical segments (e.g., *ellu* ‘pestle’, *emma* ‘father’). Glides are only written between high and low vowels where the transition occurs word-initial (e.g. *iyo* ‘3s’, *uwa* ‘dog’). Glides are also written when they occur word final (e.g. *kaday* ‘town’, *kabaw* ‘crab), whereas in the Malay spelling system final glides are always written as vowels.

In representing affixed forms, elided vowels as the result of prefixation (§2.5.3) are still included in the spelling, but elided glottal stops (§2.5.2) as a result of affixation are not written. Changes in vowel quality resulting from suffixation are not reflected in the spelling, except in the following cases: (1) the suffix *-an* undergoes vowel harmony, such that the /a/ vowel is pronounced [o] or [e]

and written as *-on* or *-en*; and (2) the imperative suffix *-in* /*-un* added to the final vowel in the root causes assimilation to the high vowel in the suffix.

In representing word boundaries, I have departed from the current orthography in this dissertation where it seemed appropriate for ease of analysis. For example, the current orthography requires that pronominal enclitics (§4.2.3.2.1) be written apart from their host, but in my dissertation they are written as attached (with '='). For example, *ruma' ku* 'my house' is written here as *ruma'=ku*. Also, in the current orthography the locative preposition prefix *em-* is written separate from the following word, but I have chosen here to write it as attached (with a dash) to its base. Finally, the current orthography requires that some particle combinations be written together (such as *boino*, from *boi + no*) whereas I have chosen to write them separately.

Words that have been loaned into WC Bajau from Malay are pronounced according to the WC Bajau sound system (§2.5). Malay loan words in WC Bajau are spelled according to how they are pronounced in WC Bajau, rather than try to preserve the Malay spelling. For example, the Malay word *kopi* 'coffee' is pronounced ['kupi?] in WC Bajau, and spelled *kupi*' not *kopi*.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY: TERMS AND OPERATIONS

3.1 Introduction

Morphology is concerned with “the internal structure of words” (Haspelmath 2002:1). In this chapter, some basic terms associated with word structure in WC Bajau are defined and illustrated: morpheme, root, affix, base, word, and clitic. The set of affixes used in the language is briefly presented, along with the possible orderings of those affixes in the formation of words. The morphological typology of WC Bajau is described and the distinction made between inflectional and derivational morphology. Finally, two morphological operations in WC Bajau, compounding and reduplication, are described in some detail.

3.2 Morphological terms defined and illustrated

3.2.1 *Morpheme, root, affix, base*

Morphemes are “the smallest meaningful constituents of a linguistic expression” (Haspelmath 2002:16). They can have various kinds of meanings, which may include grammatical functions. A morphologically complex word is a word composed of two or more morphemes. WC Bajau words that are morphologically complex can usually be easily segmented into their constituent morphemes. This means that WC Bajau morphology is concatenative, involving such processes as affixation and compounding, where the morphemes tend to ‘string together’.

A word consists of a **root** to which may attach one or more **affixes**. Affixes may be described as “various additions or modifications to” the root (Bickford 1998:29). Roots may be either bound or free (where ‘free’ means able to occur by itself as a word), while affixes are always bound. The part of the word that an affix attaches to is called the **base**. A base may consist of a bare root, in which

phonological criteria such as stress placement are used to determine word boundaries (see §2.3.1.2.2). In this grammar, ‘word’ always refers to the morphosyntactic word unless otherwise specified.

There is a special, intermediate category of forms which fall somewhere between affixes (bound) and words (free). These are **clitics**, which may be classified, somewhat paradoxically, as bound words. Simple clitics behave like bound morphemes in that they are prosodically dependent (i.e., an utterance may not be interrupted between two bound forms), they are not cleftable or topicalizable, and they do not constitute a separate domain for word stress. However, clitics behave like free word-forms in that they can occur in different positions in the sentence, or at any rate they show freedom of host selection. They also are impervious to certain morphophonological rules that apply only within the boundary of a word. Clitics that attach prior to their host are **proclitics**, and those that attach after their host are **enclitics**. WC Bajau has a set of pronominal enclitics, but no proclitics. In addition, WC Bajau has several clitic-like particles which are not phonologically bound to the preceding word but do show certain clitic properties; these are called second-position clitics.

3.2.2.1 Pronominal enclitics

The pronominal enclitics (introduced as a paradigm in §4.2.3.2.1) attach to a noun to mark a possessor, or to the end of a verb phrase to mark a non-subject argument (usually the actor). These pronouns show clitic properties in that they do not constitute a separate domain for word stress (as shown in §2.3.1.1), yet they are impervious to a specific morphophonological rule that applies within the word boundary: that of nasal assimilation to the following consonant. Note the following example:

- (3.1) *Paku-an=ku* *ganti* *sab* *e.*
 ask.for-TZ =1s.I replacement PRT DEM
 “I’m asking for compensation.” (Miller 2006:71)

The pronominal enclitic =*ku* ‘1s’ when attached to the preceding verb *pakuan* is pronounced: [pəku'wanku]. Note the penultimate stress placement which treats the verb + clitic as one phonological word. However, the nasal consonant /n/ preceding the clitic has not assimilated to the point of articulation of following consonant /k/, which it would if the pronoun was included within the word boundary. So, this pronoun form (and others of its class) are best analyzed as clitics. In contrast, the locative preposition *em-* (§4.4.1) and the ‘counting’ form *eN-* (§4.4.2.1.3) are analyzed as prefixes rather than clitics, since they do show assimilation to the point of articulation of the following consonant.

3.2.2.2 Second-position clitics

WC Bajau second-position clitics (§12.6.5) include a number of discourse particles such as *pan*, *do*, and *kono*. Although these clitics do not exhibit freedom of movement in that they obligatorily appear just after the first element in the clause, they do show freedom of ‘host’ selection. That is, the ‘host’ they occur with is not limited to a certain syntactic category, whereas affixes must attach to a particular syntactic category. Unlike simple clitics, second-position clitics are not phonologically bound to the preceding word. Hence they are ‘special’ clitics rather than simple clitics, and the preceding word is a ‘host’ only in terms of constituent order (as opposed to actual phonological binding).

In (3.2) below, the second position clitic *pan* (§12.6.3), a discourse particle that has a cohesive or emphatic function, occurs following a noun phrase (a), an intransitive verb (b), a passive verb (c), and an adverb (d):

- (3.2) a. *Kerabaw e pan panday no be-tutur.*
 buffalo DEM PRT skilled FOC INTR-speak
 ‘The buffalo was able to speak.’ (kerabaw 022)

- b. *Be-gilir-gilir* *pan* *gai* *eng-giok-on* *e*.
 INTR-alternate-REDUP EMPH 3p AV-stomp-TZ DEM
 ‘They took turns stomping down on it (the unhusked rice).’ (tonom paray 020)
- c. *P-in-emia* *pan* *iyo* *me*.
 -PASS-search.for also 3s.II there
 ‘He was searched for there as well.’ (mat salleh 046)
- d. *Alap* *pan* *ella =ni* *uun* *me*.
 good EMPH husband =3s.I EXIST there
 ‘It was fortunate that her husband was there.’ (biduk 047)

3.3 Affixes and their constraints

WC Bajau affixes consist of prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and circumfixes. Different morphemes that share the same form are distinguished by a subscript number. For example, the affix form *pe-* comprises three different morphemes: *pe*₁- to derive intransitive verbs; *pe*₂- to derive causative verbs; and *pe*₃- to derive agents. The WC Bajau affixes are listed in Tables (3.1)-(3.4) below, showing their various functions and also (in parentheses) any allomorphs associated with the different affixes.¹ (Note that the locative preposition prefix *em-* and the ‘counting’ prefix *eN-* are not included in this table.)

Table 3.1 Voice affixes

Category	Affix	Description
Actor Voice (AV)	<i>N</i> ₁ - (<i>ng-</i> , <i>m-</i> , <i>n-</i> , <i>nge-</i>)	AV (both indicative and imperative moods)
Undergoer Voice (UV)	∅- ∅- + <i>-in</i> (<i>-un</i>)	UV (indicative mood) UV (imperative mood)
Passive Voice	<i>-in</i> - (<i>ni-</i>) <i>te-</i>	undergoer subject but with oblique or omitted agent (indicative and imperative moods) undergoer subject but with agent sometimes oblique or omitted (decontrolled mood)

¹ Note that allomorphs resulting from vowel harmony are not listed in Table 3.1

Table 3.2 Intransitive affixes

Category	Affix	Function
Intransitive affixes	<i>N-</i> (<i>ng-</i> , <i>m-</i> , <i>n-</i> , <i>nge-</i>)	actor orientation; verbalizer
	<i>be-</i>	actor orientation; verbalizer
	<i>-em-</i> (<i>-um-</i>)	actor orientation
	<i>pe₁-</i>	derives intransitive verbs
	<i>be-</i> + <i>-an</i>	derives distributive action verbs
	<i>si-</i>	derives reciprocal verbs
	<i>[ke-</i> + <i>-an]₁</i>	derives adversatives
	<i>pe₃-</i>	derives agentives

Table 3.3 Valence-increasing affixes

Category	Affix	Function
Valence-increasers	<i>pe₂-</i>	derive causatives (add actor argument)
	<i>-an₁</i>	adds a recipient, locative/goal, or patient/theme argument
	<i>peN-</i> (<i>peng-</i> , <i>pem-</i> , <i>pen-</i> , <i>penge-</i>)	adds instrument argument
	<i>pe(N-)...-an</i>	adds location argument

Table 3.4 Nominal affixes

Category	Affix	Function
Nominal affixes	<i>pe₃-</i> <i>-an₂</i> <i>[pe-</i> + <i>-an]</i> <i>peN-</i> <i>pe(N-)...-an</i> <i>[ke-</i> + <i>-an]₂</i>	derives nominals ²

In WC Bajau, a word can never be affixed with more than one suffix or more than one infix. However, some verbs can have more than one prefix, usually where the causative prefix *pe₂-* attaches closest to the root and a voice or mood prefix (or infix) attaches further from the root. The order of affixation on such verbs is shown in Figure 3.3 below:

² It will be noted that the *peN-* and *pe(N-)...-an* prefixes listed here are analyzed as the same forms as the ones listed in the previous table as valence-increasing affixes. These prefixes may have both verbal and nominalizing uses. See §10.3 and §10.4 for further discussion.

voice or prefix/ infix	mood	causative prefix	root	suffix
N_1- -in- $peN-$ ³ te-	+	pe_2- +	ROOT +	-an ₁ -an ₂ -in (-un)

Figure 3.3 Order of affixation with pe_2-

The examples in (3.3) below using the root word *keta* ‘to cross (some path or space)’ illustrate these affix combinations. Examples (a-e) show combination of pe_2- and the passive (-in-) infix:

- (3.3) a. *keta* ‘to cross (some path or space)’ *keta*
- b. *kineta* ‘to be crossed’ -in- + *keta*
- c. *peketa* ‘to bring s.thing across’ pe_2- + *keta*
- d. *pineketa* ‘to be brought across’ -in- + pe_2- + *keta*
- e. **pekineta* ‘to be brought across’ pe_2- + -in- + *keta*

The passive voice infix -in- may attach directly to the root (to produce *kineta*) or it may attach to the affixed form *peketa* to form *pineketa*. The impossibility of **pekineta* shows that the voice operation applies after the derivation of *peketa* from pe_2- + *keta*.

Examples (f-i) show combination of pe_2- and the actor voice (N-) prefix:

- f. *ngeta* ‘to cross’ (AV) N- + *keta*
- g. *meketa* ‘to bring s.thing across’ (AV) N- + pe_2- + *keta*
- h. **pengeta* ‘to bring s.thing across’ (AV)⁴ pe_2- + N- + *keta*
- i. **mengeta* ‘to bring s.thing across’ (AV) N- + pe_2- + N- + *keta*

³ The instrument voice prefix $peN-$ very rarely attaches to pe_2- . The one example I have found is *pemeturi* ‘something used to induce sleep’, for which the derivation is: $peN-$ + pe_2- + *turi* ‘sleep’.

⁴ This form is acceptable with the meaning ‘to use to bring s.thing across’, in which case the instrumental voice prefix ($peN-$) is used: $peN-$ + *keta*

The AV prefix *N-* may attach directly to the root (to produce *ngeta*) or it may attach to the affixed form *peketa* to form *meketa*. The impossibility of **pengeta* and **mengeta* shows again that the voice operation applies only after the derivation of the causative form.

Examples (j-l) show combination of *pe₂-* and the decontrolled passive (*te-*) prefix:

- | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|---|------------------------|---|-------------|
| j. <i>teketa</i> ‘able to cross’ | <i>te-</i> | + | <i>keta</i> | | |
| k. <i>tepeketa</i> ‘able to bring (s.thing) across’ | <i>te-</i> | + | <i>pe₂-</i> | + | <i>keta</i> |
| l. <i>*peteketa</i> ‘able to bring (s.thing) across’ | <i>pe₂-</i> | + | <i>te-</i> | + | <i>keta</i> |

The decontrolled mood prefix *te-* may attach directly to the root (to produce *teketa*) or it may attach to the affixed form *peketa* to form *tepeketa*. The impossibility of **peteketa* shows that the *te-* prefix applies only after the derivation of the causative form.

The examples in (3.3) demonstrate that the voice/ mood affixes apply to the outer edge of the base, whereas the causative prefix applies closest to the root. This is consistent with analyzing the causative prefix as derivational and the voice/ mood affixes as inflectional, a distinction which is discussed in §3.5 below.

3.4 Morphological typology

Comrie (1989) recognizes two parameters or indices by which to characterize the morphology of a language. These are the index of synthesis and the index of fusion. The **index of synthesis** measures the number of morphemes per word. A highly isolating language tends to have one morpheme per word. A highly polysynthetic language tends to have many morphemes per word. The **index of fusion** is concerned with how easily a word can be segmented into its constituent morphemes, and the relative invariance of those morphemes. A highly agglutinative language has easily segmentable and invariant morphemes, whereas a highly fusional language contains no such clear-cut boundaries between morphemes.

Considering first the index of synthesis, WC Bajau cannot be characterized as either highly isolating or highly polysynthetic. While WC Bajau shows a fairly rich morphology for deriving nouns, these are not marked for number or grammatical case. In terms of verbal morphology, as discussed in §3.3, the language has several affixes that combine on verbs to mark voice, valence, and mood. However, the number of affixes that may combine in a word, and their order, is highly constrained. Furthermore, the WC Bajau verbal system is evidently becoming more isolating than the Sama-Bajaw languages in the Philippines. For example, the Sama-Bajaw languages Mapun, Bangingi', Pangutaran and Yakan all have a productive prefix, *(ma)ka-* or sometimes *-um-*, for signaling the decontrolled mood in AV. In WC Bajau this prefix (realized as *ke-*) is used on very few verbs and is not productive (see §13.2.3).

As for the second index, to the degree that WC Bajau is polysynthetic, it is probably more agglutinative than fusional. Morphemes are fairly easy to segment out. There is some degree of variance of morpheme shape, but this is predictable on the basis of phonological rules such as nasal assimilation that was described in the previous chapter. Thus the morpheme *me-* is the 'fusion' of two morphemes *N₁- + pe₂-*, which contribute two different chunks of meaning, but the fused form is not truly a portmanteau morph because its shape is predictable on the basis of the nasal assimilation rule. Even so, WC Bajau is slightly fusional in that some morphemes express more than one grammatical meaning and their shape cannot be explained as the synthesis of two forms. For example, the *te-* prefix signals both passive voice and decontrolled mood. The *-in (-un)* suffix indicates both UV and imperative mood.

3.5 Inflection vs. derivation

In considering the distinction between inflection and derivation, I follow the continuum approach, which considers prototypical inflection and prototypical derivation as two extremes. Many morphological processes are best characterized as being 'more inflectional' or 'more derivational'

depending on the overall set of properties they exhibit. Bickford (1998:139) lists a number of properties typically associated with inflection vs. derivation. These are reproduced in Table 3.5 below:

Table 3.5 The properties of inflection vs. derivation

	Inflection	Derivation
Changes one lexical entry into another	no	yes
Changes syntactic category	no	often
Productivity	virtually total	partial at best
Organized in paradigms	yes	no
Distance from root	farther	closer
Type of meaning	grammatical	usually lexical
Conventionalized semantics	usually not	often yes
Relevant to syntax	yes	no

The strongest candidates for inflectional morphology in WC Bajau are the voice markers. They are extremely productive, applying to nearly any transitive root; they do not change lexical entries or syntactic categories; they have a grammatical meaning (they identify the syntactic pivot in the clause); they occur farther from the root than other affixes that may be attached to the root; and they are relevant to the syntax, as they are required by the syntax in some dependent clause types.

However, voice-marking in WC Bajau is not prototypical inflection, because a change in voice marking on the transitive verb (particularly from UV to AV) can change the aspectual interpretation (though not the lexical meaning) of the action expressed by the verb. For example, with *papi* ‘to cook’ and *popo* ‘to wash (clothes)’, the UV form of these verbs normally takes a specific undergoer. The AV form, on the other hand, allows for an activity interpretation, where the undergoer is generic

and may be deleted from the clause. (See §4.3.1.2 for more discussion.) Such meaning changes are typical of derivational, not inflectional, morphology.⁵

The two inflectional mood affixes deserve special comment. Mood is identified as a typical inflectional category on verbs (Haspelmath 2002:63). The *-in* (*-un*) suffix encodes the imperative mood in the undergoer voice (§13.3.2), and it behaves like a typical inflectional morpheme on transitive roots. The *te-* prefix as applied to transitive roots marks decontrolled mood in the undergoer voice (§13.2.1). Although it does encode voice information, its primary function is to express action that is decontrolled, that is, non-volitional or abilitative. It resembles inflectional morphology in that *te-* can be applied to nearly any transitive root, and it attaches farther from the base than any other affix on the root. Also, as previously noted, *te-* cumulatively expresses both undergoer voice and non-volitional/ abilitative meaning, and such cumulative expression of information is more typical of inflection than of derivation (Haspelmath 2002:76).

The remaining WC Bajau affixes clearly fall into the derivational camp. They may involve a change in word class (as with the various nominalizers), or they may change the valence of the verb (as with causative *pe*₂-, the reciprocal *si-*, and the *-an*₁ applicative). Several of the intransitive affixes do not change the word class or valence of the verb, but they do express a lexical meaning (such as [*ke-* + *-an*]₁ which has an ‘adversative’ meaning). While some of these affixes are fairly productive, they are much more limited in their applicability than the voice and mood affixes.

In the case of the prefix *N-* form, note that the same morpheme appears to be inflectional on some roots and derivational on others. We noted above with *N-* that on some verbs it has the potential to change the meaning of the verb, making it appear more derivational than inflectional.

⁵ Walton (1986), in his description of the voice oppositions in Pangutaran Sama, similarly remarks how “This change of verb class which comes with a change of focus [the term he uses for voice] breaks down the distinction between derivation and inflection, since the inflection process also affects the class of the verb” (122).

The prefix *N-* can also combine with several nouns to derive intransitive verbs. An example is *ng-entelo* ‘to lay an egg’ (< *entelo* ‘egg’). Here *N-* changes the word class, and clearly functions as a derivational affix.

3.6 Compounds

Compounds are complex words, consisting of (usually) two base words that are joined together as one phonological word. In the WC Bajau orthography, compounds are usually written as two separate words, with a few exceptions. Various compound combinations in WC Bajau are possible, including N-N, N-A, and N-V. Compounds can be classified according to the number of their semantic head(s). In what follows, two types of compounds will be described: head-dependent compounds and coordinative compounds.

3.6.1 *Head-dependent compounds*

In a head-dependent compound, a semantic head is combined with its dependent or modifying element. The dependent usually narrows or specifies the denotation of the head (Haspelmath 2002:87). In WC Bajau head-dependent compounds, the head occurs first. One class of head-dependent compounds is the generic-specific class, where the head denotes a general class of which the dependent is one species or type. Examples of this generic-specific class of compounds:

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|---------------|---|
| (3.4) | <i>poon saging</i> | ‘banana tree’ | <i>(poon</i> ‘tree’ + <i>saging</i> ‘banana’) |
| | <i>diing yu</i> | ‘shark’ | <i>(diing</i> ‘fish’ + <i>yu</i> ‘shark’) |
| | <i>soo tadung</i> | ‘cobra’ | <i>(soo</i> ‘snake’ + <i>tadung</i> ‘cobra’) |

Other semantic relationships are possible for head-dependent compounds, but there is still a semantic head, and the dependent characterizes the head in some way. Again, the head occurs first in

the compound, in what grammatically (and often semantically) appears to be a head noun + possessor pattern.⁶ Examples:

(3.5)	<i>bue' susu</i>	'milk'	(<i>bue</i> 'water' + <i>susu</i> 'breast')
	<i>bue' moto</i>	'tear'	(<i>bue</i> 'water' + <i>moto</i> 'eye')
	<i>bua' suang</i>	'river mouth'	(<i>bua</i> 'mouth' + <i>suang</i> 'river')
	<i>sedi bua'</i>	'lip(s)'	(<i>sedi</i> 'side' + <i>bua</i> 'mouth')
	<i>langallow</i>	'noon'	(<i>langa</i> 'height' + <i>ellaw</i> 'day')
	<i>manuk taun</i>	'wild chicken'	(<i>manuk</i> 'chicken' + <i>taun</i> 'forest')

In these examples, the head is modified by its grammatical possessor, and a literal translation with possessive meaning is often possible. Thus *bue' moto* 'tear' may be translated 'water of the eye', where the head noun *bue* 'water' is modified by its possessor *moto* 'eye'. Similarly, *langallow* 'noon' may be translated 'height of the day', where *langa* 'height' is modified by its possessor *ellaw* 'day'.

Some head-dependent compounds are commonly used for relational/ kinship terms. A few examples are shown below:

(3.6)	<i>iyang too</i>	'grandmother'	(<i>iyang</i> 'mother' + <i>too</i> 'old')
	<i>emma' too</i>	'grandfather'	(<i>emma</i> 'father' + <i>too</i> 'old')
	<i>anak angkat</i>	'adopted child'	(<i>anak</i> 'child' + <i>angkat</i> 'to raise')
	<i>anak dinakan</i>	'relative(s)'	(<i>anak</i> 'child' + <i>dinakan</i> 'relative')
	<i>anak bua'</i>	'niece/ nephew'	(<i>anak</i> 'child' + <i>bua</i> 'fruit' or 'mouth')

Note that *anak bua'* 'niece/ nephew' is an idiomatic compound, where the meaning of the whole cannot be obviously explained by its component parts.

Other examples of idiomatic compounds commonly used in WC Bajau are shown in (3.7):

⁶ To help determine whether these are actually compounds as opposed to phrases, I would need to check the intonation to see whether the stress pattern indicates one word or two. This is particularly important in cases where the meaning is somewhat predictable from its component parts (as would be expected of phrases).

- (3.7) *motollaw* 'sun' (*moto* 'eye' + *ellaw* 'day')⁷
tai' beriu 'cloud' (*tai* 'excrement' + *beriu* 'wind')
sin pesa' 'coins; spare change' (*sin* 'money' + *pesa* 'to break or shatter')

It is rare to have a V-N compound in WC Bajau, but one example is *mosoduo*, from *moso* 'read' + *duo* 'prayers'. Both formal and semantic criteria suggest that this word is a compound. *Mosoduo* is pronounced [məsə¹duwo], where stress occurs on the penultimate syllable of the combined form, and 'o' is reduced to [ə] in the prestressed syllables. Also, *mosoduo* is somewhat lexicalized in that it has a specific cultural referent: communal prayers performed at someone's home, after which a feast is served. The compound *mosoduo* functions as a verb in the clause, and since the syntactic category of the compound is understood to reflect the category of the head, the head word in *mosoduo* is the verb *moso* 'to read'.

3.6.2 Coordinative compounds

Unlike head-dependent compounds, where there is one semantic head, coordinative compounds contain more than one semantic head. These heads have complementary meanings and may be paraphrased by 'and'. In WC Bajau, coordinative compounds can be combinations of two nouns, two adjectives, or two verbs. Examples:

- (3.8) *bedi'-beka'* 'siblings' (apparently from *di* 'younger sibling' and *ka* 'older sibling')
ellaw-songom 'day-and-night' (*ellaw* 'day' + *songom* 'night')
too-mura' 'old-and-young' (*too* 'old' + *mura* 'young')
tio-sikot 'far-and-near' (*tio* 'far' + *sikot* 'near')

⁷ The pronunciation of *motollaw* is actually [moto¹l:o], where vowel harmony rules require the vowel in the last syllable to change to [o]. The application of the vowel harmony rule here is evidence that vowel harmony applies within the compound domain.

3.7 Reduplication

Reduplication is where a piece of the base is repeated (partial reduplication) or the whole base is repeated (full reduplication). In WC Bajau, partial reduplication is either foot reduplication (discussed in §3.7.2), where the last two syllables of the (affixed) base are doubled, or it is Cə-reduplication (§3.7.4), where only the first consonant of the root (plus schwa) is doubled. While either of these types of partial reduplication is rare in WC Bajau, full reduplication is common in the language. In general, the term ‘reduplication’ as used in this dissertation will refer to full reduplication, unless otherwise specified.

3.7.1 Types of reduplication

Three types of reduplication in WC Bajau are distinguished below: (1) reduplication as an inherent structural feature of words; (2) reduplication as a word-formation process; and (3) productive reduplication.

3.7.1.1 Reduplication as an inherent structural feature

In this type of reduplication, the root (usually disyllabic) is obligatorily doubled, so that the ‘root’ is actually the doubled form. Often these words refer to types of animals (especially insects).

Examples:

(3.9)	<i>mono-mono</i>	‘suddenly’
	<i>belo’-belo’</i>	‘to pretend’
	<i>kuri-kuri</i>	‘to play’
	<i>sia’-sia’</i>	‘fruitless’
	<i>para-para</i>	‘rack; shelf’
	<i>isun-isun</i>	‘quatrain (type of poetry)’
	<i>kuro-kuro</i>	‘tortoise’
	<i>tiko-tiko</i>	‘firefly’
	<i>birik-birik</i>	‘(type of chirping insect)’
	<i>bari-bari</i>	‘dragon-fly’
	<i>ellaw-ellaw</i>	‘cicada’

3.7.1.2 Reduplication as a word-formation process

A second kind of reduplication involves the formation of a new word, where the reduplicated form has a distinct (though related) meaning from the root. Sometimes this derivation involves a change in word class. The following are some examples of reduplicated forms that are new words:

(3.10)	<i>bele'-bele'</i>	'scarecrow'	(cf. <i>bele'</i> 'hawk')
	<i>manuk-manuk</i>	'flying thing'	(cf. <i>manuk</i> 'chicken')
	<i>somo-somo</i>	'together'	(cf. <i>somo</i> 'same')
	<i>kiro-kiro</i>	'approximately'	(cf. <i>kiro</i> 'to count')
	<i>sapu-sapu</i>	'broom'	(cf. <i>sapu</i> 'to sweep')

3.7.1.3 Productive reduplication

While the first two kinds of reduplication involve lexicalizations and are not productive, the third type of reduplication is productive: it may be applied to nearly any root verb. With productive reduplication, the change is usually aspectual rather than lexical. These changes are described below, following a brief look at how productive reduplication interacts with affixation in the language.

3.7.2 *The interaction of reduplication and affixation*

When affixation occurs along with reduplication, sometimes reduplication of the root occurs first, followed by affixation. To illustrate, consider the following examples (where R = reduplication):

(3.11) *loot* 'to reach for (x)' + R → *loot-loot* 'to repeatedly reach for (s.thing)'
pe₁- + [*loot-loot*] → *peloot-loot* 'to repeatedly reach with (the hand)'

(3.12) *tatak* 'to drop' + R → *tatak-tatak* 'to drop repeatedly'
[*tatak-tatak*] + *-an₁* → *tatak-tatakan* 'to drop (s.thing) repeatedly'

(3.13) *pisak* 'to crush' + R → *pisak-pisak* 'to crush repeatedly'
-in- + [*pisak-pisak*] → *pinisak-pisak* 'to be crushed repeatedly'

However, sometimes it is the affixed base that is reduplicated,⁸ as in the following examples:

- (3.14) *pe₁- + pekar* ‘to unfurl (x)’ → *pepekar* ‘to unfurl (intransitive)’
pepekar + R → *pepekar-pepekar* ‘to unfurl repeatedly’ or
‘(many) unfurl’
- (3.15) *N₁- + enda* ‘to look at (x)’ → *ngenda* ‘to look at (s.thing)’
ngenda’ + R → *ngenda’-ngenda’* ‘to continually look at (s.thing)’
- (3.16) *boo* ‘to bring (x)’ + *-an₂* → **boon*
**boon + R* → *boon-boon* ‘brought items’

The prefix *N₁-*, when it attaches to a base that is a root, must do so prior to reduplication of that root, as shown in (3.15) above. Thus, forms like **ngenda’-enda’* and **misak-pisak* do not occur. However, *N₁-* may attach to a word that has undergone both reduplication and affixation, as shown in the following example:

- (3.17) *suk* ‘thin’ + R → *suk-suk* ‘(many are) thin’
pe₂- + suk-suk → *pesuk-suk* ‘to make (many) thin’⁹
N₁- + pesuk-suk → *mesuk-suk* ‘to make (many) thin’

The other ‘voice’ affixes, which are the passive forms *te-* and *-in-* (*ni-*), only combine with a reduplicated root after reduplication has occurred. Thus, in (3.13) above, *pinisak-pisak* is possible, but not **pinisak-pinisak*. This pattern is observed for most derivational affixes as well, but with *pe₁-* and *-an₁* there are two possibilities: reduplication either before or after affixation of the root. Apparently no semantic distinction motivates this variation. Thus, for the base *sorong* ‘to push’, the *-an₁* suffix may attach either before or after the base has been reduplicated: *sorongon-sorongon* or *sorong-sorongon*, with no difference in meaning between the two forms.

⁸ By way of contrast, in Indonesian complex (affixed) verbs do not undergo full reduplication (Sneddon 1996:20).

⁹ The homophonous prefix *pe₁-* combines with the same root *suk* ‘thin’ before reduplication, deriving the form *pesuk-pesuk* ‘to continue getting thinner’. This appears to be a lexically-driven process, since the two *pe-* prefixes do not show a consistent pattern of reduplication with verbs in the language.

With the prefix *peN-*, a different type of reduplication occurs, where the last two syllables of the affixed word are reduplicated. This type of reduplication has been termed ‘foot reduplication’ (Goudswaard 2005: 53-55). Consider the following example with *beli* ‘to buy’ combined with the applicative instrument prefix *peN₁-*:

(3.18)	<i>peN₁-</i> + <i>beli</i>	→	<i>pemeli</i>	affixation of base
	<i>pemeli</i> + R	→	<i>pemeli-meli</i>	foot reduplication

It would be possible to analyze the reduplicated *N₁-* affixed forms (such as *ngenda’-ngenda’* in (3.15) above) as foot reduplication too. There is no way to tell the difference between this analysis and the ‘full reduplication after affixation’ analysis. Either way, affixation occurs prior to reduplication with these affixes. Note that foot reduplication cannot explain forms like *pinisak-pisak* in (3.13) above, since with foot reduplication we would expect instead **pinisak-nisak*.

3.7.3 Meanings associated with syntactic reduplication

The rather diverse set of meanings associated with syntactic reduplication in fact show a general pattern of similarity across western Austronesian languages.¹⁰ In WC Bajau, there are meanings broadly associated with ‘distributive force’: action that is distributed over time (iterative or durative), over participants (plurality), or otherwise ‘diffused’ so that it becomes unfocused or even playful in nature. There are also meanings associated with the intensification (emphatic) or weakening (diminutive) of some action or quality.¹¹ It will also be shown that several uses can be applied to the same reduplicated root, in which case one relies on the context to discern the meaning.

¹⁰ See, for example, the similar meanings associated with reduplication in Indonesian (Sneddon 1996 and Rosen 1977), Karo Batak (Woollams 1996), Gayo (Eades 2005), and Pendau (Quick 2003).

¹¹ I owe to Rosen’s (1977) paper on Indonesian the classification of the functions of reduplication into the categories of ‘distributive force’ and ‘intensiveness’. Rosen includes the notions of repeated or continuous action and indefiniteness or diffuseness of action (and of participants) within the category of distributive force.

3.7.3.1 ‘Distributive force’ uses of reduplication

3.7.3.1.1 *Continued action*

Many dynamic transitive and intransitive verbs undergo reduplication to express action that is distributed over time, that is, continued action. Depending on the root, the nature of the continued action can be iterative (repeated) or durative (extending over time).

Examples:

- (3.19) *angguk* ‘to nod’ → *angguk-angguk* ‘to nod the head repeatedly’
ngeraa ‘to cry out’ → *ngeraa-ngeraa* ‘to continue to cry out’
kakay ‘to scratch’ → *kakay-kakay* ‘to scratch repeatedly’
kedam ‘to shut the eyes’ → *kedam-kedam* ‘to open and shut eyes repeatedly’
metak ‘to drip’ → *metak-metak* ‘to drip steadily’
seko ‘to hiccough’ → *seko’-seko’* ‘to hiccup repeatedly’
tindak ‘to step on’ → *tindak-tinak* ‘to step on repeatedly’

When continued (usually iterative) action has effected a change in the object, and the result state is in view, affixation with the passive infix *-in-* may be used:

- (3.20) *sarat* ‘to slice’ → *sinarat-sarat* ‘cut into (many) slices’
pisak ‘to smash’ → *pinisak-pisak* ‘repeatedly smashed’

3.7.3.1.2 *Indefinite or ‘diffuse’ action*

Reduplication in WC Bajau sometimes produces the meaning of indefiniteness or approximation.

When interrogatives are reduplicated, they form indefinite pronouns:

- (3.21) *iyān* ‘what?’ → *iyān-iyān* ‘whatever’
sian ‘who?’ → *sian-sian* ‘whoever’
enggo ‘which?’ → *enggo-enggo* ‘whichever’
pian ‘how?’ → *pian-pian* ‘however’

When intransitive verbs (especially motion verbs) are reduplicated, there is an indefiniteness about the action, in that there is no sense of “specific orientation or goal” (Woollams 1996:101). This

indefiniteness of action has also been characterized as “diffuseness”.¹² In WC Bajau, diffuse action means that the activity in question is done playfully, lazily, or not in earnest. Examples:

(3.22)	<i>*laan</i>	‘to move’	→	<i>laan-laan</i>	‘to loiter’
	<i>*liang</i>	‘to fly’	→	<i>liang-liang</i>	‘to fly here and there’
	<i>main</i>	‘to play’	→	<i>main-main</i>	‘to play around’
	<i>rangi</i>	‘to swim across’	→	<i>rangi-rangi</i>	‘to swim here and there’
	<i>tapuk</i>	‘to hide’	→	<i>tapuk-tapuk</i>	‘to hide here and there’
	<i>*tingkoo’</i>	‘to sit’	→	<i>ninkgoo’-ningkoo’</i>	‘to sit at leisure’
	<i>koot</i>	‘to reach inside with arm’	→	<i>koot-koot</i>	‘to reach inside with hand’

3.7.3.1.3 Plurality

Usually the plurality of a noun in WC Bajau is either unmarked or it is indicated by some kind of plural quantifier like *bangan* ‘many’ (§4.4.2.4). Sometimes the plural meaning is indicated by reduplication of the noun, though the preceding quantifier often still occurs:

(3.23)	<i>bangan see’-see’</i>	‘many companions’
	<i>bangan semio-semio</i>	‘many outdoor markets’
	<i>jomo-jomo</i>	‘many people’

Rosen (1977:4) states that in Indonesian, the function of reduplication is not to mark the plural but rather to mark “diffuseness” or “indefiniteness”, and this also applies to nouns. She demonstrates that in Indonesian, reduplication cannot be used with a specific number to mark the plural. Similarly in WC Bajau, when a noun is reduplicated the meaning expressed is an always plural but indefinite number of participants.

Woollams (1996:94) notes that in Karo Batak, plurality “may also be ‘loaded’ into a reduplicated adjective or verb occurring predicatively”. In WC Bajau, too, there are cases where the reduplication of a stative or dynamic verb express the plurality of some argument of the verb. The examples below

¹² For the terminology of ‘diffuseness’, see the description of reduplication in Indonesian by Rosen (1977:4, cited in Woollams 1996:101). Rosen states: “When speaking of verbs, diffuseness can mean the action is done without serious intent, indirectly or that the action is done in a somewhat random way.”

show this ‘loading’ of diffuse or plural meaning to a dynamic verb (*pe-pekar* ‘to unfurl’) and to a stative verb (*suk* ‘thin’):

(3.24) *Bungo e pe-pekar- pe-pekar.*
 flower DEM INTR-unfurl- REDUP
 ‘The (many) flowers bloomed.’

(3.25) *Suk-suk bana sapi’ e.*
 thin-REDUP very cow DEM
 ‘The (many) cows are scrawny.’

Although usually reduplication of a transitive verb yields an iterative or durative interpretation (§3.7.3.1.1), in a few cases reduplication of a transitive verb yields a ‘multiple actor’ interpretation. Here the reduplicated form is usually prefixed with reciprocal *si-* or the activity prefix *be-*. Examples:

(3.26) **liu* ‘to help’ → *siliu-liu* ‘to help reciprocally in the fields’
temu ‘to meet’ → *sitemu-temu* ‘many people meet together’
kurung ‘to gather (s.thing)’ → *kurung-kurung* ‘many come together’

3.7.3.2 ‘Intensification’ uses of reduplication

3.7.3.2.1 *Emphatic*

The reduplication of several adverbs (including time words) and some adjectives, verbs, quantifiers, and nouns indicates greater emphasis or intensity of the quality denoted by the base.

Examples:

(3.27) *bana* ‘true; very’ → *bana-bana* ‘truly!’ (to counter disbelief)
bau ‘new, recent’ → *bau-bau* ‘very recently’
boi ‘already’ → *boi-boi* ‘have ever’
dau ‘first; before’ → *dau-dau* ‘a long time ago’
subu ‘dawn’ → *subu-subu* ‘before dawn’
kagul ‘slow(ly)’ → *kagul-kagul* ‘very slowly’
oyo ‘big’ → *oyo-oyo* ‘very big’
beta ‘long (time)’ → *beta-beta* ‘gradually; eventually’
mentito ‘parents, elders’ → *mentito-tito* ‘ancestors’

Some stative verbs can be reduplicated, in which case they refer to behavior reflecting the quality of the root form. Examples:

(3.28)	<i>iya</i>	'shy'	→	<i>iya'-iya</i>	'to be shy'
	<i>ingor</i>	'noisy'	→	<i>ingor-ingor</i>	'to be noisy'
	<i>susa</i>	'difficult'	→	<i>susa-susa</i>	'to trouble (oneself) with'

Reduplicated statives often occur with a negative imperative in an utterance and express the meaning 'don't do X' or 'don't be X'.¹³

3.7.3.2.2 Diminutive

Just as reduplication can express the intensification of some action or quality, so also it can express a weakened or diminutive sense of some quality. Examples:

(3.29)	<i>nganga</i>	'spicy'	→	<i>nganga-nganga</i>	'a little spicy'
	<i>iram</i>	'black'	→	<i>iram-iram</i>	'gray'
	<i>kaday</i>	'store'	→	<i>kaday-kaday</i>	'small shop'
	<i>oyo</i>	'big'	→	<i>oyo-oyo</i>	'not very big'
	<i>sakit</i>	'sick'	→	<i>sakit-sakit</i>	'a little sick'

Note that with *oyo* 'big', reduplication can yield either the intensifying interpretation 'very big' (3.28) or the diminutive interpretation 'not very big' (3.29)(3.28). This is also true with the root *keet* 'to glow'. The reduplicated form *keet-keet* can mean: (1) 'to burn brightly' (emphatic meaning); (2) 'to burn dimly' (diminutive meaning); or (3) 'to burn over a period of time' (continued action meaning). It thus appears that any of the recognized uses of reduplication in WC Bajau might apply to a given root, depending on the lexical semantics of the root.

In summary, syntactic reduplication in WC Bajau has several functions, but these may broadly be classified as either 'distributive force' (which includes continuity of action, indefinite or 'diffuse' action, and plurality) or 'emphatic' (which includes diminutive).

¹³ Woollams 1996:97 provides an example of this in Karo Batak.

3.7.4 *Partial Ce- reduplication*

In partial *Ce-* reduplication, only the first syllable of the base is doubled, and the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is reduced to a schwa. The partially reduplicated forms apparently occur in free variation with their fully reduplicated counterparts, with no change in meaning. Examples:

(3.30)	<i>bia'-bia'</i>	→	<i>bebia'</i>	'together'
	<i>manuk-manuk</i>	→	<i>memanuk</i>	'flying thing'
	<i>sapu-sapu</i>	→	<i>sesapu</i>	'broom'
	<i>santuk-santuk</i>	→	<i>sesantuk</i>	'(type of insect)'
	<i>kanak-kanak</i>	→	<i>kekanak</i>	'small child'
	<i>lipan-lipan</i>	→	<i>lelipan</i>	'centipede'

Partial reduplication is not productive in WC Bajau, being limited to a handful of (mostly noun) roots. These roots are either bound, or inherently reduplicated (§3.7.1.1), or they form a new word upon reduplication (§3.7.1.2).

CHAPTER 4

WORD CLASSES

4.1 Introduction

The word classes of nouns and verbs exist in every language. These classes are ‘open’ in the sense that they easily acquire new members. Nouns and verbs are also alike in that each class has a semantic prototype. Prototypical nouns denote highly time-stable entities, whereas prototypical verbs (events or actions) denote rapid changes (Givón 1984:51-52). While semantic criteria alone are not sufficient for identifying word classes, the semantic prototypes are useful in that the morphosyntactic characteristics of prototypical nouns (or verbs) can be used to help determine the more ambiguous cases (Payne 1997:33).

There are two types of morphosyntactic properties to consider in determining word classes: distributional and structural properties (Payne 1997:33). Distributional properties are concerned with how a given word is situated in relation to other words, whether in phrases, clauses, or texts. Structural properties are concerned with how a word is internally structured, including any inflectional or derivational morphology exhibited by the word. In this chapter I describe the morphosyntactic properties of both nouns (§4.2) and verbs (§4.3), using prototypical cases to help decide the more ambiguous ones. With this approach, I show that ‘adjectives’ in WC Bajau actually pattern as a subclass of verbs.

Nouns in WC Bajau are further classified as common nouns, pronouns, identificational nouns, locative nouns, and measure nouns. Verbs in WC Bajau can be free or bound. An important morphological distinction on WC Bajau verbs (whether transitive or intransitive) is whether the action is ‘actor-oriented’ or ‘undergoer-oriented’. In addition to nouns and

verbs, WC Bajau has several minor word classes (§4.4): prepositions, numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives, adverbs, and interjections. Some of the minor word classes are treated extensively in this chapter, while others (such as adverbs) are only mentioned here and described further in later chapters.

4.2 Nouns

4.2.1 *Distributional properties of nouns*

Prototypical nouns in WC Bajau can form a possessor construction, where the possessor bears the genitive case if it is a pronoun. (Note: nouns appear in bold in the examples below.)

- (4.1) ***Sapi'***=ni ai rungay.
 cow=3s.I PERF missing
 'His cow is missing.'

This morphosyntactic feature of nouns does not formally distinguish them from verbs, because a verb too may be immediately followed by a genitive pronoun (which denotes an actor with UV verbs, and a 3rd person or non-human undergoer with AV verbs; see §5.7.1). However, another distributional property of nouns is that the aspect particles *ai* and *boi* (such as *ai* in (4.1) above) never modify nouns, only verbs. As a result, *ai* or *boi* can never directly precede a prototypical noun except when the particle occurs clause-initial, in which case the particle modifies not the noun but the entire clause. A verb, on the other hand, can be directly preceded by one of these two particles whether or not the particle occurs clause-initial. Compare (4.1) above with the following three examples:

- (4.2) Ai rungay ***sapi'***=ni.

- (4.3) (?) Ai ***sapi'***=ni rungay.

- (4.4) *Rungay ai ***sapi'***=ni.

In (4.2) *ai* directly precedes the verb *rungay* ‘missing’ and the sentence is grammatical. In (4.3) *ai* directly precedes the noun *sapi* ‘cow’ and the sentence (though not preferred) is still grammatical because *ai* in this position modifies the entire clause, not the noun itself. However, in (4.4) the sentence is not grammatical because *ai* directly precedes the noun and *ai* does not occur at the beginning of the clause. In summary, nouns have certain distribution requirements with *ai* or *boi* that are not observed with verbs. Unlike for verbs, nouns can only be directly preceded by *ai* or *boi* when such particles occur at the beginning of the clause, in which case the particles modify the entire clause.¹

Prototypical nouns can take descriptive modifiers such as determiners (after the noun), numerals and classifiers (before the noun), and quantifiers (before or after the noun). Examples:

(4.5) *telu kau’ using tu.*
 three CL cat DEM
 ‘these three cats’

(4.6) *entelo semomon e.*
 egg all DEM
 ‘all those eggs’

Lastly, prototypical nouns can express the arguments of verbs, where nouns may serve the function of syntactic subject, as in (4.7) below, or some other core argument position in the clause. They may also be the complement of a preposition (4.8). Examples:

(4.7) *Kayu e ebba’.*
 tree DEM topple
 ‘The tree toppled.’

¹ Actually, the stated distribution requirement for *boi* does not apply to equative clauses, where the semantic predicate is expressed by an NP. In this case, *boi* (past tense marker) may precede either the first or the second NP in the clause. Thus it is possible to have clauses like *Iyo tu boi guru ku* ‘He was formerly my teacher’, where *iyo tu* and *guru ku* are both NPs.

- (4.8) *en-semio* *e*
PREP-outdoor.market DEM
'at the outdoor market.'

4.2.2 *Structural properties of nouns*

Nouns in WC Bajau are not inflected for case, gender, or number. In fact, most underived nouns (unlike transitive verbs) cannot be affixed. This means that, whereas transitive verbs require some kind of voice marking (counting the zero-marking of UV verbs), nouns are incapable of being inflected for voice.

4.2.3 *Subclasses of nouns*

Several subclasses of nouns can be grammatically distinguished in WC Bajau:

- common nouns
- pronouns
- identificational nouns
- locative nouns
- measure nouns

Each of these noun subclasses is introduced in the sections below. Some are further described in Chapter 11 (on phrase structure).

4.2.3.1 Common nouns

Common nouns are by far the largest subclass of nouns, and they constitute an open class. From among their number are found the semantic prototype nouns denoting highly time stable entities, often places and things. Common nouns are usually unaffixed forms, almost all of which are disyllabic or (more rarely) trisyllabic roots. Examples include: *uran* 'rain'; *laat* 'region or country';

tengangang ‘spider’; *luuk* ‘viand’. Other common nouns are affixed forms, usually derived from verbs or other word classes. Affixed nouns are described in §4.2.4 below.

4.2.3.2 Pronouns

Pronouns are a closed subclass of nouns,² which may be further divided into two categories: personal pronouns and interrogative pronouns.

4.2.3.2.1 *Personal pronouns*

Personal pronouns are distinguished from the other noun classes in that they encode the grammatical categories of person, number, and (sometimes) case. A set of pronominal enclitics encodes the possessive function, and also the non-subject actor. A set of independent personal pronouns is used to encode all other direct core arguments of the clause.³ A third set of pronouns is used to encode oblique elements. This set is formed simply by the addition of the locative preposition *em-* (a prefix) to the independent (Set II) pronouns. The three pronoun sets are shown in Table 4.1 below, with the pronominal enclitics labeled as Set I, the independent pronouns as Set II, and the oblique pronouns as modified Set II pronouns.

² Actually, pronouns are more accurately classified as a subclass of noun phrases (NP) rather than nouns, since they are mutually substitutable with NPs but not nouns (i.e. they do not take nominal modifiers like other nouns do). They are included with other types of nouns here for ease of presentation.

³ This account is simplified. In certain contexts the non-pivot undergoer will take the pronominal enclitic rather than the independent pronoun, as explained in §5.7.1. Also, some subordinating conjunctions require the pivot actor pronoun to take the clitic form rather than the independent form (§5.7.2).

Table 4.1 The WC Bajau pronoun sets

	Set I (enclitics; possessive form)	Set II (independent pronouns)	<i>em-</i> + Set II (oblique pronouns)
1 st person sg.	= <i>ku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>m-aku</i>
1 st person pl. (incl.) (excl.)	= <i>ti</i> <i>kami</i>	<i>kiti</i> <i>kami</i>	<i>eng-kiti</i> <i>eng-kami</i>
2 nd person sg.	= <i>nu</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>eng-kau</i>
2 nd person pl.	= <i>bi</i>	<i>kaam</i>	<i>eng-kaam</i>
3 rd person sg.	= <i>ni</i>	<i>iyo</i>	<i>m-iyo</i>
3 rd person pl.	<i>gai</i>	<i>gai</i>	<i>eng-gai</i>

As is evident from the Set I forms listed in Table 4.1, not all of the Set I pronouns are enclitics. Two of the plural forms (first person exclusive and third person) are independent pronouns, sharing the same form as their Set II counterparts.

4.2.3.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in WC Bajau: *sian* ‘who’ and *iyau* ‘what’. The interrogative pronouns function as indefinite pronouns when reduplicated and/or when followed by the particle *jo*. The interrogative pronouns and other WH words in WC Bajau are described in §13.4.2.

4.2.3.3 Identificational nouns

Identificational nouns in WC Bajau include titles, names and kin terms, many of which can be terms of address as well as terms of reference: *pa* ‘uncle’, *emma* ‘too’ ‘grandfather’, etc. Also included with identificational nouns are place names (e.g., *suang Tempasuk* ‘Tempasuk river’) and affinal relationships (e.g., *iyang Zamli* ‘mother of Zamli’). WC Bajau has no person marker, such as *si* which is used in many related languages.

4.2.3.4 Locative nouns

The following is a list of common locative nouns in WC Bajau.

(4.9)	<i>jata'</i>	'above, on top of'	
	<i>dia'</i>	'beneath'	
	<i>diam</i>	'inside'	
	<i>luar</i>	'outside'	
	<i>bunda'</i>	'front'	
	<i>buli'</i>	'back'	
	<i>sedi</i>	'beside'	
	<i>tenga'</i>	'middle'	
	<i>torong</i>	'end, edge of'	
	<i>dembila'</i>	'other side, across'	(< <i>bila'</i> 'to split into two')
	<i>kuanan</i>	'right'	
	<i>gibang</i>	'left'	
	<i>kon</i>	'until, as far as'	

Locative nouns are distinguished as a subclass of nouns in that they normally form the complement of a preposition (the locative prepositions *ta'* or *em-*; see §4.4.1) and are modified in turn by a possessive phrase⁴ that provides further location information. Note the following examples (locative nouns are in bold):

(4.10) *ta' **dia'** poon suka'*
 PREP under tree coconut
 'below the coconut tree'

(4.11) *em-**buli'** ruma' e*
 PREP-behind house DEM
 'behind the house'

(4.12) *en-**tenga'**=ni*
 PREP-middle=3s.I
 'in the middle of it'

⁴ Evidence for these words as being possessive phrases is found in examples like (4.12), where the form of the pronoun modifying the locative noun *tenga'* is possessive (set I).

In (4.10) the locative noun *dia* ‘under’ is the complement of the locative preposition *ta* and is modified by the compound noun *poon suka* ‘coconut tree’. In (4.11) the locative noun *buli* ‘behind’ is the complement of the locative preposition *em-* and is modified by the noun *ruma* ‘the house’.

4.2.3.5 Measure nouns

Measure nouns are distinguished as a subclass of nouns in that they are modified by a numeral, to form a number phrase. Since measure nouns show the same syntactic distribution as classifiers (a type of quantifier), and since they have a quantifying function, they are described with the quantifiers, in §4.4.2.

4.2.4 Affixed nouns

Most affixed nouns in WC Bajau are derived from other word classes (usually verbs) and are thus nominalizations. The nominalizing affixes include the *-an₂* suffix, the *peN-* prefix, the *pe(N)-...-an* circumfix, and the *[ke-...-an]₂* circumfix. Only the *pe-...-an* circumfix appears to attach primarily to noun roots. The various affixes are discussed below.

4.2.4.1 With *-an₂*

The *-an₂* suffix derives nominals primarily from transitive verbs, to yield a variety of meanings related to the action expressed by the verb stem. These meanings, as discussed below, are classified as follows: description of the action itself; undergoer or product of the action; nominal instrument or place of action.⁵

4.2.4.1.1 *To derive nouns describing the action of the verb*

The *-an₂* suffix often derives nouns which describe the action expressed by the verb base. For this meaning, *-an₂* applies to stative, intransitive, and transitive verbs. Sometimes the derived nominal is

⁵ See Sneddon (1996:30-32) for a similar description of the uses of the *-an* suffix in Indonesian.

best translated ‘way of X’ or ‘manner of X’, where X is the action expressed by the verb stem.

Examples:

(4.13)	<i>*bayad</i> ‘to pay’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>biyadan</i> ‘payment’
	<i>kiabut</i> ‘be in hurry’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>kiabutan</i> ‘hurry (n.)’
	<i>*laan</i> ‘to move’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>laanan</i> ‘(way of) moving’
	<i>lekat</i> ‘from’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>lekatan</i> ‘departure’
	<i>tilaw</i> ‘to question’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>tilawan</i> ‘question’
	<i>tinduk</i> ‘to strike, to bite’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>tindakan</i> ‘peck, bite’
	<i>*tingkoo</i> ‘sit’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>tingkoon</i> ‘posture’
	<i>*tutur</i> ‘speak’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>tuturan</i> ‘speech’
	<i>tebong</i> ‘chop down’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>tebongan</i> ‘(way of) chopping’
	<i>raat</i> ‘evil, bad’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>raatan</i> ‘badness’

Example of this use of *-an₂* with a reduplicated form:

(4.14)	<i>tedak</i> ‘to clean (a fish)’ + [redup]	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>tedak-tedakan</i> ‘(way of) cleaning fish’
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4.2.4.1.2 *To derive nouns which are undergoers or products*

Another use of the *-an₂* suffix is to derive nouns which receive the action expressed by the verb.

In some cases, the undergoer is actually a product of the action, having come into existence as a result of the action. Examples:

(4.15)	<i>buat</i> ‘do, make’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>buatan</i> ‘product, make’
	<i>tugal</i> ‘to dibble’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>tugalan</i> ‘dibble holes’
	<i>panggil</i> ‘call, summon’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>panggilan</i> ‘guests’ (‘summoned ones’)
	<i>papi</i> ‘to cook’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>papian</i> ‘cooked food’
	<i>bagi</i> ‘to divide’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>bagian</i> ‘portion’

Examples of this use of *-an₂* with reduplicated forms (here to express iterative action):

(4.16)	<i>palu</i> ‘hit’ + [redup]	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>palu-paluan</i> ‘object of repeated hitting’
	<i>*kitik</i> ‘tickle’ + [redup]	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>kitik-kitikan</i> ‘object of repeated tickling’

4.2.4.1.3 To derive nominal instruments or location of action

Another use of the *-an₂* suffix is to derive nouns which express ‘instrument of action X’ or ‘location of action X’. This derivation is applied to transitive verb bases. With certain bases, either interpretation is possible, as when *-an₂* combines with *ayang* ‘hang (clothes)’ to derive a noun meaning either ‘clothes-line’ or (more generally) ‘place to dry clothes’. Other examples of *-an₂* to derive nominal instruments or location of action:

(4.17)	<i>ayak</i> ‘to strain, sift’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>ayakan</i> ‘sieve; strainer’
	<i>kisar</i> ‘to mill’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>kisaran</i> ‘mill’
	<i>kukur</i> ‘to shave, grate’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>kukuran</i> ‘coconut grater’
	<i>urud</i> ‘to scrape, peel’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>urudan</i> ‘peeler’
	<i>usung</i> ‘to carry a dignitary’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>usungan</i> ‘carrying platform’
	<i>tandas</i> ‘process sugarcane’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>tandasan</i> ‘machine to process sugarcane’

In a few cases *-an₂* adds to nominals to produce a similar-meaning nominal. Examples:

(4.18)	<i>kerjo</i> ‘work’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>kerjoon</i> ‘work’
	<i>upi</i> ‘dream’	+	<i>-an₂</i>	→	<i>upian</i> ‘dream’

4.2.4.2 With *peN-*

The *peN-* prefix in WC Bajau applies primarily to transitive verbs. The nasal of the prefix assimilates to the initial consonant of the stem, and when that consonant is voiceless, it is replaced by the nasal. If the root begins with a vowel, the nasal of the prefix is realized as *ng-*. Derived forms with *peN-* often have an instrument meaning.⁶ Some examples are shown below. Note that with two of the verbs, the affix appears as *peN-...-an*, though this is apparently not common.⁷

⁶ The *peN-* nominalizing affix in WC Bajau is similar to the *peN-* prefix in Indonesian/ Malay, one use of which is to derive nominal instruments (see Sneddon 1996:27-28).

⁷ With the forms *pengentanan* and *pengennaan*, the form of the affix is *peN-...-an*, making them appear like the ‘location’ circumfix described in the following section. Sometimes the instrumental meaning ‘instrument for

(4.19)	<i>tebong</i> ‘to chop down’	+	<i>peN-</i>	→	<i>penebong</i> ‘chopper’
	<i>beli</i> ‘to buy’	+	<i>peN-</i>	→	<i>pemeli</i> ‘currency’
	<i>tepak</i> ‘to slap’	+	<i>peN-</i>	→	<i>penepak</i> ‘swatter’
	<i>titik</i> ‘to beat (percussion)’	+	<i>peN-</i>	→	<i>penitik</i> ‘(percussion) beaters’
	<i>tombol</i> ‘to close’	+	<i>peN-</i>	→	<i>penombol</i> ‘cover’
	<i>entan</i> ‘to hold, to grip’	+	<i>peN-...-an</i>	→	<i>pengentanan</i> ‘handle’
	<i>enna</i> ‘to set down’	+	<i>peN-...-an</i>	→	<i>pengennaan</i> ‘container’

Where *peN-* combines with other word classes such as nominals, the meaning is less predictable:

(4.20)	<i>kelong</i> ‘neck’	+	<i>peN-</i>	→	<i>pengelong</i> ‘neck harness (for buffalo)’
	<i>ellaw</i> ‘day’	+	<i>peN-</i>	→	<i>pengellaw</i> ‘dry season’
	<i>uran</i> ‘rain’	+	<i>peN-</i>	→	<i>penguran</i> ‘rainy season’

Often a noun derived with *peN-* is modified by a following noun, as in these examples:

(4.21)	<i>keraut</i> ‘to scratch’	>	<i>pengeraut</i> (<i>bukut</i>)	‘(back) scratcher’
	<i>titik</i> ‘to beat’	>	<i>penitik</i> (<i>kulintangan</i>)	‘(gong) beaters’
	<i>tombol</i> ‘to cover’	>	<i>penombol</i> (<i>kee</i>)	‘(hole) cover’

4.2.4.3 With *pe(N)-...-an*

The *pe(N)-...-an* circumfix combines with a few verb roots (both transitive and intransitive) to derive nouns referring to the location of the action: ‘a place used for (verb)ing’ or ‘a place where (verb)ing occurs’.⁸ Examples:

(4.22)	<i>enda</i> ‘to look at’	+	<i>pe(N)-...-an</i>	→	<i>peng-enda-an</i>	‘place for viewing’
	<i>keta</i> ‘to cross’	+	<i>pe(N)-...-an</i>	→	<i>pe-keta-an</i>	‘crossing place’
	<i>timan</i> ‘to throw away’	+	<i>pe(N)-...-an</i>	→	<i>pe-niman-an</i>	‘place for throwing away things’
	<i>tapuk</i> ‘to hide’	+	<i>pe(N)-...-an</i>	→	<i>penapuk-an</i>	‘place for hiding things’

(verb)ing’ can shade into the locative meaning ‘place for (verb)ing’. More investigation of the syntactic properties of these two affixed forms is required in order to place them in the appropriate derivational category.

⁸ The *pe(N)-...an* nominalizing affix in WC Bajau is similar to one use of the *peN-...an* noun-forming affix in Indonesian/ Malay, where the derived forms “refer to the place where the action of the corresponding verb typically occurs” and “usually relate to the action” (Sneddon 1996:41).

Forms derived from either instrumental *peN-* or locative *pe(N)...-an* show ‘mixed’ nominal and verbal characteristics which make them rather difficult to analyze. For an account of their syntactic behavior, and the reasons for my labeling them as nouns rather than verbs, see §10.3-§10.4.

4.2.4.4 With *pe-...-an*

This circumfix only occurs on a few (primarily nominal) roots, with no predictable meaning associated with the derived forms. Examples:

(4.23)	<i>boro</i> ‘ember(s)’	+	<i>pe-...-an</i>	→	<i>peboroon</i> ‘censer’
	<i>laan</i> ‘way, path’	+	<i>pe-...-an</i>	→	<i>pelaanan</i> ‘journey’
	<i>dela</i> ‘man’	+	<i>pe-...-an</i>	→	<i>pedelaan</i> ‘man’ (polite)
	<i>dendo</i> ‘woman’	+	<i>pe-...-an</i>	→	<i>pedendoon</i> ‘woman’ (polite)

4.2.4.5 With [*ke-...-an*]₂

The [*ke-...-an*]₂ circumfix, like its Malay equivalent, derives nouns from a variety of word classes, including verbs, adverbs and quantifiers.

When applied to stative verbs, [*ke-...-an*]₂ often derives nouns meaning ‘something that is (characterized by) X’. Examples:

(4.24)	<i>alap</i> ‘good’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>kealapan</i> ‘advantage, benefit’
	<i>bioso</i> ‘usual’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>kebiosoon</i> ‘custom’
	<i>diki</i> ‘small’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>kedikian</i> ‘childhood; youngster’
	<i>kama</i> ‘dirty’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>kekamaan</i> ‘uncleanliness; filth’
	<i>raat</i> ‘bad, evil’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>keraatan</i> ‘bad deed; crime’

When applied to verbs, [*ke-...-an*]₂ derives nouns related to the action expressed by the verb.

Examples:

(4.25)	<i>ellum</i> ‘to live’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>keluman</i> ‘life; livelihood’
	* <i>guul</i> ‘to mix’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>keguulan</i> ‘mixture’
	<i>ingin</i> ‘to want; to desire’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>keinginan</i> ‘preference; interest’
	<i>sala</i> ‘to err’	+	[<i>ke-...-an</i>] ₂	→	<i>kesalaan</i> ‘error; wrongdoing’

The $[ke\text{-}\dots\text{-}an]_2$ circumfix applies to a small number of adverbs (time words) and quantifiers $[ke\text{-}\dots\text{-}an]_2$, to derive nominals related to the meaning of the stem. Examples:

(4.26) *maung* ‘tomorrow’ + $[ke\text{-}\dots\text{-}an]_2$ → *kemaungan* ‘the following day’
iko ‘many’ + $[ke\text{-}\dots\text{-}an]_2$ → *keikoon* ‘most; large number (of)’

4.3 Verbs

4.3.1 *Aktionsart verb classes*

Verbs and other predicating elements express states of affairs (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:90). Verbs, like the states of affairs they encode, can be distinguished on the basis of their inherent temporal properties, or *Aktionsart* type. The four basic *Aktionsart* verb classes are: states, achievements, accomplishments and activities.⁹ States encode static situations, that is, ‘non-happenings’, whereas the other verb classes code ‘happenings’. Achievements and accomplishments are ‘telic’, that is, they involve an inherent terminal point (are temporally bounded). States and activities, on the other hand, are ‘atelic’ (temporally unbounded). Achievements are distinguished from accomplishments in that achievements are punctual (they are virtually instantaneous) whereas states and activities involve temporal duration. Finally, activities alone encode ‘dynamic’ situations (those that involve action, where a participant ‘does’ something).¹⁰

The *Aktionsart* contrasts that motivate these classes have “proved to be of great cross-linguistic validity” in languages all over the world (Van Valin 2005:32). Table 4.2 summarizes these distinctions and offers a few examples in English of each type of class. Included in Table 4.2 is a fifth, non-Vendlerian *Aktionsart* class labeled ‘semelfactives’. The semelfactives are like

⁹ These classes were originally proposed in Vendler (1957) and form the basis of the lexical decomposition system developed in Role and Reference Grammar (RRG). See Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) for a thorough exposition of RRG, and Van Valin (2005) for an updated version of the theory.

¹⁰ Note that in RRG ‘dynamic’ does not refer simply to a non-stative root, since by this criterion achievements and accomplishments would also be dynamic. Neither does ‘dynamic’ refer primarily to agentivity, since activities (in RRG) include typically non-agentive predicates such as light and sound emission.

achievements except that they lack a result state. In many cases the default interpretation of semelfactives is iterative.

Table 4.2 The basic *Aktionsart* verb classes

<i>Aktionsart</i> class	static	telic	punctual	dynamic	Examples ¹¹
states	yes	no	no	no	<i>be sick, be tall, be dead, love, know, believe</i>
achievements	no	yes	yes	no	<i>pop, explode, shatter</i> (the intransitive versions)
accomplishments	no	yes	no	no	<i>melt, freeze, dry</i> (the intransitive versions)
activities	no	no	no	yes	<i>march, walk, roll</i> (intransitive); <i>swim, think, snow, write, drink</i>
semelfactives	no	no	yes	sometimes	<i>flash, cough, tap, glimpse</i>

A sixth, derived class that is important across languages are active accomplishments, defined as “the telic use of activity verbs” (Van Valin 2005:32). Common candidates for this derivation are activity verbs of motion, consumption, and creation. The interpretation of active accomplishments as activity verbs is shown below for the verbs *run*, *eat*, and *write*:

(4.27)

Activity (temporally unbounded)

Paul ran on the beach.

She ate oranges.

My father wrote in the evenings.

Active Accomplishment (temporally bounded)

Paul ran to the bus station.

She ate an orange.

My father wrote a poem.

Note that a given verb might have a different *Aktionsart* interpretation depending on its linguistic context. The verb *eat*, for example, is an activity verb in its basic lexical meaning, but it can also be an active accomplishment depending upon its use in the sentence.

¹¹ These examples are taken from Van Valin (2005:32).

Each of the six verb classes mentioned thus far (states, achievements, accomplishments, activities, semelfactives, and active accomplishments) has a causative counterpart, encoding an induced state of affairs. Thus for the state verb *be angry* there is a causative state *to anger*; for the activity verb *shine* there is a causative activity *to light*, etc.

Note that, while the aspectual differences underlying the classes are universal, verbs encoding similar states of affairs do not necessarily fall into the same classes across languages. For example, the verb that expresses the meaning ‘to die’ is treated as an accomplishment in some languages (including English) but as an achievement in others. Independent linguistic tests, such as the ones proposed in Van Valin (2006:94), are required to empirically verify which class a given verb belongs to.

4.3.2 Verbs in WC Bajau: an overview

4.3.2.1 Bound roots

In WC Bajau, some forms require affixation in order to occur as predicates in the clause. These are referred to as **bound roots** (marked in this grammar by an asterisk preceding the root). In some grammars of Austronesian languages, such roots are referred to as ‘precategoryals’. Verhaar (1984:28) defines precategoryals as “bound lexical forms, which need affixation of some kind to have categorical membership of any kind assigned to them”. However, following Eades (2005:74) in his analysis of such words in Gayo, I argue that bound roots in WC Bajau clearly pattern as verbs on the basis of their morphological behavior.

For example, the bound root **pule*’ most frequently occurs as the intransitive verb *mule*’ ‘return home’ (*N-* + **pule*’). It may also occur as *pepule*’ ‘to return (s.thing)’ (*pe*₂- + **pule*’) and as *bepule*’ ‘many return home’ (*be-* + **pule*’). The prefix *be-* when attached to nouns derives a meaning of performing, using/consuming, or possessing the nominal root (§9.3). However, when attached to verbs, *be-* derives a distributive meaning, usually plurality of participants (§9.3.3). Since *be-* derives

a distributive meaning when attached to **pule*', there is morphosyntactic evidence that the root **pule*' is a verb.

Another example is the bound root **tingkoo*', which most frequently occurs as the intransitive verb *ningkoo*' 'to sit'. The root may combine with the *te-* prefix to form *tetingkoo*' 'to accidentally sit on'. The *te-* prefix is inflectional and never occurs on clearly nominal roots, only on verbs. This is evidence that **tingkoo*' is a verb.

There is an important distinction in the morphosyntax between intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs (whether root intransitives or derived forms) are incapable of taking the passive *-in-* infix, whereas this infix is always acceptable with transitive forms. For example, the word *teko* 'arrive' cannot take the passive infix *-in-* unless it is first prefixed with (causative) *pe₂-* to derive the transitive form *peteko* 'to send (= cause to arrive)':

(4.28) *teko* 'to arrive' + *-in-* → **t-in-eko*
pe-teko 'to send' + *-in-* → *p-in-e-teko* 'to be sent'

Note that bound roots cannot take *-in-* unless they have first been 'transitivized' via a causative or some other transitive marker. In this way, they pattern like root intransitive verbs. For example, the bound root **pantaw* 'to stand' can take the 'active' prefix *N-* to derive the intransitive verb *mantaw* 'to stand', but it cannot take the passive infix *-in-* to derive **pinantaw*. Once the causative *pe-* has been added to the bound root, it can be passivized:

(4.29) *pe-pantaw* 'to make (s.thing) stand' + *-in-* → *p-in-e-pantaw* 'to be stood (on its legs)'

4.3.2.2 Actor vs. undergoer orientation

In WC Bajau, root transitive verbs are obligatorily marked for 'actor voice' (AV) or 'undergoer voice' (UV). Undergoer voice is zero-marked on the verb (= 'zero verb'), whereas actor

voice is marked by *N-* on the verb (= ‘nasal verb’). The UV clause is syntactically transitive, normally involving a specific undergoer. The AV clause allows for either a specific or non-specific undergoer. Non-specific undergoers are often deleted from the AV clause. In *Aktionsart* terms, this represents the derivation of activities from active accomplishments. Consider the following example using the transitive verb root *tebong* ‘to cut down’:

- (4.30) a. *Ai* \emptyset -*tebong* *emma*'=*ku* *poon* *saging e.*
 PERF UV-cut.down father=1s.I tree banana DEM
 ‘My father cut down the banana tree.’
- b. *Emma*'=*ku* *ai* *nebong* *poon* *saging e.*
 father=1s.I PERF AV.cut.down tree banana DEM
 ‘My father cut down the banana tree.’
- c. *Emma*'=*ku* *ai* *nebong.*
 ‘My father cut down (some trees).’

In (4.30) (a) the UV clause is transitive, and in (b) the AV clause is transitive. However, AV also allows for a non-specific undergoer interpretation, as in (c), a syntactically intransitive construction. The first two clauses express active accomplishments, that is, a particular tree was cut down. The third clause expresses an activity, where the action of cutting down trees is in view rather than a particular tree being cut down. In both (b) and (c) the actor is marked as the subject of the clause (see §5.3), but with (c) there is also a semantic effect whereby the undergoer argument is demoted to non-specified status. Thus, while ‘actor orientation’ is syntactic in (b), it is both syntactic and semantic in (c).

With intransitive verbs, no such alternation (for a given verb) between actor and undergoer orientation is possible. The single argument of the intransitive verb is either an actor or an undergoer, with many of the actor-oriented roots taking an ‘active’ affix (*N-*, *be-*, or *-em-*) and with undergoer-oriented roots typically zero-marked. Prototypical actors are agents, whose sole argument is a “willful,

purposeful instigator of an action or event” (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:85, 127). Examples of intransitive verbs with agentive arguments are shown below with the various ‘active’ affixes:

Table 4.3 ‘Active’ affixes on intransitive verbs

<i>N-</i>	<i>be-</i>	<i>-em-/ -um-</i>
<i>mule</i> ‘to go home’	<i>belagu</i> ‘to sing’	<i>remangi</i> ‘to swim’
<i>ngenduk</i> ‘to fetch water’	<i>beragam</i> ‘to joke’	<i>lumaan</i> ‘to walk/ travel’
<i>ngelu</i> ‘to whistle’	<i>betitik</i> ‘to play percussion music’	<i>lulai</i> ‘to run’
<i>mantaw</i> ‘to stand’	<i>besuar</i> ‘to wear trousers’	<i>lemiang</i> ‘to fly’
<i>ngendule</i> ‘to become angry’	<i>bekuda</i> ‘to ride (on an animal)’	<i>lemente</i> ‘to cross (a bridge)’

Intransitive verbs affixed with *be-*, *-em-*, or *N-* are derived from bound roots, from transitive verbs, or from nouns, though some *N-* prefixed intransitives appear to be roots themselves. A more detailed account of derived intransitive verbs using these prefixes is provided in Chapter 9.

Just as agents are prototypical actors, so patients are prototypical undergoers. By ‘patients’ are meant “things that are in a state or condition, or undergo a change of state or condition” (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:85). In WC Bajau, verbs whose sole argument is a patient undergoer are typically unaffixed. The ‘zero-marking’ for intransitive undergoer-oriented verbs corresponds to the zero-marking for UV in transitive constructions. Some examples of undergoer-oriented intransitives follow. Note that some of these verbs can express either a stative or an eventive reading, where the stative reading is a result state.

- (4.31) *kebo* ‘(to be) collapsed’ ~ ‘to collapse’
pesa ‘(to be) shattered’ ~ ‘to shatter’
ebba ‘(to have) toppled’ ~ ‘to topple’
buus ‘(to be) spilled’ ~ ‘to spill’
lepa ‘(to be) freed’ ~ ‘to get free’
suk ‘(to be) thin’
iram ‘(to be) black’
langa ‘(to be) tall’

Thus far, it would appear that WC Bajau has a clear ‘split’ in its verbal morphology between actor-oriented intransitive verbs (sometimes called ‘unergatives’) and undergoer-oriented verbs (sometimes called ‘unaccusatives’). In fact, the verbal morphology is not always consistent in making the distinction, especially with verbs “whose sole argument is neither very agent-like or very patient-like” (as Goudswaard 2005:203 writes in describing Begak). For example, with directed motion verbs and bodily process verbs, some in each class are affixed and some are not. The details of this discussion are reserved for Chapter 9. In general, we may say that the presence or absence of an ‘active’ verbal affix on the WC Bajau intransitive verb is a rough indicator as to whether the sole argument of the verb is more actor-like (unergative) or more undergoer-like (unaccusative).

4.3.2.3 ‘Adjectives’: a subclass of verbs?

Dixon (1977) has identified seven “universal semantic types” which in English are expressed by adjectives: value, dimension, age, speed, physical property, color, and human propensity. Languages vary in the word class(es) chosen to express these concepts. In some Austronesian languages, such as Gayo (Eades 2005) and Begak (Goudswaard 2005), words that convey adjectival meaning have been analyzed as intransitive verbs. In others, a distinct word class of adjectives has been proposed, as in Karo Batak (Woollams 1996). In what follows, I argue based on morphosyntactic criteria that in WC Bajau ‘adjectives’ are really a subclass of intransitive verbs, not a separate word class.

Syntactic criteria alone do not support a distinct class of adjectives. When used predicatively, adjectival roots occur in the same ‘slot’ as canonical intransitive verbs do, without the presence of a copula verb or any other element that might distinguish adjectival predicates from other types. In the examples below, note the identical structure between the adjectival predicate *suk* ‘to be thin’ (4.32) and the activity predicate *turi* ‘to sleep’ in (4.33):

(4.32) *Uwa' e suk.*
 dog DEM thin
 'The dog is thin.'

(4.33) *Uwa' e turi.*
 dog DEM sleep
 'The dog sleeps/ is sleeping.'

Both adjective-type words and verbs can modify a noun, in the descriptive slot of the noun phrase (§11.2.4). When verbs attributively modify nouns, they normally do not take a relativizer. Hence there is no syntactic difference between clearly 'verbal' modifiers and 'adjectival' modifiers, as shown in the following examples:¹²

(4.34) *Iyo makan uwa' suk e.*
 3s.II AV.feed dog thin DEM
 'He fed the thin dog.' / 'He fed the dog which was thin.'

(4.35) *Iyo makan uwa' ng-uma e.*
 3s.II AV.feed dog ACT-bark DEM
 'He fed the barking dog.' / 'He fed the dog which was barking.'

(4.36) *Iyo makan uwa' nembet using e.*
 3s.II AV.feed dog AV.chase cat DEM
 'He fed the dog that was chasing the cat.'

The 'relative past tense' marker *boi* (§12.2.1) is usually used with activity verbs and active accomplishment verbs. However, *boi* is also acceptable with 'adjectival' words, which appear to pattern (again) as stative verbs. Examples:

(4.37) *Boi mangan kami.*
 CMPL AV.eat 1p(excl.)
 'We ate already.'

¹² Admittedly, in examples (4.34)-(4.36) a noun would be equally eligible to occupy the position following the noun in the NP (here filling the 'possessive slot'; see §11.2.3). Similarly, in (4.32)-(4.33) a noun could occur in place of the verb or adjective in the position following the NP (forming a predicate nominal).

- (4.38) *Boi suk kau tu ellaw e.*
 CMPL thin 2s.I DEM day DEM
 ‘You were thin then (i.e. a long time ago, but not now).’

In both (4.37) and (4.38), the completive aspect particle *boi* immediately precedes the predicate.

Cross-linguistically, adjectives are often distinguished from other word classes by their modification by intensifiers and also by their ability to take comparative/ superlative forms. In WC Bajau, the intensifying adverb *bana* ‘very’ can modify not only adjectives but also dynamic verbs, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and quantifiers (see §2.5.5). Thus, intensifiers do not pick out a unique class of ‘adjectives’. In contrast, the comparative construction in WC Bajau does seem limited to adjectival words. For example, the comparative preposition *man* ‘than’ apparently only occurs with adjectives (see §11.3.2.2). This might be evidence for distinguishing adjectival words as a distinct subclass of verbs, but probably would not by itself support the analysis of adjectives as an entirely separate word class.

In terms of morphology, most ‘adjective’ words / condition states are zero-marked, in contrast to certain classes of intransitive forms that typically require some kind of ‘active’ affix (§4.3.2.2) or other intransitive prefix. However, zero-marking is not unique to adjectival roots. It also applies to the UV forms of transitive verbs, and characterizes many if not most undergoer-oriented intransitive verbs, including involuntary motion verbs such as *ebba* ‘to topple’, *kebo* ‘to collapse’, and *pesa* ‘to shatter’.

Adjectival roots may combine with a small number of affixes, usually *pe*₁-, the causative *pe*₂-, and the adversative [*ke-* + *-an*]₁. These same affixes are possible with canonical verbs, and the semantic effects are similar if not identical in each case, as will now be elaborated.

Many adjectival roots combine with the prefix *pe₁-* to derive change of state verbs (see §9.5.3).

For example:

- (4.39) *langa* ‘tall’ + *pe₁-* → *pelanga* ‘to become tall’
darag ‘red’ + *pe₁-* → *pedarag* ‘to become red’
lema ‘soft’ + *pe₁-* → *pelema* ‘to become soft’

The same prefix applies to a number of classes, primarily verbs and a few locative nouns,¹³ to express motion, e.g. *pesuuk* ‘to go underneath’ (**suuk*), *pejata* ‘to move upward’ (*jata* ‘on top’). Motion indicates a change of location. Thus *pe₁-* combined with verbs and locative nouns expresses ‘change of location’, while the same prefix combined with adjectival roots expresses ‘change of state’. In this way, the semantic effects of adding *pe₁-* to adjectival roots are not so different than are observed with other verbs.¹⁴

In addition to the *pe₁-* prefix, there is a homophonous prefix *pe₂-* which has a causative function.

The *pe₂-* prefix applies to many adjectival roots just as it does to canonical intransitive verbs, bound roots, and locative nouns to derive the causative meaning. Examples of *pe₂-* applied to adjectives/condition states include *pediki* ‘to make small’ (*diki* ‘small’), *pelema* ‘to make soft’ (*lema* ‘soft’), and *pealap* ‘to fix’ (*alap* ‘good’). Examples of *pe₂-* applied to canonical intransitive and bound roots include *pedutai* ‘to lower (s.thing)’ (*dutai* ‘to descend’), *pekeet* ‘to ignite’ (*keet* ‘to glow’), and *petingkoo* ‘to set (s.thing) down’ (**tingkoo* > *ningkoo* ‘to sit’).

¹³ The inclusion of locative nouns (here and elsewhere) suggests that the use of the affixes mentioned here are not necessarily limited to the word class of verbs. However, it can also be said that locative nouns are not prototypical nouns, and their classification as nouns is rather tentative.

¹⁴ Note that, within localist case grammar, states are represented as locations, such that a change of state involves a theme coming to be at a location (DeLancey 1991, cited in Brainard 1998:5). In this way, change of state verbs are parallel to change of motion verbs: both involve movement of a theme from one location to another.

To summarize, morphosyntactic criteria fail to distinguish a distinct class of adjectives in WC Bajau. Few syntactic distinctions can be made between ‘adjectives’ and canonical verbs. Both may occur predicately or as modifiers of nouns, and in each case their syntactic structure is the same. The fact that most ‘adjective’ roots are zero-marked does not distinguish them from verbs, since UV transitive verbs as well as many undergoer-oriented intransitive verbs are zero-marked. Finally, the affixes that can apply to ‘adjectives’ are also possible with canonical verbs, with similar semantic effects in each case.

4.4 Minor word classes

Minor word classes in WC Bajau consist of prepositions (§4.4.1), quantifiers (§4.4.2), demonstratives (§4.4.3), adverbs (§4.4.4), and interjections (§4.4.5).

4.4.1 Prepositions

WC Bajau has both locative (4.40) and non-locative (4.41) prepositions, as shown below:

(4.40)	<i>em-</i>	‘generalized locative preposition’
	<i>ta’</i>	‘generalized locative preposition’
	<i>lekat</i>	‘from’
	<i>lua’</i>	‘from’
(4.41)	<i>engko’</i>	‘with’
	<i>man</i>	‘than’
	<i>le’</i>	‘on account of’
	<i>doko’/ dokon</i>	‘like, as’
	<i>masam</i>	‘like, as’
	<i>sampay</i>	‘until’

The generalized locative prepositions consist of a prefix (*em-*) and an independent form (*ta’*). The prepositions *em-* and *ta’* are frequently interchangeable. However, *em-* has a phonological constraint in that it does not combine with nouns beginning with a nasal (which are usually limited to proper names). The nasal consonant in the prefix assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant, as follows:

<i>em-</i>	before the consonants ‘b’ and ‘p’;
<i>eng-</i>	before the consonants ‘g’ and ‘k’
<i>en-</i>	before the consonants ‘t’, ‘d’, ‘s’, and ‘j’
<i>me-</i>	before the consonants ‘l’ and ‘r’, and before any vowel ¹⁵

A locative preposition normally takes an NP as its complement, which is often a locative noun

(§4.2.3.4). Examples:

(4.42) *en-suang*
 PREP-river
 ‘at/ in the river’

(4.43) *ta’ sedi selang*
 PREP beside sea
 ‘beside the sea’

However, a locative prepositions (normally *em-*, though *ta’* is possible) can also take a personal pronoun as its complement. The entire set of oblique pronouns (see Table 4.1) is derived from the combination of a locative preposition with the set I pronouns: *m-aku*, *eng-kau*, etc.

The prepositions and their syntactic distributions are described further in §11.3.

4.4.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers fill the measure slot of an NP (see §11.2.1). They may occur as a number phrase, consisting of a numeral and (optionally) either a classifier or a measure noun. They may also occur as a small number of other quantifier words such as *momon* ‘all’ or *bangan* ‘several’. The following section treats numerals, classifiers, measure nouns, and other quantifiers.

¹⁵ Presumably, the change from *em-* to *me-* preceding a liquid or vowel shows metathesis.

4.4.2.1 Numerals

4.4.2.1.1 Cardinal numerals

WC Bajau has a traditional set of cardinal numerals, though Malay numerals are normally used in certain domains (such as when giving the hour of the day, or the date). The WC Bajau numerals are shown in the following list. It is not necessary to list them all, since a regular system is used for forming numbers above ten. For counting from 11 through 19, the base word is *sepu* ‘ten’ followed by the appropriate numeral: *sepu duo* ‘twelve’, *sepu limo* ‘fifteen’, etc. For multiples of ten, the word *pu*’ is added to the first number: *duo em-pu*’ ‘twenty’, *telu em-pu*’ ‘thirty’, etc. (The insertion of *em-* before *pu*’ is an example of the counting prefix *eN-*, discussed in §4.4.2.1.3 below.)

(4.44)

<i>isa' / dikau'</i>	‘one’
<i>duo</i>	‘two’
<i>telu</i>	‘three’
<i>empat</i>	‘four’
<i>limo</i>	‘five’
<i>enam</i>	‘six’
<i>pitu'</i>	‘seven’
<i>wau'</i>	‘eight’
<i>siam</i>	‘nine’
<i>sepu</i>	‘ten’

<i>sepu dikau'</i>	‘eleven’
<i>sepu duo</i>	‘twelve’
<i>sepu telu</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>duo empu'</i>	‘twenty’
<i>duo empu' dikau'</i>	‘twenty-one’
<i>duo empu' duo</i>	‘twenty-two’
<i>empat pu' duo</i>	‘forty-two’
<i>d-atus</i>	‘one hundred’
<i>duo atus</i>	‘two hundred’
<i>enam atus duo empu' limo</i>	‘six hundred twenty-five’
<i>de-ribu</i>	‘one thousand’
<i>de-juta</i>	‘one million’

Note that both *isa*’ and *dikau*’ express the numeral ‘one’, but they are used differently. The numeral *isa*’ is only used for counting, never for quantifying. The numeral *dikau*’ is used for quantifying, and also for counting ‘one’ beginning with the numeral ‘eleven’.¹⁶ The prefix *de-* is used for ‘one’ in the numbers ‘one hundred’, ‘one thousand’, and ‘one million’. Apart from its occurrence with these complex numerals, *de-* also occurs on classifiers (§4.4.2.2) and measure nouns (§4.4.2.3).

4.4.2.1.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numerals in WC Bajau (with the exception of the ordinal ‘first’) are formed with the prefix *ke-*, the same as in Malay. The following is a representative list:

(4.45)	<i>mula-mula</i>	‘first’
	<i>ke-duo</i>	‘second’
	<i>ke-telu</i>	‘third’
	<i>ke-empat</i>	‘fourth’
	<i>ke-limo</i>	‘fifth’

4.4.2.1.3 The counting prefix eN-

As noted above, when multiples of ten are counted, a nasal prefix *eN-* is inserted between the beginning numeral and *pu*’: *duo em-pu*’ ‘twenty’, *pitu em-pu*’ ‘seventy’, etc.¹⁷ This counting prefix follows the numeral and is hosted by the counted item. The nasal consonant of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant. The counting prefix occurs regularly with certain (not all) adverbs denoting extent of time. Examples include *telu em-bangi* ‘three days’ and *pitu en-taun* ‘seven years’. The prefix occurs on the numeral classifier *bua*’, as in *empat em-bua*’ *ruma*’ ‘four houses’. The prefix also occurs on at least one measure noun (*sudu*’ ‘spoon’), as in *de-n-sudu*’ ‘one spoonful’. However, the prefix does not seem to occur on most measure nouns, nor has it

¹⁶ The numeral *dikau*’ is probably derived from *de-* ‘one’ plus the classifier *kau*’ (see §4.4.2.2).

¹⁷ The one exception to this is *empat (*em-)pu*’ ‘forty’.

ever been found to occur on a word beginning with a velar consonant: *duo* (*eng-)kau' using 'two cats'; *telu* (*eng-)karung paray 'three sacks of rice'.

4.4.2.2 Numeral classifiers

Classifiers function to "group nouns on the basis of some perceived intrinsic characteristic" (Sneddon 1996:137-138). In WC Bajau, as in Malay, counted people and objects are optionally preceded by a classifier. The classifier occurs between the numeral and the counted item(s). Syntactically, classifiers occur in number phrases (§11.2.1), and they have the same syntactic distribution as measure nouns (§4.4.2.3). Only a few classifiers are commonly used, at least two of which seem to be lexically and functionally similar to the corresponding classifiers in Malay. The three common WC Bajau classifiers are listed below.

- (4.46) *-angan* or *urang*: for persons (Malay *orang*)
kau': for animals, and a variety of non-round objects
bua': for fruits, round objects, very large objects (Malay *buah*)

Of these three, the classifier *kau*' appears to occur most frequently and with the widest variety of objects. Only *bua*' has a separate use as a head noun (meaning 'fruit'). Examples of the WC Bajau classifiers with their counted items are shown below.

(4.47)

<i>d-angan dendo</i>	‘one woman’	<i>telu em-bua' entelo</i>	‘three eggs’
<i>telu-ngan dendo</i> ¹⁸	‘three women’	<i>wau' em-bua' kundur</i>	‘eight watermelons’
<i>pitu' urang dendo</i>	‘seven women’	<i>de-m-bua' ruma'</i>	‘one house’
<i>sepu d-angan dela</i>	‘eleven men’	<i>empat em-bua' ruma'</i>	‘four houses’
<i>di-kau' uwa'</i>	‘one dog’		
<i>telu kau' kerusi</i>	‘three chairs’		
<i>empat kau' using</i>	‘four cats’		
<i>enam kau' setem</i>	‘six stamps’		

Note that, for counting people, *dangan* is ‘one person’, *du-angan* is ‘two persons’, *telu-ngan* is ‘three persons’, and higher numbers take the *urang* classifier. However, for compound numbers of persons ending with ‘one’, ‘two’, or ‘three’, *-angan* is still used. For example, *sepu dua-ngan* is ‘twelve persons’ and *duo empu' telu-ngan* is ‘twenty-three persons’. Note also that with *di-kau'* the prefix *de-* ‘one’ occurs as *di-*.

A classifier is sometimes used to introduce a referent to the discourse, and means ‘a (certain)’. Usually in this usage the classifier precedes the noun it quantifies, as in (4.48)- (4.49) below. When instead the classifier follows the noun it quantifies, can be translated ‘another’, as in (4.50).

(4.48) *Iyo lai en-diam taun sampay teko*
 3s.II flee PREP-inside forest until arrive

ta' de-m-bua' suang.
 PREP one-CNT-CL river

‘He fled into the forest until (he) arrived at a certain river.’ (biduk 078)

(4.49) *Iyo lai ta' di-kau' pulau.*
 3s.II flee PREP one-CL island
 ‘He fled to a certain island.’ (Mat Salleh 015)

(4.50) *Ling Mat Salleh iyo no l-um-aan memia ta' pulau di-kau'...*
 say PN 3s.II FOC -ACT-go AV.look.for PREP island one-CL
 ‘Mat Salleh said that he would be the one to go searching (for someone) on another island...’
 (Mat Salleh 024)

¹⁸ Apparently with the form *telu-ngan*, the vowel ‘u’ causes the beginning ‘a’ in *-angan* to be raised or possibly elipted.

4.4.2.3 Measure nouns

Measure nouns have the same syntactic distribution as numeral classifiers (§4.4.2.2), occurring after a numeral in a number phrase. However, whereas classifiers are sensitive to inherent properties of nouns, measure nouns “group nouns on the basis of how they are measured, assembled, or processed” (Sneddon 1996:137-138).¹⁹ Measure nouns can denote the measures of weight, volume, distance, and time. They include nouns that denote groupings or pieces of things, and they also include container nouns. An examples follows (the measure noun is underlined):

- (4.51) *telu* *karung* *paray*
 three sack paddy.rice
 ‘three sacks of rice’

The following is a list of measure nouns in WC Bajau:

(4.52)

Weight or volume

<i>kilo</i>	‘kilogram’
<i>ungut</i>	‘the volume of the bottom half of a coconut shell’
<i>pejut</i>	‘pinch’ (of sugar, salt, flour, etc.)
<i>supak</i>	‘measure of rice’
<i>gantang</i>	‘measure of rice’ (1 <i>gantang</i> = 12 <i>supak</i>)
<i>bandu</i>	‘measure of rice’ (1 <i>bandu</i> = 10 <i>gantang</i>) ²⁰
<i>karung</i>	‘sack (of rice)’ (1 <i>karung</i> = 3 <i>bandu</i>)

Area

<i>ikar</i>	‘acre’
<i>sibur</i>	‘division of rice paddy’

¹⁹ Sneddon (1996) actually uses the term ‘partitive’ for ‘measure noun’ (in the way that I am using the term).

²⁰ Every tenth *bandu* is to be given to the poor, as part of the tithe (*zakat*) in Islam. Because the *bandu* typically is used for rice, this kind of tithe is referred to as *zakat paray* ‘the tithe of (uncooked) rice’.

Distance

<i>koo</i>	‘finger-span’ ²¹
<i>de-ransang</i>	‘finger-span’
<i>seta’</i>	‘cubit’ (a measurement from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger)
<i>unga’</i>	‘the distance between two segments’ (can be used of bamboo, can also be used for the distance from hand to elbow, or from elbow to shoulder, etc.)
<i>depo</i>	‘fathom’ (a distance from fingertip to fingertip of two outstretched hands)
<i>kilomita</i>	‘kilometer’
<i>batu</i>	‘mile’

Clusterings, groupings, or pieces of things

<i>bangso</i>	‘kind’
<i>tumpuk</i>	‘stack, pile’
<i>kerot</i>	‘piece’
<i>petak</i>	‘drop (of water, blood, etc.)’
<i>limping</i>	‘bundle (of tobacco, or <i>sigup</i>)’
<i>sekat</i>	‘hand, small bunch (of bananas, or <i>saging</i>)’
<i>tundun</i>	‘bunch (of bananas, or <i>saging</i>)’
<i>ingkot</i>	‘tied bundle (of wood, or various kinds of fruits and vegetables)’
<i>banan</i>	‘herd, flock (of cows, goats, etc.)’
<i>sarat</i>	‘section (of fruit)’

Container nouns that can be used as measure nouns:

<i>karung</i>	‘sack’ (often of <i>paray</i> ‘paddy rice’)
<i>mangkuk</i>	‘bowl’
<i>sudu</i>	‘spoon’
<i>tin</i>	‘(tin) can’
<i>gelas</i>	‘glass’

4.4.2.4 Other quantifiers

A few other words function as quantifiers apart from numerals and classifiers, and they vary considerably in their syntactic properties. In general, two kinds of quantifier words can be distinguished in WC Bajau: those that must occur immediately before the NP they modify, and those which show flexible position with regard to the NP (or in some cases may even be used predicatively). Those quantifiers with obligatory position in the measure slot just before the NP head include the following:

²¹ *de-koo tarik* refers to the distance between thumb and middle finger and is apparently the default, while *de-koo tunduk* refers to the distance between the thumb and the index /pointing finger.

- (4.53) *banga(n) / bengen / bongon* ‘all (kinds) of’; ‘the several’ (a plural marker)²²
gi ‘X and company’ (a collective marker)²³
setiap ‘each’

These quantifiers modify nouns that generally cannot be ellipsed.²⁴ Examples:

- (4.54) *Abis mangan bongon pakir pan be-pule’ no.*
 finish AV.eat PL religious.man TOP DISTR-go.home FOC
 ‘After eating, the men with religious knowledge went home.’ (bejogo 022)

- (4.55) *Te-kito=ku bangan sioko engko’ gi iyang emma’=ku too*
 DC.PASS-see=1s.I PL oldest and COL mother father=1s.I old

nge-liling iyang=ku.
 AV-surround mother=1s.I
 ‘I could see my older siblings and the company of my grandparents surrounding my mother.’
 (beta’ kerungayan 061)

Those quantifiers that may occur either before or after the NP they modify (and therefore not bound to the measure slot of the NP) include the following:

- (4.56) *iko* ‘many’
dekiit ‘few, a little’
(se)momon ‘all’
de-bagi ‘some’ (lit. ‘one portion’)

Examples are shown in (4.57)-(4.60) below. Quantifiers of this type modify nouns that may be ellipsed, as in (4.58). Note as well that these quantifiers can be separated from their head, such as by the intensifier *bana* in (4.59). Some of them can function predicatively, as in (4.60).

²² The variations in form associated with the plural marker do not seem to have any semantic motivation. Possibly they are dialectal variants.

²³ I have borrowed this gloss for *gi* from Goudswaard’s (2005:104) gloss for the quantifier *iro* in Begak.

²⁴ In some cases the head noun is ellipsed, but here an adjective (such as *sioko* ‘oldest’ in (4.55)) occurs which refers to the (missing) head noun.

- (4.57) ... *ke-ingin-an=ni* \emptyset -*endo'=ni* *entelo emas semomon*
 NOM-desire=3s.I UV-take=3s.I egg gold all
- me-diam betong ansa' e.*
 PREP-inside stomach goose DEM
 '... his desire was to take all the gold eggs inside the goose's belly.' (ansa' 013)
- (4.58) *Uun debagi* *pe mandi,* *ngenduk engko'*
 EXIST some to.there ACT.bathe fetch.water and
- mandi bengen anak-anak= ni.*
 AV.bathe PL child-REDUP=3s.I
 'Some had gone there to bathe, to fetch water, and to bathe their children.'
 (baginda 071)
- (4.59) *Iko bana poon kayu ebba' waktu e.*
 many very tree topple time DEM
 'Many trees toppled at that time.' (kayu ebba' 037)
- (4.60) *Tapi' betiru,* *sampay* *pe-tenab ellaw,*
 but today until INTR-sink day
- kayu te-kule'=ni nya' iko.*
 wood DC.PASS-get=3s.I NEG many
 'But today, until the sun set, the wood he got was not much.' (dela piatu 010)

4.4.3 Demonstratives (and other deictic elements)

In WC Bajau, demonstratives distinguish three degrees of distance with reference primarily to the speaker. The primary set of demonstratives in WC Bajau can function adnominally as determiners (in the determiner slot of the NP), or as pronouns. These uses are described together in §4.4.3.1 below. There are also two sets of deictic adverbs, one set which predicates location (§4.4.3.2) and the other which predicates direction (§4.4.3.3). The similative deictic is discussed in §4.4.3.4.

4.4.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The three demonstrative pronouns are outlined in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 The demonstrative pronouns

Long form(s)	Short form	Meaning
<i>inan(tu), nantu, itu(tu),²⁵ o(nan)(tu)</i>	<i>tu</i>	‘this’ (can be touched by speaker)
<i>e</i>	--	‘that’ (distal from speaker)
<i>u’(e)</i>	--	‘that yonder’ (distal from both speaker and hearer, but visible)

All three demonstratives shown in Table 4.4 can be used both adnominally and as pronouns. However, for the forms shown in the first row, *itu(tu)* can only be used pronominally, while the shortened form *tu* can be used both pronominally (except in preverbal position) and adnominally. Note the following paired examples of each demonstrative used both adnominally (a) and pronominally (b):

(4.61) a. *Aku boi meli buas tu / *ituen-semio sini’.*
 1s.II CMPL AV.buy rice DEM PREP-market earlier
 ‘I bought this rice at the market earlier.’

b. *Iyo boi meli itu / tu eng-kaday.*
 3s.II CMPL AV.buy DEM PREP-town
 ‘(S)he bought this in town.’

(4.62) a. *Buas e boi Ø-beli=ni en-semio sini’.*
 rice DEM CMPL UV-buy=3s.I PREP-market earlier
 ‘He bought that rice at the market earlier.’

b. *E boi Ø-beli=ni en-semio sini’.*
 DEM CMPL UV-buy=3s.I PREP-market earlier
 ‘He bought that at the market earlier.’

²⁵ The form *itutu* is pronounced *itetu* (with the ‘e’ vowel pronounced as [ə]).

(4.63) a. *Buas u'(e) boi Ø-beli=ni en-semio sini'.*
 rice DEM CMPL UV-buy=3s.I PREP-market earlier
 'He bought that rice (over there) at the market earlier.'

b. *U'(e) boi Ø-beli=ni en-semio sini'.*
 DEM CMPL UV-buy=3s.I PREP-market earlier
 'He bought that (over there) at the market earlier.'

4.4.3.1.1 Use of the demonstrative pronouns to mark definiteness/ information status

The demonstratives *tu* and *e* can modify an NP that has been previously referred to in the text, in which case it marks definiteness. When *tu* 'this' is used in this way, it often identifies an NP that has just been introduced (perhaps in the previous clause or two), and is now restated as the current discourse topic. Example:

(4.64) *Selalu=ni Ø-pakayan gai kua, kua langkaw lah.*
 usually=3s.I UV-use-TZ 3p ladle ladle long EMPH

Kua tu Ø-buat gai tendayang suka' lum e.
 ladle DEM UV-make 3p frond coconut alive DEM
 'They usually used a ladle, a long ladle. This ladle they made from a live coconut frond.' (nandas tebu 092-093)

The *tu* demonstrative is also used for introducing a participant at the beginning of a folk tale, typically in the very first sentence:

(4.65) *Uun kono' jomo too tu laki bini.*
 EXIST hearsay person old DEM husband wife
 'Once upon a time there was this elderly couple.' (jomo pisok 001)

The demonstrative more commonly used to mark information status is *e* 'that'. Once a participant has been introduced in the discourse, subsequent mention of the participant as an NP is normally with *e* in the determiner slot. In (4.66) below, the NP *sinsim kawin=ni* 'his wedding ring' is

a newly introduced participant in the first clause, then subsequently referred to using the demonstrative *e*:

(4.66) ...*ai labu-an=ni sinsim kawin=ni diam boo'...*
 PERF fall-CAUS=3s.I ring wedding=3s.I inside bamboo

Waktu puteri siari e p-in-andi ai ngetek sinsim e
 when princess youngest DEM -PASS-bathe PERF tap ring DEM

labu' ta' dasar.
 fall PREP floor

'...he dropped his wedding ring into the bamboo (receptacle)... When the young princess was being bathed, the ring made a tapping sound as it dropped to the ground.' (sultan salaudin 040-041)

The demonstratives *tu* and *e* can modify a personal name or a personal pronoun, though this is less common than their use with common nouns. When a first person pronoun (singular or plural) is modified by a demonstrative, it is always the proximal demonstrative *tu*, as might be expected since the speaker(s) refer to themselves. With a second or third person pronoun, it seems that the use of the demonstrative (whether *tu* or *e*) can have a referential, locational, and/or emphatic function. In (4.67) below, the use of the demonstrative *tu* with the second person pronoun is most likely emphatic:

(4.67) *Sangsuriang men-dule-an Situmang, "Kau tu pe-malas bana."*
 PN CAUS-anger PN 2s.II DEM AGT-lazy very
 'Sangsuriang scolded Situmang, "You are very lazy (dog)!" (biduk 065)

The demonstratives *tu* and *e* have a temporal use as well, where *e* 'that' refers to some time in the past, whereas *tu* 'this' refers to the present time. Examples include: *ellaw e* 'that day; that time'; and *ellaw tu* 'today; this day'.

4.4.3.2 Deictic adverbs of location

Each of the demonstrative pronouns in Table 4.4 above has an adverbial counterpart to denote location, formed by the addition of *m-* to the pronoun form. The deictic adverbs are shown in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5 The deictic adverbs

Deictic adverb of location	Derived from:	Meaning
<i>mitu</i>	<i>itu</i> ('this')	'here'
<i>me</i>	<i>e</i> ('that')	'there'
<i>mu'</i>	<i>u'</i> ('that over there')	'yonder; over there'

Adverbial deictics of location often precede a clause-final PP. Since they are never preceded by a locative preposition such as *ta'*, I analyze them as adverbs rather than a type of locative noun (which usually occurs with a locative preposition). Even so, these deictic adverbs can occur following prepositions such as *lekat* 'from', which leaves open the possibility that they are (or can be) nouns. Examples of each of the adverbial demonstratives of location are shown below:

(4.68) *Te-kito=ku ruun dekiit jo jamban mitu.*
 DC.PASS-see=1s.I EXIST few just toilet here
 'I see that there are few toilets here.' (masala langaw 028)

(4.69) ...*aku ningkoo'-ningkoo' jo me me-luar..*
 1s.II ACT-sit-REDUP just there PREP-outside
 '...I just kept sitting there outside.' (beta' kerungayan 055)

(4.70) *Bo'=ku likas ng-ogo sioko=ku dela e*
 then=1s.I quick AV-go.to oldest=1s.I male DEM

mu' dembila' ruma'.
 yonder across house
 'Then I quickly went to my oldest brother there in the house across (from us).'
 (beta' kerungayan 049)

When used to refer to objects, *me* and *mu'* can be used for relative distance from speaker: if the object is in the immediate vicinity, *me* is used. If the object is several yards away (certainly out of reach) but still visible, *mu'* can be used. The deictic adverb *mu'* is used as well for more distant places, whether a stone's throw away or several miles away.

Of the deictic adverbs, it appears that only *me* can be used to refer to a previously mentioned referent in the discourse regardless of the spatial distance involved. In (4.71) below, note that speaker A can refer to the previously mentioned referent (*Kundasang*) using *me* even though the place is several miles away:

(4.71)

A. *Minggo kam boi turi debui'?*
 where 2s.II CMPL sleep last.night
 'Where did you all sleep last night?'

B. *Mu' ta' Kundasang.*
 yonder PREP PN
 'Over yonder in Kundasang.'

A. *Sajuk ka me / mu' ?*
 cold Q there / yonder
 'Is it cold there?'

4.4.3.3 Deictic adverbs of directed motion

When expressing motion directed toward or away from the speaker, a different set of deictic adverbs is used, formed by the addition of *p-* to the demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative adverbs of directed motion are shown in the following table:

Table 4.6 Deictic adverbs of direction

Deictic adverb of directed motion	Derived from:	Meaning
<i>pitu</i>	<i>itu</i> ('this')	'to here'
<i>pe</i>	<i>e</i> ('that')	'to there'
<i>pu'</i>	<i>u'</i> ('that over there')	'to yonder'

These directional adverbs are deictics because they refer to motion toward or away from the speaker. The only kind of verb they occur with are motion verbs such as *teko* ‘to arrive’, *boo* ‘to bring’, or *lumaan* ‘to go’. Some examples follow. Note that sometimes the directional deictics occur without any explicit motion verb, as in (4.74). Here they seem to function as verbs themselves.

(4.72) “*Aku tu bau teko pitu eng-Kuta’ Belud.*
 1s.II DEM new arrive to.here PREP-PN
 ‘I have just arrived here in Kota Belud.’ (lumaan pu’ Api-Api 001)

(4.73) *Somo-somo gai s-in-oo’ moo endo*
 same-REDUP 3p -PASS-command AV.bring wife

pe ta’ ruma’ emma’=ni.
 to.there PREP house father=3s.I
 ‘Together they were ordered to bring (their) wives there to their father’s house.’
 (pak 060)

(4.74) *Uun entedo Hassan pu’ ta’ laa de-m-bua’ nuut bono’.*
 EXIST once PN to.yonder PREP region one-CNT-CL AV.join fight
 ‘One time Hassan (went) yonder to another country to fight’. (baginda ali 019)

4.4.3.4 Similitive deictic *bege*

WC Bajau has one similitive deictic *bege* ‘like this’/ ‘like that’.²⁶ The similitive deictic is used to liken one thing to another, and normally occurs as an adverb. It often follows a subordinating conjunction of time such as *ai jo* ‘after’, as a transitional device to move from the event just described to the next one. Examples:

(4.75) “*Ngini kau be-tutur bege?’ ling tuan puteri.*
 why 2s.II ACT-speech like.that say princess
 ‘‘Why are you talking like that?’’ said the princess. (biduk 034)

²⁶ The pronunciation of *bege* is [bə'ge].

(4.76) *Boi jo Hussin mara' bege jomo daras e pan mara'*
 after PN AV.tell like.that person strong DEM TOP AV.tell

engko' sinsim e sinsim=ni dau...
 that ring DEM ring=3s.I before
 'After Hussin said that, the strong man said that the ring was once his ring...'.
 (baginda ali 106)

4.4.3.5 Summary

The three (non-similative) types of deictics discussed above are shown together in Table 4.7. Note that the demonstrative pronouns form the morphological base of both the deictic adverbs of location and of directed motion.

Table 4.7 Summary of the demonstrative forms

Demonstrative pronouns	Deictic adverbs of location	Deictic adverbs of directed motion
<i>inan(tu), nantu, itu(tu), o(nan)(tu)</i> 'this'	<i>m-itu</i> 'here'	<i>p-itu</i> 'to here'
<i>e</i> 'that'	<i>m-e</i> 'there'	<i>p-e</i> 'to there'
<i>u'(e)</i> 'that yonder'	<i>m-u'</i> 'yonder'	<i>p-u'</i> 'to yonder'

4.4.4 Adverbs

WC Bajau has a mostly closed class of adverbs. Apart from the deictic adverbs described above in §4.4.3.2 and §4.4.3.3, WC Bajau has at least seven other types of adverbs, which may be distinguished according to function: narrative adverbs, aspectual adverbs, adverbs of frequency, manner adverbs, adverbs of degree, adverbs of time, and sentence adverbs. Each of these adverb types are described in detail in §12.5 and will not be further discussed here. Suffice it to say that adverbs of these different types, and sometimes within the same type, show diverse syntactic properties, such as their distribution in the clause, and their ability or inability to head a phrase.

4.4.5 *Interjections*

An interjection is “a lexical item or phrase which serves primarily to express emotion and which typically fails to enter into any syntactic structures at all” (Trask 1993:144). As such, interjections typically occur on their own, not related syntactically to what precedes or follows the interjection. The following are a few interjections in WC Bajau. The way in which they are glossed reflects my (still tentative) understanding of contexts in which they are typically used.

(4.77)	<i>aii...!</i>	expression of surprise
	<i>adakah...!</i>	expression of surprise
	<i>oi...!</i>	expression of annoyance
	<i>si'!</i>	sound made to shoo away chickens
	<i>se'!</i>	sound made to shoo away dogs

CHAPTER 5
SUBJECTHOOD, VOICE, AND TRANSITIVITY

5.1 Introduction

The WC Bajau clause (with the exception of ambient clauses) contains from one to three arguments, depending on the number required by its predicate. Every such clause has a subject, considered here as a purely syntactic notion (§5.2). In this chapter, the subject and several other basic syntactic categories are defined: voice (§5.3), including the notion of macroroles ('actor' and 'undergoer'); the syntactic distinctions of 'core' vs. 'periphery' and 'direct' vs. 'oblique' (§5.4); and transitivity (§5.5). Some tests for subjecthood are shown in §5.6. Finally, a description of pronouns and case-marking in WC Bajau is given in §5.7.

5.2 The problem of defining 'subject'

The question of what constitutes a 'subject' in Philippine languages has long been debated. In English and many other languages, the grammatical category of 'subject' represents the clustering of several syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties on one NP in the clause. Keenan (1976), noting this "cluster concept" of the subject, compiled a list of subject properties which (taken together) would guide the identification of subjects cross-linguistically. His list includes autonomy properties such as indispensability, absolute reference, topic, and most accessible target of advancement processes; and semantic properties such as agent and the addressee phrase of imperatives. He admits, however, that if this list is used as the measure of subjecthood, "subjects in some languages will be more subject-like than those of other languages" depending upon how many of the listed properties cluster with the subject NP (305).

An attempt to use Keenan's criteria for categorizing the subject presents a special problem in Philippine languages, where the various subject properties listed by Keenan often do not conveniently cluster on a given NP in the clause. Schachter (1976) concluded from the Philippine evidence that there are "two basically quite different kinds of syntactic properties that are ordinarily associated with subjects," which he labeled reference-related properties and role-related properties (513-14). Reference-related properties include definiteness, unique access to relativization, and the ability to launch floating quantifiers. These properties are identified with the nominative NP ('topic' in Schachter's terminology), that is, the NP uniquely identified by affixation on the verb. Role-related properties include control of reflexivization and equi-NP deletion. These properties are identified with the actor. Crucially, in Philippine languages the reference-related and role-related properties may be split between the actor and the nominative NP, when the nominative NP is not itself the actor. This leads Schachter to conclude that Philippine languages do not have subjects, and therefore 'subject' is not a universal linguistic category.

Kroeger (1993) re-examines the evidence put forth by Schachter, and concludes that, for Tagalog, the nominative NP has "more properties of grammatical subjecthood, and non-nominative Actors less, than most syntacticians have assumed" (21). He thus proposes that the nominative NP (the argument selected by the voice morphology on the verb) be analyzed as the grammatical subject. Kroeger adopts a purely syntactic notion of 'subject' in Tagalog, clearly dissociating it from role-related constructions such as reflexivization and equi-NP deletion (which are often sensitive to the actor relation),¹ and also from pragmatic topic and focus. Kroeger's grammatical subject is similar to what Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) call the privileged syntactic argument (PSA) of a given

¹ It should be noted, however, that while reflexive binding and equi targets are typically sensitive to actor, they are not exclusively actor properties, as shown by Kroeger (1993) for Tagalog.

grammatical construction. With PSAs there is a restricted neutralization of semantic roles for syntactic purposes.

In WC Bajau transitive clauses, as in Tagalog, the voice morphology on the verb ‘selects’ one NP in the clause as the nominative argument, whether actor or undergoer. In this grammar the nominative argument will be called the subject, by which is meant the grammatical subject, or (in Van Valin and LaPolla’s terminology) the PSA. As such, the nominative argument in WC Bajau has several distinguishing syntactic properties: preverbal position in the clause; unique access to relativization; and the ability to launch floating quantifiers. These properties will be examined in §5.6. First it is necessary to introduce some other important grammatical categories, beginning with the voice system.

5.3 Voice in WC Bajau

Scholars have attempted to characterize voice marking and grammatical relations in western Austronesian languages for decades. A central feature of such languages (including WC Bajau) is the morphological marking on the verb to assign syntactic primacy to the argument bearing a certain semantic role in the clause. This grammatical feature has been variously described in the literature as ‘focus’, ‘voice’, and ‘case’, where the first two of these terms continue to be widely used today (Blust 2002:65). However, to speak of ‘focus’ in Philippine-type languages is potentially confusing, because ‘focus’ in this instance does not have anything to do with pragmatic focus, e.g., the marking of new information. Hence, I avoid using the term ‘focus’ for this grammatical feature.

The primary alternative to ‘focus’ for the above grammatical feature is the term ‘voice’. Traditionally, voice alternations have been understood as involving the derivation of an intransitive clause from an underlying transitive clause. In the passive derivation, such as the English passive, the underlying undergoer argument becomes the derived intransitive subject and the underlying actor argument is demoted to peripheral status. In the antipassive derivation, the underlying actor becomes

the derived intransitive subject and underlying undergoer is demoted to peripheral status. The passive and antipassive derivations are formally marked, such as by a verbal affix (Dixon 1994:146).

At first glance, it may appear that ‘voice’ (as traditionally defined) does not well describe the kinds of alternations typically observed for Philippine-type languages. For instance, the English passive derivation coincides with the loss of a direct core argument (the actor), whereas in some Philippine-type languages voice alternations do not involve changes in valence. Also, whereas in English the active voice occurs with much greater text frequency, in most Philippine-type languages the ‘passive’ voice (of one or several types) occurs with greater text frequency than the active voice (Blust 2002:64).

Despite these differences, both the Philippine-type and English voice alternations have in common that “a different argument is put into pivot (or subject) function and... this change in the alignment between semantic role and syntactic function is marked morphologically on the verb” (Himmelmann 2002a:11). For example, if the morphology on the verb ‘focuses’ the actor argument, the actor is the subject of the clause; if the verb ‘focuses’ the patient argument, the patient is the subject of the clause. In some Philippine-type languages, such as Tagalog, the voice system is fairly elaborate, with a number of semantic roles distinguished by the morphology on the verb. In any case, the important point of similarity between the Philippine-type ‘focus’ systems and the voice systems of European languages is that a change in verbal morphology “corresponds to a change in the alignment between semantic role and syntactic function” (Himmelman 2002:12). I use the term ‘voice’ as Himmelman does, to refer simply to the remapping between semantic role and syntactic subject, whether or not there has been a reduction in valency.

Note that ‘actor’ and ‘undergoer’ refer to generalized semantic roles or semantic macroroles, which are important to the syntax-semantics interface (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:141). The ACTOR is “the entity to which responsibility for the action or event is attributed” and its prototype is

an agent, though other semantic roles for the actor are possible, such as experiencer or (in some languages) recipient. The UNDERGOER is “the participant that the speaker is presenting as being most affected by the action” and its prototype is a patient, though an undergoer might also be a theme, stimulus, recipient, or experiencer (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:145; Van Valin 2005:54).² While actor and undergoer are semantic notions, they are crucial to the syntax. Which argument is selected as the grammatical subject depends upon the semantic macrorole (actor or undergoer) signaled by the morphology on the verb.

In WC Bajau, the basic voice alternation is between actor voice (AV) and undergoer voice (UV). All WC Bajau transitive verbs exhibit this voice alternation. AV is morphologically marked by a nasal prefix *N-* on the verb, hence AV verbs are also referred to in this grammar as ‘nasal verbs’. The nasal prefix assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant (§2.4.1). UV is not morphologically marked on the verb, hence UV verbs are also referred to in this grammar as ‘zero verbs’. The AV-UV voice alternation is accompanied by a change in word order (see §5.3), and also by a change in pronominal form where pronouns occur (see §5.2.1).

There is a general tendency in Philippine-type (and some other western Austronesian) languages for the undergoer rather than the actor to be the more frequent choice of syntactic pivot (=subject) in transitive clauses. Many such languages have been analyzed as syntactically ergative,³ where one of the undergoer voices is analyzed as “the basic unmarked construction for transitive clauses”, and the

² Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:149) claim that, because undergoers “refer to the participants which are viewed as primarily affected in the state of affairs”, they are always referential. However, in this grammar ‘undergoer’ will simply be used for the most patient-like argument. In a two-participant state of affairs, the patient may or may not be referential, but it clearly is more ‘patient-like’ than the actor. Thus, in the sentence “I’m looking for an arrow-head”, the speaker may not have a specific arrow-head in mind, but we may still say that ‘arrow-head’ is an undergoer. (A similar example was offered to me by Don Burquest, p.c.).

³ Dixon (1994) discusses syntactic ergativity in terms of S/O pivots [=syntactic subjects] controlling clause-combining processes (e.g., coordination, subordination, and relativisation), where S [the intransitive subject] is treated like O [the undergoer] and unlike A [the actor]. In some ergative analyses of Philippine languages, S/O pivots have been claimed for such syntactic processes as topicalization, cleft formation, WH-question formation, and equi-NP deletion in sentence complementation.

actor voice construction is regarded as the derived antipassive form (Himmelman 2002:14).⁴ A number of the Sama-Bajaw languages have been analyzed in this way,⁵ where undergoer-voice clauses are transitive (ergative) and actor-voice clauses are intransitive (antipassive).

There is an alternative to this ergative hypothesis, however, which both Himmelman (2002:14) and Ross (2002:25) identify as SYMMETRICAL VOICE. With symmetrical voice, either the actor or the undergoer of a clause is selected as pivot, and crucially, “both undergoer-voice and actor-voice clauses are transitive” (Ross 2002:24). As noted by Ross in his discussion of Philippine-type languages, a central issue here is whether the actor-voice clause is transitive or intransitive. If the actor-voice undergoer is demoted to oblique status, then the clause is intransitive, and (according to the ergative analysis) an antipassive. However, if the actor-voice undergoer retains direct core argument (DCA) status in the clause, then the actor-voice construction is transitive, and could not for that reason be analyzed as an antipassive.

I propose that in WC Bajau, both AV and UV are transitive constructions, which means that WC Bajau has a ‘symmetrical voice’ system as opposed to a system where one voice is transitive and the other(s) are syntactically intransitive. In AV clauses, the nasal verb selects the actor argument as the grammatical subject of the clause, and in most cases the undergoer remains a direct core argument. In UV clauses, the zero verb selects the undergoer argument as the grammatical subject of the clause, and the actor remains a direct core argument. (See §5.4 below for the definition of ‘direct core argument’.) A detailed description of the transitive voice constructions is given in §6.2.1.

WC Bajau also has a ‘true passive’ voice, which is morphologically marked on the verb by the allomorphs *-in-* or *ni-* (§2.4.6). In the WC Bajau passive, the undergoer is the subject (like the UV

⁴ For some of the early ergative analyses of Philippine languages, see Payne 1982 (for Tagalog); De Guzman 1988 (for Tagalog and Kapampangan); and Gerds 1988 (for Ilokano).

⁵ See Trick (2006) for Sama Southern; Brainard & Behrens (2002) for Yakan; Gault (1999) for Sama Bangingi; and Walton (1986) for Sama Pangutaran.

undergoer), but the actor has been demoted to oblique status (unlike the UV actor) and is optionally deleted from the clause. For a full description of the WC Bajau passive, see §6.2.2.

The AV, UV, and passive voices are illustrated below for the verb *opo* ‘to chop’:

- (5.1) a. *Mali boi ng-opo' kayu e.*
 PN CMPL AV-chop wood DEM
 ‘Mali chopped the wood.’
- b. *Boi Ø-opo' Mali kayu e.*
 CMPL UV-chop PN wood DEM
 ‘Mali chopped the wood.’
- c. *Kayu e ni-opo' (le' Mali).*
 wood DEM PASS-chop PREP PN
 ‘The wood was chopped by Mali.’

In (5.1) (a), the nasal prefix on the verb indicates AV and the actor argument (*Mali*) is the subject. In (b), the zero verb indicates UV and the undergoer argument (*kayu e* ‘the wood’) is the subject, though the UV actor is not demoted to oblique status. In (5.1)c), the *ni-* prefix on the verb indicates a passive construction. As in (b), the subject is the undergoer argument (*kayu e* ‘the wood’), but the actor argument has been demoted to oblique status (indicated by the preposition *le'*) and need not overtly appear in the clause.

5.4 ‘Core’ vs. ‘periphery’, ‘direct’ vs. ‘oblique’

All languages distinguish in their syntax between predicating and non-predicating elements; that is, between a predicate and its argument(s). Furthermore, a universal distinction is made between those NPs and PPs that are semantic arguments of the predicate and those that are not (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:25). In giving syntactic labels to these notions, I follow Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) in using the term CORE to refer to the predicate + its arguments, and the term PERIPHERY for non-arguments/ adjuncts (those elements outside the core). I use the term CORE ARGUMENT to refer to

an argument position in the semantic representation of the predicate. The CLAUSE is a syntactic unit that consists of the predicate + arguments + non-arguments. That is, the clause = core + periphery. Note that, while any argument in the syntactic core must be linked to a position in the logical structure of the predicate, the converse is not true. It is possible for a semantic argument of the verb not to be realized in the syntactic core, as for example in the passive voice, where the actor argument is demoted to peripheral status but remains a semantic argument of the verb (Van Valin 2005:57).

In WC Bajau, as in most languages, core arguments are usually coded differently from adjuncts, with NP adjuncts in WC Bajau marked by a preposition (*ta'* or *em-*). However, sometimes a core argument can also be marked by a preposition. For example, in WC Bajau the goal or recipient argument of a three-place predicate (such as *dede'* 'to send') is marked by a preposition. Consider the following example:

- (5.2) *Sinsim e boi Ø-dede'-an Farah ta' iyang=ni.*
ring DEM CMPL UV-send-TZ PN PREP mother=3s.I
'Farah sent the ring to her mother.'

In (5.2) the predicate *dede'* 'to send' takes three semantic arguments (agent, theme, and recipient) but the recipient argument (*iyang=ni* 'her mother') is marked by the preposition *ta'* even though it is a core argument. Thus there is no perfect alignment between syntactic status (core vs. peripheral) and oblique marking (no preposition vs. preposition). This imperfect alignment necessitates the further distinction between **DIRECT CORE ARGUMENTS** (core arguments which do not take a preposition) and **OBLIQUE CORE ARGUMENTS** (core arguments which do take a preposition) (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:29). For underived transitive verbs, the actor and undergoer are normally expressed as direct core arguments (DCAs).

While direct core arguments (DCAs) in WC Bajau are formally identified by their not taking a preposition, they also differ from oblique core arguments (and adjuncts) in their syntactic behavior as

follows: (1) only DCAs are eligible to be promoted to subject on account of a voice alternation; and (2) non-subject DCAs are unable to undergo oblique fronting. These two syntactic criteria are exemplified below.

First, only a DCA can be made the subject based on a change in the voice-marking on the verb.⁶

Note the examples in (5.3) for the verb **buan* ‘give’ (where the asterisk (*) indicates a bound root):

- (5.3) a. *Amzi boi muan buk e ta' Nisah.*
 PN CMPL AV.give book DEM PREP PN
 ‘Amzi gave the book to Nisah.’
- b. *Buk e boi Ø-pemuan Amzi ta' Nisah.*
 book DEM CMPL UV-give PN PREP PN
 ‘Amzi gave the book to Nisah.’
- c. **Nisah boi pemuan Amzi (ta') buk.*

The predicate **buan* ‘to give’ has three semantic arguments (agent, theme, and recipient). In (5.3) above, the agent (*Amzi*) and the patient (*buk e* ‘the book’) are both DCAs, while the recipient (*Nisah*) is an oblique core argument. Note that the AV patient (*buk e* ‘the book’) in (a) has become the subject in (b) based on a change in voice morphology on the verb from AV to UV. However, the oblique core argument (*Nisah*) cannot be made the subject with the unaffixed UV verb, as shown by (c). In order for the recipient argument of **buan* to be made the subject, the applicative suffix *-an₁* (§10.2.1.2) is required.

Similarly, oblique core arguments are not eligible for passivization, as shown in (5.4) below:

- (5.4) a. *Amzi boi muan buk e ta' Nisah.*
 PN CMPL AV.give book DEM PREP PN
 ‘Amzi gave the book to Nisah.’

⁶ Goudswaard (2005:120-21, citing Foley and Van Valin 1984:80) identifies this as a syntactic criterion for identifying terms in Begak.

- b. *Buk e boi p-in-emuan ta' Nisah.*
 book DEM CMPL -PASS-give PREP PN
 'The book was given to Nisah.'
- c. **Nisah boi p-in-emuan (ta') buk e.*

For the transitive construction shown in (5.4) (a), there are two direct core arguments (*Amzi* and *buk e*) and one oblique core argument (*Nisah*). In the passive clause shown in (b), the theme argument (*buk e*) has become the derived subject of the passive, while the agent has been demoted and here deleted from the clause. However, as shown in (c), the recipient argument (*Nisah*) is not eligible for passivization. An applicative suffix is needed on the passive verb in order for the recipient to be the subject of the passive, as shown in (d) below:

- d. *Nisah boi b-in-uan-an buk e.*
 PN CMPL -PASS-give-APPL book DEM
 'Nisah was given the book.'

The above examples (5.3) and (5.4) demonstrate that only a direct core argument (the undergoer), never an oblique core argument, is eligible to be promoted to subject in the clause based on a change in voice morphology on the verb.

Second, a non-subject DCA, whether the actor of a UV clause or the undergoer of an AV clause, normally occurs just following the verb, whereas oblique core arguments and peripheral elements can undergo 'adjunct fronting' to clause-initial position (see Kroeger 1993:43-46 for the use of this test in Tagalog).⁷ Note the following example:

⁷ In addition to the oblique fronting operation, there is a left-dislocation construction (§7.3) whereby any grammatical relation (core or oblique) may occur before the clause. Unlike oblique fronting, the left-dislocation process clearly involves an extracted item since the dislocated NP is followed by an intonation break and represented within the clause by a resumptive pronoun.

- (5.5) a. *Iyo boi nge-dede'(-an) sinsim e ta' Azizy.*
 3s.II CMPL AV-send-TZ ring DEM PREP PN
 ‘(S)he gave the ring to Azizy.’
- b. **Sinsim e iyo boi nge-dede'(-an) ta' Azizy.*
- c. *Ta' Azizy iyo boi nge-dede-an sinsim e.*

In (5.5) (a), the AV undergoer (*sinsim e* ‘ring’) occurs just after the verb. As the non-subject DCA, it is not eligible for fronting before the subject, as shown in (b). However, the oblique core argument *Azizy* can be fronted to that position, as shown in (c).

The above examples suggest that oblique core arguments in WC Bajau behave syntactically like adjuncts. However, unlike true adjuncts, oblique core arguments are normally obligatory since they are subcategorized for by the verb.⁸ The characterization of an argument as syntactically direct core or oblique is not necessarily an absolute one. Arka (2005) questions “the categorical conception of the core-oblique distinction”. He cites evidence from Balinese and Indonesian for “a cline running from syntactically core to non-core (oblique)”.

In some languages, such as Gayo (Eades 2005:106-109), oblique core arguments (or some types of them) are categorized by their ability to be promoted to DCA status via an applicative. This property cannot be taken as diagnostic for oblique core arguments in WC Bajau. For example, **buan* ‘to give’ takes the applicative suffix to promote its recipient argument to DCA status, but *dede* ‘to send’ does not. Similarly, *enna* ‘to set down’ takes the applicative suffix to promote its locative argument to DCA status, but *tagu* ‘to place’ does not.⁹ On the other hand, some verbs with only two semantic arguments take the *-an₁* applicative to promote an adjunct argument to DCA status. Thus in

⁸ If an oblique core argument does not explicitly occur, it is always recoverable from the context. Such instances can thus be regarded as zero anaphora.

⁹ The verbs *dede* and *tagu* do take an *-an₁* suffix, but here the suffix applies vacuously rather than function as an applicative. (See §10.2.4 for this use of the *-an₁* suffix).

WC Bajau applicativization is apparently not sensitive to the distinction between ‘oblique core argument’ and ‘adjunct’.

5.5 Transitivity defined

A verb’s semantic valence (the number of arguments it subcategorizes for) must be distinguished from its syntactic transitivity (the number of direct core arguments it takes). In WC Bajau, the maximum number of direct core arguments possible for an underived verb is two, even if it is a three place verb. For example the verb *dede’* ‘to send’, has three semantic arguments, but only two of these (actor and undergoer) are realized as DCAs, while the recipient is expressed as an oblique core argument. The following example is repeated from (5.2) above:

- (5.6) *Sinsim e boi Ø-dede’-an Farah ta’ iyang=ni.*
 ring DEM CMPL UV-send-TZ PN PREP mother=3s.I
 ‘Farah sent the ring to her mother.’

In (5.6), the two DCAs are *sinsim e* ‘the ring’ (the undergoer) and *Farah* (the actor), and the oblique core argument (*iyang=ni* ‘her mother’) is encoded as a PP. (For a principled account of undergoer selection, see §10.1). Even though *dede’* has three semantic arguments, it takes only two DCAs and is thus monotransitive, not ditransitive. Some three-place verbs do take the applicative suffix *-an₁* to allow for the promotion of a third argument to direct core status (see §10.2). Only such applicativized verbs are properly referred to as ‘ditransitives’ in WC Bajau.

In this grammar, I will normally refer to a verb’s semantic valence in terms of the number of ‘places’ in its argument structure. Thus a one-place verb has one semantic argument; a two-place verb has two semantic arguments, and so on. I will use the terms ‘transitive’, ‘intransitive’, and ‘ditransitive’ in their traditional sense of syntactic transitivity (= the number of direct core arguments taken by the verb).

5.6 Tests for subjecthood

The WC Bajau ‘subject’ has been defined as the privileged syntactic argument (PSA) selected by the voice marking on the verb. I will now show those properties which are uniquely associated with subjects in WC Bajau: preverbal position; access to relativization; and (possibly) the ability to launch floating quantifiers.¹⁰

5.6.1 Preverbal position

Among DCAs, only the subject can occur in preverbal position. In UV clauses, the undergoer (as the subject) may occur either at the end of the core following the verb + actor, or before the verb. The UV actor DCA cannot appear before the verb:

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---|
| | | V | A | U | | |
| (5.7) | a. | <i>Boi</i> | \emptyset -sembali | <i>Azizy</i> | <u><i>sapi'</i></u> | <i>e dilaw.</i> |
| | | CMPL | UV-slaughter | PN | cow | DEM yesterday |
| | | | | | | ‘Azizy slaughtered the cow yesterday.’ |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | b. | <u><i>Sapi'</i></u> | <i>e boi</i> | \emptyset -sembali | <i>Azizy</i> | <i>dilaw.</i> |
| | | cow | DEM | CMPL | UV-slaughter | PN yesterday |
| | | | | | | ‘Azizy slaughtered the cow yesterday.’ |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | c. | * <i>Azizy</i> | <i>boi</i> | \emptyset -sembali | <u><i>sapi'</i></u> | <i>e dilaw.</i> |
| | | PN | CMPL | UV-slaughter | cow | DEM yesterday |
| | | | | | | ‘Azizy slaughtered the cow yesterday.’ |
| | | | | | | (OK but nonsensical: The cow slaughtered Azizy yesterday.)’ |

¹⁰ Philippine-type (and other western Austronesian) languages vary in the number of syntactic properties that are associated with the subject (the nominative NP). In Tagalog, the nominative NP (*ang* phrase) controls a number of properties, including: quantifier float; relativization; number agreement; raising; and conjunction-reduction (Kroeger 1993). In Sama Bangingi, “pivot-controlled subject properties” include relativization, cleft-like constructions, WH-question formation, and equi-NP deletion (Gault 1999).

In the first two sentences above, the UV verb *sembali* identifies the undergoer *sapi* ‘cow’ as the subject, and it may occur after the verb + actor, as in (a), or before the verb, as in (b). The UV actor *Azizy* may not appear in this position, as shown in (c).

In AV clauses, the actor (as the subject NP) normally appears before the verb.¹¹ The AV undergoer cannot appear before the verb (in these examples, the subject NP is underlined):

- (5.8) a.

A	V	U			
<u><i>Azizy</i></u>	<i>boi</i>	<i>nembali</i>	<i>sapi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>dilaw.</i>
PN	CMPL	AV.slaughter	cow	DEM	yesterday

‘Azizy slaughtered the cow yesterday.’
- b.

U	V	A			
* <i>Sapi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>boi</i>	<i>nembali</i>	<u><i>Azizy</i></u>	<i>dilaw.</i>
cow	DEM	CMPL	AV.slaughter	PN	yesterday

‘Azizy slaughtered the cow yesterday.’
(OK but nonsensical: ‘The cow slaughtered Azizy yesterday.’)

In (5.8) (a) the AV-marked verb *nembali* identifies the actor *Azizy* as the subject, and it appears before the verb. The AV undergoer *sapi* ‘cow’ may not appear in this position, as shown in (b).

5.6.2 Access to relativization

A second syntactic operation by which to distinguish subjects is access to relativization. Relative clauses in WC Bajau do not contain a relativizer like *yang* in Malay. But like Malay they do use a ‘gap’ relativization strategy (§14.2.1), where the relativized argument is deleted (‘gapped’) under coreference with the head noun. Furthermore, the deleted argument must be the subject of the embedded clause, as shown in (5.9) below.

- (5.9) a. *enselan* [*∅-boo* *Azam* *kemuap* *e*]
gas UV-bring PN afternoon DEM
‘the gasoline which Azam brought the previous afternoon’

¹¹ The AV actor can sometimes occur after the verb, though this is not the usual order in texts. Alternate word orders seem to be motivated by pragmatic factors (see §6.2.1.1.3). In any case, the AV undergoer can never appear before the verb.

- b. **enselan* [*moo* *Azam* *kemuap* *e*]
 gas AV.bring PN afternoon DEM
 ‘the gasoline which Azam brought the previous afternoon’

In (5.9) (a), the argument in the relative clause that is coreferential with the head noun in the NP (*enselan* ‘gas’) is deleted. Furthermore, the deleted argument in the relative clause is the subject of that clause, because it is the undergoer, and the zero verb *boo* signals the undergoer as the pivot of the clause. In (b), the deleted argument in the relative clause is again coreferential with the head noun (*enselan*), but the deleted argument is not the subject of the relative clause; the nasal verb *moo* signals the actor, not the undergoer, as the subject of the clause. That the sentence is ungrammatical shows that only the subject NP in the relative clause may be deleted under coreference with the head noun. Note also the pair of sentences below:

- (5.10) a. *jomo* [*moo* *enselan* *kemuap* *e*]
 person AV.bring gas afternoon DEM
 ‘the person who brought gasoline that afternoon’
- b. **jomo* [\emptyset -*boo* *enselan* *kemuap* *e*]
 person UV-bring gas afternoon DEM
 ‘the person who brought gasoline that afternoon’

In (5.10) (a), the deleted argument in the relative clause is coreferential with the head noun (*jomo* ‘person’), and since the deleted argument is also the subject (as signalled by the AV verb) the sentence is grammatical. In (b) the sentence is ungrammatical because the zero verb in the relative clause signals undergoer as pivot, whereas the deleted argument is the actor. As with (5.9) above, we see that only the subject of a relative clause can be ‘gapped’ under coreference with the head noun.

These examples are consistent with Keenan and Comrie’s (1977) proposed NP-accessibility hierarchy. In their hierarchy, which identifies the relative accessibility of NP types for relativization, the subject is the top-ranked NP type. The first Hierarchy Constraint in their proposal states that “A

language must be able to relativize subjects.” For WC Bajau, only subjects may be relativized using the primary (gap) strategy. Relative clauses are treated more fully in §14.2.

5.6.3 *Quantifier float (?)*

Another test for subjecthood that has been used in some Austronesian languages is the ability to launch floating quantifiers. Cross-linguistically, floating quantifiers are launched by direct core arguments or ‘terms’. In Balinese, for example, any term can launch a quantifier (Arka 2003). In Tagalog, floating quantifiers are launched exclusively by the highest term, which is the grammatical subject (Kroeger 1993:22-23, citing Schachter 1976:501). This latter pattern is only partially evident in WC Bajau, as seen in the following examples using the quantifier *momon* ‘all’:

- (5.11) a.

	U			V	A			
	<i>Buk</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>boi</i>	\emptyset - <i>beli</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>momon</i> .	
	book	DEM	CMPL	UV-buy	teacher	DEM	all	
	‘All the books were bought by the teacher(s).’							
- b.

	A			V	U			
	<i>Guru</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>boi</i>	<i>meli</i>	<i>buk</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>momon</i> .	
	teacher	DEM	CMPL	AV.read	book	DEM	all	
	*‘All the teachers bought the books.’							
	‘The teachers bought all the books.’							
- c.

	U			V	A			
	<i>Murid</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ai</i>	\emptyset - <i>beli-an</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>buk</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>momon</i> .
	student	DEM	PERF	UV-buy-APPL	teacher	book	DEM	all
	‘The teacher(s) bought books for all the students.’							

In (5.11) (a) and (c), the subject is the argument that launches the floating quantifier: *buk* ‘books’ in (a) and *murid* ‘students’ in (c). However, in (b) the actor subject *guru* ‘teacher’ does not launch the quantifier, whereas the undergoer non-subject *buk* ‘books’ does. This anomaly in the data is not readily accounted for by such factors as definiteness or adjacency restraints. More investigation is required to see whether the ability to launch floating quantifiers is (at least under certain conditions) a property unique to subjects in WC Bajau.

In summary, there are at least two syntactic tests, and possibly three, which uniquely identify subjects in WC Bajau: (1) preverbal position in the clause; (2) access to relativization; and (3) the ability to launch floating quantifiers. The floating quantifier test has yielded mixed results, and requires further investigation.

5.7 Pronouns and case-marking

5.7.1 *The normal pattern*

A final syntactic issue to be explored here is case-marking. Philippine-type languages typically have case-marking on NPs, though the subset of NPs that is marked varies. In Tagalog, a representative and well-studied Philippine language, case marking particles occur on all NPs in the clause, with the nominative argument uniquely identified by the *ang* particle. Sabahan languages reflect this pattern to varying degrees. For example, Coastal Kadazan has case-marking particles on both subject and non-subject NPs (Boutin 1988:57); Banggi only marks (some) human arguments as subject or non-subject (Boutin 1988:55); and Begak lacks any case-marking on full NPs (Goudswaard 2005:127). Like Begak, WC Bajau does not have case-marking on direct core arguments (actors and undergoers), and only marks oblique semantic roles such as goal, beneficiary, and location. In WC Bajau these roles are coded as PPs unless promoted to subject by means of an applicative.

Although NPs are not marked for case in WC Bajau, the pronoun system does distinguish case to some extent. WC Bajau has two sets of pronouns to encode direct core arguments, ‘Set I’ and ‘Set II’. Which set is used for a given occurrence of a pronoun depends primarily on syntactic properties (placement in the clause and voice-marking on the verb), though as will be seen below, the choice of pronoun set for AV undergoer is also sensitive to the semantic properties of person and animacy. The addition of the prefix *em-* to the Set II pronouns forms a third pronoun set, used to mark oblique elements. The WC Bajau pronoun forms were introduced previously in Table 4.1, and are shown again in (5.12) below:

(5.12) The WC Bajau pronoun sets [repeated from Table 4.1]

	Set I (enclitics; possessive form)	Set II (independent pronouns)	em- + Set II (oblique pronouns)
1 st person sg.	= <i>ku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>m-aku</i>
1 st person pl. (incl.)	= <i>ti</i>	<i>kiti</i>	<i>eng-kiti</i>
(excl.)	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>eng-kami</i>
2 nd person sg.	= <i>nu</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>eng-kau</i>
2 nd person pl.	= <i>bi</i>	<i>kaam</i>	<i>eng-kaam</i>
3 rd person sg.	= <i>ni</i>	<i>iyo</i>	<i>m-iyo</i>
3 rd person pl.	<i>gai</i>	<i>gai</i>	<i>eng-gai</i>

Note that the forms for first person plural exclusive (*kami*) and third person plural (*gai*) are the same for sets I and II.

The pronominal forms pattern according to their grammatical status as follows. Subject pronouns are always drawn from Set II, whether the pronoun encodes the single argument of an intransitive clause, the actor of an AV clause, or the undergoer of a UV clause. Conversely, the UV actor is always drawn from Set I. The AV undergoer may be drawn from either Set I or Set II (as explained further below). These facts mean that even though a Set II pronoun is always used for the subject, Set II does not uniquely identify subjects. The distribution of Set I and Set II pronouns are illustrated in the following clauses (where ‘S’ refers to the single argument of the intransitive clause):

- (5.13) a.

	V		S	
<i>Ai</i>	<i>pungkaw</i>		<i>iyo</i>	
PERF	wake.up		3s.II	

‘(S)he has awakened/ gotten up.’
- b.

	V	A		U	
<i>Boi</i>	Ø- <i>boo=ku</i>		<i>iyo</i>	<i>pitu.</i>	
CMPL	UV-bring=1s.I		3s.II	to.here	

‘I brought him/her here.’
- c.

	A		V		U	
<i>Aku</i>	<i>boi</i>	<i>moo</i>		<i>iyo</i>	<i>pitu.</i>	
1s.II	CMPL	AV-bring		3s.II	to.here	

‘I brought him/her here.’

In (5.13) (a), the verb *pungkaw* ‘wake up’ takes one argument, which by default is the subject and therefore encoded by a Set II pronoun (*iyó*). In (b), the UV transitive verb *boo* ‘bring’ draws its subject/undergoer (*iyó*) from the Set II pronouns and its actor (*ku*) from the Set I pronouns. In (c), the same transitive verb is now AV and its subject/actor is drawn from the Set II pronouns, while its undergoer (*iyó*) is also drawn from the Set II pronouns. Note that for these examples, the Set II pronoun *iyó* encodes the subject argument in (a) and (b) but the (non-subject) AV undergoer in (c). Thus while a subject pronoun will always be Set II, a Set II pronoun will not always be the subject.

As noted above, the undergoer argument of AV clauses can be Set II or Set I, depending on the person and animacy properties of that nominal. The observed pattern correlates with the animacy or ‘potentiality of agency’ scale cited in Dixon (1979:85), where 1st and 2nd person outranks 3rd person (1, 2 > 3) and animate arguments outrank inanimate arguments. In WC Bajau, argument linking to the pronoun sets based on person and animacy features are shown in Figure 5.1 below:

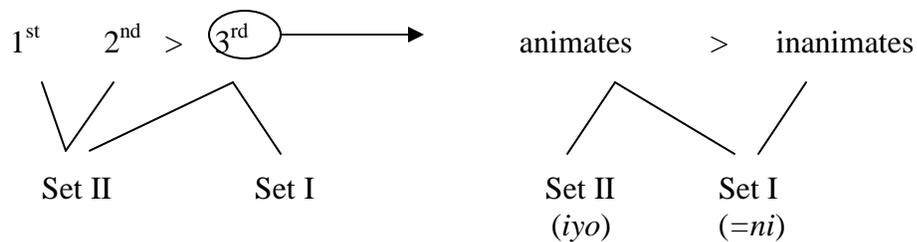


Figure 5.1 Hierarchy and mapping to pronoun sets for AV undergoer

In Figure 5.1, we see that the highest-ranked participants (1st and 2nd person) obligatorily draw from Set II, while the lowest-ranked participants (3rd person inanimates) obligatorily draw from Set I.

Third person animates, which are somewhere in the middle of the hierarchy, may draw from either set.¹²

The following examples illustrate the linking between the animacy hierarchy and the choice of pronoun set for AV undergoer:

- (5.14) “*Ngini kau mau aku?*”
 why 2s.II AV.call 1s.II
 “Why did you summon me?” (dela piatu 069)
- (5.15) “... *te-kule’=ku pan kau beta’-beta.*”
 DC.PASS-get=1s.I EMPH 2s.II long.time-REDUP
 “... I will get you eventually!” (ngini using 071)
- (5.16) *Iyang Hussin ellaw songom ng-agad iyo.*
 mother PN day night AV-wait 3s.II
 ‘Hussin’s mother awaited him day and night.’ (baginda 124)
- (5.17) *Ai jo naga’ e sikot en-sedi kapal, gai pan nimbak=ni.*
 after dragon DEM near PREP-beside ship 3p TOP AV.shoot=3s.I
 ‘When the dragon was near to the ship, they shot it.’ (kinabalu 029)
- (5.18) ...*∅-sele’-sele’ gai nanduk =ni engko’ sawan.*
 UV-replace-REDUP 3p AV.ladle=3s.I PREP glass
 ‘... they took turns ladling it (the food) out with a glass.’ (namuk 047)

Examples (5.14)-(5.15) show the required Set II pronominal forms for 1st and 2nd person, respectively. Examples (5.16)-(5.17) show variable linking for 3rd person animate, and (5.18) shows the required Set I form for 3rd person inanimate.

This animacy split only applies to the AV undergoer. When the pronoun is the subject, it draws from the Set II class even when the referent is inanimate (though it is rare for an inanimate entity to be the subject). Note the following example, where the undergoer subject pronoun of the intransitive

¹² I have not yet found any instances where a human animate takes the Set I pronoun. It is possible that human animates require the set II pronoun and non-human animates can take either the Set II or Set I pronoun. This requires further investigation.

verb *ebba'* 'topple' draws from the Set II class, even though the pronoun refers to an inanimate referent (a tree):

(5.19) ... *jadi iyo buli ebba' semberen-semberen jo bila beriu daras niup.*
 so 3s.II can topple when-REDUP FOC when wind strong ACT.blow
 '... so it (the tree) can fall whenever the wind blows hard.' (kayu ebba' 045)

Note again that in UV, there is no 'split' in pronominal expression possible for either macrorole argument. In UV clauses, pronominal agents are always drawn from Set I and pronominal undergoers are always drawn from Set II.

To summarize: core arguments in WC Bajau are morphologically marked for case only when they occur as personal pronouns. A pronominal subject is always expressed as a Set II pronoun, whether the construction is UV or AV. A non-subject pronominal actor is always expressed as a Set I pronoun. A non-subject pronominal undergoer is expressed either as a Set II pronoun or a Set I pronoun, depending on person and animacy properties. These facts are shown in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Pronominal expressions of direct core arguments

Core argument status	Voice construction	
	UV	AV
pronominal subject	Set II pronoun	Set II pronoun
pronominal non-subject A	Set I pronoun	
pronominal non-subject U		Set II or Set I pronoun

5.7.2 Some irregular pronominal expressions

There are some exceptions to the above pattern. With certain conjunctions, when the subject of the subordinate clause is a pronoun it is expressed by a Set I rather than by a Set II pronoun. These conjunctions all have a temporal function. They include several subordinating conjunctions which mean 'at the time' or 'while' (*waktu, beta', masa, sambil*) and the coordinating conjunction *bo'* '(and)

then'.¹³ Note the following examples (the Set I pronoun is underlined within the bracketed subordinate clause):

(5.20) [*Masa=ni mapi e*] *ai iyo duwai ng-endo' saray...*
 while=3s.I AV.cook DEM PERF 3s.II descend AV-take lemon.grass
 'While she was cooking, she descended (from the house) to get some lemon grass...' (salaudin 020)

(5.21) *Ø-Enda'=ku roo iyang=ku lolom-lolom [sambil=ku nangis*
 UV-watch=1s.I shape mother=1s.I deep-REDUP while=1s.I ACT.cry
sepuas atay=ku].
 content liver=1s.I
 'I saw that my mother's condition was very serious as I cried to my heart's content.' (beta' kerungayan 039)

(5.22) [*Ø-beta'=ni s-in-embali e*], *bangan jomo teko.*
 UV-when=3s.I -PASS-slaughter DEM PL person arrive
 'When (it) was slaughtered, the people began to arrive.'

Another case where Set I is used for the subject pronoun is when the first person plural inclusive pronoun *kiti* (Set II) is optionally shortened to *=ti* (Set I), usually in hortatives. In (5.23) below, both (a) and (b) are acceptable:

(5.23) a. *Mule' kiti.*
 ACT.go.home 1p.incl.II
 "Let's go home!"
 b. *Mule'=ti.*
 ACT.go.home=1p.incl.I
 "Let's go home!"

¹³ As explained further in §14.4.1.1, these conjunctions may have nominal-like properties, in which case the subordinate clause could be analyzed as an NP. This would account for the possessive (Set I) pronoun form assumed by the actor in clauses introduced by these conjunctions.

CHAPTER 6
BASIC CLAUSE TYPES

6.1 Introduction

The simple verbal clause types are presented in §6.2. These consist of the two transitive clause types (§6.2.1): undergoer voice and actor voice. These clause types are described, first according to their word orders and possible evidence for a VP (§6.2.1.1), and second according to the morphosyntactic expressions of their core arguments (§6.2.1.2). Both aspects of the clause description provide evidence for the symmetrical nature of the WC Bajau voice system. The *-in-* passive voice construction is treated in §6.2.2, in which the oblique nature of the passive actor is contrasted with the properties of the UV actor. Reflexives are described in §6.2.3, including a discussion of the binding properties of the UV actor vs. the *-in-* passive actor. Non-transitive verbal clauses are described in §6.2.4, whether stative or active. Finally, non-verbal clauses are discussed in §6.3, where the predicate is expressed as a NP, a PP, or as a measure or number phrase.

6.2 Simple verbal clauses

6.2.1 Transitive clause types

Transitive clauses in WC Bajau show a symmetrical opposition between undergoer voice (UV) and actor voice (AV). That is, for any transitive clause, either UV or AV is possible, as signaled by the voice morphology on the verb. The symmetrical nature of the opposition is reflected in the similar patterns shown by both UV and AV with regard to (1) word order and (2) the morphosyntactic expression of both actor and undergoer arguments.

With regard to word order, WC Bajau is characterized by a rigid VP constituent in UV clauses, and a somewhat less rigid VP constituent in AV clauses. Furthermore, only the subject may occur in

preverbal position (in either voice). Other western Austronesian languages which show a similar pattern of UV-AV alternation, relatively rigid word order, and the preverbal subject position include the Sabahan language Begak (Goudswaard 2005), and the Indonesian languages Balinese (Wechsler and Arka 1998, Arka 2003); Pendau (Quick 2002, 2003), and Gayo (Eades 2005). All of these languages have been described as possessing a symmetrical voice system.¹

From the standpoint of the morphosyntactic expression of arguments, in WC Bajau both voices are capable of expressing the actor and undergoer arguments as DCAs, though AV clauses sometimes allow for the syntactic and/or semantic demotion of the patient. The expression of the AV undergoer is of particular importance in characterizing the voice system, as was noted earlier (§5.3) in the discussion of ‘symmetrical’ vs. ‘ergative/antipassive’ proposals in several related languages.

In what follows, the simple UV and AV clause types in WC Bajau are described and parallels drawn between them. First, in §6.2.1.1, the word orders and evidence for a VP are described for each voice. Then, in §6.2.1.2, the morphosyntactic expressions of the actor and undergoer arguments are described for each voice.

6.2.1.1 Word order and evidence for a VP

6.2.1.1.1 *Word order in UV clauses*

For zero verbs, both Verb-Actor-Undergoer (VAU) and Undergoer-Verb-Actor (UVA) orders are possible. The order AVU is never possible in UV clauses, since only the subject may occur prior to the verb (§5.6.1), and the subject in UV is of course the undergoer. Examples of VAU order in main clauses:

¹ I'm not certain that Goudswaard (2005) uses the term ‘symmetrical voice’ to describe Begak, but her description of the language would certainly point to a symmetrical system, in which there are two voices (AV and UV), both of which are transitive constructions (402).

	V		A		U
(6.1)	<i>Boi</i>	<i>Ø-boo</i>	<i>Amzi</i>	<i>bua' nangka' e.</i>	
	CMPL	UV-bring	PN	fruit jackfruit	DEM
	'Amzi brought the jackfruit.'				

	V		A		U
(6.2)	<i>Ø-inum</i>	<i>jomo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>bue' e.</i>	
	UV-drink	person	FOC	water	DEM
	'The man drank the water.' (mat salleh 036)				

Examples of UVA order in main clauses:

	U			V		A	
(6.3)	<i>Suu' e</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>Ø-tagu'</i>	<i>Inang</i>	<i>en-jata'</i>	<i>para-para.</i>	
	light	DEM	TOP	UV-place	PN	PREP-on.top	shelf
	'Inang set the light on top of the shelf.' (belis 017)						

	U			V		A	
(6.4)	<i>Peluru' besi panas</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Ø-sambut</i>	<i>naga'</i>	<i>engko'</i>	<i>bua'=ni.</i>	
	cannon.ball	hot	DEM	UV-receive	dragon	PREP	mouth=3s.I
	'The dragon caught the cannon ball with his mouth.' (kinabalu 030)						

Both VAU and UVA word orders are well represented in narrative text, with no obvious preference for one or the other. The fronted undergoer is pragmatically active or accessible in almost all cases.² Non-fronted undergoers (those occurring in VAU clauses) have no particular pragmatic status.

Given that the UVA order is pragmatically more restrictive than VAU, it is likely that VAU represents the basic word order in UV clauses, with optional fronting of the undergoer when the undergoer is pragmatically salient. Additional support for VAU being the basic order comes from subordinate clauses, where VAU is the order found in natural text.³ Examples:

² The terms 'active' and 'accessible' are taken from Lambrecht (1994). See Chapter 7 for further treatment of these concepts.

³ Even so, work with two different language helpers indicated that UVA order in a subordinate clause was acceptable.

V A U

(6.5) [*Ai jo Ø-purun puteri sinsim e*] *nya' no iyo kui k-in-awin.*
 after UV-pick.up princess ring DEM NEG FOC 3s.II willing -PASS-marry
 ‘When the princess had picked up the ring, she was not willing to be married.’
 (salaudin 042)

V A U

(6.6) [*Ensen Ø-bubut=ni tiang ta' ruma'=nu e*],
 even.if UV-pull.up=3s.I post PREP house=2s.I DEM

tetap jo iyo manang...
 certain FOC 3s.II win
 ‘Even if he uproots the post from your house, it is certain he has won...’ (abu nawas 053)

6.2.1.1.2 Evidence for a VP in UV clauses

While VAU is probably the basic word order in UV clauses, it is apparent from the variable position of the undergoer subject that the actor-undergoer sequence (in VAU clauses) is not a tight constituent in the UV clause. Even in VAU clauses, intervening material is possible between A and U. However, no element may intervene between the UV verb and the actor, whether or not the actor is pronominal. Note the pair of clauses in (6.7):

V A U

(6.7) a. *Ø-Dede-an Hussein no sinsim e ta' endo=ni.*
 UV-send-TZ PN FOC ring DEM PREP wife=3s.I
 ‘Hussein sent the ring to his wife.’

V A U

b. **Dede-an no Hussein sinsim e ta' endo=ni.*

The focal particle *no* may intervene between the UV actor (*Hussein*) and the undergoer subject (*sinsim e* ‘the ring’), as shown in (6.7) (a). However, the same particle may not intervene between the UV verb and the actor, as shown in (b).

Owing to the rigid [UV verb + actor] word order and the inability of any element to intervene between these two constituents, there is evidence for a verb phrase (VP) in WC Bajau UV clauses.

The VP consists of the UV verb + actor. While a VP containing the actor is quite unusual cross-linguistically, other examples have been found among Indonesian-type languages.⁴ In 0 below, the UV undergoer is indicated by U ('undergoer') in the macrorole word order and by S ('subject') in the syntactically defined word order. The UV actor, as the non-subject DCA, is indicated by A ('actor') in the macrorole word order and by O ('object'= non-subject DCA) in the syntactically defined word order.

- (6.8) VAU ⇔ UVA (macrorole word order)
 [VO]_{VP} S ⇔ S [VO]_{VP} (syntactically defined word order)

Note in (6.8) that the VP [verb + 'object'] constituent is fixed, whereas the subject can occur either at the beginning or the end of the clause.⁵

6.2.1.1.3 Word order in AV clauses

For AV transitive clauses, the predominant order is Actor-Verb-Undergoer (AVU). Examples:

- (6.9) **A** **V** **U**
Amzi boi moo bua' nangka' e.
 PN CMPL AV.bring fruit jackfruit DEM
 'Amzi brought the jackfruit.'

- (6.10) **A** **V** **U**
Rojo e pan mau bengen anak=ni pitu' orang e.
 king DEM TOP AV.call PL child=3s.I seven CL DEM
 'The king summoned his seven daughters.' (uwa' suk 036).

⁴ Ross (2003b:458) reports that Indonesian-type languages with a VP in UV include Pendau, Toba Batak, Karo Batak, Balinese, and Lauje.

⁵ Laurel Smith Stvan (p.c.) suggested that the extreme rigidity of the verb + actor bond in UV indicates the structural possibility of 'actor incorporation', a type of noun incorporation. However, whereas incorporation cross-linguistically shows "a stress pattern characteristic of words rather than phrases" (Payne 1997:221), in WC Bajau the verb + actor unit (to my knowledge) only shows a word-like stress pattern when the actor is a pronominal enclitic.

The alternative orders VAU and VUA are sometimes considered grammatical by some speakers, though they are not common and seem to have marked pragmatic status. The order UVA in AV clauses is clearly prohibited. Note the variations on (6.9) in (6.11) below:

- (6.11) a.

	V	A	U
(?) <i>Boi</i>	<i>moo</i>	<i>Amzi</i>	<i>bua' nangka' e.</i>
CMPL	AV.bring	PN	fruit jackfruit DEM

‘Amzi brought the jackfruit.’
- b.

	V	U	A
(?) <i>Boi</i>	<i>moo</i>	<i>bua' nangka' e</i>	<i>Amzi.</i>
CMPL	AV.bring	fruit jackfruit DEM	PN

‘Amzi brought the jackfruit.’
- c.

	U		V	A
* <i>Bua' nangka' e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>boi</i>	<i>moo</i>	<i>Amzi</i>
fruit jackfruit DEM		CMPL	AV.bring	PN

‘Amzi brought the jackfruit.’ (OK: ‘The jackfruit brought Amzi.’)

When the nasal verb has the *-an₁* suffix, the following NP or pronoun must be the undergoer, never the actor. In general, *-an₁* functions as a valence-increaser, though with several verbs it applies vacuously (§10.2.4). Nasal verbs affixed with *-an₁* form a tight constituent with the undergoer, thus allowing for both AVU and VUA orderings but never VAU. Note the following example, where the AV verb *nabang* takes the *-an₁* suffix:

- (6.12) a.

	A	V	U	
<i>Nisah</i>	<i>nabang-an</i>	<i>iyang=ni</i>	<i>mapi.</i>	
PN	AV.help-TZ	mother=3s.I	AV.cook	

‘Nisah is helping her mother cook.’
- b.

	V	U	A	
<i>Nabang-an</i>	<i>Nisah</i>	<i>iyang=ni</i>	<i>mapi.</i>	
AV.help-TZ	PN	mother=3s.I	AV.cook	

‘Her mother is helping Nisah to cook.’ (*‘Nisah is helping her mother to cook.’)

In (6.12), the AVU (a) and VUA (b) orders are both acceptable, but VAU is impossible, as shown by the incorrect interpretation of (b).

A further example is shown in (6.13), where the AV verb *nguse'* takes the *-an₁* suffix in (a-c) but is left off in (d):

- (6.13) a.

A	<i>Iyo</i>	<i>boi</i>	V	<i>nguse-an</i>	U	<i>kerita'</i>	<i>Amzi.</i>
	3s.II	CMPL		AV.clean-TZ		car	PN
	‘He cleaned Amzi’s car.’						
- b.

V	<i>Boi nguse-an</i>	U	<i>kerita' Amzi</i>	A	<i>iyo.</i>
----------	---------------------	----------	---------------------	----------	-------------
- c.

V	<i>*Boi nguse-an</i>	A	<i>iyo</i>	U	<i>kerita' Amzi.</i>
----------	----------------------	----------	------------	----------	----------------------
- d.

V	<i>Boi nguse'</i>	A	<i>iyo</i>	U	<i>kerita' Amzi.</i>
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In (6.13) the AVU (a) and VUA (b) orders are acceptable, but VAU (c) is not. However, as shown in (d), VAU is possible when the verb is not suffixed with *-an₁*.

The above examples of VUA and VAU word orders involve only elicited examples. The occurrence of VAU and (especially) VUA word orders in narrative text material is rare. When the AV undergoer is specific (and the verb is not suffixed with *-an₁*), VUA is sometimes not acceptable in elicited examples (the data is inconsistent at this point). The same constraint concerning specific vs. non-specific undergoer is not observed for the VAU order. Note the following example:

- (6.14) a.

V	<i>Boi nembali</i>	(U)	<i>kambing</i>	A	<i>gi Azizy debui'.</i>
	CMPL	AV.slaughter	goat	COL	PN last.night
	‘Azizy’s party slaughtered a/some goat(s) last night.’ ⁶				
- b.

V	<i>(*)Boi nembali</i>	U	<i>kambing=ku</i>	A	<i>Azizy debui'.</i>
	CMPL	AV.slaughter	goat=1s.I	PN	last.night
	‘Azizy slaughtered my goat last night.’				

⁶ I am unsure whether the meaning here, and in (6.14) (c), could be ‘a goat’ or simply ‘goats’ (non-specific).

b. **V** **U** **A**
 *[*Amun nembali kambing e Kuzik*], *ng-agad jo aku me-ruma*'.

c. **V** **A** **U**
 *[*Amun nembali Kuzik kambing e*], *ng-agad jo aku me-ruma*'.

6.2.1.1.4 Evidence for a VP in AV clauses

We have seen evidence for a VP in UV clauses, consisting of the UV verb + actor. What about a VP for AV clauses? In this case, the VP would consist of the AV verb + undergoer. Normally the AV undergoer follows directly after the verb, but it is possible for discourse particles, adverbs, and oblique core arguments to intervene. In the following examples, the intervening element is underlined:

(6.18) a. **A** **V** **U**
Iyang=ku masang no suu' e.
 mother=1s.I AV.follow FOC light DEM
 'My mother turned on the light.'

b. **A** **V** **U**
Iyang=ku masang suu' e no.

c. **A** **V** **U**
Iyang=ku masang suu' no e.

In (6.18) the focal particle *no* may occur just after the verb (a), or following the undergoer (b), or even within the undergoer NP (c). The order shown in (a) might be explainable as 'heavy NP shift', where the NP moves to the right of the particle because of its phonological weight. In any case, the occurrence of *no* within the NP (a clear constituent) in (c) would seem to make useless any arguments for or against a VP constituent on the basis of particle placement.⁷

⁷ It is unclear to me why the *no* particle occurs within the NP here. I have no ready explanation for it.

Adverbs of time occur preferentially at the end of the clause, though they show the capacity to ‘float’ to other positions, such as to the beginning of the clause or even just after the fronted subject. But the placement of some such adverbs between the AV verb and the undergoer was not consistently accepted by my language helpers. Examples follow using the time adverbs *kaang* ‘later’ (6.19) and *dilaw* ‘yesterday’ (6.20):

- (6.19) a. *Iyang=ku masang suu’ e kaang.*
 mother=1s.I AV.turn.on light DEM later
 ‘My mother turned on the light.’
- b. *Kaang iyang=ku masang suu’ e.*
- c. (?) *Iyang=ku masang kaang suu’ e.*
- (6.20) a. *Gai naat ruma’ diki’ e dilaw.*
 3p AV.paint house small DEM yesterday
 ‘They painted the small house yesterday.’
- b. *Gai dilaw naat ruma’ diki’ e.*
- c. **Gai naat dilaw ruma’ diki’ e.*

Oblique core arguments are apparently able to intervene between the AV verb and the undergoer, as shown in the following example (the oblique core argument is underlined):

- (6.21) a. *Razin meli toos e ta’ iyang=ni.*
 PN AV.buy medicine DEM PREP mother=3s.I
 ‘Razin will buy medicine for/ from his mother.’
- b. *Razin meli ta’ iyang=ni toos e.*
 ‘Razin will buy medicine for his mother.’

However, such evidence is not necessarily conclusive with regard to the question of a VP in AV clauses. For one thing, the only examples I have of oblique (and adverbial) elements intervening between the AV verb and undergoer are elicited; none have been found in natural text. Quick (2006)

shows evidence for a VP in both actor and undergoer voice in Pendau, even though he allows that ‘floating adverbs’ and obliques do occur between the AV verb and undergoer. For Quick, these data do not constitute evidence against the VP in Pendau, especially since (in the case of obliques) natural text contains no such examples.

Note finally that when the AV undergoer is a Set I pronoun, not even a particle can intervene between it and the preceding verb, as shown in (6.22):

- (6.22) a. *Deli napuk=ni no me-dia' batu.*
 PN AV.hide=3s.I FOC PREP-underneath rock
 ‘Deli hit it beneath a rock.’
- b. **Deli napuk no=ni me-dia' batu.*

This result provides evidence that the Set I pronouns are true enclitics (§4.2.3.2.1), as they are bound to the preceding verb and nothing can separate them from their host, in contrast to the case where the undergoer is a full NP.

In summary, the AV undergoer normally follows directly after the verb, and possibly constitutes a VP constituent. As we have seen, however, this ‘constituent’ is susceptible to some kinds of intervention (such as by discourse particles), whereas the the constituent formed between the UV verb + actor is not. The contrast is exemplified in (6.23):

- (6.23) a. *∅-Endo' using no te' bagian=ni si' e.*
 UV-take cat FOC EMPH portion=3s.I just.now DEM
 ‘The cat took his portion.’ (ngini using 024)
- b. **∅-Endo' no te' using bagian=ni si' e.*
- c. *Using ng-endo' no te' bagian=ni si' e.*
 cat AV-take FOC EMPH portion=3s.I just.now DEM
 ‘The cat took his portion.’

In the UV clauses shown in (6.23) (a-b), the particle combination *no + te'* may occur after the UV verb + actor (a) but may not intervene between the verb and the actor (b). However, in the AV clause shown in (c), the same particle combination may freely intervene between the verb and the undergoer.

If, then, the AV clause can be said to have a VP (verb + undergoer) at all, it does not have the same degree of rigidity as does the VP of the UV clause (verb + actor). As shown by the possibility of VAU word order, even the actor argument may intervene between the AV verb and the undergoer, though verb-initial AV clauses in narrative text are unusual and seem to have marked pragmatic status.

My tentative claim is that WC Bajau has a VP in UV clauses consisting of UV verb + actor, while in AV clauses there is only a VP when: (1) the verb is marked by the transitivizer suffix *-an₁*; or (2) the undergoer is a pronominal set I enclitic. These results are summarized in Figure 6.1 below.

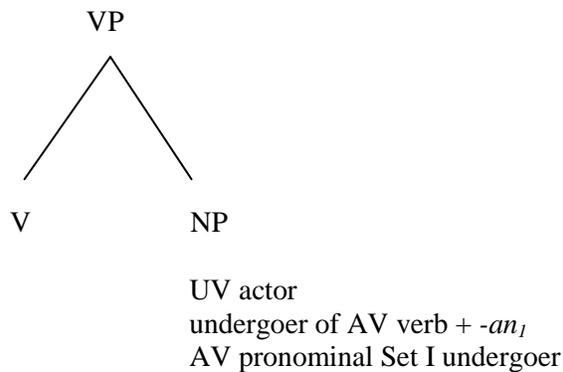


Figure 6.1 The VP in WC Bajau

It is interesting to compare these results for WC Bajau with Arka's (2003) findings for Balinese, another language with symmetrical voice (two transitive voices, AV and UV). In Balinese (as in WC Bajau), the UV verb + (actor) complement constitutes a phrasal unit (VP). The AV verb + complement only constitutes a phrasal unit when the AV complement is indefinite or generic. Thus,

in Balinese both voice and definiteness are factors in determining phrasal units. In WC Bajau, this appears not to be the case.

6.2.1.1.5 Summary

The preceding sections on WC Bajau UV and AV clauses show that word order and voice-marking work together to identify the meaning of the clause. The voice marking on the verb identifies the syntactic subject, but since (unlike Tagalog and many other Philippine languages) there is no case marking on NP arguments, voice-marking alone does not enable us to link the subject to a particular argument in the clause. The relatively rigid word order in WC Bajau is what makes this linking possible: only the subject can appear before the verb (in either voice), and in UV clauses the actor obligatorily comes just after the verb.

The basic word orders in UV and AV clauses are presented in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 Word orders in WC Bajau UV and AV clauses

Voice	Macrorole order(s)	Syntactically defined order(s) (‘O’ = non-subject DCA)
undergoer voice	VAU UVA	VOS SVO
actor voice	AVU	SVO

As shown in Table 6.1, there is partial symmetry in the syntactic order between the two voices, in that SVO is common to both UV and AV clauses. However, transitive verb-initial clauses (VOS) occur only in UV with any frequency, whereas verb-initial clauses in AV are rare in narrative text.

In other Sama-Bajaw languages, word order also tends to be rigid, but with some different preferences than we have seen for WC Bajau. In Pangutaran Sama (Walton 1986:2), Mapun Sama (Millard Collins, p.c.), Central Sinama (Kemp Palleson, p.c.) and Southern Sinama (Trick 2006), the

word order is usually VAU regardless of the voice, though fronting is sometimes possible (or under certain conditions required) for the syntactic subject. In Central Sinama and Southern Sinama, when the UV actor is a full NP or personal name the word order becomes VUA (with special marking on the verb and an agent marker before the agent NP). In WC Bajau, there is no observed change in word order whether or not the actor is pronominal. Rather, it is the change in voice that triggers a new basic word order. Especially striking is the similarity in word order between WC Bajau AV clauses and Malay active transitive clauses (with prefix *meN-*), as both are predominantly AVU. In this respect, WC Bajau is closer to Malay and somewhat removed from its sister languages in the Sama-Bajaw family.

6.2.1.2 Morphosyntactic expressions of core arguments

6.2.1.2.1 *The UV actor*

The UV actor may be either a pronoun, a full NP, or a proper noun.⁸ When the UV actor is a pronoun, the pronoun is always drawn from Set I (the possessive forms). The UV actor: (1) is obligatory in the clause; (2) must occur immediately following the verb (§6.2.1.1.2); and (3) is never marked as an oblique (that is, it is not preceded by a preposition). These properties of the UV actor suggest its status as a DCA (= a term). As will be shown in §6.2.2 below, none of these properties are shared by the actor of the ‘true passive’ construction, which patterns clearly as an oblique. An example of a UV clause follows where the UV actor (in bold) is an NP:

- (6.24) *Sapi' e pan Ø-sembali **emma'**=ni no.*
 cow DEM TOP UV-slaughter father=3s.I FOC
 ‘His father slaughtered the cow.’ (pak 039)

⁸ Whereas the UV actor in WC Bajau may be a pronoun, noun, or personal name, in certain other Sama-Bajaw languages the zero verb actor is restricted to a pronoun, as in Central Sinama (Kemp Pallesen, p.c.) and Sama Bangingi (Gault 1999:11). The restriction also applies to the zero-marked (as opposed to the *di-* marked) ‘passive’ in Indonesian/ Malay, where the zero verb is possible only with a pronominal actor (Sneddon 1996:248-50).

The UV actor is often highly topical, that is, an ‘active’ concept in the discourse (see §7.1.1.3), as shown in the following example:

- (6.25) *Waktu=ni ng-inum e, ai Ø-labu-an=ni sinsim kawin=ni*
 time=3s AV-drink DEM PERF UV-fall-CAUS=3s.I ring wedding=3s.I
diam boo’...
 inside bamboo
 ‘While he was drinking the water, **he** dropped his wedding ring into the bamboo (vessel)...’.
 (salaudin 040)

In (6.25) the UV verb *labu-an* ‘to drop’ is followed by the actor, expressed by *=ni* ‘3s’. This referent is highly topical as shown by its mention in the preceding clause. Despite its usually high topicality in the clause, the UV actor is not a candidate for zero-anaphora, whereas the UV undergoer can be deleted when its reference is clear from the preceding context.

Although rare, the UV actor can also be of low topicality or even non-identifiable, as in (6.26) below, where *soo* ‘snakes’ is non-specific:

- (6.26) *Jomo kampung ingin belajar pian le’ noos*
 person village want learn how manner AV.medicate
amun ai Ø-keket soo.
 if PERF UV-bite snake
 ‘The villagers wanted to know how to treat (someone) if a snake bites (him).’ (rupiah 022)

However, even where the UV actor is non-identifiable, it cannot be omitted from the clause. Omission of the actor (whatever its pragmatic status) is only possible with the passive construction, where the verb is infixed with *-in-* (§6.2.2), or in cases of zero anaphora in AV (see §6.2.1.2.3).

6.2.1.2.2 *The UV undergoer*

The UV undergoer is the subject NP. Foley and Van Valin (1984) claim that “Focused [subject] NPs in all Philippine languages must be referential and are normally definite” (139). The UV

undergoer in WC Bajau is usually both identifiable (definite) and specific (objectively referential). By ‘identifiable’ is meant that the addressee is able to identify the participant in question “given the information the speaker assumes the addressee has available” (Payne 1997:263). Identifiability is often (as in English, and here) equated with definiteness. By ‘specific’ is meant ‘objectively referential’, where “an entity... exists as a bounded, individuated entity in the message world” (Payne 1997:264). A quantitative study of eight narrative texts indicated that of the 62 tokens of UV verbs, 59 of them took a definite and specific undergoer (see §8.2). Although rare, the undergoer can also be indefinite, as when the participant is newly introduced to the discourse. Note the examples in (6.27) and (6.28) below:

(6.27) Ø-Ogo gai **tabit** ta’ kelinik kampung.
 UV-go.to 3p healer PREP clinic village
 ‘They went to a medical practitioner at the village clinic.’ (rupiah 012)

(6.28) Amun serudung me-dia’ **lanjang jomo** Ø-endo’=ni...
 if kitchen PREP-below rice.pot person UV-take=3s.I
 ‘If the kitchens were below (the house), she took people’s rice pots...’. (kerabaw 027)

In (6.27) the UV undergoer *tabit* ‘healer’ is indefinite because it is newly introduced to the discourse, but *tabit* still refers to a specific individual. Example (6.28) is taken from a folk tale about a mother buffalo who has human offspring. In (6.28) the UV undergoer *lanjang jomo* ‘people’s rice pots’ is indefinite (it is newly introduced) and not specific, given the habitual meaning intended here.⁹

Given the strong correlation in WC Bajau between UV and a (usually) definite and specific undergoer, it might be asked whether an undergoer with this referential status must be expressed in

⁹ Even so, *lanjang jomo* is arguably a semi-active concept in the discourse (see §7.1.1.3), because just two sentences earlier in the story, it was stated that the buffalo mother’s children wanted to eat rice (just like human children), prompting the buffalo to take what action she could to feed her children rice. Also, the occurrence of *serudung* ‘kitchen’ in the preposed clause in (6.28) evokes for the WC Bajau listener a schema that involves, among other things, the *lanjang* ‘rice pot’. Hence, in (6.28) the undergoer is to some degree inferrable, as the reader can infer the presence of rice pots from the previous mention of kitchens. For a proposed taxonomy of new-given information (including inferrable information), see Prince 1981.

UV rather than AV. According to Foley and Van Valin (1984), in all Philippine languages “If a patient or undergoer is definite, then it must be in focus [the subject]” (139-40). In this respect WC Bajau is very uncharacteristic of Philippine languages, because a definite undergoer often occurs with the actor voice (see §6.2.1.2.4). Whatever factors are involved in selecting for UV, they clearly are not limited to the semantic properties of the undergoer.

Unlike the UV actor, the UV undergoer is a frequent candidate for anaphoric deletion (zero anaphora). The following are examples:¹⁰

- (6.29) *Semaung=ni te-kito Pa' Yakob anak ansa'*
 tomorrow=3s.I DC.PASS-see uncle PN child goose
- ta' laman ruma'=ni, ai Ø-dokop=ni.*
 PREP compound house=3s.I PERF UV-catch=3s.I
 ‘The next day, Jacob saw a baby goose in his yard, (and) he caught **(it)**.’

- (6.30) *Bila Ø-dede-an=ni ta' jomo e, Ø-sorong-on=ni*
 when UV-send-TZ=3s.I PREP person DEM UV-push-CAUS=3s.I
- engko' padang=ni.*
 PREP sword=3s.I
 ‘When he gave (**the water**) to the man, he pushed **(it)** with his sword.’ (mat salleh 033)

6.2.1.2.3 The AV actor

AV actors are specific and usually (but not always) definite. Like UV actors, they are typically animate and highly topical, but they need not be. The following are examples of AV actors which are inanimate and/or not highly topical:

- (6.31) *Api nge-liling ruma' e.*
 fire AV-encircle house DEM
 ‘Fire encircled the house.’ (namuk 074)

¹⁰ While examples (6.29)-(6.30) may superficially appear like co-referential deletion in syntactically ergative languages (where the co-referential argument here is the ‘O’ in Dixon’s (1994) terms), WC Bajau does not have an S/O pivot. Anaphoric deletion and the interpretation of null pronouns in coordinate and subordinate clauses is often not sensitive to the syntactic status of the antecedent, as will be discussed in Chapter 14.

- (6.32) *“Itu no moo penyakit eng-kiti.”*
 DEM FOC AV.bring sickness PREP-1p.incl.II
 “This is what brings sickness to us.” (masala langaw 022)

In (6.31), the actor (*api* ‘fire’) is inanimate though an effector and has semi-active pragmatic status in the discourse. In (6.32) the ‘actor’ is topical but expressed by a demonstrative pronoun referring to the series of actions expressed in the preceding clauses that have brought sickness to the community.

As is true for the UV undergoer, the AV actor (subject) is a candidate for anaphoric deletion.

Most often this occurs in a subordinate or coordinate clause. Examples:

- (6.33) *Lulus jo gai mandi, somo-somo no ng-osok pepik=ni.*
 finish FOC 3p ACT.bathe together FOC AV-put.on wings=3s.I
 ‘After they finished bathing, **(they)** all put on their wings.’ (sultan salaudin 008)

- (6.34) *Inang mangun iyang too Uban, tapi’ nya’ nampung.*
 PN AV.wake.up grandmother PN but NEG AV.answer
 ‘Inang tried to wake up Grandmother Uban, but **(she)** did not respond.’ (inang 027-028).

6.2.1.2.4 The AV undergoer

As was noted earlier (§5.3), a central issue in the characterization of a voice system as ‘symmetrical’ vs. ‘ergative/ antipassive’ is the status of the actor voice undergoer. If the AV undergoer is a direct core argument (DCA), the AV clause is transitive and therefore symmetrical in transitivity to the UV clause. If the AV undergoer is syntactically demoted, however, the ergative analysis becomes plausible. In this case the AV construction would more likely be an antipassive.

With most AV verbs, the undergoer is never marked as an oblique. It normally occurs just after the verb, as does the actor in the UV construction. The following are some examples of AV clauses from narrative text. The AV undergoer sometimes encodes an indefinite but specific participant which is being introduced for the first time in the discourse, as in (6.35)-(6.36). Other times the AV undergoer is both definite and specific, as in (6.37)-(6.40). (The AV undergoer is in bold.)

- (6.35) *Gai moo suu' kasa' engko' kendidip.*
 3p AV.bring kerosene.lantern and matches
 'They brought a kerosene lantern and matches.' (belis 009)
- (6.36) *Dela e pan ai ngari no, iyo muat dikau' akal.*
 man DEM TOP PERF fed.up FOC 3s.II AV.make certain scheme
 'The man became fed up, (so) he devised a plan.' (namuk 022)
- (6.37) *Deli tarus memia jomo boi be-lagu e.*
 PN immediately AV.look.for person CMPL ACT-sing DEM
 'Deli immediately searched for the person who was singing.' (dela piatu 014)
- (6.38) *Jomo too noo' dendo pisok e temban eng-gai.*
 person old AV.order woman blind DEM stay PREP-3p
 'The old man asked the blind woman to stay with them.' (jomo pisok 016)
- (6.39) *... iyo pan nagu' anak=ni uwa' suk en-dia' ruma'.*
 3s.II TOP AV.set.down child=3s.I dog thin PREP-under house
 '... she placed her child (Thin Dog) under the house.' (uwa' suk 013)
- (6.40) *Dela e pan nambut iyo ta' beluang...*
 man DEM TOP AV.receive 3s.II PREP door
 'The man welcomed him at the door...'. (namuk 039)

A specific AV undergoer is normally obligatory in the clause, though it can undergo anaphoric deletion. Examples:

- (6.41) *Lupus jo aku muat, bo'=ku moo=ni*
 finish FOC 1s.II AV-make then=1s.I AV.bring=3s.I

pu' ta' iyang=ku.
 to.there PREP mother=1s.I
 'When I finished making (**the hot milk**), then I brought it to my mother.' (beta' kerungayan 016)
- (6.42) *Teko sinsaung rojo pan moo no mule'.*
 arrive morning king TOP AV.bring FOC ACT-return.home
 'When morning came, the king brought (**him**) home.' (abu nawas 025)

The examples thus far have shown that the AV undergoer, both in morphosyntactic expression and word order, behaves like a DCA. In contrast, the non-subject argument (= actor) of the 'true' passive

construction (§6.2.2.1) is always marked as an oblique (when it occurs at all), and it may occur after any peripheral or oblique element in the clause rather than just after the verb.

6.2.1.2.5 *The use of AV in intransitive clauses*

While AV is often used transitively (like UV), it can also be used intransitively (unlike UV), where the undergoer argument has been syntactically demoted either through non-anaphoric deletion (as with inherent arguments of activity verbs) or oblique marking (with a few motion activity and emotion predicates). These instances of syntactic demotion are discussed below.

6.2.1.2.5.1 The use of AV with non-specific arguments

The *N-* prefix on two-place activity verbs is used when the patient is non-specific. In WC Bajau, such patients are optionally deleted from the clause. In (6.43) below, the AV verb *mangan* ‘to eat’ does not specify what is eaten, as the activity itself is in view rather than the identity of the patient:

- (6.43) *Boi jo gai mangan, gai pan turi.*
 after 3p AV.eat 3p TOP sleep
 ‘After they ate, they went to sleep.’ (abu nawas 024)

Example (6.43) shows the use of AV in a syntactically intransitive clause. In contrast, the UV clause must have an expressed undergoer argument in the clause (apart from cases of zero anaphora), as in (6.44) below:

- (6.44) “*Alap lagi Ø-kakan=ku jo daging manuk tu.*”
 good more UV-eat=1s.I FOC meat chicken DEM
 “It is better that I eat this chicken meat.” (ngini using 028)

The deletion of the patient in AV clauses occurs most often with activity verbs which allow non-specific arguments. Besides *mangan* ‘to eat (food)’, other activity verbs which can take such arguments in WC Bajau include *ng-inum* ‘to drink (liquid)’ (<*inum* ‘to drink *x*’); *mapi* ‘to cook

(food)’ (<*papi* ‘to cook *x*’); *mendo* ‘to propose to (someone) in marriage’ (<*pendo* ‘to propose to *x* in marriage’); *mopo* ‘to wash (clothes)’ (<**popo*’); and *eng-giok* ‘to tread (grain)’ (<**giok*).¹¹

When a non-specific argument does occur in the clause, normally it is not followed by a demonstrative pronoun. Nevertheless, it should be regarded as a DCA and an undergoer¹² since it is not marked as an oblique, nor does it show unusual word order. In (6.45) below, the AV patient *buas* ‘rice’ is a DCA even though it is non-specific argument:

(6.45) *Dendo tu mapi buas makan pe-dela-an=ni...*
 woman DEM AV.cook rice AV.feed NOM-man=3s.I
 ‘The women cook rice in order to feed their husbands...’. (tonom paray 019)

6.2.1.2.5.2 The use of AV with oblique patients

In WC Bajau, a handful of verbs allow for (or require) the demotion of a specific undergoer to oblique status in the AV, though never in the UV. The oblique marking on the argument seems to entail that the argument is minimally affected by the action.¹³ Common verbs in this class include the perception verb *ngenda* ‘to look at’, the emotion verb *ngintam* ‘to long for’, and the motion verbs *nuut* ‘to go with; to follow’, *ngogo* ‘to go (to); to visit’, and *meniik* ‘to ascend; to ride’. Typically the oblique argument is a stimulus or a locative of some kind. It is sometimes deleted when the referent is clear from the context, as in the following example:

¹¹ Note that in the case of *mopo*’ and *eng-giok*, the corresponding UV forms require the *-an₁* ‘transitivizer’ suffix to mark a specific undergoer: *popo-on* and *giok-on*. In the AV form of these verbs, the suffix seems to be preferred with a specific undergoer. Apparently then, for such verbs in the AV, the nature of the patient is indicated in part by the presence (if specific) or absence (if non-specific) of the *-an₁* suffix. However, further investigation of these forms is required. For a fuller account of the use of *-an₁* as a ‘transitivizer’ suffix, see §10.2.4.

¹² Hence I use ‘undergoer’ in a slightly different way than does RRG, where a macrorole (actor or undergoer) is required to be referential (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:149).

¹³ Similarly, Cooreman (1994) identifies for Chamorro a ‘Demoting Antipassive’ construction, where the object is definite but morphologically marked as an oblique. She notes that only those verbs in Chamorro “which do not necessarily imply a lasting effect on the O” allow the use of the Demoting Antipassive.

- (6.46) *Tapi' uwa' e nya' nuut.*
 but dog DEM NEG AV.follow
 'But the dog didn't join (him).' (uwa' suk 056)

With the AV motion verb *nuut*, if the patient is expressed, it must be oblique, whereas the patient of the UV verb is never oblique. The UV-AV alternation also involves a semantic shift with this verb. When the UV form *tuut* is used with an animate second argument, the meaning shifts from 'to go along' to 'follow'.¹⁴ Note the pair of sentences in (6.47) below:

- (6.47) a. *Aku nuut ta' Azizy pu' eng-kaday.*
 1s.II AV.follow PREP PN to.there PREP-town
 'I'm going with Azizy to town.'
- b. *Azizy Ø-tuut=ku pu' eng-kaday.*
 PN UV-follow=1s.I to.there PREP-town
 'I'm following Azizy to town.'

Possibly *nuut* allows for the activity interpretation (atelic), whereas *tuut* must have a directed motion (telic) reading.

The verb *enda'* can mean either 'look at' or 'look for'. Both meanings are possible in both voices (AV and UV). However, in AV clauses the second argument is normally oblique with the meaning 'look at', and is never oblique with the meaning 'look for'. Example:

- (6.48) a. *Iyang=ku ng-enda' m-iyoy.*
 mother=1s.I AV-look PREP-3s.II
 'My mother looked at/ *for him.'
- b. *Iyang=ku ng-enda' iyoy.*
 mother=1s.I AV-look 3s.II
 'My mother looked for him / (?) at him.'

¹⁴ It appears that the AV form *nuut* can mean either 'to follow behind' or (more commonly) 'to go with', while *tuut* can only mean 'to follow behind'.

Note that, with some activity verbs of motion, such as *meniik* ‘to ascend’ and *ngogo* ‘to go (to)’, oblique marking on the second argument appears to be optional or possibly a matter of dialectical preference,¹⁵ with no change in meaning whether they are marked as oblique or not. Possibly the UV counterparts of these verbs (*peniik* ‘to climb’, *ogo* ‘to visit’) must be interpreted as active accomplishments (telic) as opposed to activities (atelic), though more investigation is needed.

It is important to note that only a small number of verbs (primarily activities) in WC Bajau allow this demotion of a specific undergoer to oblique status. Furthermore, verbs that do allow this demotion do not show uniform semantic or morphosyntactic behavior with regard to how the second argument is represented or interpreted. Hence, the demotion suggest a lexical process rather than a feature attributable to the AV construction at large. Interestingly, in some other Sama-Bajaw languages it has been reported that with the actor-voice construction, the patient is often expressed as an oblique. For example, in Sama Bangingi’ a study of nine texts revealed that about two-thirds of ‘agent-focus’ constructions occurred with a marked undergoer. Typically, in Sama Bangingi’, such oblique marking occurred where “the topicality of the undergoer is very low or when the action is partitive or unrealized” (Gault 1999:59-60). Also, the actor-voice undergoer is always marked as oblique when it is a pronoun (56). Walton (1986), who proposes an ergative-antipassive analysis for Pangutaran Sama, notes that in Pangutaran this oblique case feature occurs on patients of antipassives when the patient NP is pronominal, animate and personal (109). In WC Bajau, as we have seen, oblique marking with the *N-* form does not depend on any referential feature(s) of the patient NP, and is limited to a few verbs where the patient argument is minimally affected.

¹⁵ For example, I was informed that the verb *ngogo* takes an oblique undergoer in the Tuaran area but not in Kota Belud. Further investigation is needed to verify this claim and to see if the pattern holds true for other such verbs.

6.2.2 The passive (-in-) construction

The UV-AV voice alternation in WC Bajau as discussed above does not involve the syntactic demotion of a core argument (excepting the special cases with *N-* mentioned above). However, WC Bajau does have a ‘true’ passive construction where the undergoer is the subject and the actor argument is obligatorily demoted. The passive is marked by the verbal infix *-in-* (or its allomorph *ni-*; see §2.5.6) and is very productive with transitive verb roots. With verbs affixed by *-in-*, the actor argument (when it appears) is obligatorily preceded by the preposition (*ole'* ‘by’, as shown in (6.49), forming a PP (the prepositional phrase is enclosed in brackets):

- (6.49) *Beluang e pan b-in-uka no [ole' anak=ni sioko].*
door DEM TOP -PASS-open FOC PREP child=3s.I oldest
‘The door was opened by the oldest child.’ (kerabaw 032)

The demoted actor argument is optionally deleted from the clause. This often happens where the actor is understood from the context, or if it is non-specific, as in (6.50):

- (6.50) *Soo e nya' buli s-in-egir engko' t-in-indak.*
snake DEM NEG can -PASS-touch or -PASS-step.on
‘Snakes must not be touched or stepped on.’ (rupiah 024)

In UV clauses, on the other hand, the actor is never deleted from the clause (§6.2.1.2.1).

Passive clauses usually show UV(A) order as in (6.49) and (6.50) above, but verb-initial passive clauses are also possible. In verb-initial passive clauses, the *le'* actor phrase is marginally acceptable just after the verb and prior to the undergoer (subject). More commonly, however, the *le'* actor phrase occurs following the undergoer, as in (6.51) (a). It may even occur after an adverbial oblique, as in (b). Neither of these positions are possible for the actor argument of a basic UV clause, because in the UV clause the actor must follow directly after the verb (c):

- (6.51) a. *Ai k-in-akan moto diing e [le' Kuzik] dilaw.*
 PERF -PASS-eat eye fish DEM PREP PN yesterday
 'The fish eye was eaten by Kuzik yesterday.'
- b. *Ai k-in-akan moto diing e dilaw [le' Kuzik].*
- c. **Ai Ø-kakan moto diing e Kuzik dilaw.*
 PERF UV-eat eye fish DEM PN yesterday
 'Kuzik ate the fish eye yesterday.'

The multiple ordering possibilities associated with the *le'* actor phrase are indicative of oblique behavior and contrast with the rigid verb-actor word order observed in the UV construction.

The 'true' passive actor and the UV actor are contrasted in Table 6.2 below:

Table 6.2 Properties of 'true' passive actor vs. UV actor

the 'true' passive actor	the UV actor
is always introduced by the preposition <i>le'</i> , creating a prepositional phrase (PP)	is never introduced by a preposition
is often deleted from the clause	is never deleted from the clause
follows the verb, and other clause constituents may intervene	immediately follows the verb, and no other clause constituents may intervene

Note as well that, as the antecedent for a reflexive phrase, the UV actor is fine but the *le'* actor phrase is questionable, as will be demonstrated in the section on reflexives below, in particular, the prominence conditions for reflexive binding (§6.2.3.1).¹⁶ The morphosyntactic properties of the *le'* actor phrase are typical of obliques, and provide evidence that in the *-in-* construction, the actor has been demoted to oblique status. If the *le-* phrase actor is indeed an oblique argument, and the zero verb actor is a direct core argument, there is good reason to analyze the zero-marked construction as transitive and the *-in-* construction as intransitive (passive).

¹⁶ Since the UV actor can bind the reflexive, while the actor of the *le'* does not as easily bind the reflexive, there is evidence for the demotion to oblique status of the *le'* phrase actor. According to Arka and Manning (1998), reflexive binding in Indonesian is sensitive to syntactic as well as semantic conditions (discussed further in §6.2.3.1).

Notwithstanding the above facts, it is true that the *le'* actor in WC Bajau shows at least two core-like properties. For one thing, *le'* actor PPs can never occur in preverbal position (§6.1.2.2), making it behave in this respect like a DCA rather than an oblique, since normally obliques may be fronted. Also, actors of *-in-* verbs are possible addressees in imperatives (§13.3.5.2). Foley & Van Valin (1984:163) use this as a criterion to distinguish between passive actors in Lango (as core) and passive actors in English (as peripheral).¹⁷ The fact that WC Bajau passives are possible as imperatives, together with the prohibition of the *le'* actor phrase in preverbal position, suggests that the *le'* actor retains some core properties and might qualify as 'semi-core'. Even so, the *le'* actor is clearly less core-like than the UV actor, thus I choose to analyze the *-in-* construction as passive.

6.2.2.1 Referential properties of the passive actor

Passive actors are usually left unexpressed. A quantitative analysis of eight narrative WC Bajau texts showed that of 35 tokens of the *-in-* passive, 26 of them (74.3%) did not have an explicit actor (see §8.3). Of those 26 instances, just under half of the unexpressed actors (12) were specific; the remainder (14) were non-specific. Overall, 16 of the 35 passives (45.7%) had a non-specific actor. A non-specific actor is clearly of very low topicality in the discourse. Example (6.52) below shows two examples of passives with unexpressed and non-specific (not topical) actors:

- (6.52) *Lapas e iyo p-in-e-lua', tapi' ni-dokop pan balik.*
 after DEM 3s.II -PASS-CAUS-from but PASS-caught TOP again
 'After that he was released, but was caught again.' (mat salleh 060)

Where the actor of the passive verb is specific, it may refer to a secondary participant in the discourse, who though identifiable and perhaps even continuous throughout the discourse, is not

¹⁷ Note however that passive imperatives (with prefix *di-*) are possible in Indonesian (Sneddon 1996:326). According to Arka (2005), "this [imperative] *di-* verb is most likely not a syntactically passive verb, because when the agent is made explicit in PP, the imperative is not acceptable...". While the facts might turn out to be similar for WC Bajau, I would argue that the reason the agent cannot be explicit is simply because the imperative mood does not allow it (except in the case of a second person plural addressee).

‘what the discourse is about’ (i.e., not the theme). The following example comes from a story about two blind people who are taken into the home of an elderly couple:

- (6.53) *Dela pisok e t-in-anduk-an no ole' gai*
 man blind DEM -PASS-show-TZ FOC PREP 3p
laan ng-ogo en-telaga'.
 way AV-go.to PREP-well
 ‘The blind man was shown by them the path that went to the well.’ (jomo pisok 010)

The passive is here used to express the action taken by the elderly couple (encoded as the prepositional phrase *ole' gai* ‘by them’) toward the blind man, likely because the story centers on him and his blind companion rather than the couple that took them in.

While the passive actor is seldom used to express a participant that is currently the discourse topic, it can be used to introduce a new referent which may subsequently become highly topical. Note the following example:

- (6.54) *Jomo too e mara' kampung e p-in-irenta*
 person old DEM AV-tell village DEM -PASS-govern
ole' jomo daras....
 PREP person strong
 ‘The old man said that the village was governed by a powerful man...’. (baginda ali 062)

Here the newly introduced actor (*jomo daras* ‘strong person’) is expressed as an oblique (prepositional) phrase, but from here to the end of the story this participant becomes one of the most thematically important and is highly topical.

6.2.2.2 Referential properties of the passive undergoer

The passive undergoer, as the subject of the clause, is normally both definite and specific in narrative text. However, it is possible to have a non-specific undergoer with the passive in procedural contexts. Note the following example, taken from a procedure text:

- (6.55) *Selalu p-in-akay kerabaw imon, kerabaw dela sukad.*
always -PASS-use buffalo tame buffalo male ***
'A tame buffalo was always used, a male buffalo.' (nandas tebu 052)

As mentioned earlier, the passive undergoer normally occurs pre-verbally. In that position, it is always a pragmatically active or semi-active concept, as is true for the fronted UV undergoer (§7.1.1.3). Not enough instances of post-verbal passive undergoers have been found to adequately characterize their pragmatic status. In (6.55) above, the post-verbal passive undergoer *kerabaw imon* 'tame buffalo' is focal in that it is used contrastively with the mention of 'wild buffalo' in the preceding sentence. This placement of focal material after the verb is similar to the finding for UV predicate focus that a focal subject NP is normally not fronted (§7.1.1.3).

The subject of a passive clause, like the subject of an AV or UV clause, may undergo anaphoric deletion when its referent is clear from the context. The following is an example:

- (6.56) *P-in-en-dule-an, nya' no iyo padul.*
-PASS-CAUS-anger-TZ NEG FOC 3s.I pay.attention
'(He) was scolded, (but) he paid no attention.' (pak 053)

6.2.3 Reflexives

In a reflexive construction, two arguments (usually the actor and undergoer) are the same entity. Reflexives across languages may be expressed lexically, morphologically, and/or analytically. WC Bajau has a few lexical reflexives, such as *mandi* 'bathe' and *ngukur* 'shave', which typically express 'grooming' activities (see Payne 1997:198). Such verbs may occur as normal transitives, but as AV

verbs they optionally take the reflexive meaning, in which case there is no explicit mention of the undergoer. However, most reflexives in WC Bajau are of the analytical type, involving minimally the reflexive pronoun *diri* ‘self’, and this is the type of reflexive discussed below. Included here is a description of some of the constraints on the relation between the reflexive pronoun and its antecedent. It will be shown that *diri* can also function as an emphatic (rather than a reflexive) pronoun.

The reflexive pronoun *diri* ‘self’ is the minimal unit of the reflexive phrase in WC Bajau. Sometimes *diri* is reduplicated to *diri-diri* (or the shortened reduplicated form *dediri*), though it is unclear whether or how the reduplicated form is used differently from simple *diri*. Typically, the reflexive pronoun is followed by a set I pronoun, which is coreferential with the antecedent. The reflexive pronoun + set I pronoun form a reflexive phrase. Note the following examples:

- (6.57) *Lua’ me ai Ø-seraan Mat Salleh diri=ni ...*
 PREP there PERF UV-surrender PN REFL=3s.I
 ‘From there, Mat Salleh surrendered (himself)...’ (mat salleh 057).
- (6.58) “*Alap no kau likas-likas,*” *be-tutur aku de-diri=ku.*
 good FOC 2s.II fast-REDUP ACT-talk 1s.II REFL-REDUP=1s.I
 “‘Get better quickly,’ I said to myself.’ (beta’ kerungayan 041)
- (6.59) *Ngini kau be-tutur diri-diri=nu?*
 why 2s.II ACT-speak REFL-REDUP=2s.I
 ‘Why are you talking to yourself?’
- (6.60) *Iyo be-janji ta’ diri=ni engko’ iyo nuntut bila*
 3s.II ACT-promise PREP REFL=3s-I that 3s.II AV.avenge when

ke-patay-an sioko=ni Hassan.
 NOM-die oldest.sibling=3s.I PN
 ‘He promised to himself that he would avenge his older brother Hassan’s death.’
 (mat salleh 024)

Examples (6.57)-(6.60) all involve the reflexive pronoun followed by the genitive pronoun, whether first person (6.58), second person (6.59), or third person (6.57), (6.60). When the antecedent is plural, the pronoun following *diri* may be either singular (=ni) or plural (*gai*), as shown in (6.61):

- (6.61) a. *Gai nawar diri(=ni) ng-ogo pitu songom tu.*
 3p AV.offer REFL=3s.I AV-visit to.here night DEM
 ‘They volunteered themselves to come here tonight.’
- b. *Gai nawar diri (gai) ng-ogo pitu songom tu.*

Note that in (6.61), the pronoun (=ni in [a], *gai* in [b]) is not required to make a good sentence. It is not clear if this is because the antecedent is plural or because it is third person. There seems to be a stronger preference (or even requirement) for the genitive pronoun to occur when the antecedent is first person singular or second person singular.

6.2.3.1 The prominence condition for reflexive binding

We now consider what constraints apply in WC Bajau to the relation between the reflexive pronoun and its antecedent. In English and many other languages, the prominence condition for reflexive binding is such that the antecedent must outrank the reflexive on what has been termed the ‘relational hierarchy’ (Kroeger 2004:94):

subject > object > oblique arguments > non-arguments

For the relational hierarchy shown above, prominence is defined in terms of grammatical relations, with the subject being most prominent and non-arguments the least prominent. However, not all languages adhere to the same prominence condition. In Philippine languages, such as Tagalog, prominence is defined in terms of semantic roles rather than grammatical relations (Kroeger 2004:98-101). The prominence condition for such languages is shown as follows:

actor > all other arguments > non-arguments

This hierarchy shows a semantic rather than syntactic basis for reflexive binding. In WC Bajau, the actor argument may function as the antecedent for the reflexive phrase whether the actor is the subject (6.62) (a) or the non-subject DCA (b). The situation where the actor is oblique is more ambiguous (c):

- (6.62) a. *Iyo boi nawar diri=ni meniik poon suka' e.*
3s.II CMPL AV.choose REFL=3s.I AV.climb tree coconut DEM
'He volunteered himself to climb the coconut tree.'
- b. *Boi Ø-tawar=ni diri=ni meniik poon suka' e.*
CMPL UV-offer=3s.I REFL=3s.I AV.climb tree coconut DEM
'He volunteered himself to climb the coconut tree.'
- c. (?) *Boi t-in-awar le'=ni diri=ni meniik poon suka' e.*
CMPL -PASS-offer PREP=3s.I REFL=3s.I AV.climb tree coconut DEM
(Lit. 'He was volunteered by himself to climb the tree.')

In the AV clause shown in (6.62) (a), the subject antecedent *iyo* '3s' outranks the reflexive argument both syntactically (subject vs. non-subject DCA) and semantically (actor vs. non-actor). In the UV clause shown in (b), however, the actor non-subject antecedent *=ni* '3s' is syntactically outranked by the reflexive subject argument, though it retains semantic prominence. This is evidence that, in WC Bajau, the prominence condition is based on semantic rather than syntactic criteria. The ambiguous result in (c), however, leaves open the possibility of a syntactic restraint, such that an (oblique) passive actor cannot be the antecedent for a reflexive phrase.¹⁸ If such a constraint applies, then in WC Bajau both syntactic and semantic factors help determine the binding conditions for a reflexive pronoun with its antecedent.

¹⁸ One of two language helpers accepted this particular sentence; a third language helper accepted a very similar sentence in which the passive verb used was *pinene* 'chosen' rather than *tinawar* 'volunteered'. The combined result is that two of three language helpers accepted the reflexive pronoun with a passive actor antecedent.

Such a constraint would also be evidence for the syntactic demotion (= oblique status) of the passive actor in WC Bajau. Arka and Manning (1998) have shown that in Indonesian, the actor antecedent binds the reflexive whether the verb is actor voice (where the actor is the grammatical subject, and the verb is prefixed by *meN-*) or ‘objective voice’ (where the actor is not the grammatical subject but still a term, and the verb occurs without a prefix). However, when the verb is passive (prefixed by *di-*), the actor cannot be the antecedent of the reflexive (except when it is the third person enclitic *-nya* and it is hosted by the head verb). Hence, in Indonesian, binding restrictions are sensitive to both semantic and syntactic conditions. Similarly, in WC Bajau, if it is true that the UV actor can bind the reflexive, and the actor of the *le’* phrase cannot, this may be evidence for the demotion to oblique status of the *le’* phrase actor. (However, more investigation is needed to determine whether or not the *le’* phrase actor can bind the reflexive in WC Bajau.)

In keeping with a semantically-based prominence condition for reflexive binding, a reflexive expression in WC Bajau cannot be the actor argument. This is shown in (6.63) below:

- (6.63) a. **Diri=ni* *boi* *nawar* *iyō* *meniik* *poon suka’ e*.
REFL=3s.I CMPL AV.offer 3s.II AV.climb tree coconut DEM
‘(Lit. ‘Himself_i offered him_j to climb the coconut tree.’) (OK: ‘He_i himself offered him_j to climb the coconut tree.’)
- b. **Boi* \emptyset -*tawar* *diri=ni* *Azizy* *meniik* *poon suka’ e*.
CMPL UV-offer REFL=3s.I PN AV.climb tree coconut DEM
‘(Lit. ‘Himself_i offered Azizy_i to climb the coconut tree.’)

Admittedly, the examples in (6.63) could be ungrammatical owing to a possible constraint whereby reflexive expressions may not precede their antecedents. However, rearranging the order to place the reflexive expression after its antecedent did not change the ungrammaticality of the sentence:

- c. **Azizy* *boi* \emptyset -*tawar* *diri=ni* *meniik* *poon suka’ e*.

A similar constraint on reflexive expressions such that they cannot be actors has been observed for Tagalog (Schachter 1977:292) and for Begak (Goudswaard 2005:280), where the prominence condition, as in WC Bajau, is at least partially semantically determined.

6.2.3.2 *diri* as an emphatic pronoun

The reflexive pronoun *diri* can also be used as an emphatic pronoun. Structurally, the emphatic pronoun occurs with a following genitive pronoun corresponding to the person and number of the antecedent. Thus the emphatic phrase looks superficially like a reflexive phrase. But functionally these uses are distinct. With emphatic pronouns, unlike reflexive pronouns, the pronoun shares the same semantic role and grammatical relation as its antecedent. The meaning of the emphatic pronoun is usually to emphasize that one's own self is involved in the action of the predicate. Examples:

- (6.64) *Diri=ni* *boi* *nawar* *meniik* *suka'* *e*.
 EMPH.PRO=3s.I CMPL AV.offer AV.climb coconut DEM
 'He himself offered to climb the coconut tree.'
- (6.65) *Pak taun* *e* *pe-lompat* *diri-diri=ni* *jo*
 frog jungle DEM INTR-jump EMPH.PRO-REDUP=3s.I only
 'The jungle frog jumped along by itself.' (pak pu' ta' bandar 038)
- (6.66) *Azizy* *diri=ni* *nya'* *boi* *nuut* *meniik* *gunung*.
 PN EMPH.PRO=3s.I NEG CMPL AV.follow AV.climb mountain
 'Azizy himself did not join in climbing the mountain.'

The emphatic pronoun can also be part of a possessive NP:

- (6.67) *Serita'* *nandas* *tebu* *tu* *pengalaman* *diri=ku*.
 story AV.make.sugar-cane sugar-cane DEM experience EMPH.PRO=1s.I
 'This story about processing sugar cane is (from) my own experience.' (nandas tebu 130)

6.2.4 *Other non-transitive verbal clause types*

Having considered the basic transitive clause types (UV and AV) and the passive in some detail, we turn now to the various non-transitive verbal clause types. Discussed here are ambient clauses

(§6.2.4.1) and the two basic types of intransitive clauses (§6.2.4.2): statives (§6.2.4.2.1) and active intransitives (§6.2.4.2.2). Among the stative intransitives a set of bodily condition and emotion predicates which occur in two distinctive constructions (§6.2.4.2.1.1). Stative intransitives include existential clauses (§6.2.4.2.1.2). Inceptive existential clauses, though not statives, are also treated here (§6.2.4.2.1.3).

6.2.4.1 Ambient clauses

Ambient clauses have predicates that take no arguments. In many languages, as in WC Bajau, ambient clauses are expressed by weather verbs. Unlike weather verbs in English, WC Bajau weather verbs lack a dummy subject. The primary weather verbs in WC Bajau are *uran* ‘rain’ and *panas* ‘hot’. Weather verbs in WC Bajau can often have both a nominal and a verbal use, as illustrated in (6.68) for *uran* ‘rain’:

- (6.68) a. *Ai* *uran*.
 PERF rain
 ‘It’s begun to rain.’
- b. *uran* *pan* *duwai*...
 rain also descend
 ‘... the rain fell...’ (beta’ kerungayan 091)

In (6.68) (a), *uran* ‘rain’ is used as a verb, which has no argument and is here simply modified by the aspect particle *ai*. In (b), *uran* is a nominal argument of the verb *duwai* ‘descend’.

A similar pattern is illustrated for the weather verb *panas* ‘hot’, as shown in (6.69):

- (6.69) a. *Panas* *bana*.
 hot very
 ‘It’s really hot (today).’

b. *Pak engko' see'=ni muyan badan=ni*
 frog and friend=3s.I AV.dry.in.sun body=3s.I

ta' panas moto ellaw.
 PREP heat sun

'Frog and his companion dried their bodies in the heat of the sun.' (pak pu' ta' bandar 001).

In (6.69) (a) *panas* 'hot' is the predicate of an ambient clause, but in (b) *panas* is a nominal argument of the prepositional phrase headed by *ta'*.

6.2.4.2 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses consist of predicates that take one core argument. Intransitive predicates can be stative or active.

6.2.4.2.1 Stative clauses

Stative clauses "provide descriptive information about the entity referred to by their subject" (Woollams 1996:170). Stative predicates in WC Bajau are typically expressed as stative verbs or as prepositional phrases. Only stative verbs are described here; stative predicates expressed as prepositional phrases are discussed in §6.3.2. The stative predicate may occur either before or after the subject.

WC Bajau stative verbs are typically unaffixed (§9.10). They often occur with the degree word *bana* 'very' following the stative verb or *sukup* 'enough; too' preceding the stative verb. Stative verbs can also be modified by aspectual particles such as *ai* 'already' or the focal particle *no*, usually to give a resultative meaning (i.e., to indicate a change from some previous state of affairs).

Examples of stative intransitive clauses:

(6.70) *Ruma' e nya' oyo.*
 house DEM NEG large
 'The house is not large.'

(6.71) *Badan=ni cukup suk ...*
 body=3s.I enough thin
 ‘Her body was too thin...’ (beta’ kerungayan 009)

(6.72) *Beta-beta koyo no gai.*
 long.time-REDUP rich FOC 3p
 ‘Eventually they became rich.’ (kerabaw 084)

Though WC Bajau stative verbs are typically unaffixed, a few statives occur with the ‘adversative’ circumfix [*ke-...-an*]₁ (§9.8). Examples include *kepanasan* ‘to feel hot’ (from *panas* ‘hot’), *kesajukan* ‘to feel cold’ (from *sajuk* ‘cold’), and *kengaan* ‘to experience spicy-ness’ (from *nganga* ‘spicy’)¹⁹.

Example:

(6.73) *Nya’ aku ke-sajuk-an.*
 NEG 1s.II ADVRS-cold
 ‘I don’t feel cold.’

6.2.4.2.1.1 ‘Bodily condition’ and emotion predicates

Many predicates of bodily condition are formed by the combination of a stative verb with the following body part noun. Examples include:

(6.74) *pedi betong* ‘stomach ache’
pedi tikook ‘head ache’
too’ kelong ‘thirsty’ (lit. ‘dry neck’)
lingantu betong ‘hungry’ (lit. ‘hungry stomach’)
juling moto ‘cross-eyed’
lumpu bokog ‘weak’ (lit. ‘weak bones’)
sakit jantung ‘heart trouble’ (lit. ‘sick heart’)
panas badan ‘feverish’ (lit. ‘hot body’)

Many emotion predicates in WC Bajau are formed in the same way, by the combination of a stative verb with the body part noun *atay* ‘liver’. Here *atay* is used metaphorically to refer to the seat of

¹⁹ *Kengaan* is apparently a shortened form of the expected *kengangaan*.

one's emotions (equivalent to the metaphorical use of 'heart' in English). The following are some emotion predicates with *atay*:²⁰

(6.75)	<i>susa atay</i>	'troubled/ worried' (lit. 'difficult liver')
	<i>sanang atay</i>	'happy' (lit. 'easy liver')
	<i>dayag atay</i>	'happy'
	<i>panas atay</i>	'angry' (lit. 'hot liver')
	<i>pedi atay</i>	'angry' (lit. 'hurting liver')
	<i>kusut atay</i>	'upset'
	<i>semok atay</i>	'nervous, anxious'
	<i>ngintam atay</i>	'miss/long for'
	<i>tinau atay</i>	'afraid'
	<i>(se)puas atay</i>	'content'

The *atay* emotion predicates and bodily condition predicates are expressed by two alternative constructions: (1) the body part noun is the head of a possessive NP that functions as the subject of the clause; (2) the body part noun forms an apparent phrasal unit with the predicate and the subject NP is located elsewhere.²¹ The latter construction is unusual in that the noun is preceded rather than followed by its modifier, suggesting that the modifier is the head (see Goudswaard 2005:265). The two construction types are illustrated below.

6.2.4.2.1.1.1 *Body part noun as possessive NP*

In this construction, the body part noun is the head of a possessive NP. The possessive NP is the subject of the predicate, and the possessor refers to the experiencer of the emotional or bodily state. The predicate may occur either before or after the possessive NP. Degree words and other elements may freely intervene between the predicate and the subject. Note the following examples (the possessive NP is in bold):

²⁰ Some of these predicates, when they express emotion, nearly always occur with *atay*, including *susa* and *sanang*. Others occur infrequently with *atay*, such as *ngintam* 'miss' and *tinau* 'afraid', which often take an independent subject NP instead.

²¹ This section parallels much of what Goudswaard (2005:265-69) has documented for Begak, with the same two types of constructions. Goudswaard regards the second type (where the noun forms a phrasal unit with the preceding predicate) as an instance of compounding in Begak.

- (6.76) *Panas bana atay uwa' e ...*
 hot very liver dog DEM
 'The dog was very angry...' (lit., 'The dog's liver was very hot...'). (ngini using 060)
- (6.77) *Atay=ku cukup senang.*
 liver=1s.I enough happy
 'I was very happy.' (lit., 'My liver was very happy.') (beta' kerungayan 026)
- (6.78) ... *alasan=ni lagi betong=ni pedi.*
 excuse=3s.I more stomach=3s.I hurt
 '... his further excuse was that he had a stomach ache.' (namuk 053)
- (6.79) "...too' bana kelong=ku tu," Ø-bara'=ni m-aku.
 dry very throat=1s.I DEM UV-tell=3s.I PREP-1s.II
 "... I am very thirsty", she said to me. (beta' kerungayan 014)

The stimulus of an emotional state, if made explicit, can be expressed as an oblique argument, as in

(6.80) below:

- (6.80) *Atay=ni ng-intam ta' Puteri Bongsu.*
 liver=3s.I AV-long.for PREP PN
 'He longed for Puteri Bongsu.' (Lit. 'His liver longed for Puteri Bongsu.') (dela piatu 059)

6.2.4.2.1.1.2 Predicate + body part noun as a phrasal unit

In this construction, *atay* combines with the preceding stative predicate (usually *sanang* or *susa*) to form what appears to be a phrasal unit. The experiencer of the emotion is not expressed as a possessor but as an independent subject NP, which normally occurs before the predicate. Note the following examples:

- (6.81) *Tapi' iyang=ni susa atay sebab gai miskin.*
 but mother=3s.I hard liver because 3p poor
 'But his mother was worried because they were poor.' (uwa' suk 048)
- (6.82) *Pa' Yakob engko' endo=ni sanang atay.*
 PN and wife=3s.I easy liver
 'Jacob and his wife were happy.' (ansa' 007)

- (6.83) “... *bo’ sanang atay no te’ kiti nak...*”
 then easy liver FOC EMPH 1p.II(incl.) child.ADR
 “...then we will be happy, kids...” (bangi 215)
- (6.84) *Sakit jantung aku.*
 sick heart 1s.II
 ‘I have heart trouble.’

Note in (6.83) that the focal particle *no* occurs after the predicate + noun, rather than immediately following the predicate. Since *no* is often found in second position in the clause (just after the focused element), this is evidence for considering *sanang atay* as a phrasal unit. Although normally there is no separation between the stative verb and *atay*, an exception occurs with affixation. The forms *kedayagan atay* and *kesenangan atay* have been encountered, where the *ke-...-an* circumfix applies only to the stative verb and not to the stative verb + *atay*. This is possible evidence against considering the phrasal unit as a true compound.

While I have found several examples of the ‘phrasal unit’ construction with emotion predicates (using *atay*), examples of this construction with bodily condition predicates appear to be much scarcer. The possessive NP construction is apparently the more productive one, with certain predicates + *atay* becoming lexicalized as phrasal predicates.

As a final note on intransitive statives, some stative verbs take an obligatory complement, such as desiderative predicates (e.g. *ingin* ‘to want, to like’, *kui* ‘to be willing’). Others take an optional complement, such as *panday* ‘skilled, clever (at)’, *daras* ‘strong (at)’, and the emotion verbs described above that involve the word *atay*. Complement-taking predicates are treated in §14.3.

6.2.4.2.1.2 Stative existential clauses (with *uun*)

The basic existential verb in WC Bajau is *uun* ‘there is/are’. *Uun* can occur in a variety of constructions and it has a variety of functions. Frequently, *uun* is modified by the negative adverb *nya* ‘not’, resulting in the combined form *nyaun* ‘there is not/there are not’. The subject predicated by *uun* may be a (usually indefinite) noun phrase, in which case it often has a presentative function.

The subject predicated by *uun* can also be a possessed noun phrase, in which case *uun* has a possessive meaning. Finally, *uun* can take a clausal complement for a subject, in which case *uun* appears to have an emphatic meaning. Each of these uses of *uun* are illustrated in this section.

6.2.4.2.1.2.1 *uun with existential meaning*

The verb *uun* may occur as an intransitive predicate meaning simply ‘exist’ or ‘be’ and it often (but not obligatorily) takes a locative or temporal adjunct. As is typical for existentials (Payne 1997:123), *uun* frequently introduces a new participant to the discourse. With this presentative function, *uun* precedes the (indefinite) nominal.

(6.85) *Bila teko pe, uun Gipun dua-ngan.*
 when arrive to.there EXIST Japanese two-CL
 ‘When (they) arrived there, there were two Japanese (soldiers).’ (Gipun 029)

(6.86) *Diam taun e uun di-kau’ gua.*
 inside forest DEM EXIST one-CL cave
 ‘In the forest there was a certain cave.’ (kerabaw 016)

(6.87) *Nyaun pan ruma’ sakit.*
 NEG.EXIST EMPH hospital
 ‘There were no hospitals.’ (gipun 050)

Sometimes *uun* predicates an indefinite NP which is apparently modified by a descriptive relative clause. This device is often used as an introductory formula for a folk tale, as in (6.88) below. In the following examples, the relative clause is bracketed:

(6.88) *Dau-da kono’ uun jomo tu [temban ta’ di-kau’ kampung.]*²²
 long.ago hearsay EXIST person DEM live PREP one-CL village
 ‘Long ago, it is said, there was a man who lived in a certain village.’ (namuk 001)

²² In (6.88) the relative clause appears to be extraposed, since normally a demonstrative pronoun comes last in the NP (§11.2) but here the demonstrative pronoun *tu* comes before the relative clause. However, as Shin Ja Hwang (p.c.) pointed out to me, many languages allow flexible position of the demonstrative in relation to the relative clause, “creating slight differences in meaning”. This needs to be further investigated for WC Bajau.

- (6.89) *Uun jo musu [ng-ogo gai].*
 EXIST FOC enemy AV-go.to 3p
 ‘There was an enemy who would go to them.’ (biduk 038)
- (6.90) “*Iyang! Iyang! Uun iyan-iyen [Ø-paku=nu]?”*
 mother mother EXIST what-REDUP UV-ask.for=2s.I
 ‘Mother! Mother! Do you request something?’ (beta’ kerungayan 013)

In some presentational clauses with *uun*, the head noun of the following relative clause is a generic reference to ‘someone’ or ‘something’ and is often deleted, resulting in a headless relative clause. In the following examples, (6.91) shows the case of an overt generic head noun preceding the relative clause, while (6.92)-(6.93) show cases of a deleted head noun.

- (6.91) *Ling=ni, “Amun uun jomo [ng-endo’ terupung e],*
 say=3s.I if EXIST person AV-take telescope DEM

e no jadi ella=ku.”
 DEM FOC become husband=1s.I
 ‘She said, “If there is someone who can fetch the telescope, he is the one to be my husband.”’ (biduk 014)
- (6.92) ... *amun uun [te-bangga’=ni] Ø-boo=ni mule’ ta’ ruma’.*
 if EXIST DC.PASS-meet=3s.I UV-bring=3s.I ACT.go.home PREP house
 ‘... if there was (anything) that he found, he brought (it) home.’ (Abu Nawas 038)
- (6.93) *Atay Mat Salleh kusut sebab nyaun [mandi*
 heart PN troubled because NEG.EXIST AV.bathe

mayat e].
 corpse DEM
 ‘Mat Salleh felt desperate because there was no (one) who could bathe the corpse.’ (Mat Salleh 017)

Existential *uun* may also predicate an argument that is already identifiable:

- (6.94) *Pas-pas, iyo uun me.*
 exactly 3s.II EXIST there
 ‘At that precise (time), he was there.’ (beta’ kerungayan 050)

- (6.95) *Amun nyaun tiung e ai tantu no besekal=ni rungay.*
 if NEG.EXIST parrot DEM PERF certain FOC bicycle=3s.I missing
 ‘If if weren’t for the parrot, for certain his bicycle would be missing (stolen).’

6.2.4.2.1.2.2 *uun with possessive meaning*

The verb *uun* can have a possessive meaning, in which case *uun* either precedes or follows a Possessor NP. Examples:

- (6.96) *Uun sin=nu?*
 EXIST money=2s.I
 ‘Do you have money (on you)?’

- (6.97) *Ruma’ diki’ e, nyaun serambi’=ni.*
 house small DEM NEG.EXIST walkway=3s.I
 ‘That small house, it does not have an inner walkway.’

- (6.98) “*Ngini badu=ku uun eng-kau?*”
 why shirt=1s.I EXIST PREP-2s.II
 ‘Why do you have my shirt?’ (Lit. ‘Why is my shirt at you?’) (dela piatu 030)

Example (6.98) suggests that possessive *uun* expresses temporary as opposed to permanent possession, where an item is ‘located (temporarily) at’ some person. This is a relatively uncommon use of *uun*. Usually possession in WC Bajau is expressed by the verb *bengen* (or *been*) ‘to have’ or by the noun *ampun* ‘owner’. Note that when a locative phrase is included, as in (6.98) above, the emphasis is apparently on the location of the possessed item, rather than on the possession of the item.²³

²³ Similarly, Woollams (1996:182) notes that in Karo Batak, the existential verb *lit* can occur with a Possessor subject NP to express possession, but when a locative PP is also present, the location of the subject NP is in view.

6.2.4.2.1.2.3 *uun with emphatic meaning*

Sometimes *uun* takes a clausal complement as its subject, which consists of a finite clause. With a clausal subject, the meaning of *uun* appears to shift from existential to emphatic.²⁴ The complement clause may be intransitive or transitive. In some cases *uun* precedes the entire complement clause (6.99), but fronting of the subject of the complement clause is also possible (6.100)-(6.101).

Examples:

- (6.99) *Anak bidadari... nya' kui mandi sebab uun*
 child.fairy NEG willing bathe because EXIST

te-uruk-uruk=ni jomo me-junia.
 DC.PASS-smell-REDUP=3s.I person PREP-earth
 'The fairy...was not willing to bathe because she smelled an earthling.' (salaudin 002)

- (6.100) *Dendo pisok e uun no mule' ng-angkat kayu=ni.*
 woman blind DEM EXIST FOC ACT.go.home AV-raise tree=3s.I
 'The blind woman now returned home carrying her wood.' (jomo pisok 028)

- (6.101) *Ella=ni uun teko ta' laat=gai.*
 husband=3s.I EXIST arrive PREP country=3p
 'Her husband had arrived at their country!' (salaudin 044)

6.2.4.2.1.3 Inceptive existential clauses (with *jadi*)

Another type of existential clause is the inceptive existential clause, which is used to “describe the coming about of an entity or state of affairs” (Eades 2005:114). Though inceptive existential clauses are not stative, they are included here since semantically they are a type of existential clause. Inceptive existential clauses in WC Bajau are expressed by the verbs *jadi* and *tejadi* (sometimes pronounced *terjadi* as in Malay). Both *jadi* and *tejadi* can mean ‘to occur, to happen’. From the limited number of examples in my corpus, it appears that *tejadi* is normally used for completed events (as in Malay *terjadi* ‘happened, occurred’). Examples:

²⁴ Woollams (1996:183) identifies a similar structure and function for the existential verb *lit* in Karo Batak, where “the function of *lit* is to convey a nuance of ‘actuality’ upon the complement clause: ‘It is the case that...’.”

- (6.102) *Pasal e no aturan tu nya' jadi.*
 plan DEM FOC plan DEM NEG happen
 'For that reason, the plan did not happen.'
- (6.103) ... *iyu tu terjadi kerana' tarik-an graviti.*
 3s.II DEM happen because pull-NOM gravity
 '... this thing happened because of the force of gravity.' (kayu ebba' 043)

Most often, the verb *jadi* is used transitively to mean 'become (someone or something)'. However, it lacks any inflection for voice. As a transitive verb, *jadi* takes a noun or pronoun core argument, as in (6.104) below. Note, however, that *jadi* can alternatively take a stative verbal complement, as in (6.105):

- (6.104) *Jomo e jadi guru silat=ni.*
 person DEM become teacher martial.art=3s.I
 'The man became his *silat* teacher.' (biduk 095)
- (6.105) "Aku nya' buli jadi too."
 1s.II NEG can become old
 "I cannot become old." (biduk 133)

6.2.4.2.2 Active intransitive clauses

The active intransitive clause consists minimally of a verb and its single subject argument. Active intransitive predicates express dynamic, event-oriented states of affairs. Such predicates may occur as activities, achievements, accomplishments, and some types of active accomplishments (see §4.3.1). Whereas most stative intransitives are unaffixed, many active intransitive verbs occur as prefixed forms, the main prefixes being *N-*, *be-*, and *-em-/-um-*. In general these prefixes indicate activities. The individual prefixes are discussed further in Chapter 7.

As with stative intransitive clauses, in active intransitive clauses the subject may precede or follow the predicate. Some examples follow (the active intransitive verb is in bold):

- (6.106) *Lapas e gai likas-likas mule’.*
 after DEM 3p quick-REDUP ACT.go.home
 ‘After that, they quickly went home.’ (kinabalu 010)
- (6.107) *Iko bana poon kayu ebba’ waktu e.*
 many very tree fall.over time DEM
 ‘Many trees fell over at that time.’ (kayu ebba’ 037).
- (6.108) *Temban no using e en-jata’ jing...*
 stay FOC cat DEM PREP-on.top zinc.roof
 ‘The cat stayed on top of the zinc roof...’ (ngini using 073)

6.3 Non-verbal clauses

In WC Bajau non-verbal clauses, the predicate can be an NP (§6.3.1), a prepositional phrase (§6.3.2) or a quantifier or number phrase (§6.3.3). The present section describes these types of non-verbal clauses. Some discourse functions of equative clauses (where the predicate is an NP) are described in §6.3.1.1.

6.3.1 NP predicates (equative clauses)

In equative clauses, there is both an argument NP (the referent) and a predicate NP which helps identify or characterize the referent. The two NPs are juxtaposed with no copula verb and no significant intonation break. The following examples show the argument NP preceding the predicate NP (the predicate NP is in bold):

- (6.109) “... *aku tu jomo bioso.*”
 1s.II DEM person ordinary
 ‘I am an ordinary man.’ (mat salleh 029)
- (6.110) “*Oron=ku Puteri Bongsu.*”
 name=1s.I PN
 ‘My name is Princess Bongsu.’ (dela piatu 040)

A predicate may precede its argument, when a focal clitic particle such as *pala* immediately follows the predicate NP:

- (6.111) *"Amun bege, anak=ku pala kau!"*
 if like.that child=1s.I NEW.REAL 2s.II
 "If so, you are *my son!*" (baginda 107) [here a father has just realized that the man he has been fighting is his own son, whom he has not seen for a long time]

The predicate NP in an equative clause is negated with *enggai*:

- (6.112) *"Aku enggai anak=nu..."*
 1s.II NEG child=2s.I
 "I am not your child." (biduk 146)

6.3.1.1 Discourse functions of equative clauses

An equative clause may be used when the speaker introduces an entity to the addressee. Here the first NP in the equative clause is a demonstrative pronoun:

- (6.113) *"... unaan no sarung=ku."*
 DEM FOC costume=1s.I
 "... this is my covering." (pak 076) [introduce a new prop in the text]
- (6.114) *Jadi itu jo pendapatan=gai...*
 so DEM FOC income=3p
 'So this was their livelihood...'. (nandas tebu 120) [introduces a new topic to the discourse]

This structure can also be used when the speaker characterizes or 'sums up' something (s)he has just narrated:

- (6.115) *Jadi e no kejadian linta e en-diam suang...*
 so DEM FOC origin leech DEM PREP-in river
 'So that is the origin of the leech in rivers.' (linta 034)
- (6.116) *E jo andayan=ku...*
 DEM FOC assumption=1s.I
 'That is my assumption...'. (kayu ebba' 048)

An equative clause can be used to describe the function of a topical argument. In the following examples, the generic noun *tungan* serves as the predicate NP (*tungan* can take a complement which designates function; see §14.2.2.2):

(6.117) *Sarangan tu tungan me-tingkoo' kawa...*
 sarangan DEM place AV.CAUS-sit cauldron
 'The *sarangan* is used for seating the cauldron.' (nandas tebu 026)

(6.118) *Sinsim e tungan ng-asa' gunting...*
 ring DEM place AV-sharpen scissors
 'The ring is used for sharpening scissors.' (bejogo 017)

6.3.2 *PP as predicate*

When a prepositional phrase functions as the predicate, it is usually headed by the locative preposition *ta'* or *em-* (§11.3.1.1). In the following examples, the predicate (here the PP) is in bold.

(6.119) ...***en-tana'*** *jo iyo.*
 PREP-land FOC 3s.II
 '... he was on the ground.' (uwa' suk 058)

(6.120) *Iko bana penyakit ta' diam Kota Belud...*
 many very disease PREP inside PN
 'There were a great many diseases in Kota Belud...'. (Gipun 022)

Predicate PPs may also be headed by non-locative prepositions (§11.3.2), such as *doko'* 'as' with an attributive function:

(6.121) *Reso=ni doko' reso ungu...*
 feeling=3s.I PREP feeling sand
 'Its texture is like sand...'. (nandas tebu 114)

6.3.3 *Quantifier phrase or number phrase as predicate*

Equative clauses can also have a quantifier phrase or number phrase (§11.2.1) as their predicate, as shown in (6.122) and (6.123), respectively:

- (6.122) *Makanan gai iko bana.*
food 3p many very
'They had great amounts of food.' (lit. 'their food was very much') (namuk 046)
- (6.123) *Jumla bua' kulintangan pitu' kau'.*
amount piece small.gongs seven CL
'The number of small gongs is seven.' (kulintangan 005)

CHAPTER 7

INFORMATION STRUCTURE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with information structure, that is, how pragmatic meaning is expressed in WC Bajau syntax. A variety of fronting strategies are described. Clause-internal ('normal') fronting is discussed in §7.1, where the basic distinction is made between narrow focus and predicate focus. Included here are subject fronting (including WH-word fronting), and the fronting of oblique elements. A proposal for the pragmatic structure of the WC Bajau clause is given in §7.1.2.4. In addition to internal fronting, two other syntactic structures are described: clefts (§7.2) and left-dislocation (§7.3), both of which have pragmatic functions in discourse. Clefted elements express focal information. Sentences containing clefts are analyzed as predicate nominals, where the second NP consists of a noun modified by a relative clause. Left-dislocated elements express topical information and are clause-external, involving (1) a pause between the dislocated item and the rest of the sentence, and (2) a resumptive pronoun referring to the dislocated element within the clause.

7.2 Pragmatics and normal fronting

Normal fronting refers to the placement of an argument or adjunct at the beginning of the clause, prior to the verb. For direct core arguments, only the subject may be fronted (§5.6.1). Oblique core arguments, adjunct NPs, and adverbials may be fronted as well, even before a preverbal subject (thus indicating two different fronting positions). Normal fronting is clause-internal, since there is no intonation break between the fronted constituent(s) and the rest of the clause. (In contrast, left-dislocation (§7.2) is clause-external, involving a pause between the dislocated item and the rest of the sentence, as well as a resumptive personal pronoun within the clause.) Since fronting can be

motivated by pragmatic factors, attention is given to the ‘topical’ or ‘focal’ status of fronted constituents. It will be shown that subjects (including fronted subjects) may be either topical or focal. However, fronted obliques (including oblique arguments) are always focal. The evidence suggests that the WC Bajau clause has both a focus and a topic slot prior to the verb. While any constituent (including the subject) may occur in the focus slot, only the subject can occur in the topic slot.

7.2.1 *Subject fronting*

The subject is the only direct core argument that may occur in preverbal position in the clause. In UV clauses, the basic word order appears to be verb-initial (VAU), with the fronted undergoer indicating a slightly marked pragmatic status. But in AV clauses, the dominant order is subject-initial (AVU). Thus, at least for AV clauses, ‘fronting’ refers merely to ‘preverbal position’ rather than to any actual fronting operation.

7.2.1.1 Narrow focus and subject fronting

First we consider cases of NARROW FOCUS, where the focus of the proposition is a single constituent (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:206).¹ In both UV and AV clauses, in narrow focus constructions the fronted subject can be either topical or focal. The ‘topic’ is that element of the clause which is already known or presupposed information, whereas ‘focus’ refers to non-presupposed information or information which contrasts with something else. The following discussion employs the methods of WH-question-answer pairs and selective contrast to establish the pragmatic status of participants in the clause.

In the WH-question-answer pair in (7.1) below, the questioned element (*iyān* ‘what?’) in (A) is the undergoer of the clause:

¹ The term ‘narrow focus’ as cited in Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) comes from the taxonomy of focus structure proposed by Lambrecht (1994). Other terms from Lambrecht are ‘predicate focus’ and ‘sentence focus’. Predicate focus is discussed further below.

(7.1)

- A. *Iyan boi Ø-beli Azizy sini'?*
What CMPL UV-buy PN just.now
'What did Azizy buy just now?'

In the answer (B), *manuk* 'chicken' is the focused or 'new' information because it supplies the information targeted by the question. Note the following possible responses (note that *jo* 'only' following an NP is a focal particle, as in [i]):

- B. (i) *Manuk jo boi Ø-beli Azizy.*
Chicken only CMPL UV-buy PN
'Azizy bought only chicken.'
- (ii) *Azizy sini' boi meli manuk.*
PN just.now CMPL AV.buy chicken
'Azizy bought a chicken just now.'

Note that the question in (7.1) (A) may be answered with either the focal undergoer (*manuk*) or the topical actor (*Azizy*) in preverbal position, according to the voice-marking on the verb.

In (7.2) below, the questioned argument is now the actor:

(7.2)

- A. *Sian boi meli manuk e?*
who CMPL AV.buy chicken DEM
'Who bought the chicken(s)?'
- B. (i) *Azizy boi meli manuk e.*
PN CMPL AV.buy chicken DEM
'Azizy bought the chicken(s).'
- (ii) *Manuk e boi Ø-beli Azizy.*
chicken DEM CMPL UV-buy PN
'Azizy bought the chicken(s).'

The question in (7.2) (A) may be answered with either the focal actor (*Azizy*) or the topical undergoer (*manuk*) in preverbal position, again depending on the voice of the verb. Note that answer (7.2) (B.ii)

is structurally similar to answer (7.1) (B.i), the difference being that in (7.1) (B.i) the fronted subject (*manuk*) is followed by the focal particle *jo* rather than a demonstrative pronoun. Since the fronted subject in (7.2) (B.ii) is given (not focal) information, it is not as acceptable to place *jo* after *manuk* in (7.2) (B.ii):

(iii) (?) *Manuk e jo boi Ø-beli Azizy.*

Both (7.1) and (7.2) show that the fronted subject can be either topical or focal. These examples demonstrate that preverbal position does not obligatory mark narrow focus, since either the focused or the topical argument may occur there. Rather, it is likely that prosodic accent on the focused NP signifies the focal element of the clause.²

Another way to elicit narrow focus responses is to use selective contrast, where a (faulty) assumption made by speaker A is corrected in the response by speaker B. The respondent, in correcting the faulty assumption, supplies the focal constituent. Note (7.3) below, where the focal constituent is the undergoer:

(7.3)

A. *Boi no kau meli buas?*
 already 2s.II AV.buy rice
 ‘Have you already bought rice?’

B. (i) *Nya’, gandum jo boi Ø-beli=ku, enggai ko’ buas.*
 NEG corn only CMPL UV-buy=1s.I NEG PRT rice
 ‘No, I bought only corn, not rice.’

² Kaufman (2005) has shown that in Tagalog, the preposed focus slot requires an exhaustive listing (or ‘strong focus’) interpretation which is universally associated with clefts. Alternatively, a focused constituent which does not have the exhaustive listing interpretation occurs in clause-final position, where it receives intonational marking because of default sentential stress in that position. In WC Bajau, the preverbal focus slot does not appear to require an exhaustive listing interpretation unless it is followed by a focal particle *no* or *jo*, although further investigation is needed. See further discussion in the section on clefting (§7.2).

- (ii) *Nya', aku meli gandum, enggai ko' buas.*
 NEG 1s.II AV.buy corn NEG PRT rice
 'No, I bought corn, not rice.'

In (7.3) (B.i), the focal undergoer subject is fronted. In (7.3) (B.ii), the topical actor subject is fronted.

In (7.4) below, the focal constituent is the actor:

(7.4)

- A. *Boi Ø-pedagang Azizy no tana' e?*
 CMPL UV-sell PN FOC land DEM
 'Did Azizy already sell the land?'

- B. (i) *Mali boi medagang tana' e, enggai ko' Azizy.*
 PN CMPL AV.sell land DEM NEG PRT PN
 'Mali sold the land, not Azizy.'

- (ii) *Tana' e boi Ø-pedagang Mali, enggai ko' Azizy.*
 land DEM CMPL UV-sell PN NEG PRT PN
 'Mali sold the land, not Azizy.'

In (7.4) (B.i), the focal actor subject *Mali* is fronted. In (7.4) (B.ii), the topical undergoer subject is fronted.

We have seen from these examples that the subject is not exclusively identified with either topic or focus. In all the above examples (7.1)-(7.4), the subject is fronted. The question may be raised whether narrow focus constructions *require* fronting, since in pragmatically unmarked UV clauses the basic word order is probably VAU not UVA. According to my preliminary data, the generalization for narrow focus seems to be that when the subject is the focal NP, it must be fronted. When the subject is not the focal NP, fronting is optional (though still strongly preferred for UV, perhaps because of its 'given'/ pre-supposed pragmatic status).

There is some question whether a preverbal focal subject NP is fronted to some preverbal focus position in the clause, or whether in fact it is clefted. This possibility is further discussed in the section on clefting (§7.2).

7.2.1.1.1 WH-question fronting

The above generalization about narrow focus basically holds true for the placement of questioned constituents in the clause (which are focal). In UV clauses, when the undergoer subject is questioned, it must be fronted. This is shown in (7.5) below:

(7.5) a. **Boi* \emptyset -*opo'* *Nisah* *iyah?*
 CMPL UV-break PN what
 ‘What did Nisah break?’

b. *Iyan boi* \emptyset -*opo'* *Nisah?*

When the non-subject actor is questioned, it must remain in-situ (as the subject is the only direct core argument that can occur prior to the verb). As was shown to be the case with other cases of narrow focus, the UV subject seems to be preferentially fronted even when not focal:

(7.6) a. (?) *Boi* \emptyset -*boo* *sian* *bua'* *nangka'* *e?*
 CMPL UV-bring who fruit jackfruit DEM
 ‘Who brought the jackfruit?’

b. *Bua' nangka' e boi* \emptyset -*boo* *sian?*

In AV clauses, when the actor subject is questioned, it is preferentially fronted:

(7.7) a. (?) *Boi* *moo* *bua' nangka'* *e* *sian?*
 CMPL AV-bring fruit jackfruit DEM who
 ‘Who brought the jackfruit?’

b. *Sian boi moo* *bua' nangka' e?*

The AV undergoer may be questioned, whether or not the actor subject is fronted. Again, the questioned non-subject must remain in-situ. These facts are shown in (7.8) below:

- (7.8) a. *Boi ng-opo' iyan Nisah?*
CMPL AV-cut what PN
'What did Nisah break?'
- b. *Nisah boi ngopo' iyan?*
- c. **Iyan boi ngopo Nisah?*

These data allow us to make the following generalizations about WH-questions and fronting:

- Questioned subjects are normally fronted, though this is not strictly obligatory in AV clauses.
- It is possible to question the non-subject, in which case the subject (especially in UV) is preferentially fronted.
- Questioned non-subjects (whether in AV or UV constructions) must remain in-situ, as is true for regular non-subjects.

It appears, then, that with WH-questions and fronting, AV clauses are more 'flexible' than UV clauses in that non-fronting is generally more acceptable (whether of the questioned subject or of the non-questioned subject), though fronting is often preferred. Note that the greater 'flexibility' of AV clauses over UV clauses has also been demonstrated with regard to the adjacency requirements of predicate + non-subject DCA (§6.2.1.1), and also the choice of pronoun set for the pronominal non-subject (§5.7.1).

7.2.1.2 Predicate focus and subject fronting

So far the discussion has centered on narrow focus, where a single constituent in the clause is focused. In PREDICATE FOCUS, the domain of focus is the predicate phrase, which expresses something about the topic. This is the familiar topic-comment construction (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:206). In (7.9) and (7.10) below, examples are shown of predicate focus.

(7.9)

A. *Iyan boi Ø-buat Abu me-ruma' sini'?*
what CMPL UV-do PN PREP-house just.now
'What did Abu do at the house just now?'

B. (i) *Iyo boi malap mutu=ni.*
3s.II CMPL AV.fix motorcycle=3s.I
'He fixed his motorcycle.'

(ii) *Boi malap mutu=ni iyo.*

(iii) (?) *Mutu=ni boi Ø-palap=ni.*
motorcycle=3s.I CMPL UV-fix=3s.I
'He fixed his motorcycle.'

(iv) (?) *Boi palap=ni mutu=ni.*

In (7.9), the question (A) is about *Abu*, an actor, who is the topic in the responses shown in (B). The preferred answers (B.i-ii) are in AV, meaning that the topic is the subject, whether or not the subject is fronted.

(7.10)

A. *Ngini betis=nu e?*
why leg=3s.I DEM
'What happened to your leg?' (lit. 'Why your leg?')

B. (i) (?) *Betis=ku boi keket uwa' e dilaw.*
leg=1s.I CMPL UV-bite dog DEM yesterday
'The dog bit my leg yesterday.'

(ii) *Boi keket uwa' e betis=ku dilaw.*

(iii) (?) *Uwa' e boi ngeket betis=ku dilaw.*
dog DEM CMPL AV.bite leg=1s.I yesterday
'The dog bit my leg yesterday.'

(iv) (?) *Boi ngeket betis=ku uwa' e dilaw.*

In (7.10), the question (A) concerns the addressee's (visibly injured) leg, *betis*, an undergoer. The topic, then, is *betis=ku* 'my leg' for the responses shown in B. Here the preferred answer is in UV, again with the topic as the subject (though fronting of the subject is questionable).

The generalization to be made about predicate focus in WC Bajau is that, for elicited data, the preference is for subject as topic, thus allowing (in AV) for the topic-subject NP to optionally be fronted. Conversely, an NP that is part of the (focal) predicate phrase is generally not made the subject and so cannot be fronted. Note however that for predicate focus in narrative text, in UV clauses the undergoer (subject) is not always identified with the topic. This will be shown below in the discussion of fronting in narrative text.

7.2.1.3 Subject fronting in narrative text

Since the order of AV clauses in narrative text is almost invariably subject-initial, it is more useful to look at fronting in UV clauses, where neither subject-initial nor verb-initial order predominates. When the UV undergoer is fronted in a discourse context, the fronted argument is normally topical or 'given' information, as will be shown below.

For this discussion I use a taxonomy of pragmatic status proposed by Chafe (1987:25-36). Chafe presents three "activation states" which reflect the degree to which a given concept is given or new information for the hearer. An ACTIVE concept is given information, that is, "currently lit up, a concept in a person's focus of consciousness". A SEMI-ACTIVE concept is accessible information, meaning a concept that is in a person's "peripheral consciousness" and part of a person's "background awareness". Concepts become semi-active either through "deactivation from an earlier active state" in the discourse, or because they refer to an evoked schema (where a schema is regarded as "a cluster of interrelated expectations"). An INACTIVE concept is new information, at least in the sense that it is new to the current discourse.

The following are text examples of undergoer subject fronting which demonstrate the active or semi-active status of the fronted constituent (which is in bold):

(7.11) *tarus* \emptyset -endo' endo=*ni* sarung e. **Sarung e** \emptyset -tapuk=*ni*.
 then UV-take wife=3s.I costume DEM costume DEM UV-hide=3s.I
 'then his wife took the costume. She hid the costume.' (uwa' suk 087-088)

(7.12) *Uun pan ng-enda' iyo subuk-subuk Jomo e sini' nya' \emptyset -boo*
 EXIST EMPH AV-look 3s.II spy-REDUP person DEM just.now NEG UV-bring

*gai ng-inum e sebab gai tinau te-rati sian gai yang bana=*ni*.*
 3p AV-drink DEM because 3p afraid DC.PASS-know who 3p REL true=3s.I
 'There were (some) who watched him closely.... they did not invite the man to drink it
 because they were afraid it would be known who they really were.' (namuk 041, 048)

In (7.11), the fronted undergoer NP *sarung e* 'the costume' is an active concept, having just been referred to in the previous clause. In the second clause shown in (7.12), the 3rd person plural pronoun *gai* is the current topic (an 'active' concept in the discourse), whereas the fronted undergoer NP *jomo e* 'the man' is a re-staged topic, having been active earlier in the discourse but now semi-active because it has not been mentioned for several clauses. Here the deictic marker *sini'* 'just now' also indicates that the NP it modifies is a re-staged topic.

The following text example illustrates the case where the fronted undergoer subject might be semi-active on account of an evoked schema:

(7.13) *Amun iyo makan uwa' e, buas \emptyset -tagu'=*ni en-diam ungut.**
 when 3s.II AV.feed dog DEM rice UV-place=3s.I PREP-inside coconut.shell
 'Whenever she fed the dog, she put rice in a coconut shell.' (uwa' suk 012)

In (7.13), the fronted undergoer NP *buas* 'rice' is newly introduced to the discourse, and expresses what the dog's owner fed it. In this text (a folk tale), the dog was born of human parents, which helps explain why it would eat people's food. The verb *makan* 'to feed' evokes a schema

which, for the WC Bajau people, necessarily includes *buas* ‘rice’ as it is the staple of their diet. Thus *buas*, though mentioned for the first time here, is already semi-active, as the ‘eating’ schema has already been evoked.

When the undergoer subject is not fronted, it occurs following the actor and is unmarked for pragmatic status (it may be of high or low topicality). Note the following examples (in (7.15) the fronted undergoer is in bold):

(7.14) Ø-Ogo *gai* *tabit* *ta'* *kelinik* *kampung*.
 UV-go.to 3p healer PREP clinic village
 ‘They went to a medical practitioner at the village clinic.’ (rupiah 012)

(7.15) *Ai* Ø-*peke-lum=ni* *d-angan* *orang puti'*. ***Orang puti'*** *e*
 PERF UV-CAUS-life=3s.I one-CL white.person white.person DEM

ai Ø-*buat=ni* *orang tua'* ...
 PERF UV-make=3s.I village.chief
 ‘He revived a white man. He made the white man a village chief.’ (mat salleh 050-051)

(7.16) Ø-*inum* *jomo* *no* *bue'* *e*.
 UV-drink person FOC water DEM
 ‘The man drank the water.’ (mat salleh 036)

In (7.14) the (non-fronted) undergoer subject is *tabit* ‘healer’, which is an inactive concept (a newly-introduced referent). In this case of predicate focus, the predicate phrase is the ‘comment’ on the topic *gai* ‘they’. Example (7.15) shows two consecutive mentions of the same undergoer referent *orang puti'* ‘white man’. In the first clause, *orang puti'* is newly introduced to the discourse and is in clause-final position. As in (7.14), this first clause in (7.15) is an example of predicate focus. In the second clause of (7.15), the now-activated referent is again the undergoer subject but has now been fronted, which is consistent with the ‘known’ or ‘pre-supposed’ status of fronted undergoers. In (7.16) the non-fronted undergoer subject *bue' e* ‘the water’ is semi-active, having earlier been an active concept but not mentioned for a few clauses. Taken together, the above examples show that

the non-fronted undergoer subject can have variable pragmatic status, whether inactive (as in (7.14) and (7.15)) or a higher activation status (as in (7.16)).

In conclusion, pragmatic fronting in narrative discourse is chiefly relevant to UV clauses, where the optionally fronted undergoer subject expresses an argument of active or semi-active pragmatic status. A newly introduced (activated) referent will often become fronted in the immediately following clause, as shown in examples such as (7.11) and (7.15). A re-staged topic is also typically fronted, especially if the referent has not been mentioned for several clauses, as shown in (7.12). In either case the actor of the UV clause is already highly topical; the fronting of the undergoer seems to emphasize that the undergoer is also topical.

7.2.1.4 Pragmatically marked vs. unmarked focal structures

We have seen that a narrow-focused NP does not have to be the subject, but when it is the subject it must be fronted. However, in UV predicate focus constructions, a focal NP subject is normally not fronted. Significantly, predicate focus is the universally unmarked type of focus structure (Lambrecht 1994:228; cited in Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:206). Therefore, focal NPs that are fronted (as in narrow focus constructions) are regarded as pragmatically marked. The fronting of oblique arguments and adjuncts are further examples of pragmatically marked focus, as will be shown in the following section.

7.2.2 *Oblique fronting*

Normally, oblique elements, whether oblique core arguments or (peripheral) adjuncts, occur at the end of the clause in WC Bajau. However, for emphasis these elements can be fronted, preceding the verb and any preverbal subject argument. There is no intonation break between the fronted oblique and the rest of the clause, which indicates that the fronted oblique is still within the clause boundary. The following are examples of oblique fronting for UV clauses, where (7.17) shows the

fronting of an oblique core argument, (7.18) shows the fronting of an adjunct PP, and (7.19) shows the fronting of an adverbial. In each case, the oblique argument or adjunct is shown in bold:

- (7.17) a. *Boi* Ø-*dede-an=ni* *sinsim e* ***ta'*** *Azizy*.
 CMPL UV-send-TZ=3s-I ring DEM PREP PN
 ‘She sent the ring to Azizy.’
- b. ***Ta' Azizy*** *boi* Ø-*dede-an=ni* *sinsim e*.
- c. ***Ta' Azizy*** *sinsim e* *boi* Ø-*dede-an=ni*.
- (7.18) a. *Saging e boi* Ø-*tebong=ni* ***ta'*** *Iyang Zaman*.
 banana DEM CMPL UV-chop.down=3s.I PREP mother PN
 ‘He chopped down the banana tree for Zaman’s mother (or, at Zaman’s mother’s place)’.
- b. (?) ***Ta' Iyang Zaman*** *boi* Ø-*tebong=ni* *saging e*.³
- c. (?) ***Ta' Iyang Zaman*** *saging e* *boi* Ø-*tebong=ni*.
- (7.19) a. *Saging e boi* Ø-*tebong=ni* ***dilaw***.
 banana DEM CMPL UV-chop.down=3s.I yesterday
 ‘He chopped down the banana tree yesterday.’
- b. ***Dilaw*** *boi* Ø-*tebong=ni* *saging e*.
- c. ***Dilaw*** *saging e* *boi* Ø-*tebong=ni*.

In each of these examples, (a) shows the oblique element in its normal position at the end of the clause; (b) shows the fronted oblique element and no preverbal subject argument; and (c) shows the fronted oblique element with the preverbal subject argument.

³ In (7.18), both (b) and (c) were accepted by two of three language consultant, but they were not easily accepted by the third consultant. Note that, according to one consultant, (b) and (c) can only mean ‘at Iyang Zaman’s place’ whereas in (a) the benefactive interpretation ‘for Iyang Zaman’ is also possible and perhaps even preferred. Further investigation is needed as to the variable semantic interpretations possible with oblique NPs (whether arguments or adjuncts) depending on where they occur in the clause.

Similar results are seen for AV clauses. Note, for example, the AV versions of (7.17) shown in (7.20) below:

- (7.20) a. *Iyo boi nge-dede-an sinsim e ta' Azizy.*
 3s-II CMPL AV-send-TZ ring DEM PREP PN
 'She sent the ring to Azizy.'
- b. *Ta' Azizy iyo boi nge-dede-an sinsim e.*

7.2.2.1 'secondary objects' and oblique fronting

Secondary objects in WC Bajau are not eligible for oblique fronting. A 'secondary object' is formed by the addition of the applicative *-an₁* suffix to a transitive verb, promoting a new argument to direct core (and undergoer) status. The initial undergoer loses its macrorole status, but does it retain direct core argument status? That is, does it become a secondary object or is it demoted to an oblique? Evidence from fronting indicates that the initial undergoer is still a direct core argument. In (7.21) below, note that the secondary object does not undergo oblique fronting:

- (7.21) a. *Telumpa' e boi Ø-beli=ni ta' Kuzik*
 shoes DEM CMPL UV-buy=3s.I PREP PN
 'She bought the shoes for Kuzik.'
- b. *Kuzik boi Ø-beli-an=ni telumpa' e dilaw.*
 PN CMPL UV-buy-APPL=3s.I shoes DEM yesterday
 'She bought Kuzik the shoes yesterday.'
- c. (*?) *Telumpa' e Kuzik boi Ø-beli-an=ni.*
 'She bought Kuzik the shoes.'
- d. *Dilaw Kuzik boi Ø-beli-an=ni telumpa' e.*
 'Yesterday she bought Kuzik the shoes.'

In the above example, (a) shows the transitive verb *beli* 'buy' without the applicative, in which *telumpa'* 'shoes' is the (subject) undergoer. In (b) the addition of the *-an₁* applicative promotes the beneficiary *Kuzik* to undergoer status, and since the clause is UV, the undergoer is also the subject.

The crucial example is (c), which shows that the attempt to front the initial undergoer *telumpa'* fails, whereas in (d) the adverbial adjunct *dilaw* 'yesterday' is fronted without difficulty. The evidence suggests that the initial undergoer *telumpa'* has become a secondary object rather than an oblique, since it does not undergo oblique fronting.⁴

7.2.2.2 Ineligibility of passive actors for fronting

As for the demoted actor of the passive construction, which shows oblique properties such as being preceded by the preposition *le'* and its optional deletion from the clause, we might expect it to show the additional oblique property of fronting. However, oblique actors apparently cannot be fronted, as shown in (7.22) below:

(7.22)

- a. *Telumpa' e boi b-in-eli le'=ku.*
 shoes DEM COMPL -PASS-buy PREP=1s-I
 'Those shoes were bought by me.'
- b. **Le'=ku boi b-in-eli telumpa' e.*
- c. **Le'=ku telumpa' e boi b-in-eli.*

Since oblique actors do show other oblique properties, it appears that their ineligibility for fronting owes to some other restriction associated with the *le'* construction itself. Note that the *le'* construction contrasts with the *oleh* passive actor in Indonesian, which may be fronted for emphasis (Sneddon 1996:259-60).

7.2.2.3 Pragmatic status of fronted adjuncts

The available evidence shows that the fronted adjunct must be focal. Consider the following question-answer pair:

⁴ However, when the secondary object is required to be interpreted as narrow focused, there is somewhat greater acceptability of the secondary object being fronted, as shown in §10.2.1.1, example (10.11).

(7.23)

A. *Iyan boi Ø-beli=ni dilaw?*
what CMPL UV-buy=3s-I yesterday
'What did he buy yesterday?'

B. (i) *Telumpa' e boi Ø-beli Kuzik (dilaw).*
shoes DEM CMPL UV-buy PN yesterday
'Kuzik bought those shoes (yesterday).'

(ii) (?) *Dilaw telumpa' e boi Ø-beli=ni.*

(iii) *Dilaw, telumpa' e boi Ø-beli=ni.*

For the question in (7.23) (A), the supplied focal information is the undergoer *telumpa'* 'shoes'. The adjunct *dilaw* 'yesterday' is given information, and as shown in (7.23) (B.ii), it is only marginally acceptable to front it.⁵ Note that the adverbial adjunct *dilaw* 'yesterday' may precede the undergoer subject when it is separated intonationally by a pause (thus in a left-detached position, outside of the clause boundary) as in (7.23) (B.iii). Here there is no difficulty, because an element in the left-detached position is understood to be topical, not focal (§7.3.1).

When the adverbial adjunct is focal, however, as in (7.24) below, it can be fronted:

(7.24)

A. *Emberen telumpa' e boi Ø-beli Kuzik?*
when shoes DEM CMPL UV-buy PN
'When did Kuzik buy those shoes?'

B. (i) *Telumpa' e boi Ø-beli=ni dilaw.*
shoes DEM CMPL UV-buy=3s.I yesterday
'He bought the shoes yesterday.'

(ii) *Dilaw telumpa' e boi Ø-beli=ni.*

⁵ The fact that it was even marginally acceptable to front the adverbial oblique *dilaw* when topical suggests that adverbial obliques may be less constrained by pragmatic factors than NP obliques, where fronting of the topical oblique was never acceptable. Greater flexibility of *dilaw* in this regard was also observed elsewhere in the data.

For the question in (7.24) (A), the focal information supplied in the answer is the time of the action, here the adverbial adjunct *dilaw* ‘yesterday’. As the focal element of the clause, *dilaw* may occur either clause-final or clause-initial. (Recall that with narrow focus, the focal NP subject is clause-initial, while with UV predicate focus, the focal NP is clause-final.) Note in (7.24) above that (B.ii) is fine, but the same clause was questionable when *dilaw* was not focal (7.23) (Bii). In (7.24) there is no need to insert a pause between the fronted adjunct *dilaw* and the fronted subject *telumpa*, for the subject is not focal in this case, and there is no competition for a single preverbal focal slot in the clause.

Similar results obtain when the focal element is an adjunct NP, whether a benefactive PP (7.25) or a locative PP (7.26):

(7.25)

A. *Saging e boi Ø-tebong=nu ta' sian?*
 banana DEM CMPL UV-chop.down=2s.I PREP who
 ‘For whom did you cut down the banana tree? / At whose (place) did you chop down the banana tree?’

B. (i) *Saging e boi Ø-tebong=ku ta' Nisah.*
 banana DEM CMPL UV-chop.down=1s.I PREP PN
 ‘I chopped down the banana tree for Nisah / at Nisah’s (place).’

(ii) *Ta' Nisah saging e boi Ø-tebong=ku.*

(7.26)

A. *Minggo boi Ø-tedak-an=nu diing e?*
 where CMPL UV-cut.open-TZ=2s.I fish DEM
 ‘Where did you clean the fish?’

B. (i) *Diing e boi Ø-tedakan-an =ku en-suang.*
 fish DEM CMPL UV-cut.open-TZ =1s.I PREP-river
 ‘I cleaned the fish at the river.’

(ii) *En-suang diing e boi Ø-tedak-an=ku.*

Both (7.25) and (7.26) show that the focal adjunct NP may be fronted. Furthermore, a topical adjunct NP cannot be fronted. Note the following example:

(7.27)

A. *Iyan boi Ø-beli=nu ta' Kuzik?*
 what CMPL UV-buy=2s.I PREP PN
 'What did you buy for Kuzik?'

B. (i) *Telumpa' jo boi Ø-beli=ku m-iyo.*
 shoes FOC CMPL UV-buy=2s.I PREP-3s.II
 'I bought shoes for him.'

(ii) **Ta' Kuzik boi Ø-beli=ku telumpa' e.*

(iii) **Ta' Kuzik telumpa' e Ø-boi beli=ku.*

In (7.27) (B) the focal NP may be fronted (i), but the non-focal adjunct NP may not be fronted, regardless of the position of the subject (ii-iii).

Note that a preverbal subject cannot be focal with a fronted oblique; it must be pre-supposed (topical) information.⁶ For a fronted oblique to occur with a preverbal subject that is identified as focal, there must be an intonation break between the oblique and the rest of the utterance. In the following example, the preverbal subject is identified as focal because it is a WH-word (7.28):

(7.28) a. *(*)Ta' Pirik sian boi nge-dede-an ruti' e?*
 PREP PN who CMPL AV-send-TZ bread DEM
 'Who sent the bread to Pirik?'

b. *Ta' Pirik, sian boi nge-dede-an ruti' e?*

As shown above, a preverbal subject that is preceded by a (fronted) oblique is normally interpreted to be topical, unless the oblique is intonationally separated from the main clause as an extracausal constituent.

⁶ At least, this appears to be true when the oblique is an NP. With adverbial obliques (such as *dilaw* 'yesterday') more investigation is needed.

7.2.3 *A proposal for the pragmatic structure of the clause*

We have seen that a fronted subject may be either non-focal or focal (§7.1.1). Fronting is possible with an oblique element, whether an oblique core argument or an adjunct, and the fronted oblique is normally interpreted as focal unless it is in a left-dislocated position in the clause. One way to analyze these results is to posit two pragmatic preverbal slots within the clause: a topic slot and a focus slot. The topic slot occurs nearer to the verb and the focus slot occurs further away from the verb. A subject or any oblique element is eligible to fill the focus slot,⁷ but only the subject is eligible for the topic slot. The fronted subject in the topic slot will be referred to as the INTERNAL TOPIC (in contrast to the EXTERNAL TOPIC which is a left-dislocated item and occurs external to the clause, as discussed in §7.3).⁸ Note that ‘internal topic’ as used here does not necessarily refer to the most topical element in the clause, but it does refer to known or given information (non-focal) as opposed to new information. The pragmatic structure of the WC Bajau clause may be illustrated as follows:

(7.29)	(FOC)	(TOP)	PRED
	subject (?)	subject	
	oblique		

This pragmatic structure indicates that it is never possible to front a topical oblique element (within the clause). Note also that, in addition to the focus position identified in (7.29), a focal element may occur in its (unmarked) position at the end of the clause core.

An item filling the preverbal focus slot is sometimes followed by the *no* particle. When the focal particle *no* (§12.6.1) occurs following an NP, oblique, or auxiliary element (such as the completive

⁷ As discussed in the section on clefting (§7.2), an alternative analysis would be that focal subjects are obligatorily clefted, in which case only obliques could fill the preverbal focus slot in the clause. Because of this possibility, the listing of ‘subject’ under the preverbal focus slot in (7.29) is shown as questionable.

⁸ These terms are also used by Aissen (1992), who proposes distinct preverbal ‘internal topic’ and ‘external topic’ positions and a preverbal focus position in Mayan on the basis of their syntactic and intonational properties. Her ‘external topic’ is essentially equivalent to what is usually called a left-dislocated element.

aspect particle *boi*) it marks pragmatic focus. More particularly, *no* appears to mark identificational (contrastive) focus, as discussed further in the section on clefting (§7.2). In the following example, the *no* particle after the fronted item ‘tags’ the item as focal (focused item plus *no* are in bold):

- (7.30) a. ***Sapi’ e*** ***no*** *boi* *Ø-beli* *Amzi* *m-iyo*.
 cow DEM FOC CMPL UV-buy PN PREP-3s.II
 ‘It was that cow which Amzi bought for him.’
- b. (?) ***M-iyo*** ***no*** *sapi’ e* *boi* *Ø-beli* *Amzi*.⁹
 PREP-3s.II FOC cow DEM CMPL UV-buy PN
 ‘(It was) from him Amzi bought the cow.’ (Lit. ‘At him Amzi bought the cow’).
- c. **M-iyo sapi’ e no boi Ø-beli Amzi*.

Example (7.30) (c) is ungrammatical because of a violation of the pragmatic structure of the clause. There is only one preverbal focus slot, and the focus slot is always external to the topic slot. Thus the *no*-tagged (focused) item must occur clause-initial. In (c), the *no*-tagged item (*sapi’*) does not occur clause-initial, and the sentence is not good.¹⁰

In order to show that *no* can never occur with topical NPs, the relevant parts of examples (7.1)-(7.2) are repeated below in (7.31)-(7.32), but with the focal particles *no* or *jo* inserted after the preverbal topical subject NP:

- (7.31)
 A. *Iyan boi Ø-beli Azizy?*
 what CMPL UV-buy PN
 ‘What did Azizy buy just now?’

⁹ This sentence was fine for two language helpers but questionable for the third. However, the difficulty could be due to the apparent change in interpretation from benefactive (7.30) (a) to locative (b) with the fronting of the preposition.

¹⁰ Aissen (1992), in her proposed pragmatic structures in Mayan, makes similar use of relative (linear) order constraints in order to identify the pragmatic status of a preverbal constituent. She notes that “if two NPs precede the predicate in Tzotzil, their interpretations and their morphosyntactic properties should be strictly determined by the order in which they occur” (51). In Tzotzil, however, the order of focus and (internal) topic are reversed from the order observed in WC Bajau.

- B. *Azizy *no/ *jo boi meli manuk.*
 PN FOC CMPL AV.buy chicken
 'Azizy bought chicken just now.'

(7.32)

- A. *Sian boi meli manuk e?*
 who CMPL AV.buy chicken DEM
 'Who bought the chicken(s)?'
- B. *Manuk e *no/ *jo boi Ø-beli Azizy.*
 chicken DEM FOC CMPL UV-buy PN
 'Azizy bought the chicken(s).'

As noted above, the *no* particle sometimes occurs after the completive aspect marker *boi* in cases where the completion of the action is itself focal, an apparent case of “auxiliary focus”.¹¹ In (7.33) below, the speaker asks the addressee when he plans to level his field. The addressee responds that he already leveled his field yesterday:

(7.33)

- A. *Emberen kau me-roto tana' e?*
 when 2s.II AV.CAUS-level ground DEM
 “When will you level the ground?”
- B. (i) *Boi no aku me-roto dilaw.*
 CMPL FOC 1s-II AV.CAUS-level yesterday
 “I already leveled (the field) yesterday.”
- (ii) *Boi (no) tana' e Ø-pe-roto=ku dilaw.*
 CMPL FOC ground DEM UV-CAUSlevel=1s.I yesterday
 “I already leveled the field yesterday.”

In (7.33), auxiliary *boi* is focal information, correcting the faulty assumption on the part of the questioner that the field had not yet been leveled. Auxiliary *boi* here has been fronted to the focus

¹¹ The term ‘auxiliary focus’ is taken from Hyman and Watters (1984), who consider the interaction of focus and tense-aspect in several African languages. The authors note that “auxiliary focus is subject to exactly the same distinctions and pitfalls as the more studied types” (i.e., focus on NPs) (236).

slot from its normal position just before the predicate. The *no* focus particle tags *boi* as focal information, though *no* is apparently not strictly necessary.¹²

When the pastness of the event is not focal, the auxiliary *boi* cannot be followed by *no*, as shown in (7.34) below:

- (7.34) A. *Ai ngini kau?*
 PERF why 2s.II
 ‘What happened to you?’ (Lit. ‘Why you?’)
- B. (i) *Boi Ø-keket uwa’ aku dilaw.*
 CMPL UV-bite dog 1s.II yesterday
 ‘A dog bit me yesterday.’
- (ii) **Boi no Ø-keket uwa’ aku dilaw.*

I account for the acceptable response in (7.34) (B.i) and the unacceptable response in (B.ii) as follows: in (i) *boi* occurs in its normal position directly before the predicate and is not in the preverbal focus slot. In (ii), however, the particle *no* signals that the item it tags is focal, forcing *boi* into the preverbal focus position. The sentence is unacceptable because, in the pragmatic context, the pastness of the event is not focal. Both speakers share the assumption that the event (whatever it was) had happened in the past.

7.3 Clefting

Although clefts are structurally distinct from the fronting operations discussed in the previous section, the cleft construction is presented in this chapter because of its pragmatic function of narrow focus. Adopting a similar definition to that of Payne (1997:278), a cleft construction is a type of clause that contains a predicate nominal. It has two required components: a noun phrase (NP_i) and a

¹² For the AV clause shown in (7.33) (B.i), the sentence without *no* was somewhat less acceptable than with *no*. For the UV clause shown in (B.ii), the sentence was fine either with or without *no*.

relative clause whose relativized NP is coreferential with NP_i. The general structure for a clause containing a predicate nominal is shown in (7.35) and the cleft construction is shown in (7.36) below:

(7.35) $S \rightarrow NP_i (COP) NP_i$

(7.36) $S \rightarrow NP_i (COP) [[\dots NP_{rel} \dots]_{S_{rel}}]_{NP_i}$

In WC Bajau, there is no overt copula verb. Since WC Bajau relative clauses employ a “gap” strategy (§14.2.1) by which the relativized NP is “gapped” or omitted, the NP within the relative clause does not occur in surface form. Since the clefted NP is a focal constituent, the focal particle *no* often follows it. Because WC Bajau lacks a relativizer such as *yang* in Malay, the presence of *no* following the clefted NP is sometimes the only morphosyntactic indicator that it is a cleft construction. However, since *no* may also occur after any element in the preverbal focus slot (see above, §7.1.3), even the presence of *no* does not uniquely identify a cleft in WC Bajau, as will be discussed further below.

The cleft construction in WC Bajau can be represented as follows:

(7.37) $S \rightarrow [NP_i (no)] [(N_i) [\dots(t) \dots]_{S_{rel}}]_{NP_i}$

In this formulation, the clefted NP_i may consist of a full noun phrase, a demonstrative pronoun, or a personal pronoun. The coreferential NP_i within the relative clause is omitted. An optional head noun, N_i, occurs prior to the relative clause. Examples of clefts with this pattern follow. Note that the omitted coreferential NP_i within the relative clause is represented here by a trace marker, (t). Examples (7.38)-(7.39) occur with the head noun N_i. Examples (7.40)-(7.42) occur without the head noun (the missing head noun is represented by \emptyset_i):

- (7.38) [*Iyo no*] [*jomo* [*boi* Ø-*keket uwa'* (t) *dilaw.*]_{Srel}]_{NPi}
 3s.II FOC person CMPL UV-bite dog yesterday
 'He is the one whom the dog bit yesterday.'
- (7.39) [*Itu no*] [*guuk* [*boi* Ø-*beli=ku* (t) *en-semio.*]_{Srel}]_{NPi}
 DEM FOC knife CMPL UV-buy=1s.I PREP-weekly.market
 'This is the knife that I bought at the weekly market.'
- (7.40) [*Guuk e no*] [Ø_i [*boi* Ø-*beli=ku* (t) *en-semio.*]_{Srel}]_{NPi}
 knife DEM FOC CMPL UV-buy=1s.I PREP-weekly.market
 'That knife is what I bought at the weekly market.'
- (7.41) [*E no*] [Ø_i [*boi* Ø-*beli ku* (t) *dilaw.*]_{Srel}]_{NPi}
 DEM FOC CMPL UV-buy 1s.I yesterday
 'That is what I bought yesterday.'
- (7.42) [*Iyo no*] [Ø_i [(t) *boi nabang-an kami ellaw e*]_{Srel}]_{NPi}
 3s.II FOC CMPL AV.help-TZ 1p.incl day DEM
 '(S)he is the one who helped us that day.'

Examples (7.38)-(7.41) show clefting of the undergoer, while (7.42) shows clefting of the actor.

While *no* often follows the clefted NP, it is not strictly obligatory, as shown in (7.43) below:

- (7.43) a. [*Itu no*] [*guuk* [*boi* Ø-*beli=ku en-semio.*]_{Srel}]_{NPi}
 DEM FOC knife CMPL UV-buy=1s.I PREP-weekly.market
 'This knife is what I bought at the market.'
- b. [*Itu*] [*guuk* [*boi* Ø-*beli=ku en-semio.*]_{Srel}]_{NPi}
 'This knife is what I bought at the market.'

When the head noun is explicit, as in (7.43), it is easy to identify the clause as a cleft construction. When there is no explicit head noun, as in (7.40), the sentence could be analyzed as a cleft, but it could also be analyzed as a case of 'normal fronting' where the preverbal subject NP occupies the focus slot position of the clause (see §6.1). In this case there is structural ambiguity. We might further ask how the preverbal focus position in a verbal clause compares to a cleft construction in terms of semantic features. Kiss (1998) distinguishes between IDENTIFICATIONAL

FOCUS and INFORMATION FOCUS. Identificational (contrastive) focus is typified by the cleft construction in English, where an exhaustive identification is required ('*x* and only *x*'). Information (presentational) focus merely conveys "new, nonpresupposed information marked by one or more pitch accents" (Kiss 1998: 246) and does not entail exhaustive identification. The difference may be shown in English by the following pair of sentences, where in (a) the focussed constituent is clefted, while in (b) the focussed constituent has intonational stress:

- (7.44) a. 'It was **to Frank** that I sent the letter.' (identificational focus)
b. 'I sent the letter **TO FRANK**.' (information focus)

In (7.44) (a), 'Frank' has exhaustive identification because he is the only possible recipient of the letter; whereas in (b) 'Frank' may or may not be the only recipient of the letter.

My present analysis is that a cleft construction in WC Bajau is always identificational focus, and that the particles *no* or *jo* following a preverbal NP express identificational focus (in whatever constructions they occur). The question remains whether a (normally preverbal) focal subject NP is always clefted, or whether it can occupy the preverbal focus slot in the clause (as suggested in (7.29)). If focal subject NPs are found to always have an identificational focus meaning, this would be evidence for their obligatory clefting.¹³ If, however, they can sometimes have an information focus meaning, then we would have evidence for a preverbal focus slot in the clause that includes subjects. More investigation is needed to determine the semantic interpretation of focal subject NPs.

The *no* particle, as we have seen, often occurs with clefts, but the cleft construction does not require it, since identificational focus is inherent to the construction itself. The *jo* particle following an NP normally means 'only', which requires an exhaustive identification reading of the NP and

¹³ In this case, focal NPs that had information focus (not identification focus) would have to be expressed as non-subjects, hence not fronted.

therefore entails identificational focus. It is possible that *jo* can replace *no* in a cleft construction, though this needs to be verified.

WH-words can appear as clefted elements, as shown in the following examples:

(7.45) *Sian no (jomo) boi nge-radu tana' e?*
 who FOC person CMPL AV-plow land DEM
 'Who is the one that plowed the land?'

(7.46) *Iyan no boi Ø-de-an¹⁴ iyang=ku miyo?*
 what FOC CMPL UV-send-TZ mother=1s.I PREP-3s.II
 'What is it that his mother sent to him?' / 'What did his mother send to him?'

Note again the problem of structural ambiguity in (7.46), where there is no explicit head noun. The sentence could be interpreted as either a cleft (with the WH-word *iyang* as the clefted NP) or as normal fronting (with the WH-word occupying the preverbal focus slot in the clause). In either case, it appears that we have identificational focus, though I would need to check the interpretation for (7.46). As is true with other focal subject NPs, it is possible that (fronted) WH-words are always clefted, in which case they would of course be identificational focus.

7.4 Left-dislocation

Unlike normal fronting (§7.1), which involves fronting within the clause boundary, left-dislocation “refers to the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause” (Payne 1997:273-5). Payne cites the following “rules of thumb” for identifying a left-dislocation construction:

1. the initial NP is repeated within the clause by a free referring form, and
2. a pause or special particle can naturally occur between the initial NP and the the clause

¹⁴ The form *de-an* ‘to send’ is a shortened form of *dede-an*.

Both of these conditions are met for a particular construction in WC Bajau. In left-dislocation, the initial NP is repeated within the clause by a resumptive personal pronoun or demonstrative pronoun, and a pause separates the initial NP from the clause.¹⁵ The resumptive personal pronoun is required for the construction to be grammatical. It is not clear whether a pause is also required. See (7.47) below (the resumptive pronoun in (a) is in bold type):

(7.47) a. *Gandum e, bu'=ku boi ng-endo'=ni dilaw.*
 corn DEM aunt=1s.I CMPL AV-take=3s.I yesterday
 'The corn, my aunt picked it yesterday.'

b. **Gandum e, bu'=ku boi ng-endo' dilaw* [no resumptive pronoun]

Example (7.47) (a) shows a well-formed left-dislocation construction; (7.47) (b) shows that the construction requires the resumptive pronoun in order to be grammatical.

In (7.47) the dislocated element is the non-subject undergoer. In fact, any grammatical relation (including non-subject DCAs and obliques) may undergo left-dislocation. Given that non-subject DCAs cannot normally be fronted within the clause, this is evidence for the extra-clausal position of the dislocated element. In (7.48) below, the dislocated NP is the non-subject actor; in (7.49), the subject undergoer; in (7.50), an oblique beneficiary; in (7.51), an oblique of location; in (7.52), a possessor. In these examples, the resumptive pronoun within the clause is again shown in bold:

(7.48) *Bu'=ku, boi Ø-endo'=ni gandum e dilaw.*
 aunt=1s.I CMPL UV-take=3s.I corn DEM yesterday
 'My aunt, she picked the corn yesterday.'

(7.49) *Anak bua=ku, boi iyo Ø-enda'=ku eng-kaday, nyaun.*
 nephew/niece=1s-I CMPL 3s.II UV-look=1s.I PREP-town NEG.EXIST
 'My nephew, I looked for him in the town. Nothing (of him did I see).'

¹⁵ I have not found any clear cases of right-dislocation in the corpus, nor has this construction been elicited, though this does not mean that right-dislocation never occurs in WC Bajau.

- (7.50) *Ta' Kuzik, boi Ø-beli-an=ku iyo sapi*.¹⁶
 PREP PN CMPL UV-buy-APPL=1s.I 3s.II cow
 'Kuzik, I bought him a cow.'
- (7.51) (?) *Eng-kaday e, ai no telu en-taun aku timban me*.
 PREP-town DEM already three CNT-year 1s.II live there
 'That town, I have stayed there for three years.'
- (7.52) *Gula' tebu tu, yang te-rati=ku lah, telu kau' jenis=ni*.
 cane.sugar DEM REL DC.PASS-know=1s.I EMP three CL kind=3s.I
 'This cane sugar, from what I know, it has three kinds.' (nandas tebu 106)

Note that, especially when the dislocated NP is a possessor, it is not clear whether an intonation break is required between the dislocated NP and the rest of the sentence. Some examples of this construction have been found in written texts where no pause is recorded (i.e. with a comma).

Example:

- (7.53) *"Ngini kampung=ti tu iko bana langaw=ni?"*
 why village=1p.I(incl.) DEM many very fly=3s.I
 "Why does our village have so many flies?" (masala langaw 008)
- (7.54) *"iyang sesok napas=ni balik."*
 mother press.down breath=3s.I again
 "... Mother's breathing is labored again." (beta' kerungayan 048)

The resumptive pronoun may be a demonstrative pronoun:

- (7.55) *Gandum e, bu'=ku boi ng-endo' e dilaw*.
 corn DEM aunt=1s-I CMPL AV-take DEM yesterday
 'The corn, my aunt picked it yesterday.'

Note that the left-dislocated item may occur prior to a (fronted) questioned subject NP:

¹⁶ Note in this example that the left-dislocated NP (*ta' Kuzik*) is an (oblique) PP, but within the clause this referent is expressed as a (non-oblique) subject NP. This 'category mismatch', which is explainable on the assumption that the dislocated item is base-generated (cf. Bresnan 2001:19-22), provides further evidence that the left-dislocated item is in fact clause-external.

- (7.56) *Kambing e, sian nembali=ni kaang?*
 goat DEM who AV-slaughter=3s.I later
 ‘The goat, who will slaughter it later?’

Example (7.56) provides further evidence that the initial NP in this construction occurs outside of the syntactic boundary of the clause. The NP *sian* ‘who’, as a question word, is necessarily focal and therefore occupies the preverbal focus slot in the clause. Recall from §7.1.3 above that the focus position is furthest out from the predicate. The occurrence of *kambing e* ‘goat’ preceding the focal NP would violate the pragmatic structure of the clause unless the left-most constituent was outside the syntactic boundary of the clause.

7.4.1 Pragmatic status of left-dislocated constituents

Cross-linguistically, left-dislocation is a form of topicalization, where the extraclassal (external) topic is the topic about which the following clause is the comment (Kroeger 2004:137). The evidence in WC Bajau supports the topical status of the left-dislocated item, as shown by (7.57) and (7.58) below:

- (7.57) A. *Boi Ø-beli=nu buas e?*
 CMPL UV-buy=2s-I rice DEM
 ‘Did you buy the rice?’
- B. **Gandum, aku meli=ni, enggai ko’ buas.*
 corn 1s.II AV.buy=2s.I NEG PRT rice
 ‘Corn, I bought it, not rice.’
- (7.58) A. *Boi kau meli gandum e?*
 CMPL 2s.II AV.buy corn DEM
 ‘Did you buy the corn?’
- B. *Gandum e, Azizy meli=ni, enggai ko’ aku.*
 corn DEM PN AV.buy=3s-I NEG PRT 1s.II
 ‘The corn, Azizy bought it, not I.’

In (7.57), there is contrastive focus, because the assumption by Speaker A that rice was bought must be corrected in the assertion by Speaker B that it was corn instead that was bought. Here *gandum* ‘corn’ is the focal NP, and it cannot appear in the dislocated position. In (7.58), there is also contrastive focus, but the focal NP is *Azizy*, not *gandum*. In this case, *gandum* is the topical NP, and it can appear in the dislocated position as an external topic.

CHAPTER 8

THE QUANTIFIED ANALYSIS OF VOICE

8.1 Introduction

In chapter five I introduced some aspects of the debate over how to analyze ‘focus’ or ‘voice’ in western Austronesian languages. I noted that there were at least two proposals for how to characterize the alternation between actor voice and undergoer voice(s) in western Austronesian languages: the ‘ergative/ antipassive’ analysis and the ‘symmetrical voice’ analysis. Much of the debate hinges on whether the AV construction is transitive or intransitive. In Chapter 6 I described the basic UV and AV clause types, showing evidence for ‘symmetrical voice’ based on word order, the possibility of a VP in each voice, and the morphosyntactic expression of the actor and undergoer in both voices. In this chapter, I present data based on the frequency distribution of UV, AV, and passive clauses in eight WC Bajau narrative texts, in order to address two questions: (1) does the frequency distribution of voice in texts support the ‘symmetrical voice’ analysis of WC Bajau? (2) what are some of the discourse determinants of voice selection in WC Bajau? In §8.2 I present the frequency distribution of the three voices in WC Bajau, as well as the counts of AV and UV undergoers with regard to their referential status. In the following sections I discuss some possible determinants of voice selection in WC Bajau, namely, topicality (§8.3) and grounding (§8.4), and the relationship between voice, grounding, and word order (§8.5).

8.2 The distribution of AV, UV, and passive clauses in texts

Givón (1994) considers the measurement of frequency distribution of voice in text be one way of diagnosing voice constructions according to their pragmatic function. He notes that the distribution profile established by Cooreman (1987) for Chamorro narrative has proven to be “remarkably stable

cross-linguistically” in helping to “tell voice constructions apart” (11). In Chamorro, four voice constructions are recognized: one transitive ‘active-direct’ voice, and three “de-transitive” voices ‘inverse’, ‘passive’, and ‘antipassive’. The frequency distribution of these four voices in Chamorro narrative text are reproduced below from Cooreman (1987) and Givón (1994):

Table 8.1 Distribution of voice constructions for semantically transitive clauses in Chamorro narrative text

Voice construction	N	%
Active-direct	601	72.0
Inverse (- <i>in</i> -)	134	16.1
Passive (<i>ma</i> -)	35	4.2
Antipassive	64	7.7
Total:	834	100.0

Givón (1994:8-9) defines these four voices in terms of their pragmatic function. In active-direct clauses, the agent is more topical than the patient but the patient “retains considerable topicality”. In inverse clauses, the patient is more topical than the agent but the agent “retains considerable topicality”. In passive clauses, the patient is more topical than the agent, and the agent is “extremely non-topical”. In antipassive clauses, the agent is more topical than the patient, and the patient is “extremely non-topical”.

It is not apparent that WC Bajau has functional equivalents of all four of these types. Of particular relevance to the present discussion is the comparison of frequency of Chamorro’s antipassive construction with the *N*- voice construction in WC Bajau, since the nasal construction in some related languages to WC Bajau (including Sama Bangingi’ and Pangutaran Sama) have been analyzed as antipassive. Also, the possibility must be considered that the UV construction in WC

Bajau is functionally inverse, that is, both agent and patient are highly topical but the patient outranks the agent in topicality.

In order to determine the distribution of AV, UV, and passive clauses in WC Bajau, a count was performed on eight WC Bajau narrative texts. Six of the texts were folk tales, one was a personal experience narrative, and one was the narrative of the exploits of an historical figure. The texts represent a diversity of authors and sub-types of the narrative genre.¹ For each semantically transitive clause, it was determined:

- whether UV, AV, or the passive voice was used;
- for AV clauses, whether the clause was (syntactically) intransitive or transitive; and if transitive, whether the patient was specific or non-specific;²
- for both UV and AV clauses, whether a specific undergoer was definite (identifiable) or indefinite (non-identifiable)

Note that cases where the choice of AV (or UV) was grammatically determined (by the construction itself) were excluded, as often happens with dependent clauses, relative clauses, questions, and clefts (see Payne 1994:328-30). For instance, a complement or subordinate clause may contain an actor argument that is controlled by some argument in the matrix clause. Grammatically-determined voice constructions must be excluded when considering the determinants of voice selection because here there is no ‘choice’ of which voice to select; which voice occurs is predetermined by the construction itself. Note the following examples, where the grammatically

¹ The eight texts used for the quantitative study, listed alphabetically, are as follows: (1) *Asal linta*; (2) *Asal namuk*; (3) *Baginda Ali*; (4) *Bekanaan Sultan Salaudin*; (5) *Beta’ kerungayan*; (6) *Jomo pisok*; (7) *Kisa dangan dela piatu*; (8) *Mat Salleh*. For more details concerning these texts (and those in the wider corpus), see Appendix B.

² Cases of zero-anaphora for the AV undergoer were counted as syntactically transitive clauses. The discourse context usually made clear whether the absence of the undergoer was due to zero-anaphora or to unspecified patient deletion.

required verb occurs in a relative clause (8.1), a complement clause (8.2), and an adverbial purpose clause (8.3):

(8.1) ... *si-temu no iyo engko' jomo* [*boi mono' sioko=ni.*]
 REC-meet FOC 3s.II PREP person CMPL AV.kill older.sibling=3s.I
 '... he met with the man who had killed his older brother.' (baginda 031)

(8.2) *Iyang=ku nuba'* [*ng-angkat saging e*].
 mother=1s.I AV.try AV-lift banana DEM
 'My mother tried to lift the bananas.'

(8.3) *Ramay-ramay gai ng-ogo* [*ng-enda' kayu e*].
 many.people-REDUP 3p AV-go.to AV-look.at tree DEM
 'Many people went to look at the tree.' (kayu ebba' 004)

These uses of AV, since they are grammatically determined, are not included in the quantitative count of voice.³

The results of the distribution studies of voice type, and the undergoer types of both AV and UV clauses, are indicated in Tables 8.2-8.5 below.

Table 8.2 Text frequency of voices

Voice type	Number of clauses
AV	105 (52.0%)
UV	62 (30.7%)
Passive (-in-)	35 (17.3%)
Total	202 (100%)

As indicated by Table 8.2, the proportion of AV clauses in the sample of WC Bajau texts is 105 out of 202, or 52.0%, a much higher percentage than that reported by Cooreman (1987) for Chamorro antipassives, which is only 7.7%. On the other hand, the proportion of AV clauses in WC Bajau is much lower than the 72.0% reported for the 'active-direct' voice in Chamorro. As for the UV

³ Not all subordinate clauses involve grammatically determined voice selection. For example, adverbial time clauses (§14.4.1.1) and control verbs of the 'want/expect' type (§14.3.3.3) do not require AV in the subordinate clause. Thus I did not exclude a priori all subordinate clauses from my quantified counts.

clauses, they occurred 62 times out of 202, or 30.7%, which is considerably lower than the frequency of AV clauses but almost twice as high as the frequency of the ‘inverse’ construction reported for Chamorro (16.1%). It seems that neither AV nor UV fit comfortably the functional types that are described for Chamorro, at least on the basis of frequency distribution.⁴

In Table 8.3 below, only those clauses for each voice were counted that are syntactically transitive and where both actor and undergoer arguments are specific:

Table 8.3 Text frequency of voices (transitive)

Voice type	Number of clauses
AV	60 (42.8%)
UV	61 (43.6%)
Passive (-in-)	19 (13.6%)
Totals:	140 (100.0%)

The eight texts contained nearly the same number of transitive AV clauses (60) and UV clauses (61), which suggests a symmetrical voice pattern in that the two voice constructions ‘share the load’ in the expression of such clauses.

Table 8.4 Status of AV patients

Status of AV patient	Number of clauses
Syntactically oblique	18 (17.1%)
Inherent/ non-specific	27 (25.7%)
Indefinite and specific	13 (12.4%)
Definite and specific	47 (44.8%)
Totals:	105 (100.0%)

Table 8.4 shows that the number of definite and specific AV undergoers (47) is nearly one half of the total, indicating that, while AV can be used for syntactically intransitive clauses, inherent (non-

⁴ It is true that Chamorro has four distinct syntactic voice constructions whereas WC Bajau has only three, thus their voice distribution percentages are not strictly comparable. Even so, the very different distribution profiles between the two languages (e.g., no obvious ‘antipassive’ counterpart in WC Bajau) are revealing.

specific) arguments, and indefinite undergoers, it is almost as likely to be used for definite and specific undergoers. This is in marked contrast to the antipassive described for Chamorro, where Cooreman found that 93.7% of antipassives were accompanied by indefinite patients (1987:69).

Table 8.5 Status of UV patients

Status of UV undergoer	Number of clauses
Indefinite and non-specific	1 (1.6%)
Indefinite (newly-introduced) and specific	2 (3.2%)
Definite and specific	59 (95.2%)
Totals:	62 (100.0%)

Table 8.5 shows that the great majority (95.2%) of UV undergoers are both definite and specific. Taken together with Table 8.4, we see that of the 106 tokens of definite and specific undergoers in the eight texts, AV was used 44.3% of the time (47 of 106) and UV was used 55.7% of the time (59 of 106). Thus, AV was nearly as likely as UV to express a definite and specific undergoer.

From a distributional perspective, the AV construction in WC Bajau looks very unlike the antipassive in Chamorro. The high overall distributional frequency of AV in WC Bajau, as well as the likelihood of an AV verb to express a definite and specific undergoer, make the AV construction sometimes function parallel to the UV construction. (The difference, of course, is that the AV construction is more versatile in being able to accommodate inherent or unexpressed (zero) patients and oblique-marked patients.) In fact, WC Bajau patterns closely with symmetrical languages such as Balinese, which also has the three-voice pattern of actor-voice, undergoer-voice, and passive. Pastika (1999:62) found for Balinese that the actor-voice frequency in text was 57.27% (compare with 52.0% for WC Bajau). Indonesian has somewhat higher reported frequencies of actor-voice in semantically

transitive clauses in narrative, such as 72.7% (Cumming 1995:255) or 63.1% (Uhrbach 1988).⁵ This is not surprising, given that modern Indonesian/ Malay probably has only one transitive voice (the actor voice, marked with *meN-*) and two ‘passives’, rather than a symmetrical voice system.⁶

It is worth comparing the frequency distribution of voice in WC Bajau with another language in the Sama-Bajaw family, Sama Bangingi’. Gault (1999) analyzes Bangingi’ as syntactically ergative with an antipassive construction (equivalent to agent focus). In a count of agent focus vs. non-agent focus in seven Bangingi’ narrative texts, she found that “approximately 75% were non-agent focus, and 25% agent focus” (61).⁷ The occurrence of agent focus in Bangingi’ is much lower than the frequency found in WC Bajau and Balinese. In Bangingi’, agent focus “decreases the topicality of the undergoer” in that the non-agent argument is marked as oblique in the syntax, is deleted or ‘semantically incorporated’ into the verb, and/or is associated with unrealized events or new information. While the WC Bajau AV construction is often used in these circumstances, it is equally capable of expressing the non-agent argument where there is no obvious decrease in undergoer topicality. In contrast, in Bangingi’ “if the undergoer is given information, then undergoer focus is required in most instances” (Gault 1999:9).

In conclusion, the distributional evidence shows that the AV construction in WC Bajau is not infrequently used to express definite and specific undergoers, which show no evidence of demotion (syntactic or otherwise). Thus, we would be hard pressed to conclude that WC Bajau is syntactically ergative, with the AV corresponding to an antipassive construction. The preferred analysis is to posit

⁵ Uhrbach (1988) apparently included dependent clauses in her count, whereas the figure given for Cumming (1995) included only main clauses.

⁶ This statement needs some qualification. Indonesian has two so-called passives, a zero-marked passive and a *di-*marked passive. The actor of the zero passive, and the actor of the *di-*passive when expressed as the pronominal third person enclitic =*nya*, do show certain core-like properties (see Arka 2005). In these instances it may be possible to speak of a transitive or ‘semi-transitive’ undergoer voice in Indonesian. Uhrbach (1988) notes that the zero-passive in Indonesian “encodes agents that are often the topic of discourse”, showing higher topicality even than for the actor of the *meng-* construction. Hence the ‘zero-passive’ does not function like a typical passive on the discourse level in Indonesian.

⁷ Apparently Gault did not distinguish between main and dependent clauses in her count.

two transitive voices, UV and AV, with the AV (unlike UV) able to accommodate patients that are inherent arguments (non-specific) and/or in which the patient has been syntactically demoted, either through oblique marking (with certain verbs) or non-expression of an inherent argument.

The symmetrical voice analysis raises some interesting questions. First, if both UV and AV may be transitive, what motivates the selection of one voice over another? Second, if the UV and the passive share the feature of a highly topical patient which is also the subject, what distinguishes these two voices from a discourse standpoint? We turn now to the question of some possible determinants of voice selection in discourse.

8.3 Voice selection and topicality

The notion of topicality has been defined in various ways (see Payne 1997:270). The one adopted here is that of Givón (1983), who refers to topicality as the degree of continuity of a participant in discourse. Topicality can be quantified by the measures of referential distance (RD) and topic persistence (TP), as developed by Givón (1983, 1994). RD is a measure of “anaphoric accessibility”, and tracks the occurrences of the referent in previous clauses. TP is a measure of “cataphoric persistence”, and tracks the occurrences of the referent in the following text (Givón 1994:9).

I have not determined the RD or TP values for any of the referents in WC Bajau texts. It is instructive, however, to note the results of topicality measurement in other western Austronesian languages, because topic continuity has been shown to have an important role in determining voice selection in the symmetrical-voice languages Pendau (see Quick 2003) and Balinese (see Pastika 1999, Arka 2003). In both of these languages, application of Givón’s (1994) and (for Pendau) Dryer’s (1994) methods for measuring topic continuity has shown that the topicality of the undergoer is a significant factor in determining voice selection. Pastika (1999:241) found that for Balinese,

while both transitive voices were associated with a highly topical agent, the ‘nasal transitive’ (NT, analogous to WC Bajau AV) was more likely to occur with a non-topical patient, whereas the ‘zero transitive’ (ZT, analogous to WC Bajau UV) was more likely to occur with a highly topical patient. Quick (2003:541) found for Pendau that the relative topicality of both actor and undergoer arguments was important: actor voice was used when the actor was more topical than the undergoer, while undergoer voice was used when the undergoer was equally topical or more topical than the actor.

As noted above, I have not done the quantitative counts to determine what correlation (if any) topic continuity has with voice in WC Bajau. My prediction, however, is that in WC Bajau choice of AV or UV is determined in part by the relative topicality of the undergoer. There is some empirical support for this: an indefinite undergoer NP occurs in an AV clause, seldom in a UV clause. Indefinite NPs are of low topicality in that they generally encode newly introduced referents to the discourse. Thus an undergoer of lowest topicality ‘selects for’ AV over UV. But what about cases where the undergoer and the actor are both topical? Does relative topicality of the actor become important here? These questions can only be answered by doing the quantitative counts of RD and TP, which has not been done here.

What about topicality and the choice of UV vs. passive? In both constructions the undergoer subject is normally definite and specific, and presumably of high topicality. But whereas in UV the actor also tends to be highly topical, in the passive the actor is fairly often not specific (thus not topical). Of the 35 *-in-* passives that occurred in the eight narrative texts, 19 had a specific actor (often left unexpressed unless introduced for the first time) and the remaining 16 had a non-specific actor. Even when the passive actor was specific, it was often plural, and plural referents in general are less highly identifiable than singular referents. If degree of identifiability is assumed to be

roughly indicative of topicality,⁸ these results mean that the passive actor is often not topical or of relatively low topicality, as would be expected of a passive construction in that the actor argument is demoted.

8.4 Voice selection and grounding

In addition to topicality, another possible factor in determining voice selection in WC Bajau is grounding. I follow Hopper's (1979) distinction between foreground and background information. FOREGROUND refers to the "actual story line.... the parts of the narrative which relate to events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse" (213). Foregrounded events are usually punctual rather than durative and they generally involve dynamic action. BACKGROUND is the "supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events." Backgrounded clauses are "concurrent with" foregrounded events and have an amplifying or commenting function. Thus the difference between foreground and background is at least partly one of sequentiality (214; see also Longacre 1996:25). Backgrounded material includes past progressive activities, setting, irrealis, or preposed/adverbial clauses with a back-reference/ cohesive function (cf. Longacre's [1996] salience scheme for English narrative). In WC Bajau, discourse particles such as *no* (§12.6.1) and *pan* (§12.6.3) have as one of their functions the marking of sequential action on the story line. However, voice (and word order; see §8.6.3.1 below) also appear to be involved.

A correlation between voice and grounding has been observed for other western Austronesian languages. Wouk (1996:376-77), describing Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (SJI), finds that 'actor-trigger' (AT) clauses more frequently encode background material (75%) than foreground material (25%), while 'patient-trigger' (PT) clauses are distributed almost equally between background (52%) and foreground (48%). She is careful to note that, though a correlation in SJI exists between voice

⁸ The correlation is 'rough' at best since, as pointed out to me by Laurel Smith Stvan (p.c.), givenness is not equivalent to continuity of a participant (topicality). For example, a participant may be given (old) information for the hearer but new in the discourse. In Prince's (1981) terms, this corresponds to 'unused' or 'inferrable' entities, which are to some degree familiar to the hearer even though they are newly mentioned in the discourse.

and grounding, the correlation is too weak to claim that voice selection would be determined by ‘transitivity’ (including grounding). Pastika (1999) finds for Balinese that the zero-transitive (ZT) construction “is a reasonably good predictor of FG [foreground], while the nasal transitive (NT) construction “is a very good predictor for BG [background].” Pastika found that 61% of ZT clauses in Balinese were foregrounded and 75% of NT clauses were backgrounded. In addition, he noted that 90% of *ka-* passives were backgrounded.

In order to determine whether a correlation between voice and grounding occurs in WC Bajau, I determined, for each semantically transitive verb in the eight narrative texts, whether its clause was foreground or background material (excluding direct speech). The results are shown in Tables 8.6-8.7 below.⁹

Table 8.6 Distribution of grounding for the three voices

Voices	Foreground clauses	Background clauses	Totals
AV	49 (51.6%)	46 (48.4%)	95 (100.0%)
UV	42 (72.4%)	16 (27.6%)	58 (100.0%)
Passive (-in-)	14 (40.0%)	21 (60.0%)	35 (100.0%)

Table 8.6 shows that almost three fourths of UV clauses (72.4%) are located on the story line, compared with about half of the AV clauses (51.6%) and 40% of the passive clauses. Clearly UV is a good predictor of foregrounded material, while AV shows no clear preference for on or off the story line. The frequency of passive clauses on the story line (40%) is much higher than the frequency of *ka-* passive on the story line in Balinese (10%, as reported by Pastika [1999:160]). Even so, the WC Bajau passive remains the best predictor of backgrounded material (60%) among the three voices.

⁹ Because instances of direct speech were excluded, the totals shown in Tables (8.6) and (8.7) do not match the earlier totals, where direct speech was not excluded from the sample.

Even though UV is a good predictor of foreground, it does not constitute the largest percentage of foreground material. Likewise, though the passive is the best predictor of background material, it is not the greatest contributor to background material. AV is the greatest contributor to both foreground and background material, as shown in Table 8.7 below.

Table 8.7 Distribution of the three voices in foreground vs. background material

	AV	UV	Passive (-in-)	Total
Foreground	49 (46.7%)	42 (40.0%)	14 (13.3%)	105 (100.0%)
Background	46 (55.4%)	16 (19.3%)	21 (25.3%)	83 (100.0%)

Table 8.7 shows that foreground material in WC Bajau narrative is distributed fairly evenly between AV and UV, with AV having the largest actual percentage of foregrounded clauses. Clearly either voice is a good candidate for expressing events on the story line. AV was also the largest contributor to background material, and by a larger margin (with passive a distant second). Thus, while foreground material is usually handled by AV or UV, background material is mostly handled by AV or the passive.

When AV is used to express background information, it often depicts action that is progressive (non-punctual), habitual, or which provides the setting for or elaborates upon the story line action. Often background AV verbs are found near the beginning of a story to help establish the setting.

Examples:

(8.4) *Bilang-bilang kemuap gai nge-lesa engko' nebug*
 number-REDUP afternoon 3p AV-clear and AV.smoke.out

supaya namuk lai...
 so.that mosquito flee

'Every afternoon they cleared (weeds) and smoked out (mosquitoes) so that the mosquitoes would move away...'. (namuk 003)

- (8.5) *Jomo laat=ni nya' makay iyo kerna iyo jomo miskin.*
 person place=3s.I NEG AV.use 3s.II because 3s.II person poor
 'His people had no use for him because he was poor.' (dela piatu 005)

UV is not as frequently used to express background information. When UV does occur in a background clause, it may be as a preposed adverbial clause that functions to 'recap' the previous event on the storyline as well as move the story line forward, in what could be called a 'sequential background' function. Example:

- (8.6) [*Boi jo Ø-tata'=ni anak makay gayung*],
 after UV-pour.water=3s.I child AV.use bucket

betis anak=ni si-rekot.
 leg child=3s.I REC-stick
 'Just after he poured water on the child using a bucket, his child's legs stuck together.' (linta 022)

In (8.6) the UV verb *tata'* 'to pour water' occurs in a preposed adverbial clause (thus off the story line), yet it does express sequential action and moves the story forward.

In the following example, UV occurs in a backgrounded clause that does not move the story line forward:

- (8.7) *Hussin mara' boi Ø-dede-an iyang=ni.*
 PN AV.tell CMPL UV-send-TZ mother=3s.I
 'Hussin said that his mother had sent (it).' (baginda 105)

8.5 Voice selection, grounding and word order

An additional factor to consider with regard to voice selection and grounding is word order. In WC Bajau narrative, verb-initial order is generally associated with foreground (sequenced) material. This is true for intransitive as well as transitive clauses. The following example shows a verb-initial clause with an intransitive verb to express action on the story line:

- (8.8) *Nya' beta, teko no Puteri Bongsu ta' em-bunda'=ni.*¹⁰
 NEG long arrive FOC PN PREP PREP-in.front=3s.I
 'It wasn't long that Princess Bongsu appeared in front of him.' (dela piatu 067)

In transitive clauses as well, verb-initial order correlates with story line material. While AV is predominantly subject-initial regardless of grounding, where verb-initial AV clauses do occur they tend to be on the story line. Note the following example, taken from a narrative text (not included in the eight texts used in the distribution study above), where the bolded AV verbs are clause-initial and clearly move the action forward on the eventline:

- (8.9) *Teko ta' kawasan yang ni-agak bengen manuk taun iko,*
 arrive PREP area REL PASS-guess have chicken forest many

masang no te' dela e perangkap....
 AV.set FOC EMPH man DEM trap

*Nya' beta, Ø-kule' no te' gai di-kau' manuk taun dela.*¹¹
 NEG long DC.AV-get now EMPH 3p one-CL chicken forest man
 'Arriving at a place which was thought to have many wild chickens, the man set a trap.... Before long, they got a wild rooster.' (ngini using 012, 015)

The correlation between verb-initial order and foregrounding is also observed with UV clauses. With UV, both verb-initial (VAU) and subject-initial (UVA) orders are well-represented in narrative text. (Recall from §7.1.1.3 that a preverbal undergoer subject is a pragmatically active or semi-active pragmatic concept in the discourse, while a non-fronted undergoer subject is unmarked for topicality.) In the corpus of eight texts mentioned above, the total number of UV clauses with two realized core arguments (actor and undergoer) was counted. The results are shown in Table 8.8 below.

¹⁰ This clause is unusual in that it has two prepositions (*ta'* and *em-*) preceding the same locative noun.

¹¹ The verb *kule'* 'get' is somewhat unusual in that its AV form does not have the usual AV morphology (the nasal prefix), but rather a zero. The undergoer-oriented form of *kule'* is always with the 'decontrolled passive' prefix (*te-*). See §13.2.3 for further discussion of 'decontrolled' mood in AV.

Table 8.8 Word order and UV clauses (with two realized core arguments)

Word order	Number of UV clauses
VAU	26 (66.7%)
UVA	13 (33.3%)
total	39 (100.0%)

Table 8.8 shows that the favored order is clearly VAU when grounding is not considered. The question is, can this overall preference for verb-initial order be correlated with grounding? Of the 39 UV clauses in Table 8.8, 29 were foreground and 10 were background. The correlation between grounding and word order is shown in Tables 8.9 and 8.10 below.

Table 8.9 Word order and UV foreground clauses

Word order	Number of UV clauses
VAU	21 (72.4%)
UVA	8 (27.6%)
Total	29 (100.0%)

Table 8.10 Word order and UV background clauses

Word order	Number of UV clauses
VAU	5 (50.0%)
UVA	5 (50.0%)
Total	10 (100.0%)

Table 8.9 shows that, when only foregrounded clauses are considered, VAU is preferred nearly 3 to 1 over UVA. Table 8.10 shows that, when only backgrounded clauses are considered, there is no word order preference. It seems clear, then, that the verb-initial word order shows a strong correlation with foregrounding in UV. The correlation of verb-initial word order and foregrounding in the undergoer voice has also been cited for Balinese (Pastika 1999) and for Classical Malay (Hopper 1983).

Concerning word order and the passive in WC Bajau, it was found (for the limited number of passives in the data with an overt subject) that subject-initial order predominated in both foreground (10 of 12, or 83.3 %) and background (8 of 10, or 80.0%) clauses. Thus word order in the passive is not a significant predictor of grounding.

8.6 Conclusion

It appears that a number of factors are possible determinants of voice selection in WC Bajau, though the fact that a correlation exists does not ‘prove’ a causal connection. Topicality has been cited as an important determinant of voice selection in several western Austronesian languages. Although I have not done RD or TP counts of participants in texts, I predict that in WC Bajau (as in Balinese) the topicality of the undergoer is of particular importance in deciding between UV or AV. Evidence for this prediction comes from the fact that AV is preferentially used for an indefinite (newly introduced, thus not topical) undergoer NP.

Regarding the choice of UV vs. the passive, both voices normally express a highly identifiable undergoer, but the passive actor, unlike the UV actor, is of variable identifiability and may not even be specific. Therefore passives are often used when the identity of the actor is unknown or not important to the present discourse. In some cases the passive actor may be definite and specific. Here I am unclear as to what motivates the use of passive over one of the transitive voices. Note that the frequency of the WC Bajau passive (17.3% in Figure 8.1) is within the range of 5-20 percent identified by Givón (1983:23) for the text frequency of passives in languages. Even so, the WC Bajau passive is near the high end of that range. (Compare with 8.14% for the text frequency of the *ka-* passive in Balinese [Pastika 1999:62]).

Grounding is another factor which may influence the choice of AV, UV, or passive. It was shown for the transitive voices that UV is strongly correlated with foreground while AV is about equally distributed between foreground and background clauses. But since AV clauses outnumber

UV clauses even on the story line, other factors (such as topicality) are also involved in voice selection. As for the passive, the majority of passive clauses were backgrounded, though a surprising number of passives expressed foreground material. It is not yet known what determines the choice of passive over one of the transitive voices in foreground clauses. It would be interesting to investigate whether or how the two factors of topicality and grounding interact in selecting for voice in WC Bajau.

From the limited corpus, it seems apparent that verb-initial word order is strongly correlated with foregrounding in both of the transitive voices (AV or UV), though the correlation is more obvious with UV since the great majority of AV clauses are subject-initial whatever their grounding status. No correlation can be made between verb-initial order and grounding in passive voice.

CHAPTER 9

DERIVATION AND CATEGORIZATION OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS

9.1 Introduction

There are a number of affixes in WC Bajau that derive intransitive verbs, whether from transitive verbs, bound roots, nouns, locative nouns, or other intransitive verbs. Table 9.1 below lists the various affixes deriving intransitive verbs that are discussed in this chapter, together with their typical functions.

Table 9.1 Affixes that derive intransitive verbs

Affix	Description
<i>N-</i>	actor-oriented prefix (expresses volitional activities, internally-caused events, and ‘characterized by X’ relation); verbalizer (§9.2)
<i>be-</i>	actor-oriented prefix (expresses volitional activities and possession); verbalizer (§9.3)
<i>-em-</i>	actor-oriented infix (expresses manner of motion verbs) (§9.4)
<i>pe₁-</i>	intransitive prefix (expresses directed motion, manner of motion, and spacial orientation verbs; derives accomplishments) (§9.5)
<i>be-...-an</i>	distributive circumfix (expresses multiple participants) (§9.6)
<i>si-</i>	reciprocal prefix (§9.7)
<i>[ke-...-an]₁</i>	adversative circumfix (§9.8)
<i>pe₃-</i>	agentive prefix (§9.9)

In the first part of the chapter, each of these affixes are described according to their derivational uses. In the second part of the chapter, intransitive verbs in WC Bajau (whether derived or non-derived) are grouped according to their semantic classes, with particular attention paid to how these classes pattern in terms of their morphological marking and/or syntactic behavior.

9.2 The actor-oriented prefix *N-*

The nasal prefix *N-* expresses actor-orientation on both transitive and intransitive roots. When applied to a transitive root, the nasal prefix *N-* expresses the actor voice (AV) construction, where the actor argument is selected as the subject of the clause and the undergoer remains a direct core argument. Usually an *N-* marked transitive verb permits an activity reading where the the undergoer is non-specific or generic and optionally deleted from the clause. See Chapter 6 for a detailed account of *N-* with transitive roots.

When used to derive intransitive roots, *N-* often signals that the single argument of the verb is an actor, or at least exhibits some actor-like feature such as volition, possession, or internal causation (see further discussion of these features in §9.10). When added to some nouns, however, *N-* sometimes functions merely as a verbalizer, without regard to actor-orientation (e.g. *nge-leta* ‘to crack’ (< *leta* ‘crack’)). *N-* derives intransitive verbs primarily from bound roots and nouns, rarely from states. The phonological processes for words derived with *N-* involve either replacement of the first letter of the root with its homorganic nasal or the addition of *ng(e)-* to the root (§2.5.1).

9.2.1 *N-* with bound roots

The *N-* prefix combines with some bound roots to derive intransitive predicates involving volitional control over some action or bodily process. Examples: *mantaw* ‘to stand’ (< **pantaw*); *ningkoo* ‘to sit’ (< **tingkoo*); *mule* ‘to go home’ (< **pule*); *mange* ‘to urinate’ (< **pange*). *N-* combines with other bound roots to denote bodily processes that are (at least to some degree) non-volitional: *nangis* ‘to cry’ (< **tangis*); *neko* ‘to hiccough’ (< **seko*); *matay* ‘to die’ (< **patay*).

9.2.2 *N-* with noun bases

N- can be added to several nominal bases to derive denominal verbs. Here a range of meanings is possible. In some cases, the single argument of the verb is a volitional actor (e.g. *nimung* ‘to look for clams’), but in other cases the argument is non-human and sometimes inanimate. It would seem best

to characterize *N-* here simply as a verbalizer, where the degree of actor-orientation of the derived form is contingent on the meaning of the base. Examples:

- (1) to emit or produce X (where X is the nominal). Examples: *nge-laa* ‘to bleed’ (<*laa* ‘blood’); *ng-entelo* ‘to lay an egg’ (<*entelo* ‘egg’); *ng-umbu* ‘to smoke’ (<*umbu* ‘smoke’)
- (2) to possess or be characterized by X.¹ Examples: *nge-lubang* ‘to have many holes’ (<*lubang* ‘hole’); *ngeleta* ‘to have a crack, be cracked’; *ngen-dule* ‘to have or show anger’ (<*dule* ‘anger’); *nge-landung* ‘dim, overcast’ (<*landung* ‘shadow’)
- (3) to perform some action oriented toward X. Examples: *nge-jomo* ‘to look after someone’ (<*jomo* ‘person’); *nimung* ‘to look for clams’ (<*timbang* ‘clam’); *eng-gulay* ‘to cook vegetables’ (<*gulay* ‘vegetable’)²; *magar* ‘to make a fence’ (<*pagar* ‘fence’); *nugal* ‘to make holes using a dibble stick’ (<*tugal* ‘dibble stick’); *notok* ‘to plant seedlings’ (<*totok* ‘seedling’); *mesi* ‘to fish using a rod’ (<*pesi* ‘fishing rod’).

9.2.3 *N-* with color states

In a use of *N-* that appears limited to certain predicates of color, the affixed form has a distributive meaning. Examples: *ngen-darag* ‘many are red’/ ‘red all over’ (<*darag* ‘red’); *ng-iram* ‘many are black’/ ‘black all over’; *ngem-pute* ‘many are white/ white all over’ (<*pute* ‘white’). Note the unusual morphophonemics on the combination of *N-* with *pute*’ to produce *ngem-pute*’, where we would have expected **mute*’ (with simple replacement of the ‘p’ with the homorganic nasal). This oddity, combined with the distributive meaning of *N-* on the color predicates, suggests that this is a different *N-* prefix than the actor-oriented prefix described above. Further investigation

¹ Some verbs in this category can also be interpreted as change of state and/or inchoative. For example, *ngen-dule*’ can apparently mean either ‘to show anger’ or ‘to become angry’; *nge-leta*’ can mean either ‘to be cracked’ or ‘to crack’ (intransitive).

² *gulay* is one of a few roots beginning with /g/ where the nasal prefix does not replace the /g/ as expected, but instead precedes it as the homorganic form *eng-* (see §2.5.1).

is needed to determine whether the *N-* prefix occurs on other roots with a distributive meaning, and if so, whether it exhibits distinct morphophonemic properties to distinguish it from actor-oriented *N-*.

In addition to the *N-* derived forms described above, there are numerous intransitive verbs that begin with a nasal consonant and do not have any clear derivation from a bound root or other word class. Such words frequently express meanings involving sound emission, light emission, or some other ‘internally caused’ activity (see §9.10.10). Examples include: *ngiot* ‘to creak’; *nguma* ‘to bark’; *meras* ‘to shimmer’; and *ngembang* ‘to swell, to rise’ (of water). Other nasal-initial roots are statives, several (though not all) of which describe a character trait or a condition experienced by an animate entity. Examples include: *malas* ‘lazy’; *ngutu* ‘hard-working’; *ngantok* ‘sleepy’; *nganga* ‘spicy-hot’; and *nguut* ‘murky’.

9.3 The actor-oriented prefix *be-*

The *be-* prefix combines with transitive verbs, bound roots, and noun bases to derive intransitive verbs. It also occurs on a few intransitive roots to give an imperfective aspect reading. The *be-* derived forms are always atelic, and very often are activities in that they involve dynamic action.

9.3.1 *be-* with transitive bases and bound roots

When *be-* combines with transitive bases and bound roots, it derives activity verbs. There are two functions associated with this derivation, both clearly actor-oriented in that they involve volitional activities:

- (1) to give a durative or habitual interpretation to the event. Examples: *be-titik* ‘to play traditional percussion music’ (<*titik* ‘to beat, to pound’); *be-dagang* ‘to sell for a living’ (< **dagang*); *be-tutur* ‘to talk’ (< **tutur*).
- (2) to give a distributive meaning to an event, where the activity is distributed over multiple participants. Most likely, distributive *be-* is an allomorph of the *be-...-an* circumfix (§9.6),

which is used exclusively for distributing action over multiple participants (see that section for examples of distributive *be-*).

9.3.2 *be-* with noun bases

As with *N-*, a range of meanings are possible when *be-* combines with nominal bases:

- (1) to perform X (where X is the noun base). Examples: *be-lagu* ‘to sing’ (<*lagu* ‘song’); *be-runsay* ‘to dance the *runsay*’ (<*runsay* ‘a kind of dance’); *be-gandang* ‘to play the *gandang* drum’ (<*gandang* ‘a kind of drum’)
- (2) to use or consume X. Examples: *be-kuda* ‘to ride a beast’ (<*kuda* ‘horse’); *be-luuk* ‘to eat viand’ (<*luuk* ‘viand’); *be-pengayam* ‘to raise animals’ (<*pengayam* ‘domesticated animals’); *be-keluman* ‘to make a living’ (<*keluman* ‘livelihood’).
- (3) to possess or be related to as X, where X usually refers to a kinship term. Examples: *be-dendo* ‘to have for a wife’ (<*dendo* ‘woman’); *be-denakan* ‘to be related to’ (<*denakan* ‘relative’); *be-kaki* ‘to be related to as a cousin’ (<*kaki* ‘cousin’); *be-bayaw* ‘to be related to as a brother-in-law’ (<*bayaw* ‘brother-in-law’).

The first two uses listed above are clearly actor-oriented, as they involve volitional activities (sometimes interpreted as habitual). The third use is less obviously actor-oriented, in that being related to someone is not in itself a volitional act. However, there is a semantic element of possession involved that may be regarded as actor-like; see §9.10.10 for further discussion.

9.3.3 *be-* with intransitive bases

be- also combines with a few intransitive verb roots, in which case the derived form yields a durative or iterative interpretation. Examples: *be-pusing* ‘go round and round’ (<*pusing* ‘turn’); *be-tapak* ‘to hide out’ (<*tapuk* ‘to hide’).

9.4 The actor-oriented infix *-em-*

The infix *-em-* occurs on a handful of roots (either bound forms or transitive verbs) to derive motion activity verbs, usually expressing the manner of motion. This infix is described as being ‘actor-oriented’ since on most roots it denotes volitional movement. Its morphological realization is somewhat irregular, usually occurring as *-em-* but also as *-um-* or *-ul-* depending on the root. Examples: *r-em-angi* ‘to swim’ (<*rangi* ‘to swim across x’); *l-em-iang* ‘to fly’ (<**liang*); *l-um-aan* ‘to go, to move’ (<**laan*); *l-ul-ai* ‘to run’ (<*lai* ‘to flee’)³; *l-em-isad* ‘to slip’ (<**lisad*); *l-em-ente* ‘to cross a makeshift bridge’ (<**lente*); *g-em-uring* ‘to roll’ (<**guring*).

For a few of these forms, such as *r-em-angi* ‘to swim’ and *g-em-uring* ‘to roll’, derivation of the root with the *pe₁-* intransitive prefix is also possible, yielding the same or similar meanings as for the corresponding *-em-/um-* forms.

9.5 The intransitive prefix *pe₁-*

The *pe₁-* prefix is the most productive affix deriving intransitive verbs in WC Bajau. It occurs with a variety of word classes including transitive bases, bound roots, inherent states, and locative nouns. The *pe₁-* prefix appears to have two major functions: (1) to derive a motion verb (whether directional motion or manner of motion, or the assumption of a spacial orientation); or (2) to derive a change of state verb.

³ The derivation for *l-ul-ai* ‘to run’ is somewhat irregular, not only morphologically (the infix is expressed as *-ul-*) but also in that one intransitive verb is apparently derived from another. (Note that while *lai* ‘to flee’ is a directed motion verb, *lulai* ‘to run’ is a manner of motion verb.) The verb *lulai* is probably a frozen form in that it serves as the base for morphological operations that normally apply only to the root. For example, the distributive circumfix *be-...-an* (§7.5) adds to *lulai* (not *lai*) to derive *be-lulay-an*.

9.5.1 *pe*₁- with transitive bases

When *pe*₁- combines with a transitive base, the derived form is typically a directed motion verb, though it may also be a manner of motion verb. Examples of motion verbs derived from a transitive base include: *pe-keta* ‘to move cross’ (<*keta* ‘to cross x’); *pe-kepa* ‘to alight’ (<*kepa* ‘to land on x’); *pe-tuun* ‘to dive’ (<*tuun* ‘to dive for x’); and *pe-gontor* ‘to shake’ (<*gontor* ‘to shake x’). For verbs denoting translational motion, often the transitive form expresses motion toward a specific goal or across some specific path, while the *pe*- derived form expresses the motion itself, with the (optional) goal or path expressed as an oblique element. This ‘detransitivizing’ morphology is also observed with some roots taking *-em-*. (See §9.10.9 for further discussion.)

The single argument of the *pe*₁- derived form need not be agentive (volitional) or even animate, as shown in the example below for *pe-gontor* ‘to shake’:

- (9.1) *Ruma*’=ni *pe-gontor* *tiup* *beriu*.
house=3s.I INTR-shake blow wind
‘His house shook when the wind blew hard.’

9.5.2 *pe*₁- with bound roots

When *pe*₁- combines with a bound root, the derived intransitive verb expresses directional motion, manner of motion, or spacial orientation, depending on the meaning of the bound root. Examples of directional motion verbs derived from bound roots include *pe-sorong* ‘to approach’ (<**sorong*). Examples of manner of motion verbs derived from bound roots include: *pe-lantung* ‘to float’ (<**lantung*); *pe-lunsur* ‘to glide or flow’ (<**lunsur*); and *pe-kiling* ‘to shake one’s head’ (<**kiling*). Spacial orientation verbs derived from bound roots include: *pe-liak* ‘to lie on backside’ (<**liak*); *pe-sading* ‘to lean’ (<**sading*); and *pe-tondok* ‘to stoop’ (<**tondok*). These spacial orientation ordinarily can express either a change of state interpretation (‘assume x position’) or a

stative (?) interpretation ‘to be in/ maintain x position’ The single argument of the *pe*₁- derived form need not be agentive, as shown below:

- (9.2) *Ai pe-lantung diing matay ta' suang e.*
 PERF INTR-float fish dead PREP river DEM
 ‘The dead fish floated on the river.’

9.5.3 *pe*₁- with inherent states

When *pe*₁- is prefixed to an inherent state, the derived form expresses a change of state. In terms of logical structure, this can be shown as adding BECOME to the representation of the state predicate: BECOME **predicate**' (x) (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:104). Many inherent states in WC Bajau take the *pe*₁- prefix to derive change of state verbs in this way. Examples: *pe-darag* ‘to become red’ (<*darag* ‘red’); *pe-langa* ‘to grow tall’ (<*langa* ‘tall’); *pe-oyo* ‘to become large’ (<*oyo* ‘large’); *pe-lema* ‘to become soft’ (<*lema* ‘soft’). The *pe*₁- prefix may also combine with the quantifier *iko* ‘many’ to yield the change of state verb *piko* ‘to multiply’.

9.5.4 *pe*₁- with locative nouns and adverbs

The *pe*₁- prefix occurs with most locative nouns to derive verbs which can usually be interpreted as directional motion verbs. Locative nouns (§4.2.3.4) combine with the locative prepositions *ta'* or *em-* and express concepts which are encoded in English by prepositions such as ‘above’, ‘below’, ‘inside’. Examples of locative nouns affixed with *pe*₁- to derive verbs include: *pe-lekat* ‘to leave’ (<*lekat* ‘from’); *pe-lua* ‘to come out; to appear’ (<*lua* ‘from’); *pe-sedi* ‘to move beside’ (<*sedi* ‘beside’); *pe-jata* ‘to go upward’ (<*jata* ‘on top’); and *pe-dia* ‘to go downward’ (<*dia* ‘below’). The *pe*₁- prefix can occur with deictic adverbs as well: *pe-sikot* ‘to come near’ (<*sikot* ‘near’) and *pe-tio* ‘to become far’ (<*tio* ‘far’).

Some of the above derived forms can serve as the predicative element of the clause. The following example shows two such *pe-* derived motion verbs in one sentence (each the predicate of a separate clause):

- (9.3) *Ai jo gai l-um-aan, pe-lua' no Deli lekat ta' tungan=ni tapuk,*
 after 3p -ACT-go INTR-from FOC PN PREP PREP place=3s.I hide

bo'=ni pe-sikot ta' dendo e.
 then=3s.I INTR-near PREP woman DEM
 'After they left, Deli came out from his hiding place and approached the woman.'
 (dela piatu 026)

However, with a few locative nouns, including *jata'* 'on top' and *dia'* 'below', the forms affixed with *pe*₁- cannot be the sole predicative element in the sentence. Instead, these derived forms must occur with a motion verb such as *meniik* 'to ascend' or with a deictic adverb of directed motion (§4.4.3.3) such as *pe* 'to go (over there)'. This is shown in (9.4) and (9.5) below, where the motion verb or deictic adverb is required to make the sentence complete:

- (9.4) a. *Manuk Azizy meniik pe-jata' ta' pentaran.*
 chicken PN AV.ascend INTR-on.top PREP porch
 'Azizy's chicken ascended to the porch.'
 b. **Manuk Azizy pe-jata' ta' pentaran.*
- (9.5) a. "Ningkoo' kam pe pe-dia', ai kaang kam base'."
 ACT.sit 2p.II to.there INTR-below lest 2s.II wet
 "You all go sit below, or else you'll get wet."
 b. * "Ningkoo' kam pe-dia', ai kaang kam base'."

In (9.4)-(9.5) it is possible to analyze *pe*₁- as a preposition, since it occurs in the same slot that a preposition normally would (following the verb and attached to a locative noun). As a preposition, *pe*₁- would be roughly equivalent in meaning to the English preposition 'to'. However, this preposition-like use of *pe*₁- is not found to occur on other types of nouns.

9.6 The distributive circumfix *be-...-an*

The circumfix *be-...-an* combines primarily with intransitive verb roots, as well as bound roots, to express action that is distributed over two or more participants. As an affix that derives aspectual meaning, *be-...-an* rarely changes the word class. Examples include: *be-buus-an* ‘many are spilling’ (<*buus* ‘to spill’); *be-keet-en* ‘many are shining’ (<*keet* ‘to shine’); *be-liang-an* ‘many are flying’ (<**liang*); *be-pantaw-an* ‘many are standing’ (<**pantaw*); *be-ngiot-on* ‘many are creaking’ (<*ngiot* ‘to creak’); and *be-tapuk-an* ‘many are hiding’ (<*tapuk* ‘to hide’). An example sentence is shown in (9.6):

- (9.6) *Me no gai be-tapuk-an diam saging e.*
 over.there FOC 3p DISTR-hide inside banana DEM
 ‘Over there in the banana trees they are hiding.’

In a few cases, distributive *be-...-an* appears to surface as the prefix *be-*. This form is either homophonous with the actor-oriented *be-* prefix described in §9.3, or it constitutes another function of the *be-* prefix. Distributive *be-* appears on verb roots. Examples: *be-pandi* ‘many are bathing’ (<*pandi* ‘to bathe x’); *be-papi* ‘many are cooking’ (<*papi* ‘to cook x’); *be-pule* ‘many are returning home’ (<**pule*); and *be-ginum* ‘many are drinking’ (<*inum* ‘to drink x’)⁴.

The *be-...-an* circumfix occurs with a few adjectival states to yield a distributive (plural) interpretation, as was observed with *N-* added to a few color adjectives (§9.2.3). Examples: *be-diki-an* ‘(there are) many small x’ (<*diki* ‘small’); *be-bagal-an* ‘(there are) many big x’ (<*bagal* ‘big’); and *be-kuning-an* ‘(there are) many yellow x’ (<*kuning* ‘yellow’). An example sentence is shown in (9.7) below:

- (9.7) *Be-bagal-an diing me en-suang e.*
 DISTR-big fish over.there PREP-river DEM
 ‘The fish in the river there are big.’

⁴ *beginum* is an irregular derivation; the expected form would be *be-inum* or possibly *be-nginum*.

Finally, *be-...-an* may combine with at least one locative noun to indicate distribution over that location: *be-dembila-an* ‘(there are) objects across from each other’ (<*dembila* ‘across’).

9.7 The reciprocal prefix *si-*

The prefix *si-* derives verbs that have a reciprocal meaning. It occurs on bound roots, transitive verbs, prepositions and (less frequently) nominals, and frequently on reduplicated forms. The pronunciation of the ‘i’ vowel in *si-* often approximates to the schwa, particularly when attaching to roots with schwa or ‘a’ in the first syllable.

Verbs derived by the reciprocal prefix *si-* are intransitive (they take only one direct argument). The direct argument may be plural (expressing both participants), or it is singular and the second participant occurs within a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *engko* ‘with’. Note the following examples using the reciprocal verb *si-temu* ‘to meet each other’:

(9.8) “*Amun kiti si-temu aku jadi jomo,*” *ling dela e.*
 when 1p.incl.II REC-meet 1s.II become person say man DEM
 ‘When we meet together, I will become a human being,’ said the man.’ (biduk 019)

(9.9) *Tujuan=ni supaya iyo si-temu engko’ see’=ni.*
 purpose=3s.I so.that 3s.II REC-meet PREP companion=3s.I
 ‘His purpose was so that he could meet with his friend.’ (mat salleh 058)

In (9.8) the direct argument of the reciprocal verb is plural, expressing both participants. In (9.9) the second participant occurs in the prepositional phrase beginning with *engko*’.

9.7.1 *si-* with bound roots

Many reciprocal verbs are derived from bound roots. Some examples include: *si-guul* ‘to mix with each other’ (< **guul*); *si-limpas* ‘to pass by each other’ (< **limpas*); *si-rekot* ‘to stick to each other’ (< **rekot*); *si-kilo* ‘to be acquainted with each other’ (< **kilo*); and *si-temu* ‘to meet with each other’ (< **temu*).

9.7.2 *si-* with transitive bases

Somewhat less commonly, *si-* adds to a transitive base to derive a reciprocal meaning. Examples: *si-bangga* ‘to meet each other suddenly’ (< *bangga* ‘to meet suddenly’); *si-bara* ‘to tell each other’ (< *bara* ‘to tell’); *si-enda* ‘to look at each other’ (*enda* ‘to look at’); *si-tumbuk* ‘to punch each other’ (< *tumbuk* ‘to punch’).

9.7.3 *si-* with locative nouns

The *si-* prefix combines with a few locative nouns to derive verbs which express the spatial orientation of two entities toward each other. Examples here include: *si-bunda* ‘to face each other’ (< *bunda* ‘in front of’); *si-dembila* ‘across from each other’ (< *dembila* ‘across’); *si-lekat* ‘to separate from each other; to divorce’ (< *lekat* ‘from’).

9.7.4 *si-* with reduplicated bases

The *si-* prefix may also combine with a reduplicated base, where the reduplication usually indicates iterativity. The reduplicated base combined with *si-* expresses reciprocity of the action, where the reciprocity is often interpreted as sequential rather than simultaneous: ‘x’ does something for ‘y’, then ‘y’ reciprocates by doing the same thing for ‘x’. Examples: *si-bayad-bayad* ‘to pay each other’ (< **bayad*); *si-ogo-ogo* ‘to visit each other’s homes’ (< *ogo* ‘to visit’); *si-liu-liu* ‘to help each other in the rice paddies’ (< **liu*); and *si-tangis-tangis* ‘to cry together’ (< **tangis*).

9.8 The adversative circumfix [*ke-...-an*]_I

The [*ke-...-an*]_I circumfix adds to a variety of word classes to derive the meaning ‘be adversely affected by’ the action or condition described by the root.⁵

9.8.1 Syntactic and semantic features of the adversative construction

The *ke-...-an* adversative adds a semantic undergoer to the clause. Compare (9.10) (a) and (b) below:

⁵ Adversative *ke-...-an* finds a parallel, *ka-...-an*, in the Sama-Bajaw language Mapun (Collins, Collins and Hashim 2001:37). Malay also has an adversative *ke-...-an* circumfix.

- (9.10) a. *Ai labu' suka' e.*
 PERF fall coconut DEM
 'The coconut fell.'
- b. *Ai ke-labu-an suka' Mark e.*
 PERF ADVRS-fall coconut PN DEM
 'Mark was hit by a falling coconut.'

In (9.10) (a) the single argument of the intransitive verb *labu'* 'fall' is the thing that drops (*suka' e* 'the coconut'). In (b) there is an added undergoer argument *Mark*, who is struck by a falling coconut. This added undergoer can be fronted to preverbal position, as shown in (c) below:

- c. *Mark e ai ke-labu-an suka'.*

Hence, the added undergoer has become the subject of the clause. Note that the other argument in the clause cannot be fronted even when made definite, as shown in (d):

- d. **Suka' e ai ke-labu-an Mark.*

With *labu'* and some other verb roots, such as *rungay* 'to be lost' and *buus* 'to spill', the second argument of the derived form is normally required and is thus considered a complement.⁶ Examples (the complement is underlined):

- (9.11) *Rosli e ai ke-rungay-an seramin moto.*
 PN DEM PERF ADVRS-lost glasses
 'Rosli has lost her glasses.'
- (9.12) *Mark e ai ke-buus-an bue'.*
 PN DEM PERF ADVRS-spill water
 'Mark got water spilled on him.'

For some such verbs, omission of the complement is allowed, but the omission itself is identified with a particular meaning (particularly where the state of affairs is embarrassing or of a sensitive

⁶ See Sneddon 1996:120 for a similar analysis of such second arguments in Indonesian.

nature). For example, when *labu* ‘to fall’ in the adversative construction occurs without a complement, the meaning is that the undergoer has suffered a miscarriage. When *buus* ‘to spill’ in the adversative construction occurs without a complement, the meaning is that the undergoer has had an accidental bowel movement.

With some adversatives, the preposition *le’* ‘by; on account of’ (§11.3.2.3) may precede the argument that causes the adverse condition, similar to how demoted (oblique) agents are marked in the ‘true’ passive construction.

- (9.13) *Beta’ kami turi, betis=ku ai ke-limpang-an (le’) Azizy.*
 while 3p.excl sleep leg=1s.I PERF ADVRS-lie.down PREP PN
 ‘While we were sleeping, my legs were laid down on by Azizy.’
- (9.14) *Amzi e ke-buat-an le’ beg.*
 PN DEM ADVRS-heavy PREP bag
 ‘Amzi is weighed down by the bag.’
- (9.15) *Mark e ke-labu-an le’ suka’.*
 PN DEM ADVRS-fall PREP coconut
 ‘Mark fell on account of the coconut.’

Note that in (9.15) the inclusion of *le’* changes the meaning of the sentence. Without *le’* the meaning would be that the coconut fell and Mark was hit by it, as in (9.10) (b-c) above. But when *le’* precedes *suka’* ‘coconut’, now it is Mark who falls on account of the coconut (maybe he tripped on it). In either case it is Mark who is adversely affected by the action. Apparently the use of *le’* indicates that the argument it precedes does not itself perform the action of the verb but it does cause the adversity experienced by the subject.

There are some other interesting semantics involved with some verbs in the adversative construction. For example, the sentence shown in (9.12) above can have more than one interpretation, as there is more than one way in which the undergoer (*Mark*) can be adversely affected by spilled water. It can mean that Mark had water spilled on him, or it could mean that Mark was

carrying water when suddenly it spilled all over the ground. In English, too, it is possible to say things like ‘I had that watch drop on me’, to mean either that a watch physically dropped on some part of my body, or that I suffered the loss of dropping the watch (perhaps the strap broke).

Though normally the undergoer subject in the adversative construction is animate, as only animate (usually human) undergoers can be said to ‘suffer’ or experience unpleasantness, it is possible for the undergoer subject to be inanimate if it is understood to be owned by someone. In this case, there is still an animate entity (the owner) who is adversely affected by what happens to the inanimate object.⁷ Example:

- (9.16) *Jam=ni ai ke-buus-an kopi*.
 watch 3s.I PERF ADVRS-spill coffee
 ‘His watch got coffee spilled on it.’

9.8.2 [ke-...-an]₁ with adjectival states and noun bases

When added to adjectival states and noun bases, the *ke-...-an* affix derives the meaning ‘to feel or experience the (often unpleasant) quality associated with the base’. Often these derived forms do not require a second argument (that is, they have no complement). Examples: *ke-buat-an* ‘to be weighed or loaded down’ (<*buat* ‘heavy’); *ke-panas-an* ‘to feel hot’ (<*panas* ‘hot’); *ke-bokog-on* ‘to choke on a bone’ (<*bokog* ‘bone’); *ke-songom-on* ‘to be overtaken by nightfall’ (<*songom* ‘night’). An example sentence follows:

- (9.17) *Ai ke-songom-on kami dilaw nyaun kerita*.
 PERF ADVRS-night 1p.excl. yesterday NEG.EXIST car
 ‘We were overtaken by nightfall yesterday (because) we had no car.’

⁷ Sneddon (1996:124) describes a similar use of the *ke-...an* adversative in Indonesian.

9.8.3 [ke-...-an]₁ added to bound roots and other verbs

With bound roots (often verbs of spacial orientation), transitive verb roots, and intransitive verb roots, the *ke-* *-an*₁ affix derives the meaning ‘to be affected by the action, or impeded by the position, described by X’. Examples: *ke-limpang-an* ‘to be laid down upon’ (<**limpang* ‘to lie down’); *ke-lingkap-an* ‘to be covered by’ (<**lingkap* ‘to cover’); *ke-tatak-an* ‘to be dropped upon’ or ‘to have something accidentally drop’ (<*tatak* ‘to drop’); and *ke-turi-an* ‘to be slept in’ (<*turi* ‘to sleep’). An example sentence follows:

- (9.18) *Dilaw Mark ke-tatak-an sin me eng-kaday.*
yesterday PN ADVRS-fall money there PREP-town
‘Yesterday Mark (unfortunately for him) dropped some money there in town.’

9.9 The agentive prefix *pe*₃-

The *pe*₃- ‘agentive’ prefix attaches to verb roots (including adjectives), to derive words which mean ‘prone to doing, or characterized by, X’ (where ‘X’ is the action or quality expressed in the root). In fact, the *pe*₃- forms are sometimes translated in English by nouns, i.e., ‘one who tends to X’ or ‘one who is frequently X’. But syntactically, the *pe*₃- forms behave more like stative (‘adjectival’) verbs. In characterizing *pe*₃- as deriving adjectival verbs rather than nouns, I follow Sneddon (1996:48-49), who describes a similar prefix *peN-* in Indonesian. Sneddon identifies several syntactic tests to suggest their adjectival status, such as: coordination with adjectives; negation by *tidak* rather than *bukan*; and ability to be modified by a degree word. Similar syntactic tests, when applied to WC Bajau, provide evidence that *pe*₃- forms are adjectival verbs rather than nouns, as shown below.

1. Coordination

Forms derived by *pe*₃- can be coordinated with stative verbs, suggesting that they fit naturally into the subclass of stative verbs rather than the main class of nominals:

- (9.19) *Ka'=ku e malas engko' pe-turi bana.*
 older.sibling=1s.I DEM lazy and AGT-sleep too,very
 'My older sibling is lazy and always sleeps.'

2. Negation

Forms derived by *pe*₃₋ are negated by *nya'* rather than by *enggai*, the latter word being used for the negation of nominals and of entire propositions (§12.3.2). This is further evidence that *pe*₃₋ forms should be categorized as verbal rather than nominal. Examples:

- (9.20) *Aku pesoyo ta' Ramli, iyo nya' / *enggai pe-ngakal.*
 1s.II believe PREP PN 3s.II NEG NEG AGT-lie
 'I believe Ramli, he is not prone to lying.'

3. Degree modifiers

Forms derived with *pe*₃₋ can be modified by degree words, which seldom occur with nominals. Often a *pe*₃₋ form is immediately followed by the modifying degree word *bana* 'too, very':

- (9.21) *Madin pe-sasat bana, ta' diam bandar pan sasat.*
 PN AGT-lost very PREP inside city also lost
 'Madin frequently gets lost, even in the city (he gets) lost.'

When *pe*₃₋ occurs on intransitive verbs that normally take an active prefix, such as *N-* or *pe*₁₋, *pe*₃₋ simply adds to the active (prefixed) form. Examples here include *penangis* 'prone to cry' (*pe*₃₋ + *nangis* 'to cry') and *pepelua'* 'prone to go out' (*pe*₃₋ + *pe*_{1-lua'} 'to go out'). When *pe*₃₋ combines with transitive verbs, it adds to the *N-* prefixed (actor voice) form. For example, when *pe*₃₋ combines with the transitive root *tangkaw* 'to steal', the resultant form is *penangkaw* 'prone to steal',

not *petangkaw*. This is not surprising, since with *pe*₃- the emphasis is clearly on the tendency of the actor, not the thing being acted upon.⁸

Some roots can have more than one derivation with *pe*₃-, depending on whether the intransitive or the transitive meaning is intended. Consider the verb *sasat*, which can mean either ‘(be) lost’ (intransitive) or ‘make (s.one) lost’ (transitive). The AV form of transitive *sasat* is *nasat*. With the *pe*₃- prefix, two derivations of *sasat* are possible, depending on whether *pe*₃- combines with (intransitive) *sasat* ‘(be) lost’ or (transitive) *sasat* ‘make (s.one) lost’:

- (9.22) *pe-sasat* ‘prone to be lost’ (*pe*₃- + *sasat* ‘to be lost’)
pe-nasat ‘prone to mislead’ (*pe*₃- + (*N*- + *sasat* ‘to make someone lost’))

9.10 The semantic categorization of WC Bajau intransitive verbs

Now that the derivational morphology for intransitive verbs has been described, it is useful to group intransitive verbs in WC Bajau into their various semantic subclasses to see whether (or to what extent) such categorization correlates with morphological marking and/or syntactic function. Of particular interest is whether, for a given subclass of intransitive verbs, the argument taken by the verb is more actor-like or undergoer-like, since this has bearing on the question of a ‘split-intransitive’ system in the language (§9.10.10). In the following section, I present several subtypes of intransitive verbs in WC Bajau. These subtypes include: (1) volitional activity verbs; (2) change of state verbs; (3) inherent state verbs; (4) spatial configuration verbs; (5) ‘characterized by X’; (6) emission verbs; (7) inherently directed motion verbs; and (8) manner of motion verbs.⁹

⁸ That *pe*₃- combines (where possible) with the *N*- prefixed form of the transitive or intransitive verb distinguishes it from both *pe*₁- and *pe*₂-, which combine with the unaffixed form of the root. For example, the causative *pe*₂- combines with the bound root form **tingkoo* ‘to sit’ to produce *petingkoo* ‘to set down’, whereas agentive *pe*₃- combines with the active form of the root (*N*- + **tingkoo*) to produce *peningkoo* ‘prone to sit’.

⁹ In identifying these subclasses, I have adopted—with several modifications—the approach of Arka (2003:33-38) in his treatment of morphological marking of intransitive verbs in Balinese.

9.10.1 Volitional activities

Volitional activity verbs have an agent as their sole direct argument. An agent may be defined as a “willful, purposeful instigator of an action or event” (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:85, 127). Agents are the prototypical actors. Volitional activity verbs are usually morphologically marked with *N-* or *be-*, as shown in the following examples:

- (9.23) *mandi* ‘to bathe’ (<**pandi*)
nimung ‘to look for clams’ (<*timung* ‘clam’)
ng-eraa ‘to shout’ (<*eraa* ‘shout’ [noun])
manas ‘to be angry’ (<*panas* ‘hot’)
- be-lagu* ‘to sing’ (<*lagu* ‘song’)
be-tutur ‘to speak’ (<**tutur*)
be-dagang ‘to sell (for a living)’ (<**dagang*)
be-titik ‘to perform percussion music’ (<*titik* ‘to beat, to hammer’)
be-kuda ‘to ride a beast’ (<*kuda* ‘horse’)

A few agentive activity verbs are not morphologically marked. Examples:

- (9.24) *titoo* ‘to laugh’
kerjo ‘to work’

9.10.2 Change of state verbs

Whereas volitional activity verbs take as their argument a prototypical actor, change of state verbs often take a prototypical patient. By ‘patients’ are meant “things that are in a state or condition, or undergo a change of state or condition” (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:85). Verbs whose sole argument is a patient in WC Bajau are typically zero-marked. Several verbs whose single argument is a patient can have either a ‘result state’ interpretation (usually preceded by the auxiliary particle *ai*) or a change of state interpretation:

(9.25)	<i>pesa'</i>	'be broken' ~ 'to break'
	<i>urak</i>	'be shattered' ~ 'to shatter'
	<i>bese'</i>	'be torn' ~ 'to tear'
	<i>opo'</i>	'be broken apart' ~ 'to snap, to break apart'
	<i>ebba'</i>	'be toppled' ~ 'to topple'
	<i>buus</i>	'be spilled' ~ 'to spill'
	<i>tiis</i>	'be drained' ~ 'to dry up, to drain'
	<i>kebo</i>	'be collapsed' ~ 'to collapse'
	<i>lepa</i>	'be escaped, freed' ~ 'to escape, to become free'
	<i>tunu'</i>	'be burned' ~ 'to burn up'
	<i>buwau</i>	'to overturn'
	<i>pungkaw</i>	'to awake'
	<i>tedo'</i>	'to abate' (used of rain)

(affixed form with *N-*):

<i>matay</i>	'be dead' ~ 'to die' (<* <i>patay</i>)
<i>ngeleta'</i>	'be cracked' ~ 'to crack' (< <i>leta</i> 'crack')

Other change of state verbs are derived from inherent states, typically with the *pe₁-* prefix, as shown in the section on inherent states below.

The undergoer-orientation of the change of state verbs is reflected semantically in the type of alternation that occurs between the intransitive verb and its derived causative form. In this construction, the undergoer argument of the intransitive verb remains the undergoer of the causative counterpart. In other words, the transitive use of the verb has the meaning 'cause to *V*-intransitive' (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005:79).¹⁰ This kind of alternation is known to occur readily with change of state verbs. In WC Bajau, change of state verbs form their causative counterparts either with no morphological change (the 'zero causatives', e.g., *pesa'* 'to break' / 'to break *x*'; *pungkaw* 'to awake' / 'to awaken *x*') or with the causative form taking the suffix *-an₁* (e.g., *kebo* 'to collapse' +

¹⁰ This alternation has been called the 'causative alternation' where, as in English, the intransitive and transitive forms of the verb are identical (e.g. with *break* or *melt*). Sometimes in WC Bajau the alternation occurs with no change in verb form (see the examples above), but more often the alternation involves derivation with a causative affix and would not strictly be described by the term 'causative alternation'. What is important here is that the undergoer of the intransitive verb remains the undergoer of the transitive counterpart.

-an > *kebo-on* ‘to collapse *x*’; *buus* ‘to spill’ + *-an₁* > *buus-an* ‘to spill *x*’). The *-an₁* suffix on such verbs apparently identifies a theme argument.¹¹

9.10.3 *Inherent state verbs*

Non- result states, that is, states that express inherent properties, are also typically zero-marked.

Many inherent states can occur with *pe₁-* to derive change of state verbs:

(9.26)	<i>darag</i>	‘red’	(<i>pe-darag</i> ‘to become/ turn red’)
	<i>iram</i>	‘black’	(<i>pe-iram</i> ‘to become black’)
	<i>langa</i>	‘tall; high’	(<i>pe-langa</i> ‘to grow, to become tall’)
	<i>suk</i>	‘thin’	(<i>pe-suk</i> ‘to become thin’)
	<i>telak</i>	‘bright; clear’	(<i>pe-telak</i> ‘to become clear’)
	<i>tio</i>	‘far’	(<i>pe-tio</i> ‘to become far’)
	<i>lingantu</i>	‘hungry’	
	<i>mamis</i>	‘sweet’	
	<i>nguut</i>	‘murky’	

As shown above, some inherent states do begin with a nasal consonant (e.g., *nguut* ‘murky’, *mamis* ‘sweet’). Also, states expressing ‘experiencer-oriented’ properties, that is, qualities which are felt or experienced by someone, sometimes begin with a nasal consonant. It is not clear whether these are truly ‘marked’ forms (with *N-*), or whether the root simply begins with a nasal. Examples of nasal-initial ‘experiencer-oriented’ roots include *male* ‘exhausted’, *ngantok* ‘sleepy’, and *ngari* ‘fed up, bored’.

Several inherent state verbs undergo the same semantic type of alternation with the causative as discussed above for change of state verbs. However, unlike the change of state verbs (whose causatives are usually derived with causative *-an* or the zero causative), the causatives of inherent states are all derived with the *pe₂-* prefix (§10.5.1). The potential for many inherent states to combine either with *pe₂-* to derive the causative or with (homophonous) *pe₁-* to derive the change of state means that the *pe-* derived form is ambiguous between the causative or change of state reading. For

¹¹ As will be shown in §10.2.3, the *-an₁* suffix can also be used to mark the theme argument on transitive roots, here to promote a theme argument to DCA status.

example, *pe-langa* can mean either ‘to become high’ (*pe*₁- + *langa*) or ‘to make x high’ (*pe*₂- + *langa*).

9.10.4 ‘characterized by X’ relation

The ‘characterized by X’ relation is sometimes expressed by deriving an intransitive verb of the form [prefix + noun root (expressing X)]. These forms are derived using *N-* (for characterized things) or *be-* (for characterized kinship relations). Examples of *N-* derived possessive intransitives include *nge-lubang* ‘having many holes’ (<*lubang* ‘hole’) and *nge-leta* ‘having large cracks’ (<*leta* ‘large crack, fissure’). Here *N-* does not mark volition/ control but appears to have simply a ‘verbalizer’ function, though it might also be thought of as expressing a type of possession (see §9.10.10).

The prefix *be-* is used with kinship terms to derive the set of ‘relation’ verbs, which can also be analyzed as a type of possession. For example, *bayaw* ‘brother-in-law’ combines with *be-* to produce *be-bayaw* ‘to be related to/ have as brother-in-law’. Other examples include *be-kaki* ‘to be related to/have as a cousin’ and *be-dendo* ‘to be related to/have as one’s wife’.

9.10.5 Emission verbs

In WC Bajau, most emission verbs are morphologically marked (with *N-*), though there are a few exceptions. In the following examples, I have chosen to include bodily process verbs together with substance emission verbs, since bodily process verbs are involuntary and often entail some kind of emission of substance and/or sound.

Sound emission:¹²

(9.27)	<i>ngempukek</i>	‘to coo’
	<i>nguma</i>	‘to bark’
	<i>ngengok</i>	‘to snort’
	<i>ngengung</i>	‘to buzz, to drone’
	<i>ngetek</i>	‘to make a tapping sound’
	<i>ngiot</i>	‘to creak, to squeak’

light emission:

(9.28)	<i>meras</i>	‘to sparkle, to shimmer’
	<i>nengkilap</i>	‘to reflect light’

(unaffixed):

<i>keet</i>	‘to glow’
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substance emission and bodily process:

(9.29)	<i>mange’</i>	‘to urinate’ (<* <i>pange’</i>)
	<i>nebue’</i>	‘to defecate’ (polite)
	<i>nongot</i>	‘to sweat’ (< <i>songot</i> ‘sweat’]
	<i>nguta’</i>	‘to vomit’
	<i>nge-laa’</i>	‘to bleed’ (< <i>laa’</i> ‘blood’)
	<i>neko’</i>	‘to hiccup’ (<* <i>seko’</i>)
	<i>ng-umbu</i>	‘to produce smoke’ (< <i>umbu</i> ‘smoke)

(unaffixed):

<i>tai’</i>	‘to defecate’ (< <i>tai’</i> ‘excrement’)
<i>kool</i>	‘to cough’

9.10.6 *Spatial configuration verbs*

All spatial configuration verbs in WC Bajau are marked, most of which are marked by *pe*₁-.

With verbs of spacial configuration, often three meanings are possible: (1) maintain position; (2) assume position; (3) simple position. In WC Bajau, at least in terms of morphological marking, no distinction is made for a given root between these three senses. Frequently the root of a spatial

¹² The sound emission and light emission verbs listed here do show a fairly consistent pattern of beginning with a nasal consonant, but since there is no corresponding applicative that might reveal the root form, it is unknown whether these are truly affixed forms or whether they just happen to begin with a nasal consonant.

configuration verb in WC Bajau is a bound root. Two commonly used body position verbs are marked by *N-*. These are *ningkoo'* (<**tingkoo'*) 'to sit' and *mantaw* (<**pantaw*) 'to stand', both of which might also be considered volitional activity verbs. The other body position verbs are marked by *pe₁-*, and the single argument of these verbs may or may not express a volitional (or even animate) participant. Examples include *pe-liak* (<**liak*) 'to lie on one's back', *pe-sading* (<**sading*) 'to lean'; *pe-togor* 'to stand perpendicular' (<*togor* 'erect, perpendicular); and *pe-tondok* (<**tondok*) 'to stoop'. The following examples show the use of the verb *petondok* 'to stoop' both agentively (9.30) and non-agentively (9.31):

(9.30) *Amun kau pe-suuk dia' pagar, pe-tondok kau.*
 if 2s.II INTR-go.under beneath fence INTR-stoop 2s.II
 'If you go underneath the fence, you have to stoop.'

(9.31) *Paray e amun mana pe-tondok no.*
 rice.plant DEM if ripe INTR-stoop FOC
 'The rice plants, when ripened, they stoop over.'

Spatial orientation verbs in WC Bajau regularly take a causative suffix, in which case the original argument of the intransitive verb becomes an undergoer in the derived causative form. Some such verbs derive their causative with *pe₂-* (as do inherent state verbs), and others with *-an₁* (as do change of state verbs). With a few spatial orientation verbs, either causative affix is possible. For example, the causative for **togor* has two possible derivations: *pe-togor* (*pe₂-* + *togor*) or *togor-on* (*togor* + *-an₁*), both of which mean 'to make *x* stand perpendicular'.

9.10.7 *Inherently directed motion verbs*

Inherently directed motion verbs involve motion with respect to some reference point. Many are telic in that they have a goal (end point). Others verbs in this class express motion having a source (beginning point). Approximately half of the inherently directed motion verbs in WC Bajau are

morphologically zero-marked. The marked forms are either with *pe*₁- or (less commonly) *N*- attached to the bound root or transitive root to derive the intransitive motion directional verb. Examples:

(9.32)	<i>teko</i>	‘to arrive’
	<i>ala</i> ’	‘to move away from’
	<i>pungkad</i>	‘to rise’ (used for living things)
	<i>duway</i>	‘to descend, to get down’
	<i>tatak</i>	‘to drop’
	<i>labu</i> ’	‘to fall’
	<i>lai</i>	‘to flee, to move away’
	<i>pe-osok</i>	‘to enter’ (< <i>osok</i> ‘to enter or seep into s.thing nonvolitionally’)
	<i>pe-singga</i>	‘to stop by’ (< <i>singga</i> ‘to drop s.thing by’)
	<i>pe-kepa</i> ’	‘to alight’ (< <i>kepa</i> ‘to alight on s.thing’)
	<i>pe-suuk</i>	‘to go underneath’ (<* <i>suuk</i>)
	<i>pe-sorong</i>	‘to approach’ (<* <i>sorong</i>)
	<i>pe-lua</i> ’	‘to go out; to appear’ (< <i>lua</i> ‘outside’)
	<i>mule</i> ’	‘to return home’ (<* <i>pule</i> ’)
	<i>meniik</i>	‘to go up’ (< <i>peniik</i> ‘to climb’)

Nearly all directed motion verbs have derived causatives where the single argument of the intransitive verb becomes the undergoer of the transitive form. With some verbs the causative affix is *-an*₁ and with some it is *pe*₂-. Examples with *-an*₁ include *ala-an* ‘to remove *x*’ and *labu-an* ‘to drop *x*’. Examples with *pe*₂- include *pe-teko* ‘to send’ (lit. ‘cause *x* to arrive’) and *pe-lai* ‘to move or send *x* away’.

9.10.8 Manner of motion verbs

In WC Bajau, most manner of motion verbs are morphologically marked (with *-em-* or *pe*₁-). Several are derived from bound roots, and a few from transitive roots where the undergoer is the path across which the motion occurs. Examples:

(9.33)	<i>g-em-uring</i>	‘to roll’ (non-volitional) (<* <i>guring</i>)
	<i>pe-guring</i>	‘to roll’ (volitional) (<* <i>guring</i>)
	<i>l-em-isad / pe-lisad</i>	‘to slip’ (<* <i>lisad</i>)
	<i>l-um-aan</i>	‘to go, to travel’ (<* <i>laan</i>)
	<i>r-em-angi</i>	‘to swim’ (< <i>rangi</i> ‘to swim across (some path)’)
	<i>l-em-iang</i>	‘to fly’ (<* <i>liang</i>)
	<i>l-ul-ai</i>	‘to run’ (< <i>lai</i> ‘to move away, to flee’)
	<i>nari</i>	‘to spin’ (<* <i>sari</i>)
	<i>pe-tuun</i>	‘to dive’ (< <i>tuun</i> ‘to dive for s.thing’)
	<i>pe-lompat</i>	‘to jump’ (< <i>lompat</i> ‘to jump across <i>x</i> , to jump for <i>x</i> ’)
	<i>pe-lunsur</i>	‘to flow, to slide’ (<* <i>lunsur</i>)
	<i>pe-lantung</i>	‘to float’ (<* <i>lantung</i>)

(unaffixed):

panut ‘to drift’

For those manner of motion verbs in which the sole argument of the verb is an undergoer (e.g. the argument of *pelunsur* ‘to flow’) as opposed to an actor (e.g. the argument of *r-em-angi* ‘to swim’), the argument remains an undergoer in the derived causative form. Here the causative affix is either *-an₁* or *pe₂-*, depending on the root.

Most manner of motion verbs are temporally unbounded (atelic). This aspectual distinction is correlated with a syntactic one. Atelic manner of motion verbs may occur with a prepositional phrase expressing the path of the motion, but not the goal (endpoint) of the motion. In order to express a goal argument, the manner of motion verb must be accompanied by a verb or adverb that allows a telic path phrase,¹³ whether a directional motion verb like *mule* ‘to return home’ or *ngogo* ‘to visit, to go to’, or a demonstrative adverb of directed motion like *pe* ‘to there (near)’ or *pu* ‘to there (farther

¹³ Talmy (1985) observed that with motion verbs in English, motion is typically conflated with manner, whereas with motion verbs in Spanish, motion is conflated with path. Aske (1989), in his refinement of Talmy’s work, identifies two types of path phrases: locative vs. telic. A locative path phrase modifies the verb or “predicates a location of the whole proposition”, while a telic path phrase “predicates an end-point location of the Figure [theme] argument” (6). He notes that Spanish must express a telic path predicate as a verb, whereas English frequently expresses the telic path predicate as a PP. With motion verbs in WC Bajau, it seems that telicity must be expressed on the verb itself (as in Spanish). When the verb is atelic, as with the majority of manner of motion verbs, it cannot occur with a telic PP unless accompanied by a directional motion verb or by a demonstrative adverb of directed motion (*pitu*, *pe*, or *pu*’; see §4.4.3.3),

away)’. In (9.34) below, the manner of motion verb *l-em-iang* occurs with the directional motion verb *mule’* to license a goal argument:

- (9.34) *Bangan ka’=ni l-em-iang no mule’ ta’ laa’ gai.*
 PL older.sib.=3s.I -ACT-fly FOC ACT.return.home PREP country 3p
 ‘Her older sisters flew home to their land.’ (sultan salaudin 015)

The questionable ability for *l-em-iang* (as sole predicate) to take a locative endpoint is shown in (9.35), where the goal argument is comparatively less felicitous without the deictic motion verb *pu’*:

- (9.35) a. *Kapal terbang e l-em-iang pu’ ta’ KL.*
 airplane DEM -ACT-fly to.there PREP PN
 ‘The airplane flew to KL.’
 b. (?) *Kapal terbang e l-em-iang ta’ KL.*

Note that inherently directed motion verbs, by way of contrast, do not require a deictic motion verb. This is shown below for the directed motion verb *p-osok* ‘to enter’,¹⁴ where the deictic verb *pu’* is present in (9.36) but does not occur in (9.37):

- (9.36) *Bo’=ku p-osok pu’ en-serudung muat bue’ susu.*
 then=1s.I INTR-enter to.there PREP-kitchen AV.make milk
 ‘Then I entered the kitchen to prepare some milk.’ (beta’ kerungayan 015)
 (9.37) *Aku pan tarus p-osok me-diam bilik...*
 1s.II TOP direct INTR-enter PREP-inside room
 ‘Straight away I entered into the room...’. (beta’ kerungayan 070)

Although more investigation is needed, this feature involving the licensing of a locative endpoint (telic) PP does suggest an independent, syntactic means of distinguishing the class of manner of motion verbs from the class of directional motion verbs in WC Bajau.

¹⁴ The underlying form of *p-osok* ‘to enter’ is *pe₁- + osok*, but the schwa vowel in the prefix elides in combination with the root.

9.10.9 The ‘detransitivizing’ pattern with motion verbs

A ‘detransitivizing’ pattern is observed with a handful of motion verbs, whether manner of motion or inherently directed motion. In this pattern, the unaffixed motion verb is transitive and its undergoer is usually a path or a goal. Affixation with *pe-* or *-em-* derives the intransitive motion verb with the (optional) path or goal argument expressed as an oblique. Examples of this detransitivizing pattern where the undergoer argument of the transitive verb is a path include: *keta* ‘to cross *x*’ > *pe-keta* ‘to cross’; *lumpat* ‘to jump across *x*’ > *pe-lumpat* ‘to jump’; and *rangi* ‘to swim across *x*’ > *r-em-angi* ‘to swim’. Examples of this pattern where the undergoer argument of the transitive verb is a goal include: *kepa* ‘to alight on *x*’ > *pe-kepa* ‘to alight’; *lumpat* ‘to jump for *x*’ > *pe-lumpat* ‘to jump’;¹⁵ and *tuun* ‘to dive for *x*; to dive carrying *x*’¹⁶ > *pe-tuun* ‘to dive’. Note the sentences below for *keta* ~ *pe-keta* (9.38)-(9.39) and for *tuun* ~ *pe-tuun* (9.40)-(9.41):

(9.38) *Ai* \emptyset -*keta* *Amzi* *suang* *e*.
 PERF UV-cross PN river DEM
 ‘Amzi crossed the river.’

(9.39) *Ai* *pe-keta* *kuda*’ *e* *pe* *dembila*’ *suang*.
 PERF INTR-cross horse DEM to.there across river
 ‘The horse crossed to the other side of the river.’

In (9.38), the transitive motion verb *keta* ‘to cross *x*’ takes the path argument *suang* ‘river’ as its undergoer. In (9.39) the derived intransitive verb *pe-keta* takes an (optional) path argument *suang* which occurs with the locative noun *dembila*’ ‘across’ to indicate its oblique status in the clause.

¹⁵ Note that *lumpat* can take either a path argument ‘to jump across *x*’ or a goal argument ‘to jump for *x*’.

¹⁶ As indicated, *tuun* may take either a goal or a theme argument. Another example of a transitive motion verb with a theme argument is *singga* ‘to drop *x* by (someone’s house)’, where *x* is the theme. The derived intransitive motion verb *pe-singga* means simply ‘to stop by someone’s house’, with no required theme argument.

(9.40) *Ai Ø-tuun=ku sinsim e.*
 PERF UV-dive.for=1s.I ring DEM
 ‘I dove for the ring.’

(9.41) *Kuzik e taan bana pe-tuun diam bue’.*
 PN DEM endure very INTR-dive inside water
 ‘Kuzik could dive down in the water for a long time.’

In (9.40), the transitive motion verb *tuun* ‘to dive for *x*’ take the goal argument *sinsim* ‘ring’ as its undergoer. In (9.41) the derived intransitive verb *pe-tuun* takes an optional goal argument *bue* ‘water’ which is preceded by a locative noun *diam* ‘inside’ to indicate its oblique status in the clause.

9.10.10 WC Bajau as a ‘split-intransitive’ language?

Across languages, actor-oriented intransitives tend to show different morphological and/or syntactic properties than undergoer-oriented intransitives. This distinction motivates the so-called split between ‘unergatives’ (actor-oriented intransitives) and ‘unaccusatives’ (undergoer-oriented intransitives).¹⁷

In WC Bajau, there is some degree of correlation between morphological marking and the actor-oriented or undergoer-oriented nature of the verb. The clearest examples of unergatives are volitional activities. By definition, an activity verb takes an actor as its argument.¹⁸ A volitional actor (= an agent) is the prototypical actor. In WC Bajau, volitional activities (§9.10.1) are usually marked by either *N-* or *be-*. The clearest examples of unaccusatives are change of state verbs (§9.10.2), which often take a prototypical patient. In WC Bajau, change of state verbs are either zero-marked, or they

¹⁷ I follow Van Valin (1990) in assuming that “split-intransitive phenomena” is determined by semantic, not syntactic, parameters. This is a much debated assumption, but it is beyond the scope of this work to explore the nature of the debate here.

¹⁸ In the theory of lexical decomposition developed in Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), all activity verbs have the generalized activity predicate **do**’ (x, [**predicate**’(x)]). If the intransitive verb is not an activity predicate, then it will usually be a state with the logical structure **predicate**’(x) or a change of state verb. For a thorough treatment of lexical decomposition in RRG, the reader is referred to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) and Van Valin (2005).

are derived with the *pe*₁- prefix attached to inherent state verbs (§9.10.3). Inherent states are normally zero-marked.

Apart from the fact that some change of state verbs are derived via affixation with *pe*₁-, the pattern that emerges thus far is morphological marking on the unergatives and zero-marking on the unaccusatives. This pattern has been described for several other western Austronesian languages, including Balinese (Arka 2003), Begak (Goudswaard 2005), and Sama Pangutaran (Walton 1986). For some such languages, including WC Bajau, zero-marking expresses undergoer orientation for transitive verbs as well.

We now consider those verb classes where the actor- or undergoer-orientation of the verb is not easily predicable based on semantic properties. ‘Characterized by X’ verbs (§9.10.4) are marked by *be*- or *N*-. Hence they pattern similarly to volitional activities and are grouped with the unergatives. It is true that the derived verbs in this class do not involve volition/ control, which means that *N*- or *be*- on these roots could be functioning as mere verbalizers. However, these affixes potentially do express actor-orientation with verbs in this class in that the argument taken by the verb is somewhat possessor-like, thus more like an actor than the item it ‘possesses’.¹⁹

Emission verbs (§9.10.5), whether of sound, light, smell or substance, do not present an obvious choice of actor or undergoer as their single core argument. Usually the emitter is not agentive and does not show control like an actor, nor does it undergo a change of state like an undergoer. The morphological marking suggests that emission verbs in WC Bajau pattern with the unergatives. As was shown, emission verbs in WC Bajau are usually marked with *N*-, which suggests an actor-orientation with these verbs. This could be explained in that emission verbs are internally caused—

¹⁹ Consider that in the RRG model of lexical decomposition, the possessive meaning is represented as **have**’ (x, y), where x = possessor and y = the possessed item. Since the 1st argument ‘x’ of any transitive predicate **pred**’ (x, y) is associated with thematic relations that are more actor-like than the second argument ‘y’ (see Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:146), the possessor is more actor-like than the item it possesses. Arka (2003:35, f.n. 35) uses the same argument as a possible explanation for why intransitive possessives are marked as unergatives (that is, actor-oriented) in Balinese.

they depict states of affairs which “come about as a result of internal physical characteristics of their argument.” In fact, emission verbs pattern as unergatives in several languages (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005:92, 138).

Spatial configuration verbs (§9.10.6), like emission verbs, do not pick out a clear actor or undergoer argument. Spatial orientation verbs are often associated with some degree of volition or controllability, but not obligatorily so.²⁰ Most spatial configuration verbs in WC Bajau are derived with *pe*₁-, which is represented in several classes and does not provide clear morphological evidence for actor vs. undergoer orientation. However, morphological evidence of a different kind—from the way in which their causatives are formed—suggests that spatial configuration verbs in WC Bajau belong with the unaccusatives. Spatial configuration verbs in WC Bajau readily undergo causativization in which the single argument of the intransitive verb is the undergoer of the causative form. Several of the spatial configuration verbs derive their causative counterparts with *-an*₁, the same form used by several change of state verbs (which are clearly unaccusative).

Inherently directed motion verbs (§9.10.7) might be thought to group with the unergatives because many of them involve a (potentially) agentive argument. However, there is considerable evidence to suggest that inherently directed motion verbs in WC Bajau should be grouped with the unaccusatives. Several of them are zero-marked, as was observed for many change of state verbs. Furthermore, when inherently directed motion verbs are causativized, the single argument of the intransitive form becomes the undergoer of the causative form. Several of the inherently directed motion verbs take *-an*₁ as their causative suffix (the same as for change of state verbs). Finally, many directed motion verbs, like change of state verbs, have an achieved endpoint (they are telic). Lexical telicity is an important factor in the sorting out of unaccusatives from unergatives. According to Van

²⁰ Arka, describing body-position verbs in Balinese, considers their unergative (actor-oriented) marking as owing to the fact that “these verbs commonly need human participants understood as exercising some control over the assumed position” (34).

Valin (1990:251-52), inherent lexical aspect is one of the two “primary semantic parameters governing split intransitivity” cross linguistically (the other being agentivity).

Manner of motion verbs (§9.10.8) are almost all morphologically marked, either with *pe*₁- or with *-em-*. Verbs like *r-em-angi* ‘to swim’, *l-ul-ai* ‘to run’, *pe-lompat* ‘to jump’ are volitional activity verbs and their status as unergatives is fairly certain. The only causative affix possible with these verbs is *pe*₂-. On the other hand, verbs like *panut* ‘to drift’, *pe-lunsur* ‘to flow’ and *pe-lantung* ‘to float’ are often non-volitional, and with *panut* and *pe-lunsur* the causative is formed by *-an*₁. These verbs would most likely belong with the unaccusatives. If so, then the class of manner of motion verbs contains both unergative and unaccusative verbs.

The following table summarizes how the various subclasses of intransitive verbs are morphologically marked and whether they are analyzed as unaccusative or unergative.

Table 9.2 Intransitive verb categorization

subclass of verb	usual morphological marking	Classification
volitional activity verbs	<i>N-</i> or <i>be-</i>	unergative
possession verbs	<i>N-</i> or <i>be-</i>	unergative
emission verbs	<i>N-</i>	unergative
manner of motion verbs	<i>-em-</i> or <i>pe</i> ₁ -	unergative & unaccusative
directed motion verbs	∅- or <i>pe</i> ₁ -	unaccusative
spatial configuration verbs	<i>pe</i> ₁ -	unaccusative
inherent state verbs	∅- or (<i>N-</i> ?)	unaccusative
(externally caused) change of state verbs	∅- or <i>pe</i> ₁ -	unaccusative

From Table 9.2 above, it can be seen that the *N-* and *be-* prefixes generally correlate with an unergative classification, and are considered actor-oriented affixes. It is true that *N-* also occurs with a few verbs classified here as ‘unaccusative’, for example, with the directed motion verb *mule* ‘to go home’ and with the spatial configuration verb *ningkoo* ‘to sit’, but these *N-* marked forms are

exceptional cases and simply do not fit the general pattern. The *-em-* infix applies to a subset of manner of motion verbs that normally occur as volitional activities, earning it the same ‘active’ designation. The *pe₁-* prefix occurs with both unaccusatives and unergatives and is generally neutral with regard to actor- or undergoer-orientation. Zero-marking is normally associated in WC Bajau with unaccusativity. The manner of motion verbs appear to be the most diversified in having both unergatives and unaccusatives in the same class.

CHAPTER 10

VALENCE-INCREASING OPERATIONS

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a number of valence-increasing operations in WC Bajau are described.

In this dissertation I use the term ‘valence’ in two ways. A verb’s SYNTACTIC VALENCE refers to the number of direct core arguments it takes, while a verb’s SEMANTIC VALENCE refers to the number of arguments in its semantic structure, that is, the number of ‘places’ in its argument structure (see §5.5). If the affix increases the syntactic valence of the clause by promoting a former oblique argument to undergoer status, it functions as an APPLICATIVE. If the affix increases the syntactic valence of the clause by adding an actor argument, it functions as a CAUSATIVE.

In WC Bajau a few affixes can be applied to verbs which change their syntactic and/or semantic valence. Depending on the affix, the verb it combines with may be one-place, two-place, or three-place. The affixes, and their typical functions, are shown in Table 10.1 below.

Table 10.1 Valence-increasing affixes in WC Bajau

<i>-an₁</i>	adds or promotes a recipient/beneficiary, locative, theme, patient, or actor argument (§10.2)
<i>peN-</i>	adds an instrument argument (§10.3)
<i>pe(N-)...-an</i>	adds a location argument (§10.4)
<i>pe₂-</i>	adds an actor argument (=causative) (§10.5)

Note that ‘patient’ and ‘theme’ are distinct semantic roles. Patients refer to “things that are in a state or condition, or undergo a change of state or condition”, whereas themes refer to “things which are located or are undergoing a change of location (motion)” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:85).

The argument added by *-an₁* or *pe₂-* is not only a direct core argument (DCA) but also a macrorole: either an actor (with a causative) or an undergoer. Furthermore, the added argument always has the potential of being the subject, because the verbs derived with these affixes are subject to voice alternations.¹ The derived forms may be UV (with zero marking), AV (with *N-* added to the stem), or passive (with *-in-* added to the stem). For example, when benefactive *-an₁* occurs with the root *beli* ‘to buy (s.thing)’, the derived form *beli-an* ‘to buy (s.thing) for *x*’ is in the UV form, but it may also occur as *meli-an* (the AV form) or as *b-in-eli-an* (the passive form). When causative *pe₂-* occurs with the root *pantaw* ‘to stand’, the derived form *pe-pantaw* ‘to stand (s.thing) up’ is in the UV form, but it may also occur as *me-pantaw* (the AV form) or as *p-in-e-pantaw* (the passive form).

Derived forms with *peN-* and *pe(N)-...an* are not candidates for voice affixation and do not undergo voice alternations. They seem to have both verbal and nominal properties. It is possible that in some contexts they function as verbs and in others as nouns, as will be discussed below.

It was mentioned above for *-an₁* and *pe₂-* that when affixation results in the promotion of an argument to DCA status in the clause, the newly introduced argument is also a macrorole (actor or undergoer). For example, when *-an₁* affixed to a transitive verb promotes an oblique beneficiary recipient to direct core status, the beneficiary argument becomes the undergoer as well. The beneficiary is a ‘marked undergoer’ because normally the patient argument (if there is one) would be the undergoer.

To see why this is so, it is helpful to consider the basis for thematic relations as well as ‘default’ macrorole assignment, which according to Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) is determined by argument positions in the logical structures of verbs. Figure 10.1 shows a ‘thematic relations continuum’, where different thematic relations (in small caps) are associated with a given argument

¹ The interplay of voice affixation with applicativization makes for some interesting functional parallels with the ‘rich’ voice systems of Philippine-type languages; see §10.2.5 below.

position in logical structure. (Note that ‘Arg. of DO’ on the far left refers to an argument where an agentive reading is obligatory. The logical structure **do’** (x,...) refers to an activity predicate, where ‘x’ is the doer of the activity.)

←	→			
Arg. of DO	1 st arg. of do’ (x,...	1 st arg. of pred’ (x, y)	2 nd arg. of pred’ (x, y)	Arg. of state pred’ (x)
AGENT	EFFECTOR MOVER ST-MOVER L-EMITTER S-EMITTER PERFORMER CONSUMER CREATOR OBSERVER USER VARIABLE	LOCATION PERCEIVER COGNIZER WANTER JUDGER POSSESSOR EXPERIENCER EMOTER ATTRIBUTANT IDENTIFIED VALUE PERFORMANCE CONSUMED CREATION IMPLEMENT	THEME STIMULUS CONTENT DESIRE JUDGMENT POSSESSED SENSATION TARGET ATTRIBUTE IDENTITY	PATIENT ENTITY

Figure 10.1 The thematic relations continuum (from Van Valin 2005:58)

Recall from §5.3 that macroroles are generalized semantic roles. The actor argument is prototypically an agent, but ‘actor’ subsumes a number of other possible semantic roles. Similarly, the undergoer is prototypically a patient, but it too subsumes many possible semantic roles. In a monotransitive clause, the actor is the most agent-like argument, and the undergoer is normally the most patient-like argument. So, just as the thematic relations listed in Figure 10.1 above are defined in terms of argument structure positions, so too the default assignment of an argument to macrorole status refers crucially to its position in the logical structure of the verb. This relation is expressed in the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy, shown in Figure 10.2 below:

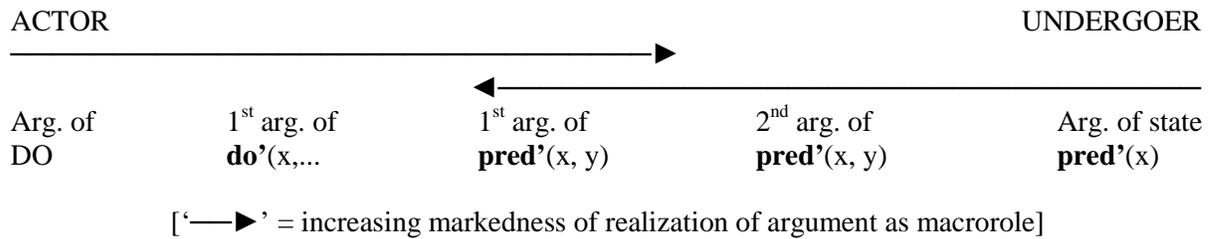


Figure 10.2 The Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (Van Valin 2005:61)

As stated by Van Valin (2004), “This double hierarchy says simply that given the logical structure of a transitive verb, the leftmost argument will be the actor and that the rightmost argument will be the undergoer” (52).

Macrorole assignments are usually unproblematic for transitive clauses. For applicative constructions, which involve the promotion of an argument from oblique to direct core status, the choice of undergoer does not always follow the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy. Cross-linguistically, for example, benefactive applicatives frequently show a marked undergoer assignment. In this case the applied beneficiary (which is the first argument of a two-place predicate) is the undergoer despite its less-patient-like ranking on the Hierarchy compared to the ‘secondary object’ (which is the second argument of a two-place predicate, thus more patient-like than the beneficiary).² As will be seen below, benefactive *-an₁* and locative *-an₁* involve just such a marked choice for undergoer assignment, and possibly instrumental *peN-* as well.

10.2 The suffix *-an₁*

The *-an₁* suffix applies to many one-place, two-place, and three-place verbs. Its function on a given verb depends largely on the valence and the lexical semantics of the verb itself. With some verbs (usually two- or three-place verbs), the *-an₁* suffix has an applicative function, promoting a

² The relevant thematic relation for a (recipient) beneficiary in Figure 10.1 is POSSESSOR, according to the logical structure ...CAUSE [BECOME **have**’ (x, y), where ‘x’ is the possessor/recipient and ‘y’ is a theme. See Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:127 concerning recipients and 383-4 concerning recipient benefactives.

recipient (usually a beneficiary-recipient) or a locative argument. With other verbs the function of *-an₁* is to promote or add a theme argument, whether the theme is part of the semantic valence of the original verb, or whether the theme is an added semantic argument. On one-place unaccusative verbs, the *-an₁* suffix adds an actor argument to the clause (yielding a causative meaning) and *-an₁* identifies the (formerly intransitive) subject as the theme. These various functions of *-an₁* are treated below.

10.2.1 *Adding or promoting recipient undergoers*

The *-an₁* suffix functions as an applicative to add or promote a recipient argument as a DCA, whether a beneficiary-recipient (§0) or the recipient with some transfer verbs (§0).

10.2.1.1 To add a beneficiary-recipient

The *-an₁* affix with a benefactive function is very productive on transitive roots whose lexical semantics permit a beneficiary argument. Examples include: *buat-an* ‘to make for (s.one)’ (< *buat* ‘to make’); *kua-an* ‘to ladle for (s.one)’ (< *kua* ‘to ladle’); *papi-an* ‘to cook for (s.one)’ (< *papi* ‘to cook’); *pemia-an* ‘to search for s.thing for (s.one)’ (< *pemia* ‘to search’) and *pene-an* ‘to choose for (s.one)’ (< *pene* ‘to choose’). Although the data are preliminary and not conclusive at this point, it appears that applicative *-an₁* for benefactives is limited to the recipient type.³ Normally the beneficiary is understood to be the recipient of the action. In (10.1) below, the speaker is asked by his mother to buy some medicine, but the intended recipient is someone else (the speaker’s sister who lives in a different city). In this case, it is not felicitous to use the benefactive *-an₁* suffix when the identified beneficiary is the mother, but it is fine to use it when the beneficiary is identified as the speaker’s sister:

³ Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:384) distinguish three types of benefactive: (1) recipient benefactives; (2) plain benefactives (as in ‘Rita sang for the students’); and (3) deputative benefactives, “where the actor did the action in place of the beneficiary”. They note that in English (as is true for WC Bajau, via the applicative suffix) only the recipient type of benefactive is a candidate for marked linking to undergoer.

- (10.1) a. (?) *Aku meli-an iyang=ku toos.*
 1s.II AV.buy-APPL mother=1s.I medicine
 ‘I bought my mother some medicine [for my sister].’
- b. *Aku meli-an di'=ku ` toos.*
 1s.II AV.buy-APPL younger.sibling=1s.I medicine
 ‘I bought my sister some medicine [at mother’s request].’

Benefactives in monotransitive clauses are expressed as oblique phrases, marked by the preposition *ta'* or *em-*. They are usually adjuncts (non-core arguments), that is, not part of the semantic representation of the verb. Note the following examples:

- (10.2) *Boi Ø-boo Amzi bua' nangka' e ta' iyang=ni.*
 CMPL UV-bring PN fruit jackfruit DEM PREP mother=3s.I
 ‘Amzi brought jackfruit for his mother.’
- (10.3) *Boi Ø-sembali emma'=ku kambing e ta' Saiman.*
 CMPL UV-slaughter father=1s.I goat DEM PREP PN
 ‘My father slaughtered the goat for Saiman.’

When *-an₁* occurs on the verb, the benefactive argument is added as a direct core argument, as evidenced by the loss of its oblique marker, and by its occurrence just after the actor (the usual position for a non-fronted undergoer of a transitive clause) rather than at the periphery of the clause (the usual position for obliques). Compare (10.2) and (10.3) with the applicative constructions in (10.4) and (10.5) below:

- (10.4) *Boi Ø-boo-n⁴ Amzi iyang=ni bua' nangka' e.*
 CMPL UV-bring-APPL PN mother=3s.I fruit jackfruit DEM
 ‘Amzi brought his mother the jackfruit.’
- (10.5) *Boi Ø-sembali-an emma'=ku Saiman kambing tu.*
 CMPL UV-bring-APPL father=1s.I PN goat DEM
 ‘My father slaughtered (for) Saiman the goat.’

⁴ The *-an₁* suffix is realized as *-on* on some verb stems, according to vowel harmony rules (see §2.5.5.1), and is here elided owing to the phonetically long vowel in the root.

Applicativized clauses where the added argument remains in clause-final position were considered either ungrammatical or questionable, as shown in (10.6) and (10.7) below:⁵

(10.6) (?) *Boi Ø-boo-n Amzi bua'angka' e iyang=ni.*

(10.7) **Boi Ø-sembali-an emma'=ku kambing tu Saiman.*

According to the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy in Fig. 10.2 above, we would predict that undergoer status should be ascribed to the patient or theme argument, because they are further to the right on the undergoer hierarchy. The (recipient) beneficiary, as the first argument of a two-place predicate with the thematic role of POSSESSOR, would be the marked choice for undergoer.⁶ What syntactic evidence might we use to determine which argument is the undergoer? Since the examples above are zero verbs, whichever argument is undergoer will also be the subject of the clause. Only the subject may be fronted (§5.6.1). As shown in (10.8) and (10.9) below, the benefactive argument can always be fronted, whereas attempting to front the theme/patient argument is either not grammatical or questionable:

(10.8) a. *Iyang=ni boi Ø-boo-n Amzi bua'angka' e.*

b. (?) *Bua'angka' e boi Ø-boo-n Amzi iyang=ni.*

⁵ Note, however, that if the non-benefactive 'secondary object' is a WH-word, it can occur either before or after the benefactive argument. It is unclear whether this ordering flexibility is a unique property of WH-words, or whether it might rather be attributed to the narrow-focus status of the secondary object (since WH-words ordinarily express narrow focus).

⁶ The RRG representation of the logical structure (LS) for *boo-on* 'bring (for someone)' would be: [**do'** (x, [**bring'** (x)])] CAUSE [BECOME **have'** (y, z)]. The LS for (10.4) would thus be: [**do'** (Amzi, [**bring'** (Amzi)])] CAUSE [BECOME **have'** (*iyang ni*, *bua'angka'*)]. In this LS, the first argument of the two-place predicate **have'** is *iyang ni* 'his mother', and the second argument is *bua'angka'* 'jackfruit'. The Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy as presented above would assign undergoer status to *bua'angka'* since it is the rightmost argument on the undergoer hierarchy.

- (10.9) a. *Saiman boi Ø-sembali-an emma'=ku kambing tu.*
 b. **Kambing tu boi Ø-sembali-an emma'=ku Saiman.*

As further evidence of the undergoer status of the applied benefactive, only the applied argument can become the subject of the passive.⁷ This is shown in (10.10) below:

- (10.10) a. *Saiman boi s-in-embali-an kambing le' emma'=ku.*
 Saiman CMPL -PASS-slaughter-APPL goat PREP father=1s.I
 '(For) Saiman was slaughtered a goat by my father.'
 b. **Kambing e boi s-in-embali-an Saiman le' emma'=ku.*

The evidence from fronting and the passive shows that the applied benefactive argument has become not only a DCA, but a macrorole, and (in UV clauses) the subject. As for the syntactic status of the secondary object (the theme/patient argument), it might appear to retain DCA status since it does not take oblique marking. However, the evidence from fronting is mixed. With some language helpers, the secondary object (like an oblique argument) could be fronted before the subject when it was focal. In (10.11) below, two of three language helpers accepted the fronted secondary object (it was questionable for the third language helper):

- (10.11) A. *Te-kale=ku kau boi meli-an Jumel badu dilaw.*
 DC.PASS-hear=1s.I 2s.II CMPL AV.buy-APPL PN shirt yesterday
 "I heard that you bought Jumel a shirt yesterday."
 B. (?) *Nya', telumpa' jo iyo Ø-beli-an=ku dilaw.*
 NEG shoes FOC 3s.II UV-buy-APPL=1s.I yesterday
 "No, I bought shoes for him yesterday."

⁷ Similarly, Alsina and Mchombo (1993) show that in the Bantu language of Chichewa, passivization of a beneficiary or instrument applicative results in the applicativized NP (never the patient or theme) becoming the subject.

Thus the status of the secondary object as a DCA or an oblique is not clear, and requires further investigation.⁸

There is an alternative to the applicative analysis for benefactive *-an₁*, namely, that *-an₁* functions here as a voice marker signaling that the benefactive argument is now the subject of the clause. However, the ‘benefactive voice’ analysis fails to account for the co-occurrence of benefactive *-an₁* with AV morphology (*N-*) and with passive morphology (*-in-*). For an example of a benefactive passive form, see (10.10) (a). The following example shows a benefactive AV form:

- (10.12) *Aku meli-an Pirik telumpa' e.*
 1s.II AV.buy-APPL PN shoes DEM
 ‘I will buy Pirik shoes.’

In (10.12), the verb affixed with *-an₁* has AV morphology, and since *aku* is fronted, it must be the subject of the clause. The benefactive argument *Pirik*, while not the subject, does have macrorole (undergoer) status, as indicated by its occurrence just after the verb (where the undergoer argument of a monotransitive clause normally occurs). Note that it is not possible for the secondary object *telumpa'* ‘shoes’ to occupy this position in the applicativized clause:

- (10.13) **Aku meli-an telumpa' e Pirik.*

10.2.1.2 To promote the recipient of a transfer verb

The *-an₁* suffix may also occur with a three-place predicate of transfer, where the recipient argument is already a semantic argument of the verb. With transfer verbs in WC Bajau, the recipient argument is always expressed as an oblique core argument unless the verb is applicativized. Addition of the *-an₁* suffix promotes the third argument as a DCA (and the new undergoer). Note the following

⁸ In §7.1.2.1, example (7.21) showed evidence that secondary objects were ineligible for fronting and therefore were likely to retain DCA status. However, that example did not specify narrow focus on the secondary object, as does (10.11) above.

example, which shows the alternation between the monotransitive verb *muan* ‘to give’ (<**buan*)⁹ and the applicativized form *muan-an*:

- (10.14) a. *Endo=ku muan perangi' e m-aku.*
 wife=1s.I AV.give pineapple DEM PREP-1s.II
 ‘My wife gave the pineapple to me.’
- b. *Endo=ku muan-an aku perangi' e.*
 wife=1s.I AV.give-APPL 1s.II pineapple DEM
 ‘My wife gave me the pineapple.’

Example (10.14) is the WC Bajau equivalent of the ‘dative shift’ alternation in English. Note that the oblique-marked recipient argument in (a) has become a direct core argument in (b), and assumed the position immediately following the verb, indicating that it is now the undergoer.

With other transfer verbs taking a recipient (or goal) argument, such as *dede* ‘to send’ and *unjuk* ‘to hand to’, the *-an₁* suffix changes neither the syntactic nor the semantic valence of the clause. With these verbs, the recipient argument remains an oblique core argument whether or not the *-an₁* suffix occurs. The *-an₁* suffix on these verbs appears to apply ‘vacuously’ (see §10.2.4 for more discussion of the vacuous application of *-an₁*).

10.2.2 Promoting locative undergoers

In 10.2.1 we saw the applicative function of *-an₁* to promote a recipient argument. Another applicative function of *-an₁* is to promote a location or goal argument. When added to two-place bound roots which have a locative or goal as their second semantic argument, *-an₁* promotes that argument to DCA status (and by default the undergoer, because it is the only non-actor argument in the clause). When added to some three-place ‘transfer’ predicates, *-an₁* signals the promotion to DCA

⁹ With **buan* ‘to give’, the AV form is *muan* and the (irregular) UV form is *pemuan*, which looks superficially like it has been derived with the *peN-* ‘instrument’ prefix (see §10.3). However, there is evidence against this analysis. First, *pemuan* may be passivized (as *p-in-emuan*), whereas instrument forms do not occur as passives. Second, with *pemuan* the recipient argument takes oblique marking, whereas with instrument forms there is no oblique marking on any core argument.

status of the (previously oblique) locative or goal argument, which becomes the new (marked) undergoer.

10.2.2.1 With bound roots

Some two-place bound roots, particularly those of spatial orientation, have a location or goal as their second argument. When these roots occur with an intransitive prefix such as *pe-*₁, the derived intransitive form expresses its location or goal as an oblique core argument. If instead the verb is affixed with *-an*₁, the locative becomes a DCA and the undergoer. Consider the verbs **sading* ‘to lean’ and **rekot* ‘to stick’ in (10.15) and (10.16) below:

- (10.15) a. *Ngini kau pe-sading m-aku?*
 why 2s.II INTR-lean PREP-1s.II
 ‘Why are you leaning against me?’
- b. *Ngini aku Ø-sading-an=nu?*
 why 1s.II UV-lean-APPL=2s.I
 ‘Why are you leaning against me?’
- (10.16) a. *Sesok e ai pe-rekot ta' jing.*
 house.lizard DEM PERF INTR-stick PREP zinc
 ‘The house lizard has stuck to the zinc.’
- b. *Ai Ø-rekot-on sesok jing e.*
 PRT UV-stick-APPL house.lizard zinc DEM
 ‘The house lizard has stuck to the zinc.’

In the (b) examples, the undergoer locative argument has also become the subject, since these are UV constructions and the undergoer is by default selected as pivot. However, as was seen for the benefactive use of *-an*₁, occurrence of locative *-an*₁ with AV constructions is also possible, in which case the actor is selected as subject:

- (10.17) *Kuzik e pur=ni nading-an Saiman jo.*
 PN DEM often=3s.I AV.lean-APPL PN just
 ‘Kuzik often leans against Saiman.’

- (10.18) *Sesok e nge-rekot-on zinc.*
 house.lizard DEM AV-stick-APPL zinc
 ‘The house lizard sticks to the zinc.’

In (10.17) and (10.18) the locative argument is a DCA but not the subject, as AV assigns that grammatical relation to the actor. Thus it would not be plausible to analyze locative *-an₁* as a voice construction, just as benefactive *-an₁* should not be analyzed as a voice construction.

Other verbs that pattern like *sading-an* and *rekot-on* include *limpang-an* ‘to lie down on (s.thing)’ (<**limpang* ‘to lie down’) and *limpas-an* ‘to pass by (s.one or s.place)’ (<**limpas* ‘to pass’).

10.2.2.2 With three-place ‘transfer’ predicates

Certain three-place transfer verbs have as their semantic arguments an actor, a theme, and a location rather than a recipient. In terms of the thematic relations continuum shown in Figure 10.1, locations are grouped with recipients (= possessors). They are not as ‘patient-like’ as are themes, the default choice for undergoer assignment.¹⁰ The location argument is expressed as a prepositional phrase (oblique). All transfer verbs with a locative third argument can occur with the *-an₁* suffix (for some it is obligatory), but with only a few of them does *-an₁* have an applicative function to promote the locative argument as a DCA (and new undergoer). For the others, *-an₁* apparently applies vacuously in that it does not increase the syntactic or semantic valence of the clause.

The following examples show the locative applicative function of *-an₁* operating on two transfer verbs, *enna* ‘to put or place’ and *tuyung* ‘to add (s.thing) to’. In the case of *enna*, the *-an₁* suffix optionally occurs when it applies vacuously, as in (10.19) (a), but when *-an₁* operates as an applicative its presence is required (b-c):

¹⁰ Note that, in terms of the thematic relations continuum shown in Figure 10.1, the thematic role LOCATION is linked to the first argument of **pred**’ (x, y), which is also the link for the thematic role POSSESSOR (for recipient). The logical structure (LS) for a recipient ‘x’ is of the form ... CAUSE [BECOME **have**’ (x, y)]; the LS for a location/goal ‘x’ is of the form ... CAUSE [BECOME **be-LOC**’ (x, y). Note their fundamental similarity in form, the only difference being that **have**’ specifies a possessor whereas **be-LOC**’ specifies a location.

- (10.19) a. *Ai Ø-enna'(-an)=ni gula' diam kupi'.*
 PERF UV-place-TZ=3s.I sugar inside coffee
 '(S)he put sugar in the coffee.'
- b. *Ai Ø-enna'-an=ni kupi' e gula'.*
 PERF UV-place-APPL=3s.I coffee DEM sugar
 '(S)he put sugar in the coffee.'
- c. (?) *Ai Ø-enna'=ni kupi' e gula'.*

In (10.19) (a) the location/goal of the action of placing is *kupi'* 'coffee', which is expressed obliquely as a prepositional phrase. In (b) the *-an₁* suffix functions as an applicative, resulting in the locative argument *kupi'* now appearing as an NP rather than a PP (it is no longer oblique). Furthermore, its appearance directly after the verb + actor indicates that it has replaced *gula'* 'sugar' as the undergoer.

A similar pattern is observed for the pair of sentences in (10.20). The verb *tuyung* occurs obligatorily with *-an₁*, but again the *-an₁* suffix appears to function in two ways: either it applies vacuously, as in (10.20) (a), or it promotes the locative argument, as in (b):

- (10.20) a. *Ø-Tuyung-an=ni bue' tebu e pe diam kawa.'*
 UV-add-TZ=3s.I water sugar.cane DEM to.there inside cauldron
 '(S)he added the sugar cane water into the cauldron.'
- b. *Ø-Tuyung-an=ni kawa e (engko') bue' tebu.*
 UV-ladle-APPL=3s.I cauldron DEM PREP water sugar.cane
 'She added sugar cane water into the cauldron.'

Note that with *tuyung* the *-an₁* suffix can also occur as a benefactive applicative:

- (10.21) *Ø-Tuyung-an=ni aku buas e.*
 UV-add-APPL=3s.I 1s.II rice DEM
 'He added (for) me the rice.'

Example (10.21) shows that *-an₁* can have multiple functions on a given root, so long as the lexical semantics of the root are compatible with those functions.

10.2.2.3 To promote an addressee/ person argument

With some verbs (whether one-, two-, or three-place) the *-an_I* suffix promotes an addressee or other person argument, which is a type of locative. Here the action is directed toward a person (usually a perceiver or cognizer) rather than a place. The three-place verbs *bara'* 'to tell' and *tilaw* 'to ask' take a speech-act complement (either direct speech or indirect speech) and the addressee occurs as an oblique core argument in the clause. When locative *-an_I* is added, the addressee is promoted to DCA (and undergoer) status.¹¹ Note the following examples with *bara'* 'to tell':

- (10.22) “*Buat-in do' aku bue' susu, too' bana kelong=ku tu,*”
 make-UV.IMP EMPH 1s.II milk dry very throat=1s.I DEM

Ø-bara'=ni m-aku.

UV-tell=3s.I PREP-1s.II

‘Make me some milk, I am very thirsty,’ she said to me. (beta' kerungayan 014)

- (10.23) *Bila teko me-ruma' bara-an=ni emma'=ni uun jomo mu'*
 when arrive PREP-house UV-tell-APPL=3s.I father=3s.I EXIST person there

lawa' bana.

beautiful very

‘When she arrived home, she told her father that there was a very handsome man there.’ (uwa' suk 074)

In (10.22) the speech verb *bara'* is unaffixed, and the addressee (*m-aku*) occurs as the oblique form. In (10.23) the same root verb occurs as the affixed form *bara-an* and the addressee (*emma'=ni*) is promoted to a DCA. Note also in (10.23) that the addressee occurs just after the verb + actor (where a non-fronted undergoer normally occurs) and before the speech act complement.

The locative *-an_I* suffix occurs on some bound roots to promote or add an addressee or perceiver argument. Examples include *akal-an* ‘to lie to (s.one)’ (< **akal*); *pe-ragam-an* ‘to tease or ridicule

¹¹ With both *bara'* and *tilaw*, the addition of *-an_I* does not always function as an applicative. Sometimes *-an_I* on these roots seems to occur vacuously, where the addressee (if it occurs at all) is still marked as oblique.

(s.one)’ (< **ragam*)¹²; and *angguk-an* ‘to nod to (s.one)’ (< **angguk*). It also occurs on a few one-place or two-place verbs to add a person argument, though the semantics are unpredictable, deriving their meaning largely from the meaning of the root verb. Examples include *tapuk-an* ‘to hide from (s.one)’ (< *tapuk* ‘to hide’); *tombol-on* ‘to close (the door) on (s.one)’ (< *tombol* ‘to close’); and *turi-an* ‘to sleep with (s.one)’ (< *turi* ‘to sleep’).¹³

10.2.3 Promoting or adding theme undergoers

The *-an₁* suffix occurs with a variety of one-, two-, and three-place verbs to promote or add a theme argument. With some two- and three-place verbs in this category, the undergoer of the unaffixed verb is usually either a path or a patient/goal argument. When affixed with *-an₁*, a theme argument (whether part of the semantic valence of the verb or not) displaces the original undergoer, and the original undergoer is demoted to oblique status. With certain one-place verbs, *-an₁* adds either a theme or an agent, depending on the macrorole status of the intransitive subject. Finally, with certain transitive verbs *-an₁* appears to have vacuous application, without increasing the syntactic or semantic valence of the clause.

10.2.3.1 With two- and three-place verbs

With two-place directed motion verbs that take a path or target undergoer, the *-an₁* suffix adds a theme argument which is carried by the mover in the manner specified by the motion verb. The original goal argument becomes an oblique phrase. Here the semantic valence of the verb changes from two to three (by adding a theme argument), but the syntactic valence does not change because the original undergoer has now become an oblique. Therefore when *-an₁* adds a theme it often does not function as a true applicative. This is shown in (10.24) for *keta* ‘to cross (some path)’ and in (10.25) for *sembet* ‘to chase’.

¹² The form *pe-ragam-an* apparently requires the combination of *pe-* + *-an* on the root to form the transitive. This may be an irregular derivation, though I have encountered the *pe-* + *-an* circumfix on a few other verbs. More investigation of this form is required. In any case, it seems not to be productive.

¹³ The form *turi-an* can also take a true location as its undergoer, i.e., ‘to sleep at (a certain place)’.

- (10.24) a. *Ai Ø-keta Pirik suang e.*
 PERF UV-cross PN river DEM
 ‘Pirik crossed the river.’
- b. *Ai Ø-keta-an Pirik using e pe dembila’ suang.*
 PERF UV-cross-THM PN cat DEM to.there across river
 ‘Pirik carried the cat across the river.’
- c. **Ai Ø-keta Pirik using e pe dembila’ suang.*

In (10.24) (a) the two-place verb *keta* ‘to cross’ takes the path argument (*suang* ‘river’) as its undergoer. In (b) the *-an₁* suffix has incorporated a theme argument (*using* ‘cat’) into the semantic structure of the verb, and it has replaced *suang* as the new undergoer. This is shown by (1) the position of *using* just after the verb + actor; and (2) the demotion of *suang* to oblique status. Example (c) shows that the theme argument cannot occur as a DCA without being added by the *-an₁* suffix.

- (10.25) a. *Azizy boi Ø-sembet=ku engko’ surat e.*
 PN CMPL UV-chase=1s.I PREP letter DEM
 ‘I chased Azizy with the letter.’
- b. *Surat e boi Ø-sembet-en=ku ta’ Azizy.¹⁴*
 letter DEM CMPL UV-chase-THM=1s.I PREP PN
 ‘I rushed the letter to Azizy.’

In (10.25) (a) the two-place verb *sembet* ‘chase’ takes the goal argument (*Azizy*) as the undergoer, while the theme *surat* ‘letter’ is an adjunct occurring in a prepositional (oblique) phrase. In (b) the *-an₁* suffix identifies the theme argument *surat* as the new undergoer, while *Azizy* has been demoted to oblique status. Since the construction is UV, the undergoer theme argument has also become the subject, as shown by its preverbal position in the clause.

The same alternation can be demonstrated in an AV clause:

¹⁴ Note that the *-an₁* suffix occurs on *sembet* as [-en] based on a vowel harmony rule (see §2.5.5.1).

- (10.26) a. *Aku boi nembet Azizy engko' surat.*
 1s.II CMPL AV.chase PN PREP letter
 'I chased Azizy with the letter.'
- b. *Aku boi nembet-en surat e ta' Azizy.*
 1s.II CMPL AV.chase-THM letter DEM PREP PN
 'I rushed the letter to Azizy.'

If the *-an₁* marked verb is passivized, the one remaining direct core argument is the theme (not the goal), as shown in (10.27). This is further evidence of the DCA status of the theme argument.

- (10.27) a. *Surat e s-in-embet-en ta' Azizy.*
 letter DEM -PASS-chase-THM PREP Azizy
 'The letter was rushed to Azizy.'
- b. **Azizy s-in-embet-en engko' surat e.*
 PN -PASS-chase-THM PREP letter DEM
 'Azizy was chased/ rushed to with the letter.'

In addition to *keta* 'to cross' and *sembet* 'to chase', other two-place directed motion verbs that combine with *-an₁* to incorporate a theme undergoer include *rangi-an* 'to carry (s.thing) by swimming' (< *rangi* 'to swim across (some path)') and *loot-on* 'to deliver (s.thing) by reaching' (< *loot* 'to reach for (s.thing)').

With some two-place verbs that take a patient argument, the *-an₁* suffix adds what appears to be an instrument. Note the following example with *tigad* 'to chop':

- (10.28) a. *Dong kayu keros Ø-tigad=nu engko' guuk e.*
 NEG.IMP wood hard UV-chop=2s.I PREP knife DEM
 'Don't chop hardwood with that knife.'
- b. *Dong guuk e Ø-tigad-an=nu ta' kayu keros.*
 NEG.IMP knife DEM UV-chop-THM=2s.I PREP wood hard
 'Don't chop the hardwood with that knife'
- c. **Dong guuk e Ø-tigad=nu ta' kayu keros.*
 NEG.IMP knife DEM UV-chop=2s.I PREP wood hard
 'Don't chop with that knife the hardwood.'

In (10.28) (a) the unaffixed verb *tigad* ‘to chop’ takes the patient *kayu keros* ‘hardwood’ as its undergoer, and the instrument (*guuk* ‘knife’) is an oblique argument. Affixation of the verb with *-an_I* in (b) shows that the instrument argument has become the undergoer (and the subject), with the patient demoted to oblique status. Example (c) shows that it is not possible for the instrument to be the subject with the unaffixed verb.

Other verbs that show this type of alternation include *palu-an* ‘to hit using (s.thing)’ (< *palu* ‘to hit (s.one)’)) and *timbang-an* ‘to shoot using (s.thing)’ (< *timbang* ‘to shoot (s.thing)’). Although the added argument in this alternation appears to be an instrument, note that in each case the instrument is moved or handled in some way, which also qualifies it as a theme.¹⁵

The *-an_I* suffix to promote a theme argument also occurs with a few three-place verbs. These verbs have as semantic arguments both a theme and a patient/goal, with the goal having undergoer status and the theme often left unexpressed. When suffixed with *-an_I*, the theme becomes a DCA and the new undergoer, while the original undergoer becomes an oblique. Examples of these verbs include *iyak-an* ‘to throw (s.thing) at /in’ (< *iyak* ‘to throw at’) and *seput-an* ‘to spray (s.thing) at’ (< *seput* ‘to spray at’). Example:

- (10.29) a. *Using e ai Ø-seput soo dilaw.*
 cat DEM PERF UV-spray snake yesterday
 ‘A snake sprayed the cat (with venom) yesterday.’
- b. *Ai Ø-seput-an soo dalit ta’ using e.*
 PERF UV-spray-THM snake venom PREP cat DEM
 ‘A snake sprayed venom at the cat.’

¹⁵ Sneddon (1996:78-80), describing the instrument use of the *-kan* suffix in Indonesian, notes that “what is basically important in these constructions is that the object is something which is handled, manipulated or moved”, whereas “with the corresponding simple verbs the object is something at which the action is directed”. More investigation is needed to determine whether, in Bajau, the *-an_I* suffix can ever be used for an instrument which is not in some way moved. If so, there would be warrant for claiming a separate use of the suffix to add instrument (as opposed to theme) arguments. Interestingly, the verbs that take ‘instrument’ *-an_I* can alternatively take the instrument prefix *peN-* (§10.3), with no apparent difference in meaning between the two derived forms.

In (10.29) (a) the unaffixed root *seput* takes the goal argument *using* ‘cat’ as its undergoer; the theme argument is left unexpressed. With addition of the *-an₁* suffix in (b), a new undergoer (the theme) is identified: *dalit* ‘venom’, which occurs just after the verb + actor in the UV clause. The original undergoer (*using*) is now demoted to oblique status. This alternation of undergoer assignment apparently does not involve any change in meaning, however.

10.2.3.2 With one-place verbs

Some one-place verbs occur with *-an₁* to add either a theme undergoer or an actor, depending on the macrorole status of the single argument of the intransitive verb. If the intransitive subject is an actor (= unergative), *-an₁* adds an undergoer argument, which is a theme. Examples include *kepo-on* ‘to carry (s.thing) while jumping down’ (< *kepo* ‘to jump down’) and *lulai-an* ‘to carry (s.thing) while running’ (< *lulai* ‘to run’).¹⁶ However, if the intransitive subject is an undergoer (= unaccusative), *-an₁* adds an actor argument, which is the same morphological causative first introduced in §9.10.2.¹⁷ The following is an example of causative *-an₁* using the change of state verb *buus* ‘to spill’:

- (10.30) a. *Ai buus kipi’ e.*
 PERF spill coffee DEM
 ‘The coffee spilled.’
- b. *Ai Ø-buus-an Mark kipi’ e.*
 PERF UV-spill-CAUS PN coffee DEM
 ‘Mark spilled the coffee.’

In (10.30) (a) the intransitive verb *buus* ‘to spill’ has as its subject the undergoer *kipi’* ‘coffee’. In (b) the *-an₁* suffix adds an actor argument, where the valence (both syntactic and semantic) has increased by one. The addition of the actor results in a causative interpretation for (b).

¹⁶ The verb *lulai* is probably itself derived from *lai* ‘to move, to flee’ + *-um-* (the infix used to derive intransitive motion verbs). However, the verb *lulai* today behaves like a frozen form (see §9.5, f.n. 3).

¹⁷ The unergative/ unaccusative dichotomy was discussed in §9.10.10.

It was shown in Chapter 9 that the morphological causative with *-an₁* occurs with certain change of state verbs, spatial configuration verbs, inherently directed motion verbs, and manner of motion verbs. These include the following:

(10.31)	<i>ala</i> ‘to move, to shift’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>ala-an</i> ‘to remove (s.thing)’
	<i>ebba</i> ‘to topple’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>ebba-an</i> ‘to topple (s.thing)’
	<i>labu</i> ‘to fall’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>labu-an</i> ‘to drop (s.thing)’
	<i>lepa</i> ‘to get/become free’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>lepa-an</i> ‘to free (s.thing)’
	<i>panut</i> ‘to drift’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>panut-an</i> ‘to set (s.thing) adrift’
	* <i>lunsur</i> ‘to flow’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>lunsur-an</i> ‘to channel (s.thing)’
	* <i>sorong</i> ‘to approach’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>sorong-on</i> ‘to push (s.thing) forward’
	* <i>tenab</i> ‘to sink, to dive’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>tenob-on</i> ‘to immerse (s.thing)’ ¹⁸
	* <i>tingkoo</i> ‘to sit’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>tingkoo-n</i> ‘to set (s.thing) down’
	* <i>tondok</i> ‘to stoop’	+	<i>-an₁</i>	→	<i>tondok-on</i> ‘to make (s.thing) stoop’

Interestingly, an unaccusative verb whose undergoer subject is better characterized as a patient rather than a theme does not form its morphological causative with *-an₁*. Recall that a patient is something that undergoes a change of state whereas a theme undergoes a change of location. The unaccusative verbs *pesa* ‘to break’, *urak* ‘to shatter’, *bese* ‘to tear’, and *pungkaw* ‘to awake’ all have patient undergoers, and they are not candidates for the affixation with *-an₁*.¹⁹ Thus, for a one-place verb to take the *-an₁* suffix, in general the following conditions apply: (1) if the intransitive subject is an actor, the added argument with *-an₁* is a theme; (2) if the intransitive subject is an undergoer, it is itself a theme.

10.2.4 *Vacuous application of -an₁*

With some two- and three-place verbs, addition of *-an₁* applies changes neither the semantic nor the syntactic valence of the clause, and involves no change in semantic roles. (Vacuous application of *-an₁* was noted earlier in the discussion of transfer verbs, where *-an₁* sometimes registers the presence of the theme argument rather than having an applicative function.) Many verbs in this

¹⁸ It is unclear why the root **tenab* appears as *tenob-on* in its affixed form.

¹⁹ Some of these verbs with patient undergoers (such as *pesa* and *pungkaw*) have a ‘zero causative’, that is, the same form is used both intransitively and as a causative.

category require the *-an₁* suffix with their UV form but not with their AV form. For example, the verb **popo*’ ‘to wash (clothes)’ must occur as *popo-on* in its UV form, while in AV it may occur as *mopo*’ or as *mopo-on*.²⁰ The suffix with the AV form is not required, even when there is a specific undergoer:

- (10.32) *Iyang=ku boi mopo’ / mopo-on pakayan=ni.*
 mother=1s.I CMPL AV.wash.clothes clothes=3s.I
 ‘My mother washed his clothes.’

Apparently, in the AV, affixation with *-an₁* is optional with a specific undergoer. But when there is no specific undergoer (i.e. the AV patient is an inherent argument), or when the AV verb expresses habitual action as opposed to a particular event, the suffix is less acceptable. For example:

- (10.33) *Aku selalu nguse’ / (?) nguse-an tangan sebelum mangan.*
 1s.II always AV.wash hands before AV.eat
 ‘I always wash (my) hands before eating.’

These results indicate that when the *-an₁* suffix does occur, a specific/ referential argument and/or a particular event is involved. Perhaps, then, ‘vacuous’ *-an₁* could be viewed as an indicator of transitivity.²¹

Other verbs which show vacuous application of *-an₁* include: *leba-an* ‘to set (s.thing) down’ (<**leba*); *ambur-an* ‘to sow or toss (s.thing)’ (<**ambur*); *tedak-an* ‘to clean (a fish)’ (<**tedak*); *dede’-an* ‘to send (s.thing)’ (<*dede*’); and *sipak-an* ‘to kick (s.one) backwards’ (<**sipak*).

²⁰ Bajau shows some similarity with Malay/ Indonesian here. In Malay / Indonesian, the suffix *-kan* (formally and functionally similar to Bajau *-an₁*) is required for the passivization of certain (usually psych) verbs. Sneddon (1996:252) notes that “With some verbs *-kan* is optional in active voice but obligatory in passive voice.”

²¹ For this reason, when the *-an₁* suffix applies vacuously, it is labeled TZ (‘transitive’).

10.2.5 Summary: the *-an₁* suffix

In this section we have explored a variety of functions associated with the *-an₁* suffix. Generally speaking, for two- and three-place verbs, *-an₁* usually functions either to (1) assign a new (= marked) undergoer, or (2) with bound roots, to allow the expression of the undergoer. Possible semantic roles associated with *-an₁* include recipients, locatives, themes, and patients. The semantic role(s) it signals on a given root depends largely on the lexical semantics of the root itself. When *-an₁* promotes or adds a beneficiary-recipient or a locative, it usually functions as an applicative, increasing the syntactic valence of the clause. When it promotes a theme argument, often the original undergoer is demoted to oblique status. On many one-place verbs, *-an₁* acts as a causative. With some verbs *-an₁* applies vacuously, changing neither the syntactic nor the semantic valence of the clause.

Returning once more to the applicative function of *-an₁*, the interplay between voice affixation and applicativization means, effectively, that any of a large number of oblique semantic roles can be made the subject. As Davies (2005) points out with regard to Madurese (another language with the AV-UV voice alternation plus applicatives), this kind of system is functionally very similar to the rich voice systems of Tagalog and other ‘classic’ Philippine-type languages. In Tagalog, affixation on the verb identifies any of a number of semantic roles to be the nominative argument (subject) of the clause. In WC Bajau (and Madurese), the use of the applicative has exactly the same effect in UV clauses: promoting the original oblique argument to subject. The difference lies in the derivation: with Tagalog, promotion of the oblique argument to subject is accomplished in a single step. With a language like WC Bajau or Madurese, the promotion of the oblique argument to subject (in a UV

clause) is accomplished in two steps: (1) promotion of the oblique to undergoer; and (2) selection of the undergoer as subject.²²

10.3 The *peN*- instrument prefix

The *peN*- prefix, as well as the *pe(N)...-an* circumfix described in §10.4, are difficult to analyze because they show both nominal and verbal properties. Although initially I had classified them as verbal affixes, I now tentatively conclude that they are nominalizing affixes, based on morphosyntactic criteria. These affixes were presented with the other nominalizing affixes in Chapter 4 (see §4.2.4.2 and §4.2.4.3) but they are described in this chapter for two reasons: (1) they do have the effect of introducing a thematic role, either an instrument (with *peN*-) or a location (with *pe(N)...-an*), similar to how *-an_l* functions on many roots; and (2) my reasons for considering them as nominalizers draw upon such morphosyntactic criteria as word order and (in)ability to take voice or applicative affixation, topics which had not yet been introduced when the nominalizing affixes were presented in Chapter 4.

The *peN*- prefix occurs productively with transitive verb roots to (1) nominalize the verb to create an instrument argument, or possibly (2) add an instrument argument to the verbal clause. That *peN*- has a nominalizing function seems likely in examples like the following, where *penombol* is the form derived from *peN*- + *tombol* ‘to close’:

- (10.34) *Penombol kee tu teraat tu.*
INSTR-close hole DEM damaged DEM
‘The cover of this hole is worn out/ damaged.’

²² Davies (2005:207-212) discusses this derivational difference between Madurese and a language like Tagalog, but he goes on to argue that “it is not necessary to take a derivational position”. Instead, he advocates “a non-derivational framework of mapping arguments to syntactic positions”. Thus in Madurese, the ‘voice’ morphology involves a combination of voice marker + applicative, whereas in Tagalog the voice morphology consists solely of the voice marker.

Here *penombol* occurs in a stative clause as the head of a subject NP (and modified by another noun, *kee* ‘hole’).²³

However, in other cases *peN-* seems to act like a verbal affix rather than a nominalizer. Note the sentences in (10.35) below, where *peN-* occurs with the verb *tebong* ‘to chop down’:

- (10.35) a. \emptyset -*tebong=ku* *boo'* *e* *engko'* *guuk* *tu*.
 UV-chop.down=1s-I bamboo DEM PREP knife DEM
 ‘I chopped down the bamboo with this knife.’
- b. *Boo'* *e* \emptyset -*tebong=ku* *engko'* *guuk tu*.
- c. *Penebong=ku* *boo'* *e* *guuk tu*.
 INSTR-chop.down=1s-I bamboo DEM knife DEM
 ‘I used the knife to chop down the bamboo’ or ‘My chopper for the bamboo is this knife.’
- d. *Guuk* *tu* *penebong=ku* *boo'* *e*.
- e. **Boo'* *e* *penebong=ku* *guuk* *tu*.

In (10.35) (a) the unaffixed transitive verb *tebong* ‘chop down’ takes a patient undergoer *boo'* ‘bambo’, and the instrument argument *guuk* ‘knife’ is expressed as an (oblique) prepositional phrase. In (b) the undergoer subject *boo'* ‘bamboo’ is fronted. In (c) the *peN-* prefix occurs with the verb, and *guuk* is expressed as an NP rather than a PP. In (d) the instrument argument is fronted, showing that *guuk* has become the subject. The ungrammaticality of (e) indicates that the patient (*boo'*) is no longer the subject, as contrasted with (b).

One possible analysis of *peN-* is that it functions here as an applicative, promoting an instrument argument to undergoer status (and subject) in the clause. Note however the unexpected word order in (10.35) (c) above. Normally the non-fronted UV subject occurs just after the verb + actor, with a secondary object occurring after the undergoer (compare (10.4)-(10.5) with (10.6)-(10.7) in the

²³ However, even in (10.34) *penombol* could be a verb if *penombol kee tu* were interpreted as a headless relative clause.

benefactive use of applicative *-an_I*). But in (10.35) (c), the instrument argument occurs after the patient. Since only the instrument argument can be fronted (d-e), it seems clear that the instrument has become the new subject of the clause. Why then does the non-fronted subject not occur in its expected position in (c)? If the postverbal order in (c) is reversed, the result is ungrammatical:

f. (??) *Penebong=ku guuk tu boo' e.*

On the other hand, if *penebong* were analyzed as a nominalized form, we would expect the word order shown in (c). Under this analysis, (c) would be an equative clause (§6.3.1) with the structure NP NP, as shown in (10.36) below (each NP is in brackets):

(10.36) [*Penebong=ku boo' e*]_{NP} [*guuk tu*]_{NP}.
 'My chopper of the bamboo is this knife.'²⁴

However, there does seem to be morphosyntactic evidence for *peN-* as a verbal affix. It comes from cleft structures like the following:

(10.37) *Itu no guuk penebong=nu boo' e.*
 DEM FOC knife INSTR-chop.down=2s.I bamboo DEM
 'This is the knife you should use for chopping the bamboo.'

The cleft structure for WC Bajau was given in (7.37) and is reproduced in (10.38) below:

(10.38) S → [NP_i (*no*)] [(N_i) [...(t) ...] _{Srel}] NP_i

A cleft construction has two required components: a noun phrase (NP_i) and a relative clause whose relativized NP is coreferential with NP_i. In WC Bajau the relativized (subject) NP is deleted

²⁴ One language helper said that (in similar examples) there should be an intonation break between before the (clause-final) instrument argument. This is also possible evidence for the equative clause analysis, assuming that a pause break would be most natural between the two equated constituents (more investigation into equative clauses is required).

according to the “gap” strategy of relativization (§14.2.1). In the cleft structure shown in (10.37), note that *penebong* is not deleted and appears to be functioning as a verb. Compare the structure of (10.37) to the following cleft, taken from (7.40) and reproduced below:

- (10.39) [*Itu no*] [*guuk* [*boi* Ø- *beli=ku* (t) *en-semio.*]_{Srel}]_{NPI}
 DEM FOC knife CMPL UV-buy=1s.I PREP-weekly.market
 ‘This is the knife that I bought at the weekly market.’

The verb *beli* in (10.39) occurs in the same position as *penebong* does in (10.37). Indeed, normally in WC Bajau clefts have verbs within their relative clause, making it likely that *penebong* should here be analyzed as a verb.²⁵

Perhaps, then, *peN-* functions as both a verbal (applicative) and a nominalizing affix. If *peN-* is an applicative, however, it seems odd that that the *peN-* applicative (unlike the *-an₁* applicative) does not allow a voice alternation between UV and AV. The *peN-* derived form is always UV in that the undergoer (instrument) argument is the subject of the clause. Neither the AV nasal prefix (*N-*) nor the passive infix (*-in-*) can occur with the *peN-* derived form. This could be explained by some morphophonemic constraint, by which it is never possible to apply two nasal prefixes to the same root.

Another possibility is that *peN-* is itself a voice affix, meaning that WC Bajau has an ‘instrument voice’ (IV). But the voice analysis does not account for another fact about *peN-* derived forms: they cannot occur with the applicative suffix *-an₁*. Perhaps *peN-* functions simultaneously as an applicative (to promote a previously oblique argument to undergoer status) and as a voice marker. Such dual functioning of an affix has been found in some Philippine-type languages. This would explain why the *peN-* derived form is not a candidate for voice alternations, and also why the applicative *-an₁* suffix cannot co-occur with a *peN-* derived form (since one applicative has already

²⁵ However, even in (10.37) *penebong* could be nominal if the relative clause were interpreted as equative.

attached to the verb). If WC Bajau does have an ‘instrument voice’ of some sort, it would show greater resemblance to a Philippine-type language (known for having multiple voices) and differ in this respect from a typical Indonesian-type language which only has only one transitive undergoer voice.

Of course, if *peN-* is exclusively a nominalizing affix, neither voice nor applicative morphology would be possible with the derived form. Additional support for the nominalizer analysis of *peN-* comes from the fact that the *peN-* derived form generally cannot take imperative suffixation (with *-in* or *-un*).²⁶ At this point the only positive evidence I have found for *peN-* as a verbal affix is from clefts, as discussed above. My tentative conclusion is that *peN-* can function both verbally and as a nominalizer. Gault (1999:12-13) has a similar analysis for the ‘instrument focus’ prefix *pag / pang-* in Sama Bangingi’, where she notes that “it is in fact more common for instrument focus to occur in equative clauses” (where a nominalizer precedes the *pag / pang-* affixed form).

10.4 The *pe(N)...-an* location circumfix

Affixation with *pe(N)...-an* is possible with a few transitive verb roots, to derive a form referring to ‘the place in which (the action expressed by the verb) occurs’.²⁷ Note the following examples with the verb roots *enda* ‘look at’ and *kepo* ‘jump down’ below:

- (10.40) *Kuala Abai e no peng-enda'-an kami pu' Mantanani.*
 PN DEM FOC LOC-look.at 1p.excl to.there PN
 ‘Kuala Abai is (the place from which) we looked out toward Mantanani (island).’
 Or, ‘Kuala Abai is our viewing-place toward Mantanani island’.

²⁶ When I tried the imperative *-in* suffix on various *peN-* derived forms, they were nearly always rejected. However, two of three language helpers said that the form *pemeli-in* was possible (*peN-* + *beli* + *-in*), with the meaning ‘use (s.thing) to buy *x*!’

²⁷ Sneddon (1996:41) notes that Indonesian has a *peN...-an* circumfix, one meaning of which can be ‘place of (verb)ing’. It appears that this use of *peN...-an* in Indonesian is very similar to that described here for *pe(N)...-an* in WC Bajau. Note, however, that the Indonesian *peN...-an* forms appear to be clear cases of nominalizations, whereas that is not obviously the case for the WC Bajau *pe(N)...-an* forms.

- (10.41) *Suang Gunding e boi pe-kepo-on peranak e dau.*
 river PN DEM CMPL LOC-jump.down children DEM earlier
 ‘Children used to jump down into the Gunding river.’
 Or, ‘Gunding river was a jumping-place for children at one time.’

Often the *pe(N)-...-an* forms occur following the noun *tungan* ‘place’,²⁸ as shown below for the verbs *keta* ‘to cross (a path)’, **lunsur* ‘to flow down’, and *tapuk* ‘to hide (s.thing)’:

- (10.42) “*Minggo tungan pe-keta-an jomo mitu, pa’?*”
 where place LOC-cross person here uncle
 ‘Where is the place people cross here, uncle?’
 (Or, ‘Where is the crossing place for people here, uncle?’)
- (10.43) *Itu no tungan pe-lunsur-an gai kayu balak lekat en-jata’*
 DEM FOC place LOC-flow 3p log PREP PREP-top

belud pu’ pe-dia’.
 hill to.there INTR-below
 ‘This is the place where they channeled logs from on top of the hill to below.’
 (Or, ‘This is their channeling-place for logs...’).
- (10.44) *Itu no tungan pe-napuk-an gai barang sapi’.*
 DEM.PRN FOC place LOC-hide 3p PL cow
 ‘That is the place where they hide (stolen) cows.’ (Or, ‘That is their hiding-
 place for (stolen) cows.’)

As shown by the alternative glosses in these examples, it is possible to interpret the *pe(N)...-an* forms as either verbs or nouns. Possible evidence for treating them as verbs is the fact that sentences like (10.43) and (10.44) closely resemble clefts (see the cleft structure in (10.38) above), where normally clefts have verbs within their relative clause, as noted previously in discussing *peN-*. In (10.44), for example, *tungan* ‘place’ would be the head noun and the remainder of the sentence would be a relative clause, as shown in (10.44a):

²⁸ *tungan* ‘place’ has multiple functions in Bajau; see §14.2.2.

(10.44a) [*Itu_i no*] [*tungan_i [pe-napuk-an gai barang sapi' (t)]_{Srel}*].

Occurrences of the *pe(N)...-an* circumfix in text is rare, and it is not yet clear whether they are restricted to clefts or whether they have a wider syntactic distribution. Note that in the following example, there is no actor expressed in the relative clause:

(10.45) [*Tempat_i e*] [*tungan_i [pe-niman-an samp'a' (t)]_{Srel}*].
 place DEM place LOC-throw.away garbage
 'That place is where (people) throw away garbage.'

As was seen above for verbs affixed with *peN-*, words derived by *pe(N)...-an* appear not to be candidates for either voice alternation or applicativization. As is also true for *peN-*, *pe(N)...-an* does appear to have a nominalizing function in at least some cases. Consider (10.46) below:

(10.46) *Ta' ongkob e pe-napuk-an paray.*
 PREP storage.bin DEM LOC-hide paddy.rice
 'At/in the storage bin is the hiding place for paddy rice.'

In the above example, the location is expressed by a prepositional phrase, and there is no actor expressed in the clause. This sentence is likely a non-verbal clause with a PP predicate.

Perhaps both *pe(N)...-an* and *peN-* show a 'mixed' distribution, where they sometimes function as nominalizers, but other times (such as in clefts) are expressed as verbs.

10.5 Causation

Causation expresses a logical relationship between two events, the causing event and the caused event. The actor of the causing event is the CAUSER. The argument in the caused event which would be the subject in a simple clause is the CAUSEE. There are three basic ways to express causation across languages: lexical causatives, morphological causatives, and periphrastic causatives. WC Bajau has all three types. This section is concerned primarily with morphological causatives,

since the formation of morphological causatives is a valence-increasing operation in which an actor argument (the causer) is added to the clause. We have already seen that *-an₁* can have a causative meaning, when it occurs with unaccusative verbs to add a theme (§10.2.3.2). However, the basic morphological causative affix in WC Bajau is the *pe₂-* prefix, which is described in detail in §10.5.1. Periphrastic causatives are treated in §10.5.2.

10.5.1 *The morphological causative pe₂-*

The causative prefix *pe₂-* is quite productive in WC Bajau, combining with a variety of word classes: intransitive verbs, bound roots, a few transitive verbs, adjectives, locative nouns, adverbs, and nouns.²⁹

The homophonous intransitive prefix *pe₁-* was introduced in Chapter 9. Some roots may take either *pe₂-* or *pe₁-*; the resultant forms can only be properly interpreted by context. These roots include several inherent states, as well as a few motion verbs and spatial configuration verbs. Forms derived by *pe₁-* are intransitive motion verbs; forms derived by *pe₂-* are causatives. Note the following examples:

(10.47) *diki* ‘small’ + *pe₁-* → *pe-diki* ‘to become small’
 + *pe₂-* → *pe-diki* ‘to make (s.thing) small’.

(10.48) *lumpat* ‘to jump for (s.thing)’ + *pe₁-* → ‘to jump’
 + *pe₂-* → ‘to make (s.thing) jump’

There is morphosyntactic evidence to show that *pe₁-* and *pe₂-* are distinct prefixes. On the locative nouns *dia* ‘under’ and *jata* ‘above’, it is possible for both prefixes to combine on the same root. Note the following derivation for *pe-pe-dia*:

²⁹ With a few roots, mostly stative verbs, causative *pe₂-* occurs obligatorily with a following affix *ke-*. The function (if any) of *ke-* here is unclear and it may simply be the fossilized remnant of a one-time productive affix. (The *ke-* prefix has also been found to occur very occasionally to mark decontrolled mood in AV; see §13.2.3). While the *pe-ke-* combination sometimes derives a simple causative, the meaning in other cases is less predictable. Examples include *pe-ke-raat* ‘to damage’ (< *raat* ‘bad’); *pe-ke-tau* ‘to scare’ (< *tau* ‘fear’); and *me-ke-bana* ‘to permit’ (< *bana* ‘very; true’).

- (10.49) *dia* ‘under’ + *pe*₁- → *pe-dia* ‘to move down’
pe-dia ‘move down’ + *pe*₂- → *pe-pe-dia* ‘to lower (s.thing)’ (lit. ‘to
cause s.thing to move down’)

With most roots that can take either prefix, the two *pe*- forms cannot occur together. It is possible that the causative forms of such roots do have the *pe*₁- prefix but as a ‘zero allomorph’. For example, the causative form *pe-diki*’ in (10.47) above might actually consist of *pe*₂- + *pe*₁- + *diki*’ (‘to cause to become small’), but *pe*₁- occurs as a zero allomorph so as to avoid the double occurrence of *pe*- in the derived form.

10.5.1.1 With one-place verbs

The *pe*₂- prefix occurs with many types of one-place verbs to derive causatives. These include inherent state verbs, change of state verbs, motion verbs (both manner of motion and directed motion), spatial configuration verbs, and activity verbs. The subject of the one-place verb becomes the undergoer causee of the two-place causative, as shown in (10.50) below:

- (10.50) a. ***Togor*** *bana* *tiang pagar e.*
upright very post fence DEM
‘The fence post stands very straight.’
- b. *Boi* ***pe-togor*** *Mali* *tiang pagar e.*
CMPL CAUS-upright PN post fence DEM
‘Mali erected the fence post.’

In (10.50), the single argument of the intransitive clause (*tiang pagar* ‘fence post’) in (a) becomes the causee of the caused event in (b). The actor argument (*Mali*) in (b) is the causer, and the non-subject DCA of the clause.

Some causatives derived with the morphological causative can occur with the *-an*₁ applicative, raising the syntactic valence of the clause from two to three. Note the following example, using the root **rekot* ‘to stick’:

- (10.51) a. *Ai pe-rekot=ni setem e ta' sampul surat.*
 PERF CAUS-stick=3s.I stamp DEM PREP envelope
 'He stuck the stamp on the letter.'
- b. *Surat e ai pe-rekot-on Mark setem.*
 letter DEM PERF CAUS-stick-APPL PN stamp
 'Mark stuck the letter with a stamp.'
- c. **Setem e ai pe-rekot-on Mark surat.*

Example (10.51) (a) shows the simple causative construction with *pe-rekot*, where the undergoer (and subject) is the theme argument *setem* 'stamp'. When the applicative suffix *-an₁* is added (b), the locative argument *surat* 'envelope' is promoted as the new undergoer, and *setem* becomes a secondary object. As a secondary object, *setem* cannot be fronted, as shown in (c).

Examples of causatives derived from one-place verbs with *pe₂₋* are shown in (10.52) below:

(10.52)

inherent state verbs

- oyo* 'large' + *pe₂₋* → *p-oyo* 'to make (s.thing) large'
langa 'high' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-langa* 'to raise (s.thing)'
raat 'bad' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-ke-raat* 'to damage (s.thing)',³⁰

change of state verbs

- limbo* 'to suffocate' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-limbo* 'to suffocate (s.one)'
 **patay* 'to die' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-patay* 'to kill (s.one)'

manner of motion verbs

- lulai* 'to run' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-lulai* 'to make (s.one) run'
 **liang* 'to fly' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-liang* 'to release (s.thing) into flight'
 **lantung* 'to float' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-lantung* 'to float (s.thing)'

directed motion verbs

- lai* 'to move away' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-lai* 'move (s.thing)'
teko 'to arrive' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-teko* 'send (s.thing)'
 **pule* 'to go home' + *pe₂₋* → *pe-pule* 'return (s.thing)'

³⁰ The causative forms of a few one-place verbs take *pe-ke-* rather than the usual *pe-*. I regard these as irregular forms. Note that *ke-* elsewhere can (though rarely) form the AV counterpart to UV *te-* (the 'decontrolled passive' prefix, as discussed in §13.2.3).

spatial configuration verbs

* <i>liak</i> ‘lie on backside’	+	<i>pe</i> ₂₋	→	<i>pe-liak</i> ‘lay (s.thing) on its back; upturn’
* <i>tingkoo</i> ‘sit’	+	<i>pe</i> ₂₋	→	<i>pe-tingkoo</i> ‘set (s.thing) down’
* <i>pantaw</i> ‘stand’	+	<i>pe</i> ₂₋	→	<i>pe-pantaw</i> ‘stand (s.thing) up’

activity verbs

* <i>tangis</i> ‘cry’	+	<i>pe</i> ₂₋	→	<i>pe-tangis</i> ‘make (s.one) cry’
<i>turi</i> ‘to sleep’	+	<i>pe</i> ₂₋	→	<i>pe-turi</i> ‘to put (s.one) down to sleep’

10.5.1.2 With two-place verbs

When a one-place verb is made causative, there is no question that the causee will be expressed as the undergoer, since there is no competing argument for that macrorole. But what happens when a two-place verb is made causative? Here there are two basic possibilities: either (1) the causee becomes the new undergoer, displacing the original undergoer to either secondary object or oblique status; or (2) the causee does not displace the original undergoer, but is expressed as a secondary object or oblique argument.

The *pe*₂₋ prefix occurs with a few transitive roots in WC Bajau. Two of these are motion verbs which take a path as their second argument: *rangi* ‘to swim across (some path)’ and *keta* ‘to cross (some path)’. When these forms combine with *pe*₂₋, an actor argument (the causer) is added, but the original undergoer (the path) is demoted to oblique status, so that there is no increase in syntactic valence. Note the following example:

- (10.53) a. *Ai* \emptyset -*rangi* *anak=ku* *suang* *e*.
PERF UV-swim child=1s.I river DEM
‘My child swam the river.’
- b. *Pe-rangi=ku* *anak=ku* *me* *en-suang*.
CAUS-swim=1s.I child=1s.I there PREP-river
‘I made/let my child swim in the river.’

In (10.53) (b) the causee is *anak=ku* ‘my child’. It is the undergoer owing to its word position and its DCA marking in the clause. The original undergoer (*suang* ‘river’) is now expressed as a PP. Thus in WC Bajau, when a two-place verb is made causative, the causee is the new undergoer.

It is interesting to compare this result with the generalization proposed by Baker (1988), in which the grammatical expression of the causee in a transitive causative is “largely predictable from the marking of recipients in basic (underived) ditransitive constructions in the same language” (Kroeger 2004:194). In a three-place predicate such as ‘give’, either the recipient is realized as the undergoer and the theme as a secondary object or oblique, or the theme is realized as the undergoer and the recipient as a secondary object or oblique. Baker’s generalization is that, for a given language, if the recipient with a ditransitive verb such as ‘give’ is realized as the undergoer, so will the transitive causee. If instead the theme with a ditransitive verb is realized as the undergoer, the transitive causee will be expressed as a secondary object or oblique. In §10.2.1.2 it was seen that with the ditransitive verb **buan* ‘to give’, the recipient is realized as an oblique. According to Baker’s generalization, then, we would predict that the transitive causee in WC Bajau would not be the undergoer. However, in (10.53) (b) above, the transitive causee is realized as the undergoer. Thus, WC Bajau represents a possible counter-example to Baker’s generalization.

However, it should be noted that my language helpers accepted both *pe-rangi* and *pe-r-em-angi* as the derived causative in sentences similar to (10.53) (b). With *pe-r-em-angi*, the stem of the causative here is actually the derived intransitive verb *r-em-angi* ‘to swim’. An alternative way to express the derived intransitive verb for ‘swim’ is *pe-rangi* (*pe₁- + rangi*). So, causative *pe-rangi* could merely be a shortened form of *pe₂-pe₁-rangi*, where *pe₁-* is expressed as a zero allomorph (to avoid the double occurrence of *pe-*).³¹ Because the stem is intransitive, Baker’s generalization would not apply here. Similarly, with regard to *keta* ‘to cross (some path)’, its derived

³¹ See the earlier discussion of the ‘zero allomorph’ possibility for *pe₁-* in §10.5.1.

intransitive form is *pe-keta*, where the prefix is the intransitive motion prefix *pe₁-*. The causative *pe-keta* might be a shortened form of *pe₂-pe₁-keta*, where again *pe₁-* is expressed as a zero allomorph. Again, if this were the proper analysis, Baker’s generalization would not be violated because it would not apply.

The *pe₂-* prefix also occurs with a few ‘ingestive’ verbs (Masica 1976), which tend to be verbs of ingestion and perception. In a number of languages, the transitive causee with ingestive verbs is realized as the undergoer, even if the language otherwise expresses the transitive causee as a secondary object or oblique. Saksena (1980) relates this feature of ingestive verbs to the relatively greater affectedness of the causee agent, in that the agent of a verb like ‘drink’ or ‘see’ “is also the recipient of the verb activity, and constitutes the goal toward which this activity is directed” (821). Since the patient argument of ingestive verbs is often not seen as primarily affected, it may be omitted from the clause, as occurs in the Kimaragang language of Sabah (Kroeger 2004:210).

In WC Bajau, causatives with ingestive verbs are known to include the following:

- (10.54) *p-inum* ‘to give drink to (s.one)’ (< *inum* ‘to drink (s.thing)’)
p-akan ‘to feed (s.one)’³² (< **akan* ‘to eat’)
pe-kito-on ‘to show (s.thing) to (s.one)’ (< **kito* ‘to see’).

With the verbs *inum* ‘to drink’ and **akan* ‘to eat’, the derived morphological causative with *pe₂-* treats the causee as the undergoer, as expected with ingestive verbs. Note the following example with **akan* ‘to eat’:

- (10.55) a. *P-akan=ni manuk e.*
 CAUS-eat=3s.I chicken DEM
 ‘He fed the chicken.’
- b. *Boi p-in-akan no manuk e le’=ni.*
 CMPL -PASS-CAUS-eat FOC chicken DEM PREP=3s.I
 ‘The chicken was fed by him.’

³² With the form *p-akan*, the schwa vowel in the causative prefix (*pe₂-*) has elided (see §2.5.3).

In (10.55) (a), the transitive causee of *p-akan* ‘to feed’ is *manuk* ‘chicken’. The patient of the ingestive verb **akan* ‘to eat’ has been omitted from the clause. In (b), *manuk* has become the subject of the passive, showing further evidence of its undergoer status.

However, the morphological causative derived from the ingestive verb *kito* ‘to see’ differs from the above pattern, treating the transitive causee as an oblique argument and the goal argument of *kito* as the undergoer. This is shown in (10.56) below:

(10.56) *Ai pe-kito-on=ni gambar e m-aku.*
 PERF CAUS-see=3s.I picture DEM PREP-1s.II
 ‘He showed the picture to me.’

Note that the causative is formed with both *pe₂-* and the suffix *-an₁*; the form **pe-kito* is not recognized. Probably *pe-kito-on* is an irregular derivation.

10.5.2 *Periphrastic causatives*

While the *pe₂-* prefix attaches productively to a variety of word classes to express causation, it applies to very few transitive roots. Furthermore, the *pe₂-* prefix does not make such semantic distinctions as physical manipulation vs. verbal direction, and coercion vs. permission, which are important concepts in causation (Kroeger 2004:204). In WC Bajau, these distinctions are usually handled by periphrastic causatives. A periphrastic causative consists of two separate verbs (and clauses) and a lexical control relation. Frequently-used periphrastic causatives in WC Bajau include the complement-taking predicates *soo* ‘to command’, the permission verb *peberen* ‘to allow, to let’, and the coercion verb *paksa* ‘to force’, as discussed below.³³

A common way to express causation by means of direction (verbal action) is to use the remarkably versatile root *soo* ‘command, urge, request’, where often the one making the command is

³³ These are control verbs of the ‘order/permit’ type (see §14.3.3.1).

a person with greater authority or status relative to the addressee. The use of this verb does not necessarily entail a caused event, as shown in (10.57):

- (10.57) \emptyset -*soo'*=ni *endo*=ni *mopo'*.
 UV-command=3s.I wife=3s.I AV.wash.clothes
 'He told his wife to wash clothes.'

However, the implication with *soo'* is often that the caused event did happen. Note the following examples:

- (10.58) *Rupiah ingin mule' lingaw, tapi' Mastura noo' iyo ningkoo'*.
 PN want go.home fast but PN AV.command 3s.II ACT-sit
 'Rupiah wanted to go home quickly, but Mastura made him sit down.' (rupiah keket soo 006).

- (10.59) *Kerabaw tu b-in-uat ulun jo te', s-in-oo'*
 buffalo DEM -PASS-make slave just EMPH -PASS-command

narik-narik pengila tandas-an e.
 AV.pull-REDUP harness process.sugarcane-NOM DEM
 'The water buffalo was made into a slave, it was forced to pull the harness for the sugarcane mill.' (nandas tebu 102)

Example (10.59) suggests some degree of physical coercion, showing that while *soo'* is primarily used for verbal direction, it is not limited to verbal action.

A morphologically-marked 'double-causative' is apparently not possible in WC Bajau. If there are two caused events, a periphrastic causative may be used, in which the verb in the controlled (subordinate) clause is a morphological causative. Note the following example:

- (10.60) *Anak e \emptyset -soo' emma'=ni me-patay manuk.*
 child DEM UV-command father=3s.I AV.CAUS-die chicken
 'The father made his child kill a chicken.'

In (10.60) the father orders his child to undertake a certain action (the first caused event), and that action is to make a chicken die (the second caused event).

Another important semantic distinction associated with causation is that between coercion and permission. Whereas with coercion “the causer... actively works to bring about the caused event”, with permission the causer “simply allows the event to happen”, that is, does nothing to prevent it (Kroeger 2004:204). In WC Bajau, permission is normally expressed by the verb *peberen* ‘to allow, to let’. Note the following examples, where (a) expresses coercion, and (b) expresses permission:

(10.61) a. *Jomo jogo e ai mono’ orang sala’ e.*
 person guard DEM PERF AV.murder offender DEM
 ‘The guard murdered the prisoner.’

b. *Ai Ø-peberen jomo jogo orang sala’ e matay.*
 PERF UV-allow person guard offender DEM ACT.die
 ‘The guard let the prisoner die’ (by neglecting his physical needs).

(10.62) a. *Ai rubu-an jomo kampung ruma’ e.*
 PERF collapse-CAUS person village house DEM
 ‘The villagers collapsed the house.’

b. *Ruma’ e Ø-peberen gai jo rubu.*
 house DEM UV-allow 3p just collapse
 ‘The villagers let the house collapse’ (i.e. through years of neglect).

In (10.61) (a) the coercive meaning is expressed by the lexical causative *mono’* ‘to murder’. In (10.62) (a) the coercive meaning is expressed by the morphological causative *rubu-an*. In the (b) examples, the permissive meaning is expressed by the verb *peberen* in a periphrastic causative construction (with a change of state verb in the subordinate clause).

In order to emphasize coercion, the verb *paksa* ‘to force’ can be used as a periphrastic causative. Note the following example:

- (10.63) *Ø-Paksa'=ni aku p-osok diam kereta'.*
 UV-force=3s.1 1s.II INTR-enter inside car
 'He forced me to enter the car (i.e., using a gun).'

Another important semantic distinction is that between direct and indirect (mediated) causation. With direct causation, “the causer does or says something directly to the causee, usually with the intention of bringing about the caused event”, whereas with mediated causation, “the caused event may be an unintended consequence of the causer’s actions” (Kroeger 2004:204). In WC Bajau, indirect causation is usually expressed via the *te-* ‘decontrolled’ verbal prefix (§13.2), which can have the meaning of non-volitional action. Usually *te-* is only possible with transitive verbs. When the causer is an inanimate effector, there is a construction available with the conjunction *engko'* ‘and, with’, which here seems to have a verbal (auxiliary) function:

- (10.64) *Tabiat anak=ni engko' tangis iyang=ni.*
 behavior child=3s.I PRT cry mother=3s.I
 'The child’s behavior made his mother cry.'

- (10.65) *Beriu daras e engko' ngiot-ngiot ruma' e.*
 wind strong DEM PRT creak-REDUP house DEM
 'The strong wind made the house continue creaking.'

In (10.64) the verb **tangis* ‘to cry’ otherwise never occurs in unaffixed form, as it normally occurs as the AV form *nangis*. In all the examples I have of the *engko'* causative construction, the verb always occurs just after *engko'*, and the verb is intransitive. More investigation is required to determine whether the verb following *engko'* is always in the most reduced form possible, and also whether *engko'* is truly a verb in these sentences. If both *engko'* and the following form are verbs, then this would be a periphrastic causative construction used for expressing indirect causation.

CHAPTER 11
PHRASE STRUCTURE

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the structure of noun phrases (NPs) and prepositional phrases (PPs). Both nouns and prepositions were introduced as word classes in Chapter 4. The WC Bajau NP is described in §11.2 according to its various slots (measure, head, possessive, descriptive, and determiner slots) and the syntactic categories that can fill those slots. WC Bajau PPs are described in §11.3. Locative prepositions are described in §11.3.1, including the generalized locative prepositions (*em-* and *ta'*) which can be used for a number of oblique roles. Non-locative prepositions in WC Bajau are described in §11.3.2.

11.2 Noun Phrases

The WC Bajau NP can be described as having a number of ‘slots’, as shown in Figure 11.1 below. The parentheses indicate ‘optional’. (Note that ‘relative clause’ in the descriptive slot includes adjectives and prepositional phrases.)

(measure)	head	(possessive)	(descriptive)	(determiner)
quantifier phrase number phrase	noun	possessive phrase	relative clause complement clause measure phrase	dem. pronoun

Figure 11.1 Slots in the WC Bajau NP

The only required constituent in the NP is the head noun. A pronoun may occur in place of the NP. If there is a measure phrase, it usually precedes the noun (in the measure slot), but it also may occur in the descriptive slot preceding the determiner. Examples:

- (11.1) *Endo uwa' tu*
 wife dog DEM
head possessive determiner
 ‘the dog’s wife’ (uwa’ suk 068)
- (11.2) *duo em-bua' belud oyo*
 two CNT-CL hill large
measure head descriptive
 ‘two large hills’ (baginda 133)
- (11.3) *Lubang en-tenga' telu kau' e*
 hole PREP-middle three CL DEM
head descriptive descriptive determiner
 ‘the three holes in the middle’ (nandas tebu 043)
- (11.4) *enselan di-kau' tin*
 gasoline one-CL can
head descriptive
 ‘one can of gasoline’
- (11.5) *Serita' [poon suka' [ebba' ai mantaw balik]]*
 story tree coconut topple PERF ACT-stand again
head possessive descriptive
head
 ‘the story of the coconut tree (that) toppled and (that) stood again’ (kayu ebba’ 018)

11.2.1 Measure slot

The measure slot can be filled by a measure phrase, whether a quantifier phrase or a number phrase. Quantifiers in WC Bajau were discussed in §4.4.2. Recall that some quantifiers, such as the plural marker *banga(n)/ bongon/ bengen*, occur obligatorily just prior to the head noun. These quantifiers cannot take an intensifying particle such as *bana* ‘very’, and they never occur predicatively. Other quantifiers, such as *iko* ‘many’, show a more flexible distribution in the noun phrase, occurring either before or after the head noun. These quantifiers can be modified by an intensifying particle (to form a quantifier phrase), and they may occur with an ellipsed head noun. Some can also occur predicatively. The following example, repeated from (4.59), shows a quantifier phrase consisting of *iko* plus its modifier *bana*:

- (11.6) [[*Iko bana*] *poon kayu*]_{NP} *ebba'* *waktu* *e.*
 many very tree topple time DEM
 'Many trees toppled at that time.' (kayu ebba' 037)

A number phrase consists of a numeral followed optionally by a classifier or measure noun. Numerals were introduced in §4.4.2.1 and classifiers in §4.4.2.2. Examples of number phrases occurring as modifiers of head nouns include (11.2)-(11.4) above. Note in (11.3) and (11.4) that the number phrase follows the head noun. Usually the number phrase includes a classifier or measure noun following the numeral, but there are exceptions, such as when the counted item is a time word or is more abstract in nature. Note the following example:

- (11.7) “... Ø-*buan-an=ku kau* [[*duo*] *sarat*]_{NP}”
 UV-give-APPL=1s.I 2s.II two condition
 “...I am giving you two conditions.” (biduk 135)

11.2.2 *Head slot*

The head slot is filled by a noun. Because nouns have already been introduced (§4.2), they will not be further discussed here. The head noun is usually present, but may be ellipsed with certain quantifiers that function pronominally, as was shown in Chapter 4 in (4.36). Consider also the following example:

- (11.8) *Lua' ta'* [*bangan kama*]_{NP}, *langaw moo penyakit...*
 PREP PREP PL dirty fly (insect) AV.bring disease
 'From (landing) on dirty (things), flies carry diseases...'. (masala langaw 019).

In (11.8) the quantifier *bangan* (a plural marker) precedes what would be the head noun, but the head noun itself is ellipsed, its (generic) referent being understood by the modifying adjective *kama* 'dirty'.

11.2.3 Possessive slot

The head noun is followed by an optional possessive phrase. A possessive phrase may consist of a possessive (set I) pronoun, which (if an enclitic form) attaches to the head noun, or it may be an independent NP. Following Eades (2005:216), I use the term ‘possessive’ here in a broad sense, to describe “constructions which denote a close relationship between two nouns”. In some cases, the relationship is one of true possession:

(11.9) *ruma’=ni*
house=3s.I
‘his home’

(11.10) *moto Deli*
eye PN
‘Deli’s eyes’

Other times the possessive phrase has an “associative function” (Eades 2005:219). For example, the possessor may specify the kind or type of the possessed entity, or what the possessed entity represents/ is about:

(11.11) *sarung uwa’*
costume dog
‘dog costume/ costume of a dog’

(11.12) *ampun paray e*
owner paddy DEM
‘the owner of the paddy’

(11.13) *kisa Abu Nawas*
story PN
‘the story of Abu Nawas’

Embedding of one possessive phrase within another is possible. The embedded possessive phrase in (11.14) and (11.15) below has a ‘true possession’ meaning, and its relation to the embedding possessive phrase is one of association:

(11.14) [*soro* [*betong=ni*]]
 voice stomach=3s.I
 ‘the sound of his stomach’ (ngini using 026)

(11.15) [*bagas* [*impon* [*soo*]] *e*]
 mark tooth snake DEM
 ‘the mark of the snake’s teeth’ (rupiah 008)

Note that in examples like (11.15), it is not clear whether the demonstrative *e* modifies the possessor *soo* ‘snake’, the NP *impon soo* ‘snake’s teeth’, or the possessed entity *bagas* ‘mark’. (In this example it is represented arbitrarily as modifying *bagas*.) Similarly, in (11.12) above, the demonstrative *e* could modify either the possessor *paray* ‘paddy’ or the entire NP *ampun paray*.

11.2.4 Descriptive slot

The descriptive slot may optionally be filled by a relative clause (§14.2), a complement clause (§14.3), or a post-nominal measure phrase. Examples of measure phrases occurring in the descriptive slot were shown in (11.3) and (11.4) above. Example (11.3) shows that the descriptive slot may have more than one item. When a relative clause occurs in the descriptive slot, the modifying element is normally a stative or active verb (sometimes a VP) following directly after the head. Recall that WC Bajau has no relativizer, and its primary strategy of relativization is the ‘gap’ strategy in which the subject within the relative clause is deleted under co-reference with the head. Examples:

(11.16) [*laan* [*buuk*]_{Srel} *e*]
 road worn DEM
 ‘the worn road’ / ‘the road that is worn’

(11.17) [*jomo* [*boi ninso kayu*]_{Srel} *e*]_{NP}
 person CMPL AV.chainsaw wood DEM
 ‘the man who used a chainsaw on the tree’ (kayu ebba’ 034)

(11.18) [*enselan* [*Ø-boo=ni kemuap*]_{Srel} *e*]_{NP}
 gasoline UV-bring=3s.I afternoon DEM
 ‘the gasoline he brought (the previous) afternoon’ (namuk 071)

Note that (11.16), which has only a stative verb ('adjective') in the descriptive slot, nevertheless has the same fundamental form as (11.17) and (11.18), and the simplest analysis is to consider that all three examples have the same structure (e.g., a relative clause).¹ In the last two examples above, it is unclear whether the demonstrative *e* modifies the head noun (as shown here) or whether in fact it modifies the final word of the VP in the relative clause (*kayu* 'tree' in (11.17), *kemuap* 'afternoon' in (11.18)).

A prepositional phrase may occur in the descriptive slot, and in this position it is also considered a type of relative clause. Example:

- (11.19) [*sinsim* [*ta'* *tangan* *Hussin*]_{Srel} *e*]_{NP}.
 woman PREP hand PN DEM
 'the ring on Hussin's finger' (baginda 103)

Apart from relative clauses, it is possible for the head noun to take a complement clause in the descriptive slot. Nouns that can take complement clauses include *tungan* 'place' (§14.2.2.2) and *masa* 'time'. Note the following examples:

- (11.20) *Iyo* *ng-ogo* *pu'* *ta'* *tungan* [= *ni* *boi* *napuk* *enselan*
 3s.II AV-go.to to.there PREP place=3s.I CMPL AV.hide gasoline
engko' *kendidip=ni* *diam* *sumpat* *e*].
 and matches=3s.I inside weeds DEM
 'He went to the place where he had hidden the gasoline and matches in the
 weeds.' (namuk 070)

- (11.21) *masa* [*jomo* *e* *ng-ogo* *ta'* *bandar*]
 time person DEM AV-go.to PREP city
 'the time when people go to the city' (pak pu' ta' bandar 014)

¹ Eades (2005:222) notes that in Garo (spoken in Aceh) the descriptive slot of a NP is typically occupied by a relative clause optionally introduced by the relativizing conjunction *si*.

When both a possessive phrase and a relative clause or some other modifier in the descriptive slot modify the head noun, the possessive phrase comes first. Examples:

(11.22) *bangku'-bangku' boo' pitung boi b-in-uat e*
 chair-REDUP bamboo PN CMPL -PASS-make DEM
 'chairs of *pitung* bamboo [a type of bamboo] which had been made' (nandas tebu 087)

(11.23) *jomo=ni semomon*
 person=3s.I all
 'all of his men' (kinabalu 017)

11.2.5 Determiner slot

The determiner slot in a NP is optionally filled by a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative pronouns were described in § 4.4.3.1. They are shown in (11.24) below:

(11.24) The demonstrative pronouns [repeated from Table 4.4]

Long form(s)	Short form	Meaning
<i>inan(tu), nantu, itu(tu),² o(nan)(tu)</i>	<i>tu</i>	'this' (can be touched by speaker)
<i>e</i>	--	'that' (distal from speaker)
<i>u'(e)</i>	--	'that yonder' (distal from both speaker and hearer, but visible)

Recall that, while all three demonstratives have a spatial deictic function, two of them (*tu* and *e*) can also be used for textual deixis, that is, to refer to a previously introduced referent. This anaphoric function is particularly common with *e*. In fact, many times the demonstrative *e* following an NP in discourse is functionally equivalent to the definite article ('the') in English.

Normally when the head noun is modified by a possessive phrase, the determiner slot is empty. Even so, many examples have been found with an NP containing both a possessive phrase and a demonstrative pronoun, including the following:

² The form *itutu* is pronounced *itetu* (with the 'e' vowel pronounced as [ə]).

(11.25) “...*too*’ *bana* [*kelong=ku* *tu*]_{NP}.”
 dry very throat=1s.I DEM
 “... I am very thirsty.” (lit. ‘my throat is very dry’.) (beta’ kerungayan 014)

(11.26) ...*iyo* *sayang* *bana* *ta’* [*anak=ni* *e*]_{NP}.
 3s.II love very PREP child=3s.I DEM
 ‘...she loved her child very much.’ (uwa’ suk 011)

11.2.6 Apposition of NPs

In apposition, two NPs with the same reference occur next to each other, separated only by an intonation break. The second NP usually functions to further describe the referent introduced in the first NP. The same head noun may occur in the second NP, as with *kerabaw* in (11.27). Examples:

(11.27) *Selalu* *p-in-akay* *kerabaw imon,* *kerabaw dela* *sukad.*
 usually -PASS-use buffalo tame buffalo male ***
 ‘Usually a tame buffalo was used, a large male buffalo.’ (nandas tebu 052)

(11.28) *Peserta* *runsay* *selalu=ni* *sepu* *sampay* *sepu limo* *orang,*
 member runsay usually=3s.I ten until fifteen person

 dendo *engko’* *dela.*
 woman and man
 ‘The *runsay* (type of dance) participants usually numbered between ten and fifteen, (both men and women.’ (runsay 002)

11.3 Prepositional Phrases

The prepositions in WC Bajau were briefly introduced in §4.4.1. They include both locative (§11.3.1) and non-locative (§11.3.2) prepositions.

11.3.1 Locative prepositions

The two most common locative prepositions in WC Bajau are *em-* and *ta’*, which are used with a variety of oblique semantic roles. The prepositions *lua’* and *lekat* ‘from’ also have a locative use.

11.3.1.1 The generalized locative prepositions *em-* and *ta'*

The two generalized locative prepositions are the prefix *em-* and the independent form *ta'*. The two forms are usually interchangeable. These prepositions often have a locative function, where they precede a location directly or else a locative noun (§4.2.3.4). They may head PPs that express the static location of some entity. They may also head PPs that express the entity as the goal of a motion verb such as *mule'* 'return (home)' or *meniik* 'to go up'. Examples:

(11.29) ... *iyō nuut turi ta' ruma' dela e.*
 3s.II AV.go.with sleep PREP house man DEM
 '... he went (with the man) to sleep at the man's house.' (namuk 027)

(11.30) *Beranti iyo ta' dia' poon kayu.*
 stop 3s.II PREP beneath tree
 'He stopped beneath a tree.' (baginda 047)

(11.31) *Sangsuriang mule' me-ruma' sambil=ni nangis.*
 PN ACT.go.home PREP-house while=3s.I ACT.cry
 'Sangsuriang went home crying.' (biduk 072)

(11.32) *Temban no using e en-jata' jing...*
 stay FOC cat DEM PREP-on.top.of zinc.roof
 'The cat stayed on top of the zinc (roof)... (ngini using 073)

(11.33) *Masa gai kepo lua' ta' kayangan...*
 time 3p jump.down PREP PREP heavens
 'At the time they jumped down from the heavens...'. (biduk 005)

The prepositions *ta'* and *em-* may also precede a recipient, addressee, goal, source, or other oblique semantic role. In §4.2.3.2.1 it was shown that the oblique set of pronouns is formed by the combination of the prefix *em-* with the set II pronouns. Examples:

(11.34) *Endo=ku muan perangi' e m-aku.*
 wife=1s.I AV.give pineapple DEM PREP-1s.II
 'My wife gave the pineapple to me.'

- (11.35) ... *gai mara' ta' jomo kampung di'=ni ai rungay.*
 3p AV.tell PREP person village yg.sibling=3s.I PERF missing
 '... they told the villagers that his younger brother was missing.' (belis 046)
- (11.36) "... *ngini sab Ø-iyak-an using m-aku bokog jo?*"
 why PRT UV-throw-THM cat PREP-1s.II bone only
 "... why does the cat only throw (to/at) me the bones?" (ngini using 044)
- (11.37) *Ø-beli=ku telumpa' e m-iyoy.*
 UV-buy=1s.I shoe DEM PREP-3s.II
 'I bought shoes for him' or 'I bought his shoes' (lit. 'shoes at/from him').
- (11.38) *Saging e boi Ø-tebong=ni ta' iyang Jaman.*
 banana DEM CMPL UV-chop.down=3s.I PREP mother PN
 'He chopped down the banana tree for Jaman's mother' or
 'He chopped down the banana tree at Jaman's mother's place' (lit. 'at/from Jaman's mother').

As shown in (11.37)-(11.38), the locative prepositions can have multiple interpretations. In (11.37), the oblique participant can be interpreted either as a recipient benefactive or as a source. Similarly, in (11.38), *iyang Jaman* 'Jaman's mother' expresses either a recipient beneficiary or a location. Such ambiguity of interpretation is to be expected with just one preposition used for multiple locative-type semantic roles.

When the oblique referent is a WH-word, only *ta'* may be used. Example:

- (11.39) *Ta' sian saging e boi Ø-tebong=nu?*
 PREP who banana DEM CMPL UV-chop.down=2s.I
 'At whom (whose place) did you chop down the banana tree?'

11.3.1.2 *lekat* 'from' and *lua'* 'from'

The prepositions *lekat* 'from' and *lua'* 'from' appear to have quite similar syntactic and semantic properties. Both prepositions are frequently used in the locative sense, where *lekat* or *lua'* introduces a location which is often expressed by another PP headed by *em-* or *ta'*. Note the following examples, which show the structure of the embedded PPs:

- (11.40) ...*iyō lai* [*lekat* [*ta'* *kampung=ni...*] PP] PP
 3s.II flee PREP PREP village=3s.I
 ‘...he fled from his village...’ (mat salleh 002)
- (11.41) [*lua'* [*en-diam lubang langkaw*] PP] PP
 PREP PREP-inside hole long
 ‘from within the tunnel’ (kota belud 028)

Locative *lekat* or *lua'* can precede a deictic adverb of location (§4.4.3.2):

- (11.42) “*Amun kau pu' me-Api-Api lekat mitu...*”
 if 2s.II to.there PREP-PN PREP here
 ‘If you are going to Api-Api from here...’. (lumaan pu' 003)

The prepositions *lekat* and *lua'* can also be used in a non-locative way. They may identify a temporal source (11.43), a material source (11.44), or an event that one is returning from (11.45):

- (11.43) ...*iyō ng-agad-ng-agad lua' kemuap lagi...*
 3s.II AV-wait-REDUP PREP afternoon yet
 ‘...she continued to wait since the afternoon...’ (belis 043)
- (11.44) *Kulintangan bana selalu=ni b-in-uat lekat ta' tembaga'.*
 small.gongs true always=3.I -PASS-make PREP PREP metal
 ‘The *kulintangan bana* were ordinarily made from (brass) metal.’ (kulintangan 007)
- (11.45) *Waktu ella=ni mule' lua' ng-endo' bue'...*
 time husband=3s.I ACT-go.home PREP AV-take water
 ‘At the time her husband returned home from fetching water...’. (biduk 056)

While *lekat* and *lua'* are analyzed as prepositions, it should be noted that they display some of the properties of locative nouns (§4.2.3.4). For example, like many of the locative nouns, both *lekat* and *lua'* can combine with *pe₇-* to derive intransitive motion verbs (*pe-lua'* ‘to go out’, ‘to emerge’ and *pe-lekat* ‘to leave’). Even so, if *lekat* and *lua'* were analyzed as locative nouns, they would show reverse ordering with respect to the locative prepositions (*em-* or *ta'*), in that *lekat* and *lua'*

would precede the locative preposition whereas the other locative nouns always follow the locative preposition.

11.3.2 *Non-locative prepositions*

WC Bajau has several prepositions with exclusively non-locative functions. These are as follows:

- | | | |
|---------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (11.46) | <i>engko'</i> | 'with' |
| | <i>man</i> | 'than' |
| | <i>le'</i> | 'by; on account of' |
| | <i>doko' / dokon</i> | 'like, as' |
| | <i>masa</i> | 'like, as' |
| | <i>sampay</i> | 'until' |

11.3.2.1 *engko'* 'with'

The preposition *engko'* (the same form is used as the coordinating conjunction 'and'; see §14.5.1) has several related meanings.³ When *engko'* occurs with an animate NP, the meaning is one of accompaniment (11.47) or participation in a reciprocal action (11.48)-(11.49):

- (11.47) *Sangsuriang pan l-um-aan no engko' Situmang en-diam taun....*
 PN TOP -ACT-go FOC PREP PN PREP-inside forest
 'Sangsuriang traveled with Situmang into the forest...'. (biduk 069)

- (11.48) *Nya' beta ai kawin Sultan Salaudin engko' puteri siari e.*
 NEG long PERF marry PN PREP princess youngest DEM
 'Not long after, Sultan Salaudin married the young princess.' (salaudin 017)

- (11.49) *Tujuan=ni supaya iyo si-temu engko' see'=ni.*
 purpose=3s.I so.that 3s.II REC-meet PREP friend=3s.I
 'His purpose was that he could meet with his friend.' (mat salleh 058)

When *engko'* occurs with an inanimate NP, the semantic relationship can be one of accompaniment (11.50) or instrument/ means (11.51)-(11.52):

³ Sometimes *engko'* (both the conjunction and the preposition) is shortened to *ko'*.

(11.50) ...*pe-limpas lagi dela e balik engko' karung=ni.*
 INTR-pass yet man DEM again PREP sack=3s.I
 'The man passed yet again with his sack.' (namuk 019)

(11.51) *P-in-ekos engko' kayu tangan Rupiah, bo' nge-lilit e*
 -PASS-clutch PREP wood hand PN then AV-coil DEM

engko' semek.
 PREP rag
 'Rupiah's hand was held firmly with wood, then (his friend) bound it with a rag.' (rupiah 009)

(11.52) *Ai jo bege engko' kekuatan Allah belud e pan ai katup.*
 After like.that PREP strength PN hill DEM TOP PERF close
 'At that time, by Allah's power the hills (of the valley) closed in.' (baginda 135)

The preposition *engko'* is used in some comparative constructions (see also §11.3.2.2 below).

For example, questions expressing a comparative use *engko'* as in the following example:

(11.53) A. *Enggo langa=nu engko' ka'=nu?*
 which tall=2s.I PREP older.sibling=2s.I
 'Which of you is taller, you or your older sibling?'

B. *Ka'=ku langa, langa=ni sikot enam kaki.*
 older.sibling=1s.I tall tall=3s.I near six feet
 'My older sibling is taller, his height is nearly six feet.'

11.3.2.2 *man* 'than' (comparative PPs)

Comparison in WC Bajau is not expressed via morphology on the verb. Instead, WC Bajau uses a comparative preposition *man* 'than' (and/or the preposition *engko'* in some constructions). With *man*, the comparative comes before the standard. The adverb *lagi* 'more' (§12.5.2) optionally precedes the comparative. Examples:

(11.54) *Tangan e mesti' tena' man jantung.*
 arm DEM must short PREP heart
 'The (poisoned) arm must be lower than the heart.' (rupiah 010)

- (11.55) *Aku lagi langa man kam momon.*
 1s.II more tall PREP 2p.II all
 ‘I am taller than all of you.’

One type of comparison is the equative construction, which expresses the similarity or dissimilarity between two items concerning some quality. In WC Bajau, equative constructions are expressed with the stative verbs *somo* ‘same’ or *lain* ‘different’. The verb *somo* takes a PP complement headed by the preposition *engko’* ‘with’ (11.56), while the verb *lain* takes a PP complement headed by the preposition *man* ‘than’ (11.57). Examples:

- (11.56) *Tungan=ni nya’ somo engko’ sasaban e...*
 place=3s.I NEG same PREP type.of.board DEM
 ‘Its function was not the same as the *sasaban...*’. (nandas tebu 042)

- (11.57) *...tapi’ iyo lain roo=ni man gula’ datay bana.*
 but 3s.II different form=3s.I PREP sugar boiled very
 ‘... but its texture was different than sugar that was boiled for a long time.’
 (nandas tebu 082)

11.3.2.3 *le’* ‘by; on account of’

The preposition *le’* was first introduced as marking the oblique actor of a passive construction (§6.2.2). With the *-in-* or *te-* passive actor, *le’* may be translated simply as ‘by’:

- (11.58) *Iyan semono-mono k-in-eket lindo’=ni le’ namuk.*
 what suddenly -PASS-bite forehead=3s.I PREP mosquito
 ‘Suddenly his forehead was bit by a mosquito.’ (gipun 171)

However, the *le’* preposition is not limited to use with passives. *Le’* may also occur with an intransitive verb, in which case it introduces a ‘circumstantial’ PP. Here the NP or pronoun in the *le’* phrase is the circumstance or reason for the state of affairs expressed by the predicate. If a pronoun occurs in the *le’* phrase, it is the possessive form, just as for the *le’* phrase in the passive construction. Examples:

- (11.59) *Nge-letup tangan=ku le' guuk e.*
 ACT-explode hand=1s.I PREP machete DEM
 'My hand blistered (lit. 'exploded') on account of (holding) that machete.'
- (11.60) *Ai so no iyo le'=ni.*
 PERF satiated FOC 3s.II PREP=1s.I
 'He is satiated by (the food).'
- (11.61) *Ai pe-pekar no tipo e le' Amzi*
 PERF INTR-unfurl FOC mat DEM PREP PN
 'The mat unfurled on account of Amzi.'⁴

Sometimes *le'* takes a clausal complement, expressing the manner in which some action is performed. Here it appears that *le'* is a nominalized form 'manner' which takes a complement clause: 'the manner [in which *x* does *y*]'.⁵ Examples:

- (11.62) *Tabit e sanang atay le' [Mastura boi noos Rupiah].*
 healer DEM happy manner PN CMPL AV.medicate PN
 'The healer was pleased with how Mastura had medicated Rupiah.' (rupiah 013)
- (11.63) *Le' [=ni nguuk bue' e] dekiit-dekiit jo.*
 manner=3s.I scoop water DEM little-REDUP only
 'The way in which he scooped water was little-by-little (?).' (mat salleh 032)

In this construction, often the WH word *pian* 'how' precedes the *le'* clause:

- (11.64) *Fikir no Mat Salleh pian le' [=ni si-temu engko'*
 think FOC PN how manner=3s.I REC-meet PREP
see'-see'=ni e].
 friend-REDUP=3s.I DEM
 'Mat Salleh considered how he could meet with his friends.' (mat salleh 056)

⁴ Apparently the mat's unfurling on account of Amzi could be understood as either intentional or non-intentional. More investigation is needed to determine whether volitionality can ever be ascribed to the referent in the 'circumstantial' PP.

⁵ It is not especially odd that *le'* could be interpreted both as a preposition and as a noun; historically, it is apparent that prepositions in many languages came from nouns.

11.3.2.4 *doko'*/ *dokon* and *masam* 'like, as' (similitude PPs)

The prepositions *doko'* (sometimes occurring as *dokon*) and *masam* introduces a similitude PP with the meaning 'like, as'. (The form *masam* is likely borrowed from Malay *macam*). From the limited number of examples in my corpus, it appears that *doko'* takes an NP or adverb complement, whereas *dokon* regularly takes a clausal complement.⁶ There do not appear to be any such constraints on the type of complement taken by *masam*. A similitude PP can be an adjunct (11.65)-(11.67), or it can expound the predicate of a stative clause (11.68)-(11.69). Examples:

(11.65) *Pada masa e namuk kono' oyo bana masam manuk dela.*
 at time DEM mosquito hearsay large very PREP chicken male
 'At that time, it is said that mosquitoes were very large, like roosters.' (namuk 004)

(11.66) *Pengabisan=ni gai pan maskin doko' dau.*
 end=3s.I 3p EMPH poor PREP before
 'In the end they were poor like before.' (ansa' 017)

(11.67) *Doko' susu sap junjung e, amun e p-in-alit pe-langkaw.*
 PREP milk *** PN DEM if DEM -PASS-dab INTR-long
 'Like the *junjung* brand of milk, if it is dabbed with the finger, it stretches.' (nandas tebu 111)

(11.68) *Reso=ni doko' reso ungu, kasar.*
 feel=3s.I PREP feel sand rough
 'Its texture is like that of sand, (it is) coarse.' (nandas tebu 114)

(11.69) *Daras soo tu l-ul-ai dokon kuda' lumbo daras=ni.*
 strong snake DEM -ACT-run PREP horse race strong=3s.I
 This snake moves swiftly. Its speed is like a horse races.' (jomo beramu 010)

11.3.2.5 *sampay* 'until'

The preposition *sampay* 'until' introduces extent PPs.⁷ Often *sampay* takes an adverb of time as its complement. Examples:

⁶ It is unclear whether these are in fact two separate prepositions or one preposition with two forms. The forms *dokon* and *masam* can also occur as subordinators, where they introduce manner clauses (§14.4.4).

⁷ Note that *sampay* can also be a subordinator, where it introduces extent clauses (§14.4.8).

(11.70) *Baginda Ali nya' no teko pe-lua' lua' me*
 PN NEG FOC arrive INTR-from PREP there

sampay no betiru.
 PREP FOC now

'Baginda Ali could not get out from then until now.' (baginda 136)

(11.71) *Tapi' bila sikot ellaw iyo ai te-turi sampay telak.*
 but when near day 3s.II PERF DC.PASS-sleep PREP bright
 'But when it was nearly day, he fell asleep (and did not awake) until it was bright (outside).'
 (jomo pisok 027)

CHAPTER 12
CLAUSAL MODIFICATIONS

12.1 Introduction

A number of clausal modifications are discussed in this chapter: tense and aspect (§12.2), negation (§12.3), modality (§12.4), various subtypes of adverbs (§12.5), and the more frequently used discourse particles and their combinations (§12.6).

12.2 Tense and aspect

In WC Bajau, tense/aspect is almost never marked on the verb, apart from some uses of reduplication (§3.7.3.1) as well as the circumfix *be-...-an* (§9.6) to indicate distributive aspect. Sometimes the discourse context alone determines the temporal relation of some state or event to the moment of speaking. However, the language does make frequent use of two aspectual particles: *boi* and *ai*.

Boi marks completive aspect (§12.2.1), and *ai* marks perfect aspect or (at the discourse level) perfective aspect (§12.2.2). While these two particles overlap in their meanings, they are easily distinguishable with some types of predicates, and they have distinct uses in narrative discourse. Progressive aspect (§12.2.4) and future tense (§12.2.5) are generally inferred by the discourse context, while prospective aspect (§12.2.5.1) is marked by *akan* ‘about to’. Phasal verbs are briefly presented in §12.2.6.

12.2.1 The ‘completive’ particle *boi*

When the particle *boi* occurs, it always precedes the predicate. *Boi* indicates that the state of affairs referred to by the predicate is past or completed, usually (though not necessarily) in relation to the moment of speaking. Examples:

- (12.1) *Boi suk sapi' e.*
 CMPL thin cow DEM
 'The cow was scrawny (but not now).'
- (12.2) *Boi l-um-aan no emma'=ku.*
 CMPL -ACT-go FOC father=1s.I
 'My father went out (and has now returned).'
- (12.3) *Buas e boi Ø-dede'-an=ku' pu' dilaw.*
 rice DEM CMPL UV-send-TZ=1s.I to.there yesterday
 'I sent the rice there yesterday.'

The *boi* particle may also be used with hypothetical/ future constructions, where the predicate modified by *boi* occurs temporally prior to some subsequent state of affairs:

- (12.4) *Amun boi kau kawin kaang, bu-un do' endo=nu pitu.*
 if CMPL 2s.II marry later bring-UV.IMP EMPH wife=2s.I to.here
 'If/when you get married, bring your wife over here!'

Example (12.4) demonstrates that *boi* cannot adequately be characterized as a tense particle, since here the reference is to a future event. For this reason, *boi* might instead be said to express completive aspect. (Not that the completion itself is emphasized, but that it is 'past' with regard to some reference time.) Example (12.4) also points to the use of *boi* in irrealis contexts, as will be discussed further below.

The *boi* particle when reduplicated yields the experiential perfect particle *boi-boi* 'ever (before); once'. Comrie (1976:59) states that the experiential perfect "indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present." The form *boi-boi* frequently combines with the (preceding) negator *nya'* to mean 'never (before)'. Examples:

- (12.5) ...*boi-boi* *be-laku* *poon* *suka'* *boi* *ebba'* *ta'* *suang*
 ever ACT-happen tree coconut CMPL topple PREP river
ai *pe-togor* *balik.*
 PERF INTR-erect again
 'It once happened that a coconut tree that had toppled at the river stood up again.
 (kayu ebba' 015)

- (12.6) *Nya'* *aku* *boi-boi* *num pang* *ta'* *mini bas.*
 NEG 1s.II ever AV.ride PREP mini bus
 "I have never ridden a mini bus."

12.2.2 *The perfect (and perfective) aspect marker ai*

The *ai* particle, like the *boi* particle, always precedes the predicate it modifies. The two particles never occur together. Normally both *ai* and *boi* occur immediately preceding the verb they modify. However, both particles can also precede the focal particles *no* and *jo*, typically at the beginning of the sentence, where the particle combinations introduce a temporal clause and usually can be glossed 'after' (with *jo*) and 'already' (with *no*).

The *ai* particle marks perfect aspect, in that it generally expresses a state resulting from a prior event. Note the following examples:

- (12.7) *Ai* *suk* *sapi'* *e.*
 PERF thin cow DEM
 'The cow has become scrawny.'
- (12.8) *Ai no* *sapi'* *Mali* *s-in-embali* *dilaw.*
 already cow PN -PASS-slaughter yesterday
 'Mali's cow was slaughtered yesterday.'¹
- (12.9) *Ai* \emptyset -*ebba'-an* *Azizy* *poon saging* *e.*
 PERF UV-topple-CAUS PN tree banana DEM
 'Azizy has felled the banana tree.' (implies that Azizy recently felled it)

¹ Note in this example the use of *ai* together with the time word *dilaw* 'yesterday'. As noted by Comrie (1976:54-5), the English Perfect does not allow the specification of the time of the past situation. That is why (12.8) cannot be translated in English as: *Mali's cow has been slaughtered (*yesterday)*. This might argue against labeling *ai* as a marker of 'perfect aspect' in WC Bajau. However, Comrie also notes that not every language with perfect aspect observes this constraint.

Comrie (1976) states that “the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation” (52). As suggested by the interpretation of (12.9) above, the use of *ai* with telic verbs implies that the action was done recently, and in this sense it has current relevance. This is made especially clear when *boi* is used in place of *ai* in the clause. Note the following pair of examples:

- (12.10) a. *Ai labu' sigup e.*
 PERF drop tobacco DEM
 ‘The tobacco dropped (just now).’ / ‘The tobacco has dropped.’
- b. *Boi labu' sigup e.*
 CMPL drop tobacco DEM
 ‘The tobacco dropped (some time ago).’

The utterance shown in (12.10) (b) is most appropriate when the tobacco has already been picked up or taken away, thus no longer lying on the floor. The utterance shown in (a) would be used when the tobacco has just fallen and is still on the floor. Note also that when *ai* modifies *labu'* and other inherently directed motion verbs and change of state verbs (which are telic), the syntax does not distinguish between an event reading or a result state reading. This is reflected in the alternative translations given for (a) above. In the reading ‘the tobacco dropped (just now)’, the event is in view. In the reading ‘the tobacco has dropped’, the result state is in view. In either case, the past event has present relevance to the speaker. Similarly, when *ai* modifies *kawin* ‘to marry’, the possible interpretations are ‘got married’ (event) or ‘are married’ (result state), but in either case there is a past event with continued relevance in the present.

With activity verbs, *ai* indicates either that the activity has been initiated (which here reflects an inchoative use of *ai*), as in (12.11), or that it has recently finished, as in (12.12). In (12.13) the same utterance can have either an inchoative (a) or completive (b) interpretation. Which meaning is intended seems to depend on the context of the utterance. Note that the focal particle *no* (§12.6.1) frequently follows *ai* to give the meaning ‘already’.

- (12.11) A. “*Enggo emma’=nu?*”
 where father=2s.I
 “Where is your father?”
- B. “*Ai no iyo magari mu’ en-sedi suang.*”
 already 3s.II VBL.fence there PREP-beside river
 “He has already started to do fence-repair over beside the river.”
- (12.12) “*Ai no kami mangan.*”
 already 1p.II(excl.) AV-eat
 “We have just eaten.”
- (12.13) a. *Ruma’ e tunu’.*
 house DEM burn
 ‘The house is burning.’
- b. *Ruma’ e ai tunu’.*
 (1) ‘The house has begun to burn.’
 (2) ‘The house has burned down.’

12.2.3 *ai and boi further contrasted*

In Mapun, the Sama-Bajaw language most closely related to WC Bajau, there are two tense/aspect particles *bay* and *lay*. These correspond roughly to *boi* and *ai* in WC Bajau.

Collins and Collins (1992) describe some of the differences between the particles *lay* and *bay* in Mapun. Similar differences occur in WC Bajau between *ai* and *boi*, as discussed below.

12.2.3.1 With negative events

In Mapun, only *bay* (never *lay*) occurs with negative events. The same is true for *boi* in WC Bajau: only *boi* (never *ai*) is syntactically compatible with a negator (12.14) and only *boi* is compatible with a semantically unrealized or partially realized event (12.15)-(12.16):

- (12.14) *Amzi nya’ boi / *ai mangan, iyo mara’ pedi betong=ni.*
 PN NEG AV.eat 3s.II AV.tell pain stomach=3s.I
 ‘Amzi did not eat; he said he has a stomach ache.’

(12.15) *Boi* / (?) *Ai* \emptyset -*ebba-an* *Azizy poon saging e tapi' nya' boi ebba'*.
 UV-topple-CAUS PN tree banana DEM but NEG topple
 'Azizy tried to fell the banana tree but (it) didn't topple.'

(12.16) a. *Ai tunu' ruma' e*.
 PERF burn house DEM
 'The house has completely burned down.'²

b. *Boi tunu' ruma' e*.
 CMPL burn house DEM
 'The house has (partially) burned [it is still standing].'

12.2.3.2 Discourse functions

In Mapun narrative discourse, *lay* applies to predicates located on the 'storyline' (see §8.4), whereas *bay* is identified with background information, such as relative clauses and 'finished' adverbial time clauses. In WC Bajau narrative discourse, only *ai* is used to mark predicates on the storyline (though it does not occur with every such verb), whereas *boi* is found mainly in relative clauses. The discourse use of *ai* is probably best described as perfective aspect. Comrie (1976:3) states that with perfective aspect, the whole of the situation is referred to "without reference to its internal temporal constituency...". Hopper (1979) has identified a correlation between perfective aspect and foregrounding in narrative. *Ai* can also occur in adverbial time clauses to provide temporal information, in which case the clause is not strictly on the storyline, though some such clauses contribute to the chronological sequencing of storyline events. These discourse functions of *boi* and *ai* are illustrated in (12.17) and (12.18) below:

² An alternative interpretation would be that the house is presently burning, as in (12.13) (b) (1). The relevant contrast with *boi* in the following sentence involves only the completive meaning of *ai*.

- (12.17) *Jomo boi ninso kayu e ai lulai kerana' tinau.*
 person VBL.chainsaw wood DEM run because afraid
- Nya' beta ai kurung bangan jomo ng-enda' kayu e.*
 NEG long.time gather PL person AV-look.at tree DEM
 'The man who had cut the tree with a chainsaw ran because (he was) afraid. Not
 long after, people gathered to look at the tree.' (kayu ebba' 034-035)
- (12.18) *Bila ai songom gai awal turi endo' bangun sinsaung awal.*
 when night 3p early sleep so.that rise morning early
 'When it was night, they went to sleep early so that they could get up early.'
 (jomo pisok 024)

Example (12.17) shows an occurrence of *boi* in a relative clause modifying *jomo* 'man', and two occurrences of *ai* modifying storyline verbs. In (12.18) *ai* occurs in a temporal adverbial clause which provides setting for the ensuing main clause on the storyline.

Collins and Collins (1992), in considering the properties of *bay* and *lay* in Mapun, label *bay* as an irrealis marker and *ai* as a realis marker. It is true that *boi* occurs in certain irrealis contexts, such as negation or partially realized events, that are impossible for *ai*. Conversely, *ai* occurs in realis contexts that are impossible for *boi*, such as foregrounding in narrative. But certainly *boi* can also occur in realis contexts, where the event really did happen, so the labels 'irrealis' (for *boi*) and 'realis' (for *ai*) are not adequate to encompass the range of uses these particles exhibit. Even so, it is helpful to keep the realis/ irrealis distinction in mind when attempting to tease the two particles apart.

12.2.4 *Progressive aspect*

In WC Bajau, there is no word or particle that uniquely identifies progressive aspect. Either UV or AV is compatible with progressive action; voice selection is primarily determined by pragmatic factors, not aspect. Note the following examples, where progressive action is expressed by an AV clause in (12.19) and by a UV clause in (12.20):

- (12.19) A. “*Uun iyang=nu me?*”
 EXIST mother=2s.I there
 ‘Is your mother there?’
- B. “*Uun. Mopo-on badu Mali iyo.*”
 EXIST AV-wash.clothes-TZ shirt PN 3s.II
 “Yes, she’s washing Mali’s shirt.”
- (12.20) A. “*Minggo badu Mali e?*”
 where shirt PN DEM
 “Where is Mali’s shirt?”
- B. “*Badu=ni Ø-popo’-on iyang=ku.*”
 shirt=3s.I UV-wash.shirt-TZ mother=1s.I
 “My mother is washing his shirt.”

Progressive aspect in the past tense is shown in (12.21) below:

- (12.21) *Sini’ sinsaung aku pe-osok me-ruma’, te-kito=ku*
 earlier morning 1s.II INTR-enter PREP-house DC.PASS-see=1s.I
- iyang=ku nge-rait badu Mali e.*
 mother 1s.I AV-sew shirt Mali DEM
 ‘This morning when I entered the house, I saw that my mother was sewing Mali’s shirt.’

Example (12.21) also shows that a tense/aspect particle like *boi* or *ai* is not required to express past tense. Here, the temporal adverbial clause (*sini’ sinsaung*) establishes the relation between the time the action was done and the moment of speaking.

12.2.5 Future tense

Future action in WC Bajau is often not associated with a particular particle or word, nor by the morphology on the verb. Predication of future action is possible with AV, UV, and passive forms.

Note the following examples:

- (12.22) a. “*Emberen kau nembali sapi’ e?*”
 when 2s.II AV.slaughter cow DEM
 “When will you slaughter the cow?”

- b. “*Emberen* \emptyset -*sembali=nu* *sapi*’ *e?*”
 when UV-slaughter=2s.I cow DEM later
 “When will you slaughter the cow?”
- c. “*Emberen* *s-in-embali* *sapi*’ *e?*”
 when -PASS-slaughter cow DEM
 “When will the cow be slaughtered?”

Apparently the default interpretation of each of the above clauses is future time, though I suspect this depends largely on the context of the utterance. A completive meaning is required when *boi* precedes the verb in each of the clauses in (12.22) above.

12.2.5.1 Prospective aspect

In WC Bajau, prospective aspect is marked by *akan* ‘about to, going to’. The prospective aspect is used to relate a state to some subsequent situation, “for instance where someone is in a state of being about to do something” (Comrie 1976:64). As Comrie further notes, there is an important difference between prospective meaning and “straight future time reference”, in that with prospective aspect, the “future situation might well be prevented from coming about by intervening factors” (65).

In terms of its syntactic distribution, *akan* almost always occurs just prior to the predicate it modifies, similar to the facts for *ai* and *boi*. Furthermore, *akan* never co-occurs with *ai* or *boi*. Unlike *ai* and *boi* however, no cases have yet been found where *akan* directly precedes a focal particle (*jo* or *no*).

When *akan* is used with reference to the future, the sense is that the situation may or may not come about:³

³ The word *akan* also occurs in Indonesian/ Malay. However, *akan* in Indonesian/ Malay is a future tense marker ‘will’, whereas in WC Bajau *akan* retains an element of uncertainty. When *akan* is used in reference to the a past situation, however, there is no difference in meaning with its use in WC Bajau (see Sneddon 1996:199-200).

- (12.23) *Akan* *uran* *no* *tu*.
 about.to rain FOC DEM
 ‘It might rain later.’

The following examples show a contrast between action that is merely contemplated (12.24) and action that is planned confidently (12.25):

- (12.24) *Amun* *boi* *mangan,* *akan* *nalan* *kiti*.
 when CMPL AV.eat about.to play.gongs 1p.II.incl.
 ‘After (we) eat, we might play gongs.’

- (12.25) *Amun* *boi* *mangan,* *nalan* *kiti*.
 when CMPL AV.eat play.gongs 1p.II.incl.
 ‘After (we) eat, we will play gongs.’

In past tense contexts, the meaning with *akan* is that the action or state was about to be realized, but the implication is that it didn’t happen:

- (12.26) *Akan* *matay no iyo,* *tapi’* *nemu* *aku* *toos*.
 about.to die FOC 3s.II but AV.meet 1s.II medicine
 ‘She was about to die, but I found medicine.’

- (12.27) *Akan* *uran no si’*.
 about.to rain FOC just.now
 ‘It was going to rain just now [but didn’t].’

12.2.6 *Phasal verbs*

Aspect includes phasal meanings. WC Bajau has a number of phasal verbs, such as *mulai* ‘to begin’, *beranti* ‘to stop’, and *lupus* ‘to finish’, which express different ‘phases’ of an event. These verbs can take a clausal complement,⁴ but most can also occur without a complement, which shows that they are in fact verbs:

⁴ While I have tentatively analyzed the phasal verbs as complement-taking predicates, I have not yet found a place for them in my categorization of CTPs (complement-taking predicates); see §14.3 for discussion of complementation in WC Bajau. It is also possible that they are auxiliaries, with similar syntactic distribution to the modals described in §12.4 below.

- (12.28) *Runsay mulai pukul 12:00 songom dan lupus pukul 6:00 saung-saung.*
 type.of.dance begin hour night and finish hour morning
 ‘The *runsay* dance begins at 12 midnight and finishes at 6 in the morning.’ (runsay 012)
- (12.29) *Uwa’ ng-uma e pan beranti.*
 dog ACT-bark DEM TOP stop
 ‘The dog that was barking stopped.’ (belis 025)

The following examples show the same verbs occurring with a complement clause:

- (12.30) *Kiro-kiro pukul 11:00 mulai no pakir e meseduo...*
 about hour begin FOC religious.officiant DEM recite.prayers
 ‘At about 11 o’clock, the *pakir* begins to recite prayers...’. (bejogo 011)
- (12.31) *Ai lupus no Ø-buat=ni ruma’ e.*
 PERF finish FOC UV-make=3s.I house DEM
 ‘He finished building the house.’
- (12.32) *Jomo daras e beranti ng-amuk Hussin amun*
 person strong DEM stop *** PN when

te-kito=ni sinsim ta’ tangan Hussin e.
 DC.PASS-see=3s.I ring PREP hand PN DEM
 ‘The strong man stopped (raging at?) Hussin when he saw the ring on Hussin’s
 finger.’ (baginda 103)

Another phasal word in WC Bajau is *abis* ‘finished’, which is probably a loan word from Indonesian/ Malay *habis*. Its function overlaps with *lupus* in that it may occur before a verb to mean ‘to finish’:

- (12.33) *Ai jo jomo too e abis be-tutur iyo pan pungkaw.*
 after person old DEM finish ACT-speak 3s.II PERF wake.up
 ‘After the old man had finished speaking, he (Hussin) woke up.’ (baginda 052)

Unlike *lupus*, however, *abis* can be used to refer to an involuntary process:

- (12.34) *Abis / *Lupus no paray e tomo’.*
 finish FOC paddy.rice DEM grow
 ‘The padi rice is finished growing.’

The word *abis* has other uses in WC Bajau (as does *habis* in Malay). As an adverb, it means ‘all’; ‘wholly’; ‘completely’:

- (12.35) *dinakan=ni ai abis no matay.*
 relative=3s.I PERF all FOC dead
 ‘... his relatives were all deceased.’ (jomo pisok 015)

As an adjective, *abis* refers to a substance being finished or used up:

- (12.36) *Enselan Ø-boo=ni kemuap e Ø-tuang-an=ni nge-liling*
 gasoline UV-bring=3s.I afternoon DEM UV-pour.out-TZ=3s.I AV-surround

ruma’ e sampay abis.
 house DEM PREP used.up
 ‘The gasoline he had brought the (previous) afternoon he poured out surrounding
 the house until (it was) all used up.’ (namuk 071)

12.3 Negation

WC Bajau has a few negators, depending on its function in the clause. The form used for negating predicates is *nya’*, while the form used for negating NPs is *enggai* (*ko’/ do’*). These two forms are described below. WC Bajau also has two negative imperative forms, *dong* and *daa*, which are described in the section on imperatives (§13.3.4).

12.3.1 *nya’* ‘not’

The form *nya’* is used for negating verbs. It shows variable ordering in the clause, but always precedes the predicate it modifies. *Nya’* also precedes any focal particle such as *no* that also modifies the verb. Examples:

- (12.37) *Gai nya’ temban ta’ bandar.*
 3p NEG stay PREP city
 ‘They don’t live in the city.’ (pak pu’ ta’ bandar 035)

- (12.38) *Iyan lagi ruma' e pan nya' no te-kito.*
 what still house DEM TOP NEG FOC DC.PASS-see
 'What is more, the house could not now be seen.' (namuk 073).
- (12.39) *Nya' te-rati gai Situmang nuut em-buli'.*
 NEG DC.PASS-know 3p PN AV.follow PREP-behind
 'They didn't know that Situmang followed behind.' (biduk 030)
- (12.40) *P-in-endule-an, nya' no iyo padul.*
 -PASS-scold-TZ NEG FOC 3s.II pay.attention
 '(He) was scolded, (but) he paid no heed.' (pak 053)

12.3.2 Enggai (ko'/ do') 'not'

The form *enggai* normally negates NPs, in which case there is often an alternative referent being asserted or implied. It is also used for negating an entire proposition, when there is an alternative proposition being asserted or implied, as in (12.43). The word *enggai* frequently occurs with either the emphatic particle *do'* (§13.3.5.1) or the particle *ko'* (possibly short for *engko'*). Examples:

- (12.41) A. *Timus ka e?*
 salt Q DEM
 "Is that salt?"
- B. *Enggai timus! Gula' e.*
 NEG salt sugar DEM
 "That's not salt! That's sugar."
- (12.42) *Anak kerabaw e manusia' enggai do' anak kerabaw.*
 child buffalo DEM human NEG EMPH child buffalo
 'The offspring of the buffalo was human, not buffalo.' (kerabaw 020)
- (12.43) *...iyo nembet jomo, enggai ko' jomo nembet iyo.*
 3s.II AV.chase person NEG PRT person AV.chase 3s.II
 'It (the snake) chases people, rather than people chase it.' (jomo beramu 004)

12.4 Modality

Modality is used to characterize the actuality or non-actuality of an event. The two basic parameters of modality are the epistemic and deontic modes. The EPISTEMIC mode "characterizes

the actuality of an event in terms of alternative possible situations, or worlds.... [it] deals with alternative worlds with respect to a given world at a given time point” (Chung and Timberlake 1985:242, 246). As such, epistemic modality recognizes two subtypes: “necessity (the event belongs to all alternative worlds) and possibility (the event belongs to at least one alternative world)” (242). The DEONTIC mode “characterizes an event as non-actual by virtue of the fact that it is imposed on a given situation” (246). The deontic mode is concerned with “the alternative worlds... that could develop out of the given world” whereas the epistemic mode concerns “those that could exist instead of the given world” (246, emphasis mine). Deontic modality encompasses the notions of obligation and permission, though other senses are possible, including exhortative, desiderative, and abilitative (247).

In WC Bajau (as in English), certain modals are capable of expressing either type of modality. Some modals in WC Bajau appear to be auxiliaries, which cannot undergo further inflection or derivation, and which cannot occur without an accompanying verb. These modal auxiliaries include *mesti* ‘must’, *perlu* ‘must’, *arus* ‘should’, and *buli* ‘can’. Three modals are verbs which also have non-modal meanings: *teko* ‘to arrive’, *nge-rati* ‘to know’, and the stative verb *panday* ‘to be skilled’. These verbs, when used as modals, mean something similar to *buli* ‘able (to).’ The most common of the various modals are described briefly below.

12.4.1 *mesti* ‘must’

The modal auxiliary *mesti* expresses deontic meaning, whether strong obligation (‘must’) or weak obligation (‘should’). In the following examples, the use of *mesti* in (12.44) denotes strong obligation while in (12.45) it denotes weak obligation:

- (12.44) "...*bangan rojo e maku syarat amun bana-bana puteri siari*
 PL king DEM AV.request condition if true-REDUP princess
e endo=ku mesti' te-batal=ku iyo diam patang.
 DEM wife=1s.I must DC.PASS-seal.marriage=1s.I 3s.II inside dark
 "...the king's party made the stipulation that if the princess is truly my wife, I must be able to seal the marriage with her in the dark" (i.e. using a handkerchief to pass it around the bride's head). (salaudin 050).
- (12.45) *Amun l-um-aan songom mesti' makay suu' enjaji soo nya' te-tindak.*
 if -ACT-go night must AV-use light so snake NEG DC.PASS-step
 'If (you) travel at night, (you) should use a light so that (you) won't accidentally step on a snake.' (rupiah 028)

12.4.2 *buli* 'can'

The modal auxiliary *buli* can cover a range of meanings associated both epistemic and deontic modality. Frequently *buli* combines with the (preceding) negator *nya'*. In the following examples, *buli* in (12.46) shows the epistemic use of the modal ('possible'), while in (12.47)-(12.49) it shows the deontic use of the modal ('must', 'should', 'can').

- (12.46) "*Aku nya' buli jadi too.*"
 1s.II NEG can become old
 "I cannot grow old." (spoken by a character in a folk tale for whom human aging was not possible) (biduk 133)
- (12.47) *Soo e nya' buli s-in-egir engko' t-in-indak.*
 snake DEM NEG can -PASS-touch and -PASS-step
 'Snakes must not be touched or stepped on.' (rupiah 024)
- (12.48) "*Ø-Bara'-bara' jomo too nya' buli manas kang likas too.*"
 UV-tell-REDUP person old NEG can ACT-angry lest quick old
 "Old people say (one) should not get angry or (he) will age quickly!" (ngini using 054)
- (12.49) *Boo' gading been iting, buli b-in-uat tiang pagar.*
 type.of.bamboo have thorn can -PASS-make post fence
 'The *gading* bamboo has thorns, (it) can be used to make fence posts.' (boo' 010)

12.4.3 The modal use of *teko* ‘to arrive’

The verb *teko* ‘arrive’ can have a deontic modal use to express ability (‘can’). As such, *teko* takes a complement clause. Note the following examples:

(12.50) *Bila ai bioso, teko no iyo l-um-aan den-d-angan=ni.*⁵
 when PERF usual can FOC 3s.II -ACT-go REDUP-one-CL-person=3s.I
 ‘When (he) became accustomed to it, he was able to go alone.’ (jomo pisok 019)

(12.51) *Linta e nya’ teko nge-rekot ta’ betis=ni.*
 leech DEM NEG can AV-stick PREP leg=3s.I
 ‘The leech could not stick to his leg.’

12.4.4 The modal use of *ngerati* ‘to know’

The AV verb *nge-rati* ‘to know’ can also have a deontic modal meaning to express ability, where like the modal use of *teko* it takes a complement clause. In the following example, note the almost identical use of *ngerati* to that of *buli* in (12.49) above:

(12.52) *Boo’ puti’ b-in-uat tung ngenduk engko’ ngerati pan*
 bamboo white -PASS- place fetch.water and can EMPH

b-in-uat tiang ruma’.
 -PASS-make post house
 ‘White bamboo is used to hold water and (it) can also be made into house posts.’
 (boo’ 005)

12.4.5 The modal use of *panday* ‘to be skilled; able to’

The stative verb *panday* ‘to be skilled or clever (at)’ normally takes a complement clause specifying what the subject of the verb is skilled at doing. Sometimes the sense is ‘frequent to’, as might be the case in (12.53) below. The modal meaning of *panday* is most obvious with inanimate

⁵ The form *den-dangan* is the shortened form of *dangan-dangan*, and is likely an example of the ‘partial Ce-reduplication’ described in §3.7.3. The expected Ce-reduplicated form would actually be *de-dangan*, but apparently an ‘n’ has been epenthesized before the ‘d’ in the full root.

subjects, where the meaning of *panday* is essentially reduced to ‘can’ or ‘happen to’, as in (12.54).

Examples:

(12.53) *Sebab=ni iyo tu panday te' judi dekiit-dekiit.*
reason=3s.I 3s.II DEM skilled EMPH gamble little-REDUP
‘Their reason was that he was rather good at gambling’ (or, ‘frequent to gamble’).
(mat salleh 005)

(12.54) *Lagi pan ke-alap-an gula' tebu tu nya' panday te-raat.*
what.is.more NOM-good cane.sugar DEM NEG can DC.PASS-bad
‘What is more, the advantage of cane sugar is that it cannot (or does not) spoil.’
(nandas tebu 124)

12.5 Adverbs

WC Bajau contains a class of adverbs which may be described according to their semantic function. The deictic adverbs were described in (§4.4.3.2)-(§4.4.3.4). In this section, several other types adverbs are described: narrative adverbs (§12.5.1), aspectual adverbs (§12.5.2), adverbs of frequency (§12.5.3), manner adverbs (§12.5.4), adverbs of degree (§12.5.5), adverbs of time (§12.5.6), and sentence adverbs (§12.5.7).

12.5.1 Narrative adverbs

WC Bajau has two adverbs which occur primarily or exclusively in narrative discourse: *terus* ‘straight away; immediately’ and (*se*)*mono-mono* ‘suddenly’.⁶ The adverb *terus* is likely borrowed from the Malay word *terus*, one sense of which has the same meaning. Based on the limited number of examples in the corpus, it appears that both narrative adverbs in WC Bajau occur clause-initial.

Examples:

⁶ I have borrowed the term ‘narrative adverb’ from Goudswaard (2005), who describes such adverbs in the Begak language of Sabah.

(12.55) *Te-kito=ni jo uwa' e l-ul-ai sorop meniik,*
 DC.PASS=3s.I FOC dog DEM -ACT-run toward AV.ascend

terus iyo memia te' tungan=ni tapuk.
 immediately 3s.II AV.look.for EMPH place=3s.I hide
 'When he saw the dog running toward (him), he immediately searched for a place
 to hide.' (ngini using 047)

(12.56) *Rupiah pe-loot diam sumpat, mono-mono nge-raa iyo.*
 PN INTR-reach inside undergrowth suddenly ACT-scream 3s.II
 'Rupiah reached into the underbrush, (and) suddenly he screamed.' (rupiah
 003)

12.5.2 Aspectual adverbs

The following are aspectual adverbs in WC Bajau:

(12.57) *lagi* 'yet', 'further' (Malay *lagi*)
masi 'still' (Malay *masih*)
kakal 'still' (Malay *kekal*)⁷
balik 'again'
boi-boi 'ever (before); once'

These forms do not co-occur with the aspectual particles *boi* and *ai*. They are distinguished from these particles primarily in that they show a broader syntactic distribution. Whereas *ai* and *boi* obligatorily occur before the verb they modify, most of the forms listed in (12.57) can occur either before or after the verb, and some can even occur clause-final.

The adverb *lagi* occurs frequently and in a variety of contexts. It usually means 'still, yet'

(12.58) or 'further, more' (12.59):

(12.58) *Sinsaung awal lagi iyang=ni ng-ogo ruma' rojo.*
 morning early still mother=3s.I AV-visit house king
 '(When it was) still early in the morning, his mother went to the palace.' (uwa'
 suk 029)

⁷ Malay *kekal* 'eternal, permanent' is probably cognate with WC Bajau *kakal* 'still', but their meanings and usage are distinct.

(12.59) "Pinggo si' kau nak engko' karung=nu e?"
 to.where earlier 2s.II child with sack=2s.I DEM

jomo e tilaw lagi.

person DEM ask further

“Where did you just come from with that sack of yours?” the man asked further.
 (namuk 009)

When *lagi* is preceded by the negator *nya'*, it forms the phrase *nya' lagi* ‘not yet; before’:

(12.60) *Jomo e tilaw, "Enggo no kerabaw=nu nya' lagi entemu=nu?"*
 person DEM ask where FOC buffalo=2s.I NEG yet found=2s.I
 The man asked, “Where is your buffalo? You haven’t found it yet?” (namuk 019)

The adverbs *masi* and *kakal* can both be glossed ‘still’, and they have the same meaning. (*Masi* is probably borrowed from Malay *masih*). However, *kakal* may show a wider syntactic distribution in the clause. For example, whereas *kakal* may occur clause-final, apparently *masi* cannot. Also, *kakal* occurs more often clause-initial (before a preverbal subject) than *masi*. Both *masi* and *kakal* may precede the adverb *lagi* ‘still, yet’. Examples:

(12.61) *Sangsuriang masi lagi nya' sadar.*
 PN still yet NEG aware
 ‘Sangsuriang was still unconscious.’ (biduk 083)

(12.62) *Teko iyo pu' kakal Hussin mandi en-diam telaga' e.*
 arrive 3s.II to.there still PN AV-bathe PREP-in well DEM
 ‘When he arrived there, Hussin was still bathing in the well.’ (baginda 086)

The adverb *balik* ‘again’ almost always occurs after the VP it modifies:

(12.63) *Ella=ni e pan ng-osok sarung uwa'=ni balik.*
 husband=3s.I DEM TOP AV-put.on costume dog=3s.I again
 ‘Her husband put on his dog costume again.’ (uwa' suk 084)

12.5.3 Adverbs of frequency

The commonly used adverbs of frequency in WC Bajau are shown in (12.64) below:

(12.64)	<i>selalu</i>	‘always’, ‘usually’ (Malay <i>selalu</i>)
	<i>gorot</i>	‘frequently’ ⁸
	<i>bioso</i>	‘normally’ (Malay <i>biasa</i>)
	<i>kadang-kadang</i>	‘sometimes’, ‘on occasion’ (Malay <i>kadang-kadang</i>)
	<i>jarang</i>	‘rarely’ (Malay <i>jarang</i>)

These adverbs typically occur just prior to the verb or predicate NP which they modify. It appears that only *gorot* ‘frequently’ and *jarang* ‘rarely’ can be heads of phrases (e.g., a degree phrase with *bana* ‘very’). The adverbs *selalu* and *bioso* often attach to the third person enclitic (=ni),⁹ while the other adverbs of frequency never occur with an enclitic pronoun. Furthermore, *selalu* and *bioso* are more likely to introduce a clause, in which case they may have scope over the entire clause. Some examples of frequency adverbs follow:

(12.65) *Peserta runsay selalu=ni sepu sampay sepu limo orang...*
 participant type.of.dance usually=3s.I ten PREP fifteen CL
 ‘The *runsay* participants are usually between 10 and 15 (in number)...’. (*runsay* 002)

(12.66) *Tapi' bioso=ni bangan pekakas tu nya' ruun me-ruma'."*
 but usual=3s.I PL tool DEM NEG EXIST PREP-house
 ‘But usually these items are not found in houses.’ (*masala langaw* 049)

(12.67) *Bangan langaw pan gorot bana pe-kepa' ta' makanan= ti.*
 PL fly TOP frequently very INTR-alight PREP food=1p.incl.I
 ‘Flies are always landing on our food.’ (*masala langaw* 041)

(12.68) *Pasal e no pan iyo jarang duwai me-dia' ruma'.*
 reason DEM FOC EMPH 3s.II rarely descend PREP-below house
 ‘For that reason he rarely goes down under the house.’ (*ngini using* 077)

⁸ The word *gorot* ‘frequently’ is sometimes associated with a strong attraction to a particular activity or place, thus combining frequency with desire.

⁹ The forms *selalu=ni* and *bioso=ni*, with the third person enclitic form, appear to be lexicalizations. The form of the enclitic seems to be invariant regardless of the person or number of the subject.

In addition, WC Bajau has a frequentative prefix¹⁰ *me(n)-* which attaches to numerals in order to derive adverbs of frequency: *men-duo* ‘two times’, *men-telu* ‘three times’, *me-empat* ‘four times’, etc. (The meaning ‘one time/ once’ is expressed by the form *entedo*, which operates independently of this pattern.) The frequentative prefix also combines with *dangay* ‘how many?’ to derive *men-dangay* ‘how many times?’

12.5.4 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs express the manner of the action encoded by the verb. They may either precede or follow the verb. Manner adverbs primarily express speed (*likas*, *lingaw* ‘quickly’) or vigor (*daras* ‘powerfully’).¹¹ Examples:

(12.69) *Bo’=ku likas ng-ogo sioko=ku dela e...*
 then=1s.I fast AV-visit older.sibling=1s.I male DEM
 ‘Then I quickly went to my older brother...’. (beta’ kerungayan 049)

(12.70) *Daras soo tu l-ul-ai...*
 strong snake DEM -ACT-run
 ‘The snake moved (lit. ‘ran’) powerfully.’ (jomo beramu 010)

(12.71) *Rupiah ingin mule’ lingaw...*
 PN want AV-return.home quick
 ‘Rupiah wanted to return home quickly...’. (rupiah 006)

12.5.5 Adverbs of degree

WC Bajau has four adverbs of degree. Two of these mark intensive degree: *bana* and *sukup* ‘very’. The word *paling* ‘most’ marks superlative degree, though it is sometimes used to mark intensive degree when there is no referent of comparison. The word *telampaw* ‘too’ marks excessive degree. By far the most frequent adverb of degree is *bana*. As shown in the following examples, *bana* can modify stative verbs (12.72) as well as dynamic verbs (12.73), a few adverbs including several adverbs of frequency (12.74), prepositional phrases (12.75), and quantifiers (12.76). *Bana*

¹⁰ The name ‘frequentative prefix’ was taken from Eades (2005:82) in his grammar of Gayo.

¹¹ *Daras* ‘strong’ may also function as an adjective (a stative verb); the others possibly can as well.

can also have an adjectival use to modify nouns, in which case it has the meaning ‘true’, ‘natural’, ‘original’.

(12.72) *Gai airan bana ngito kerabaw moo bua'-bua' kayu*
 3p surprised very DC.AV.see buffalo AV-bring fruit-REDUP tree

ta' tanduk=ni.
 PREP horn=3s.I

‘They were very surprised to see a buffalo carrying fruit on its horns.’ (kerabaw 037)

(12.73) *Kayu tomo' ta' kubur e Ø-usa'=ni bana...*
 tree grow PREP grave DEM UV-care.for=3s.I very

‘The tree growing on the grave site she tended carefully...’. (kerabaw 080)

(12.74) *Jarang bana no pan muat gula' tebu tu betiru.*
 rare very FOC EMPH AV-make cane.sugar DEM today

‘Very rarely (do people) make cane sugar nowadays.’ (nandas tebu 140)

(12.75) *Dendo em-buli' bana ng-entan ta' torong puyut.*
 woman PREP-behind very AV-hold PREP end handkerchief

‘The woman in the very back holds the end of the handkerchief.’ (runsay 004)

(12.76) *Iko bana poon kayu ebba' waktu e.*
 many very tree topple time DEM

‘A great many trees toppled at that time.’ (kayu ebba' 037)

12.5.6 Adverbs of time

Time adverbs express various aspects of time, including relative time, times of the day, and clock or calendar time. They typically occur at the end of the clause or (if focal) at the beginning of the clause (see §7.1.2). Time adverbs that express relative time include the following:

(12.77)	<i>sini' / si'</i>	'earlier', 'just now'
	<i>bau (do')</i>	'just now', 'recently'
	<i>kaang</i>	'later'
	<i>betiru</i>	'today', 'now'
	<i>dau</i>	'first', 'before' (<i>dau-dau</i> 'long ago')
	<i>dilaw</i>	'yesterday'
	<i>maung</i>	'tomorrow'
	<i>bangi dilaw</i>	'the day before yesterday'
	<i>suang dikau'</i>	'the day after tomorrow'
	<i>debui'</i>	'last night'

The following are examples. Note that in (12.78) *dau* 'before' is clause-initial and has scope over the whole clause, while in (12.79) *dau* only modifies the time phrase in which it occurs.

(12.78) *Dau iko bana, betiru nya' na iko bana pipit.*
 before many very now NEG PRT many very sparrow
 'Before there were many (sparrows); nowadays there are not many sparrows.'
 (tonom paray 032)

(12.79) *Te-ingot=ku kisah sikot duo empu' taun dau.*
 DC.PASS-remember=1s.I story near twenty year before
 'I recalled a story from nearly twenty years ago.' (kayu ebba' 013)

(12.80) *"Nya' boi Ø-ingkot-on=ku sini'.*
 NEG CMPL UV-tie-TZ=1s.I earlier
 "I didn't tie up (the buffalo) earlier." (namuk 064)

The adverb *sini'* (with shortened form *si'*), in addition to its temporal meaning 'earlier' or 'just now', can also be used for discourse deixis, where it usually modifies an NP. The NP marked by *sini' / si'* is known to both speaker and hearer, but usually has not been mentioned for several clauses. Hence marking with *sini' / si'* identifies the referent of the NP as a 'restaged topic'. Note the following example:

(12.81) *Sultan Salaudin e si' ai no temepe ta' sedi selang.*
 PN DEM just.now already washed.ashore PREP beside sea
 'Sultan Salaudin (meanwhile) had washed ashore on the beach.' (salaudin 032)

In (12.81) the referent (*Sultan Salaudin*) is tagged with *si'* to signal its re-emergence as the discourse topic after having been mentioned only peripherally in the preceding few clauses.

Time adverbs that express times of the day are shown in (12.82), and days of the week in (12.83):

(12.82) *sinsaung* 'morning'
langa ellaw 'mid-day'
kemuap 'afternoon'
songom 'night'

(12.83) *Ellaw Aad* 'Sunday'
Ellaw Isnin 'Monday'
Ellaw Lasa 'Tuesday'
Ellaw Rebu 'Wednesday'
Ellaw Kamis 'Thursday'
Ellaw Jumaat 'Friday'
Ellaw Sabtu 'Saturday'

12.5.7 Sentence adverbs

Sentence adverbs “express the speaker’s attitude toward the state of affairs represented by the clause” (Eades 2005:83) and are therefore modal in nature. They are distinguished from the modals (§12.4) in that sentence adverbs do not express deontic or potential meanings. Three types of sentence adverbs are described here: those which indicate a feeling or opinion; those which indicate degree of certainty or truthfulness; and those which report what is said.¹²

12.5.7.1 Feeling/ opinion

Certain sentence adverbs indicate how a speaker thinks or feels about a given state of affairs. In WC Bajau, the most common of these include: *alap* ‘good’, ‘fortunately’; *nasip* ‘luckily’; and *patut* ‘no wonder’ (Malay *patut*). These adverbs usually occur at the beginning of the sentence. Examples:

¹² My description of sentence adverbs in WC Bajau is patterned after Sneddon’s (1996) description of ‘sentence adjuncts’ in Indonesian.

(12.84) *Alap pan ella=ni uun me.*
 good EMPH husband=3s.I EXIST there
 ‘Fortunately, her husband was there.’ (biduk 047)

(12.85) *Nasip Amat alap.*
 luckily PN good
 ‘Luckily, Amat was OK [i.e., he wasn’t hurt].’ (belis 052)

12.5.7.2 Degree of certainty

In WC Bajau, some adverbs of certainty occur clause-initial and they have scope over the entire clause. These include *rupo(-rupo)=ni* ‘apparently’, *muda’-mudaan* ‘hopefully’, and *ungkinan* ‘maybe’, ‘perhaps’. Examples:

(12.86) *Rupo-rupo=ni, kakal pala te-ingot=ni.*
 apparently still NEW.REAL DC.PASS-remember=3s.I
 ‘Apparently, she still remembered (the matter).’ (beta’ kerungayan 025)

(12.87) *Mungkin Tuhan ingin me-kito-on ke-kuasa-an=ni.*
 maybe God want AV.CAUS-see NOM-strong=3s.I
 ‘Perhaps God wanted to show His power.’ (kayu ebba’ 008)

The adverbs *mimang* ‘surely’, ‘of course’ and *andang(-andang)* ‘certainly’ more often occur just prior to the predicate. It is not clear whether these adverbs (at least in this position) have scope over the entire clause or simply over the predicate. Example:

(12.88) *Gai mimang jogo bana ta’ ke-selamat-an=gai...*
 3p certainly watch.over very PREP NOM-safe=3p
 ‘Of course they were watching out for their safety...’ (rupiah 002)

12.5.7.3 Reported speech

Sentence adverbs of reported speech “indicate that something is said or believed by other people” (Sneddon 1996:363). In WC Bajau the reported speech adverb is *kono’* ‘is it said; he/she/they say’. This word is similar in meaning and form to Malay *konon*, though *konon* seems to have comparatively infrequent use in Malay. Whereas *konon* in Malay can occur in clause-initial

position, *kono*' may not introduce a clause in WC Bajau. Rather, *kono*' ordinarily occurs in the second position in the clause,¹³ following an item belonging to virtually any word class. In the following examples, *kono*' occurs after an NP (12.89), a dynamic verb (12.90), an aspect marker (12.91), and a stative verb (12.92):

(12.89) ...*jadi badu engko' tudung e kono' sebagai hadiah iyang=ku m-aku.*
 so shirt and covering DEM hearsay as gift mother=1s.I PREP-1s.II
 'So the shirt and head covering was said to be my mother's gift to me.' (beta' kerungayan 023)

(12.90) ...*sambatan gai dau-dau nangis kono' tandas-an e.*
 parable 3p first-REDUPACT-cry hearsay process.cane.sugar-NOM DEM
 '... they used to have a saying from long ago that the *tandas-an* cried.' (nandas tebu 060)

(12.91) ...*boi no kono' te-kito=ni kayu e ebba' sini' sinsaung.*
 already hearsay DC.PASS-see=3s.I tree DEM topple earlier morning
 '... he claimed that he saw the tree fall over earlier this morning.' (kayu ebba' 028)

(12.92) *Jomo nya' ingin diam bilik sebab panas kono'.*
 person NEG want inside room because hot hearsay
 'The man did not want to be inside the room because (he claimed) it was hot.' (namuk 052)

12.6 Discourse particles

WC Bajau narrative discourse contains a small number of frequently used particles, the use of which cannot adequately be understood apart from their discourse context. They are analyzed as second position clitics because they generally prefer the second position in the clause and they never occur clause-initial. Two of these particles, *no* (§12.6.1) and *jo* (§12.6.2), are essentially focal in nature, though they have distinct meanings and rarely occur together in the clause. The particle *pan* (§12.6.3) can simply mean 'also, too' but it often functions more broadly as a topic marker to bring

¹³ See §12.6.5 for a discussion of second-position clitics.

cohesion to the discourse. The emphatic particles *te'* and *do'* are briefly described in §12.6.4. Finally, the ordering of discourse particles in combination is discussed in §12.6.5.

12.6.1 *The focal particle no*

The *no* particle is the most frequently occurring particle in WC Bajau. It generally functions as a focus marker, though in some contexts it can have a temporal meaning 'now'. As a focal particle, *no* follows the focused constituent. The *no* particle may follow NPs, any type of verb, aspectual markers, and adverbs.

12.6.1.1 With NPs

Following NPs (whether full NPs or pronouns), the *no* particle highlights the importance of the NP in some way. For this reason, *no* often follows clefted NPs, which mark identificational (contrastive) focus (see §7.1.1.1). In the following conversational exchange, the *no* particle following *kau* (in Speaker B's utterance) clearly identifies the NP as contrastive:

- (12.93) A. *"Ai lebi no buan=nu tu, nya' panday mandi,"*
 PERF more FOC stench=2s.I DEM NEG skilled AV.bathe
ling dela pisok e.
 say man blind DEM
 "You smell even worse (up close); you don't bathe," said the blind man.
- B. *"Kau no nya' panday mandi..."*, *ling dendo e.*
 2s.II FOC NEG skilled AV.bathe say woman DEM
 "You're the one who doesn't know how to bathe...!" said the woman.
 (jomo pisok 048-049)

12.6.1.2 With verbs

The *no* particle (like *jo*) may follow any type of verb: intransitive, transitive (UV or AV), passive, and stative. Particularly in conversational speech, the *no* particle seems to have a temporal meaning and can be translated 'now', as in the following example:

- (12.94) “*Bangun no kau telak no tu, langa no ellaw.*”
 rise FOC 2s.II bright FOC DEM high FOC day
 “Get up now, it is bright (outside), it is already mid-day.” (jomo pisok 030)

In narrative, the occurrence of *no* after the verb seems to be a way of ‘grounding’ the event on the storyline. The *no* particle frequently occurs with a foregrounded intransitive verb, and less often with a foregrounded transitive verb. Examples:

- (12.95) *Jadi kerabaw e pan l-um-aan no.*
 so buffalo DEM TOP -ACT-go FOC
 ‘So the buffalo went on her way.’ (kerabaw 048)
- (12.96) ... *masang no te’ dela e perangkap.*
 AV.set FOC EMPH man DEM trap
 ‘... the man set a trap.’ (ngini using 012)
- (12.97) *Ø-Inum jomo no bue’ e.*
 UV-drink person FOC water DEM
 ‘The man drank the water.’ (mat salleh 036)

Note in (12.97) that, when the *no* particle occurs with a foregrounded UV transitive verb, the *no* particle follows the actor, since the UV verb forms a tight linkage with the actor (see §5.4.1.1).

The *no* particle can also occur with passives:

- (12.98) *Beluang e pan b-in-uka no ole’ anak=ni sioko.*
 door DEM TOP -PASS-open FOC PREP child=3s.I oldest
 ‘The door was opened by her oldest child.’ (kerabaw 033)

A surprisingly high percentage (40%) of passives occur on the storyline—though not always marked with *no* (see §8.4).

12.6.1.3 With aspectual markers and adverbials

With aspectual and time words, *no* emphasizes/ focuses the aspectual component of the situation. The *no* particle frequently combines with the aspect particles *ai* and *boi* in main clauses as well as some types of subordinate clauses. The meaning of *ai no* is that some state or activity is currently

relevant, in keeping with the aspectual ‘perfect’ meaning of *ai* (§12.2.2). The meaning of *boi no* is that some event (more rarely a state) is past. Both *ai no* and *boi no* can often be translated ‘already’, and I regard these particle combinations as lexicalized to some degree. Examples:

(12.99) *Tapi’ amun ai no peno’, l-um-aan iyo...*
 but when already full -ACT-go 3s.II
 ‘But when (the mini bus) is full, it will leave...’. (lumaan 007)

(12.100) “*Boi no kami mangan.*”
 already 1p(excl.) AV.eat
 “We’ve already eaten.”

The *no* particle combines with a variety of adverbs, negators, and quantifiers, where it generally has an emphatic meaning. Examples:

(12.101) ... *sukup no sugul=ni kerana’ nya’ no te-rati=ni*
 very FOC upset=3s.I because NEG FOC DC.PASS-know=3s.I

nasib ella=ni.
 fate husband=3s.I
 ‘... she was very upset because she did not presently know the fate of her husband.’ (salaudin 027)

(12.102) “*Duo-duo no kam nya’ ngito pasal pisok.*”
 two-REDUP FOC 2s.II NEG DC.AV.see because blind
 “You cannot see because you are both blind!” (jomo pisok 053)

(12.103) *Sultan Salaudin pan likas-likas no matal endo=ni...*
 PN TOP quick-REDUP FOC AV.seal.marriage wife=3s.I
 ‘Sultan Salaudin quickly sealed the marriage to his wife...’. (kerabaw 055)

It is interesting to compare the *no* particle with the *-lah* particle in Malay, which is used as a focus particle and can occur with a variety of word classes (including NPs). Hopper (1979:283) claims that in classical Malay, “*-Lah* on the verb highlights and foregrounds the event, gives it especial prominence in the narrative, and announces it as one of a series of actions.” The use of *-lah* in classical Malay seems to parallel the function of *no* in WC Bajau.

12.6.2 *The focal particle jo*

The *jo* particle, like *no*, occurs very frequently in WC Bajau and it has a similarly broad syntactic distribution, where it may occur following NPs, transitive and intransitive verbs, aspectuals, adverbs, and negators. The two particles can occur together, in which case *jo* always precedes *no*, though this is not very common in the corpus. While *jo* seems to operate as a focal particle in many contexts, its range of meanings is distinct from that associated with *no*. In several of its uses *jo* functions like the Malay particle *sahaja/ saja*, with which it may be cognate. The following are meanings associated with *jo* (WC Bajau) and *sahaja* (Malay):

'just', 'only', 'merely'

(12.104) *te-gega' uwa' e ngini iyo b-in-uan-an bokog jo.*
 DC.PASS-surprise dog DEM why 3s.II -PASS-give-APPL bone only
 'The dog wondered why he was given only bones (to eat).' (ngini using 032)

(12.105) "Daa kau manas e, aku ke-kuri jo.
 NEG.IMP 2s.II ACT.angry DEM 1s.II REDUP-play only
 "Don't be angry, I'm only playing around." (ngini using 053)

(12.106) *Sekajap jo serita' e nge-rered.*
 moment only story DEM ACT-spread
 'In just a short time the story spread.' (kayu ebba' 006)

'always'

The particle *jo* is often associated with habitual aspect. It frequently occurs with the aspectual words *selalu* and *sentiasa* 'always'. Examples:

(12.107) *Le' ng-ogo kaday tu tapuk jo pan...*
 PREP AV-go.to town DEM hide FOC EMPH
 'When (we) went into town we would hide...'. (gipun 032)

- (12.108) *Ta' en-diam¹⁴ pe-laan-an=ni Hussin selalu jo*
 PREP PREP-inside NOM-go=3s.I PN always FOC
b-in-angga' ole' jomo-jomo raat.
 -PASS-accost PREP person-REDUP evil
 'On his journey, Hussin was always accosted by evil men.' (baginda 029)

'whoever', 'whatever', ...

When the particle *jo* follows an interrogative pronoun (and/or the pronoun is reduplicated), the pronoun is interpreted as indefinite (see §4.2.3.2.2). Examples:

- (12.109) *...nya' no nge-rati b-in-anta, iyan jo Ø-buat=ni...*
 NEG FOC AV-know -PASS-oppose what FOC UV-do=3s.I
 '...(the elephant) could not be opposed in whatever he did...'. (telingo gaja 002)
- (12.110) *...jadi iyo buli ebba' semberen-semberen jo bila beriu daras.*
 so 3s.II can topple when-REDUP FOC when wind strong
 '... so it can topple whenever there is a strong wind.' (kayu ebba' 045)

When the *jo* particle follows an aspectual particle (*ai* or *boi*) or a phasal verb, the clause is always subordinate, and provides a temporal setting for the following main clause. The particle combinations *boi jo* 'after' and *ai jo* 'after; when' have probably become lexicalized. Examples:

- (12.111) *Boi jo gai mangan, gai pan turi.*
 after 3p AV.eat 3p TOP sleep
 'After they ate, they went to sleep.' (abu nawas 024)
- (12.112) *Ai jo langa, Ø-bubut gai no.*
 when tall UV-uproot 3p FOC
 'When (the stalks) were tall, they pulled (them) up.' (tonom paray 009)
- (12.113) *Lupus jo gai mandi, somo-somo no ng-osok pepik=ni.*
 finish FOC 3p AV.bathe together now AV-put.on wing=3s.I
 'When they finished bathing, they all put on their wings.' (salaudin 008)

¹⁴ The double occurrence of the locative prepositions here is possibly due to a speech error, since elsewhere in the corpus it is exceedingly rare for both of these locative prepositions to occur together.

The *jo* particle sometimes occurs after a command, apparently to soften the force of the imperative. This use of *jo* is discussed further in §13.3.5.1.

Note that, with regard to the use of *jo* and *no* in narrative discourse, *no* is often associated with foregrounded material, while *jo* is often associated with backgrounded material, such as habitual action and subordinate time clauses.

12.6.3 *The topic particle pan*

The particle *pan* is another common discourse particle in WC Bajau with a range of meanings and uses. It generally denotes some kind of continuity with the preceding context, and it can sometimes be translated ‘also’.¹⁵ Frequently, *pan* occurs in second position in the clause (though there are many exceptions). When *pan* follows an NP, the referent of that NP is always active or semi-active in the discourse; it cannot be new information. Thus, *pan* functions as a topic marker. As shown in (12.114) (b) below, *pan* cannot occur after an interrogative pronoun, which is always focal, whereas the same sentence is grammatical with a non-interrogative NP, as shown in (a):

(12.114) A. *Endo=ku pan boi meli diing e.*
 wife=1s.I CMPL AV.buy fish DEM
 ‘My wife bought the fish.’

B. **Sian pan boi meli diing e?*
 who CMPL AV.buy fish DEM
 ‘Who bought the fish?’

12.6.3.1 *pan* to mark addition

Like the Malay/ Indonesian particle *pun*, the WC Bajau particle *pan* can mean addition, and thus be translated ‘also’ or ‘too’. With this meaning, *pan* may occur in a number of syntactic environments, but usually after NPs or verbs. Note the following examples:

¹⁵ In attempting to characterize the function(s) of *pan* in WC Bajau, I have drawn on Eades’ (2005) description of the Gayo particle *pè* ‘also, even’, in that *pè* “generally signals relevance to a preceding context, addition, concession, or is used to indicate perseverance in attention to one entity” (251).

(12.115) ... *masang no dela e perangkap. Using engko' uwa' e pan tabang.*
 AV.set FOC man DEM trap cat and dog DEM also helped
 '... the man set a trap. The cat and dog also helped.' (ngini using 012-13)

(12.116) *Pinda iyo pu' ta' Sayap. P-in-emia pan iyo me.*
 move 3s.II to.there PREP PN -PASS-look.for also 3s.II there
 'He moved to Sayap. He was also searched for there.' (mat salleh 045-46)

12.6.3.2 *pan* as a linker

Often, however, *pan* cannot simply be translated 'also', and in many of these sentences *pan* seems to have a broader discourse function. As a discourse particle *pan* normally occurs after a preverbal subject NP (either actor or undergoer), and apparently its discourse function here is to (1) mark a change in topic, and/or (2) mark a return to the storyline. Both of these discourse functions of *pan* could be seen as cohesive devices, more obviously so with *pan* as a topic marker; but a return to the storyline is also cohesive in that it means picking up where the action left off. Note that *pan* does not seem to occur where neither of these conditions apply, that is, if there is no change in topic and there is no change in grounding from background to foreground. However, more investigation is needed to verify this.

(12.117) *Amun iyo makan uwa' e, buas Ø-tagu'=ni en-diam ungut.*
 if 3s.II AV.feed dog DEM rice UV-place=3s.I PREP-inside coconut.shell

Uwa' e pan bila lingantu nguma.
 dog DEM TOP when hungry bark
 'When she fed the dog, she set down rice in a coconut shell. The dog,
 whenever it was hungry, barked.' (uwa' suk 014-15)

(12.118) *Sinsim e tungan ng-asa' gunting, tungan ng-endo' sarat. Bila*
 ring DEM place AV-sharpen scissors place AV-take stipulation when
pakir meseduo ke-kanak e pan g-in-unting-an no.
 religious.official recite.prayers REDUP-child DEM TOP -PASS-cut.hair-TZ FOC
 'The ring is used for sharpening scissors, (and) for taking the stipulation. When the
 religious man recites the prayers, the child's hair is cut.' (bejogo 018)

(12.119) *Jadi bengen ka'=ni e si' nesol bana nya' kui*
 so PL older.sibling=3s.I DEM just.now AV.regret very NEG willing

k-in-awin engko' uwa' e. Gai pan memia uwa' Ø-buat gai ella.
 -PASS-marry PREP dog DEM 3p TOP AV.look.for dog UV-make 3p husband
 'So her older siblings very much regretted that they were not willing to be married to the dog. Then they looked for dogs to make (of them) husbands.' (uwa' suk 094-95)

In (12.117), the particle *pan* identifies a change of actor (and topic) to *uwa'* 'dog', which was last mentioned just two clauses back. In (12.118), *pan* identifies a change of topic to *kekanak e* 'the child' (note the demonstrative pronoun which identifies the referent as definite, having been previously introduced). Furthermore, the clause containing *pan* resumes action on the storyline after an expository digression. In (12.119), *pan* does not identify a change of topic, but it does occur in a clause where action on the storyline is resumed.

12.6.3.3 *pan* as an emphatic marker

The *pan* particle can apparently have an emphatic function when it occurs after verbs, negators, and various types of adverbs. In these contexts *pan* often occurs just after the focal particle *no*. Some examples of emphatic *pan* follow:

(12.120) *Meroto no pan gai engko' tujuan= ni.*
 spread FOC EMPH 3p with purpose=3s.I
 'Then they spread out to accomplish their purpose.' (pak 007)

(12.121) *Nya' no pan gai makay ongkob, ni-enna' jo diam karung.*
 NEG FOC EMPH 3p AV.use bin PASS-place only inside sack
 'They no longer use storage bins, (the unhusked rice) is placed in sacks.'
 (tonom paray 036).

(12.122) *Mat Salleh memang pan p-in-emia.*
 PN certain EMPH -PASS-search.for
 'Mat Salleh was definitely being hunted for.' (mat salleh 039)

12.6.4 *The emphatic particles te' and do'*

WC Bajau contains two discourse particles that usually (though not exclusively) occur in spoken discourse. These are the emphatic markers *te'* and *do'*.

The particle *te'* usually follows a verb, an adverb, or the negator *nya'*. It most often occurs together with other particles, especially the particles *no* and *pan*. The *te'* particle sometimes occurs with NPs (in predicate nominal constructions) and with imperatives. Examples:

(12.123) *Jadi pe-lua' no te' bue=ni.*
 so INTR-out FOC EMPH water=3s.I
 'So then the water [from the pressed sugar cane] came out.' (nandas tebu 064)

(12.124) ...*pasal jomo=ti dau-dau jarang bana te' ng-ogo bangan*
 reason person 1p.I(incl.) before-REDUP rare very EMPH AV-visit PL

taun tu ng-endo' bangan bangkaw.
 forest DEM AV-take PL mangrove
 '... because our people long ago very rarely went into forests in order to get mangroves.' (nandas tebu 016)

(12.125) “*Iyang=nu te' aku tu.*”
 mother=2s.I FOC 1s.II DEM
 “I’m your mother!” (kerabaw 067)

(12.126) “*Amun nya' Ø-buat=ku sab, bo' adu-in no te' aku.*”
 if NEG UV-do=1sg PRT then report-UV.IMP FOC EMPH 1s.II
 “If I don’t do (what I promised), then go ahead and report me!” (Miller 2006:71)

The particle *do'* occurs most frequently with imperatives and hortatives. It expresses immediacy or urgency.¹⁶ Example:

(12.127) “*Buan-in=bi do' aku bue' e, ng-inum do' aku,*
 give-UV.IMP=2p.I EMPH 1s.II water DEM AV-drink EMPH 1s.II

too' bana kelong=ku.”
 dry very throat=1s.I
 “You people, give me some water! I intend to drink. I am very thirsty.”
 (salaudin 038)

¹⁶ For the contrastive use of *do'* vs. *jo* with imperatives, see §13.3.5.1.

The *do'* particle can also modify question words and certain adverbs, such as *bau* 'new, recent' and the negator *enggai* 'not', where it apparently still functions as an emphatic marker. Examples:

(12.128) *Bau do' iyo teko ta' sedi laan, di-kau' terak pe-limpas.*
 new EMPH 3s.II arrive PREP beside road one-CL truck INTR-pass
 'Just as he reached the side of the road, a truck passed by.' (pak pu' ta' bandar 008)

(12.129) "*Jomo jadi iwan=ku mesti pan jomo oyo-oyo, keturunan rojo-rojo enggai do' jomo kampung.*"
 person become child-in-law=1s.I must also person big-REDUP descendant
 king-REDUP NEG EMPH person village
 "The person who would become my son-in-law must also be a very rich man, having a king's inheritance, not some ordinary village man." (biduk 106)

12.6.5 Ordering of particles in combination

The following is a partial list of the discourse particles in WC Bajau (note that the particles *koso* 'will (?)', *pala* (counter-expectation marker) and *sab* (unknown function) were not treated in this chapter):

(12.130)	<i>do'</i>	(emphatic particle)
	<i>jo</i>	(focal particle)
	<i>kono'</i>	'hearsay'
	<i>koso</i>	'will'
	<i>no</i>	(focal particle)
	<i>pan</i>	(topic marker/ cohesive particle)
	<i>pala</i>	(counter-expectation marker)
	<i>sab</i>	(??)
	<i>te'</i>	(emphatic particle)

None of the discourse particles can occur clause-initial. Some prefer the second position in the clause, in particular the particles *pan* (§12.6.3), *kono'* 'hearsay' (§12.5.7.3), *koso* 'will', and *pala* 'counter-expectation'. These in particular might best be analyzed as second position clitics.¹⁷ All of

¹⁷ The focal particles *no* and *jo* seem normally to follow the focused item of the clause regardless of where the item occurs in the clause. It is doubtful that *no* and *jo* could be regarded as second position clitics.

the particles listed in (12.130) show clitic-like behavior in that there are ordering constraints on how or whether they may be clitic to the same word, as will be shown below.

An interesting question is whether the Set II pronouns might also be considered second-position clitics. (The Set I pronouns are clearly verbal enclitics, not second position clitics, since they are obligatorily bound to the UV verb whatever its place in the clause.) In Yakan, another Sama-Bajaw language, the set of ‘absolute pronouns’ are shown by Brainerd and Behrens (2002:127) to be second-position clitics. They illustrate this via the use of ‘hosts’ to trigger second-position clitic movement, where such hosts include negators, temporal morphemes, subordinators, and mood morphemes. In WC Bajau, there is evidence that certain hosts can trigger second-position clitic movement with the Set II pronouns, including the temporal phrase *bau do* ‘just now’ (12.131) and the subordinator *amun* ‘if’, ‘when’ (12.132):¹⁸

(12.131) a. *Mapi iyo sini*.
 AV.cook 3s.II earlier
 ‘She cooked earlier.’

b. (*?) *Bau do mapi iyo*.
 just.now EMPH AV.cook 3s.II
 ‘She didn’t cook just now.’

c. *Bau do iyo mapi*.

(12.132) a. *L-um-aan iyo subu-subu*.
 -ACT-go 3s.II dawn-REDUP
 ‘He will go before dawn.’

b. (?) *Amun l-um-aan iyo subu-subu, nuut jo aku*.
 if -ACT-go 3s.II before.dawn AV.follow FOC 1s.II
 ‘If he goes before dawn, I will come along.’

c. *Amun iyo lumaan subu-subu, nuut jo aku*.

¹⁸ The examples shown in (12.131) and (12.132) are modeled after Brainerd and Behrens (2002:127-129).

In both (12.131) and (12.132), the host triggers the movement of the Set II third person pronoun *iyō* to second position in the clause. This is evidence for including the Set II pronouns as second position clitics. Note that this kind of movement must be distinguished from normal preverbal fronting (see Chapters 6 and 7), where the pronoun is moved to clause initial position in either the topic or focus slot.

Table 12.1 below shows the order in which the second position clitics predictably occur in combination with each other:¹⁹

Table 12.1 Ordering of particles in combination

Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6
<i>do</i> 'EMPH' <i>jo</i> 'FOC'	<i>no</i> 'FOC'	<i>pan</i> 'TOP'/ 'EMPH'	<i>sab</i> '?'	<i>te</i> 'EMPH'	Set II pronouns

In Table 12.1, 'rank' refers to relative distance from the host. Thus a rank 1 particle always precedes a rank 2, 3, or 4 particle in combination, a rank 2 particle will always precede a rank 3 or 4 particle, and so on. Furthermore, particles that share the same rank do not co-occur in the same clause.

The constraints on ordering of particles in combination shown in Table 12.1 are illustrated in the examples that follow. The *ai no* and *ai jo* combinations that occur in these examples are treated as units; see §12.2.2. It will be noted that in some cases, such as the examples shown in (12.136) and (12.137), the particles apparently do not occur in second position in the clause.²⁰

¹⁹ It will be noted that a few of the particles listed in (12.130) do not appear in Table 12-1, namely *kono* 'hearsay', *koso* 'will', and *pala* ('counter-expectation' particle) owing to lack of sufficient data to perform the analysis.

²⁰ It may be that in (12.137) *meriam e* 'cannon' is an external topic (e.g. a left-detached item; see §7.3), in which case there would be an intonation break between the detached constituent and the clause itself, though none is marked here.

- (12.133) ...*ansa' e ai no pan matay nyaun no ngen-telo.*
 goose DEM already EMPH ACT.die NEG.EXIST FOC VBL-egg
 '...the goose died, there was no more laying of eggs.' (ansa' 016)
- (12.134) *Iyan-iyen jo pan buli Ø-buat=ni.*
 what-REDUP FOC EMPH can UV-do=3s.I
 'He can do anything.' (kayu ebba' 048)
- (12.135) *Ai jo sab gai mule', pe-lua' no sab Sultan Salaudin*
 after PRT 3p ACT.go.home INTR-out FOC PRT PN

ng-endo' puteri siari e.
 AV-take princess youngest DEM
 'When they had gone home, Sultan Salaudin came out to take the princess.'
 (Salaudin 016)
- (12.136) *Sampay langa ellaw sasa' jo no gai.*
 until noon quarrel only FOC 3p
 'Until noon all they did was quarrel.' (jomo pisok 051)
- (12.137) *Tapi' meriam e t-in-unu' jo te'.*
 but cannon DEM -PASS-burn FOC EMPH
 'But the cannon was burned (by fire).' (kota belud 004)

CHAPTER 13

MOOD

13.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss three categories of mood in WC Bajau: decontrolled mood (§13.2), imperative mood (§13.3), and interrogative mood (§13.4). Distinctive morphology is associated with UV verbs (but almost never with AV verbs) in both the decontrolled and the imperative moods. The imperative mood also relies on the use of discourse particles (namely *do'* and *jo*) to emphasize or to soften the imperative. The interrogative mood is expressed primarily by distinctive intonation (with polar questions) and by the use of WH-words (with content questions).

13.2 Decontrolled mood

Decontrolled mood in WC Bajau is normally marked by the prefix *te-*, which occurs only in clauses where the undergoer is also the subject, in what I have analyzed as a type of passive construction. It will be shown in §13.2.3, however, that decontrolled mood can sometimes be expressed in AV clauses as well, though usually it is not morphologically marked on the verb.

The WC Bajau ‘decontrolled’ prefix *te-* combines productively with transitive verbs and is associated with two related but distinct meanings: nonvolitional and abilitative. ‘Nonvolitional’ covers a variety of related meanings, including ‘accidental’, ‘unplanned’, ‘spontaneous’, ‘sudden’.¹ The term ‘decontrolled’ is taken from Woollams (1996:203-04), who describes for Karo Batak two *ter-* prefixes: an “abilitative or potential passive” and an “accidental, unintentional or spontaneous”

¹ Brainard & Behrens (2002:151), in describing the related verb affix *ta-* in Yakan (another Sama-Bajaw language), make a distinction between ‘nonvolitional mood’ and ‘circumstantial mood’, where the latter involves events that 1) are not planned, but occur happenstance; or 2) are accidental. These meanings occur for *te-* in WC Bajau too, but I have chosen to include them in the ‘nonvolitional’ category.

passive. He finds that for both prefixes “the actor has diminished control over the action”, such that the *ter-* verbs may be called “decontrolled passives.” The ‘decontrolled’ nature of the action is less obvious for the abilitative meaning, but Woollams notes for Karo Batak that

the notion of decontrol fits in well with the abilitative passives too, in that these constructions typically occur in interrogative or negated clauses, in which cases there is explicit uncertainty about the actor’s degree of control over the action. It is significant that whenever abilitative *ter-* occurs in a non-interrogative or non-negated clause, there is still an element of uncertainty present... . (203-04)

Gault (1999:15), in discussing the verb affix *ta-* in Sama Bangingi, describes this sense of questionable ability as “unassured outcome”, which relates also to the notion of decontrolled action. Woollams’ and Gault’s observations regarding the abilitative prefix in Karo Batak and Bangingi’, respectively, hold partially true for abilitative *te-* in WC Bajau, but there are cases where abilitative *te-* occurs on a verb that expresses past action (‘was able to’) and here the actor’s degree of control over the outcome is assured. Even so, where ability is overtly marked, this implies an element of doubt as to whether the actor could have performed the action (in which case the action is not entirely under the actor’s control). Otherwise there may be a violation of the Gricean maxim of Quantity: “make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purpose of the exchange” (Levinson 1983:101).

13.2.1 *Morphosyntactic and semantic properties of te-*

The decontrolled *te-* prefix in WC Bajau combines with very few intransitive verbs; the only examples I am aware of are *te-turi* ‘to happen to fall sleep’ (< *turi* ‘sleep’) and *te-raat* ‘damaged; worn’ (< *raat* ‘bad’). With transitive verbs, however, the *te-* prefix is very productive, and the meaning of the *te-* derived form might be either nonvolitional or abilitative, depending on the context.

The *te-* prefix may combine with the *pe₂-* prefix on the verb, in which case it precedes *pe₂-*:

- (13.1) *te-* + *pe₂-* + *lema*’ ‘soft’ → *tepelema*’ ‘to soften (by some external force)’
te- + *pe₂-* + *keet* ‘light’ → *tepekeet* ‘to accidentally light’

Some but not all verbs allow the *te-* prefix to co-occur with the applicative/ transitive suffix *-an₁*. With many verbs the suffix is dropped. This is shown in Table 13.1 below: when *boo* ‘to bring’ is prefixed with *te-* the suffix is retained, with *lepa* it is optionally dropped, while with **leba* it is obligatorily dropped. I am not yet certain whether this is lexically determined or whether the particular function of the suffix affects whether it can co-occur with *te-*.

Table 13.1 Occurrence of *te-* with the suffix *-an₁*

root	root + <i>-an</i>	<i>te-</i> + root + <i>-an</i>
<i>boo</i> ‘to bring <i>x</i> ’	<i>boo-n</i> ‘to bring <i>x</i> for <i>y</i> ’	<i>te-boo-n</i> ‘to accidentally bring <i>x</i> for <i>y</i> ’
<i>lepa</i> ‘to get loose/ free’	<i>lepa-an</i> ‘to free <i>x</i> ’	<i>te-lepa(-an)</i> ‘to accidentally set <i>x</i> free’
<i>*leba</i> ‘to set <i>x</i> down’	<i>leba-an</i> ‘to set <i>x</i> down’	<i>te-leba(?-an)</i> ‘to accidentally set <i>x</i> down’

Syntactically, no distinction can be made between *te-* ‘non-volitional’ and *te-* ‘abilitative’. It appears that *te-* is a passive construction, showing nearly the same properties as previously described for the *-in-* passive (§6.2.2). In both constructions, the actor is not obligatory in the clause, and when it does occur, it may be just after the verb or (more usually with *-in-*) following the undergoer. Furthermore, the actor in both constructions is preceded by the preposition *le’* to give it oblique marking. Note the following examples, where *kakan* ‘to eat’ is affixed with *-in-* (13.2) and *te-* (13.3) (the oblique actor is in bold):

(13.2) a. (?) *Ai k-in-akan le’ Kuzik moto diing e.*
 PERF -PASS-eat PREP PN eye fish DEM
 ‘The fish eye was eaten by Kuzik.’

b. *Ai k-in-akan moto diing e le’ Kuzik.*

(13.3) a. *Ai te-kakan le’ Kuzik moto diing e.*
 PERF DC.PASS-eat PREP PN eye fish DEM
 ‘The fish eye was accidentally eaten by Kuzik’ (or ‘able to be eaten by Kuzik’).

b. *Ai te-kakan moto diing e le' Kuzik.*

However, normally when the actor of the *te-* verb occurs just following the verb, the *le'* preposition is dropped, as in (13.4) (a) below.² The word order of this clause is identical to a UV construction:

(13.4) a. *Ai te-kakan Amzi langaw e.*
PERF DC.PASS-eat PN fly DEM
'Amzi accidentally ate the fly.'

In contrast, the actor of the *-in-* passive cannot occur without the *le'* preposition, as shown in (13.4) (b):

b. **Ai k-in-akan Amzi langaw e.*

Hence there is some ambiguity about the oblique status of the actor of a *te-* affixed verb, and thus whether the *te-* construction is always passive, transitive (UV), 'somewhere in between', or split into both passive and transitive types. The simplest analysis (and the one I adopt here) is that *te-* is a passive construction where the *le'* preposition is optionally dropped when the (oblique) actor occurs—as it often does—just after the verb.³ Further investigation is needed to determine whether the *te-* actor is oblique even when not preceded by the *le'* preposition.

In addition to some different syntactic behavior between the *-in-* and *te-* passives, the decontrolled semantics of *te-* helps to distinguish it from the passive *-in-* construction, as shown in the following example:

² The optional dropping of *le'* with the actor in this position occurs regardless of whether the actor is an NP (as here) or a personal pronoun.

³ With *di-* passives in Malay, the preposition *oleh* 'by' is not required before the actor when the actor occurs just after the verb. This property of the *di-* passive in Malay parallels the *te-* construction in WC Bajau.

- (13.5) *Kee jamban e arus t-in-ombol / *te-tombol amun nya' no pinakay*
 hole toilet DEM should -PASS-close if NEG FOC -PASS-use
- supaya langaw nya' teko p-osok.*
 so.that flies NEG arrive INTR-enter
 'Toilets should be covered if they are not being used, so that flies cannot get inside.' (masalah langaw 032)

In (13.5), the action conveyed by *tinombol* 'closed' is volitional, even though an actor is not specified, which requires that the *-in-* affix be used on *tombol* rather than *te-*.

13.2.2 *te- on perception and psych verbs*

Some verbs of perception and cognition require the *te-* prefix when the undergoer is the subject, perhaps because sensual perception and some cognitive processes tend to occur in a spontaneous rather than deliberate fashion.⁴ With these verbs, there is no separate UV (zero) form or 'true passive' (*-in-*) form. For example, the verb *kito* 'see' only occurs as *te-kito* when the undergoer is the subject, never as *kito* or as **k-in-ito*. Again it is unclear whether the *te-* verb is always passive, or whether it is sometimes transitive (UV). Note the following examples:

- (13.6) *Teko ta' ruma', te-kito (le') jomo too e bakat*
 arrive PREP house DC.PASS-see PREP person old DEM wound
- ta' tikook Sangsuriang.*
 PREP head PN
 'Arriving home, the old man saw the wound on Sangsuriang's head.' (biduk 082)
- (13.7) *"Patang bana lagi tu, laan nya' lagi te-kito," ling dela pisok e.*
 dark very still DEM way NEG still DC.PASS-see say male blind DEM
 "It is still very dark, the path cannot yet be seen," said the blind man. (jomo pisok 031)

In (13.6) the actor NP (*jomo too e* 'the old man') occurs just after the *te-* prefixed verb and there is no preposition preceding the actor. Except for being marked with *te-*, the verb seems to behave like a UV verb, in that it directly precedes the (expressed) actor and the actor normally does not take

⁴ In WC Bajau, nonvolitional vs. deliberate perception is lexically distinguished in the case of visual perception: *kito* 'to see' (spontaneous) vs. *enda'* 'to watch' (deliberate).

oblique marking—although it can. In (13.7), the *te-* verb is clearly passive, since there is no actor expressed in the clause.

A few cognitive verbs obligatorily take the *te-* prefix when the undergoer is the subject, producing forms such as *te-rati* ‘to happen to know’ (< **rati* ‘to know’), *te-ingot* ‘to happen to remember’ (< *ingot* ‘to remember’), *te-kelipat* ‘to forget’ (< **kelipat* ‘to forget’), and *te-kilo* ‘to recognize; be acquainted with’ (< *kilo* ‘to recognize’). A verb of a different semantic category that requires *te-* with an undergoer subject is the root *kule* ‘get, obtain’. The form *te-kule* is often used in the context of obtaining money/income, or education, or children, or a wife.

13.2.3 *Decontrolled mood in AV*

With most verbs, decontrolled mood can only be morphologically expressed with undergoer subjects (that is, with the *te-* prefix), with no equivalent affix to express decontrolled mood in an AV clause.⁵ A few of the perception and cognition predicates discussed above, which require *te-* in their UV / passive form and which typically involve decontrolled semantics, do occasionally occur in AV clauses. In this case they are stripped of their *te-* prefix and either add *N-* (as normally marks AV) or they occur as the zero form (which can be confusing, since zero morphology on the verb is normally associated with UV rather than AV). The AV forms of these verbs are shown in Table 13.2 below.

⁵ In the Sama-Bajaw languages of Mapun (Collins and Collins 2001:35-6), Pangutaran Sama (Walton 1986:83-87, 100-102), and Yakan (Brainerd & Behrens 2002:151-53), it appears that a decontrolled mood of some sort is productive for many transitive verbs in both UV and AV clauses. In these languages, decontrolled mode is expressed in UV by the prefix *ta-* (the equivalent of WC Bajau *te-*) and in AV by *(ma)ka-* and sometimes also by *-um-*. In WC Bajau, there is no productive morphology associated with decontrolled AV mood, with *ke-* appearing very occasionally on certain roots such as *(ke-)reso* ‘happen to feel’.

Table 13.2 Alternative forms of ‘decontrolled’ perception and psych verbs in WC Bajau

Decontrolled verb root	Decontrolled verb (undergoer subject)	Decontrolled verb (actor subject)
<i>kito</i> ‘see’	<i>te-kito</i>	<i>kito / ngito</i>
<i>kale</i> ‘hear’	<i>te-kale</i>	<i>kale</i>
<i>reso</i> ‘taste/ feel’	<i>te-reso</i>	<i>(ke-)reso</i>
* <i>rati</i> ‘know’	<i>te-rati</i>	<i>nge-rati</i>
<i>kule</i> ‘get, obtain’	<i>te-kule</i>	<i>kule</i>

Examples:

(13.8) *Baru de-jam iyo Ø-kale emma’=ni maang.*
 new one-hour 3s.II DC.AV-hear father=3s.I snore
 ‘After one hour he heard his father snore.’

(13.9) “*Lua’ minggo kau Ø-kule’ sinsim e?*”
 PREP where 2s.II DC.AV-get ring DEM
 “From where did you get that ring?”

The pattern discussed above, where *te-* is required in the undergoer subject form, only applies to a few verbs, mostly perception and cognition predicates. There is, however, a way for ‘normal’ transitive verbs to express decontrolled mood (the abilitative sense) with actor subjects. This involves what appears to be a phrasal verb strategy, in which the word *engko’* combines with the (morphologically unmarked) root verb. Note the following example:

(13.10) *Jomo daras e jo engko’ buka tombol telaga’ e, tombol*
 person strong DEM FOC open lid well DEM lid

telaga’ e buat bana nyaun jomo engko’ angkat=ni.
 well DEM heavy very NEG.EXIST person lift=3s.I
 ‘Only the strong man could open the lid to the well. The lid was very heavy.
 There was no one (else) who could lift it.’ (baginda 067)

Normally a morphologically unmarked transitive verb is associated with UV, but in (13.10) the transitive verbs *buka* ‘to open’ and *angkat* ‘to lift’ occurs together with *engko’* in what are apparently AV clauses with abilitative meaning.

13.3 Imperative mood

Imperative mood is used “to exert some influence over the world” (Bickford 1998:235) and is associated with commands. In WC Bajau, it appears that voice selection in the imperative mood is strongly correlated with, and perhaps determined by, the specificity of the undergoer. With imperatives, only the UV forms are morphologically marked as a grammatical category, using the suffix *-in/-un*. The actor (addressee) of a UV transitive imperative is only made explicit when the referent is plural. Imperatives in WC Bajau are coded as more or less ‘urgent’ depending on the discourse particle(s) which immediately follow the imperative verb. These facts are discussed further below.

13.3.1 Imperative mood with intransitive verbs, and verbs with a non-specific undergoer

For intransitive verbs, and transitive verbs with a non-specific undergoer, no distinctive morphology is used to encode imperative mood.⁶ Rather, the verb occurs with whatever prefix it might normally have (if intransitive) or the AV prefix *N-* (if transitive). Also, the second person subject (addressee) is always made explicit, and it always occurs after the verb. Note the following examples:

(13.11) *“Pungkaw no kau, ai lambat no!”*
wake.up FOC 2s.II PERF late FOC
“Get up, it’s already late!”

(13.12) *“Meli no te’ kam nak gulay...”*
AV.buy FOC EMPH 2p.II child.ADR vegetable
“Children, buy some vegetables!” (bangi 156)

⁶ Although I find a strong correlation between voice and the specificity of the undergoer in the imperative mood, more investigation is needed to determine whether undergoer specificity is truly the deciding factor of voice selection with imperatives.

13.3.2 Imperative mood with transitive verbs (specific undergoer): **-in** and **-un**

A verb in the imperative mood which takes a specific undergoer is morphologically marked by the suffix *-in*, which sometimes occurs as the allomorph *-un*. It appears that *-in* is the more basic form, since it can occur on a greater number of roots. Some verbs can take either *-in* or *-un*:

<i>tata</i> ‘to pour water (on)’	+	<i>-in</i>	→	<i>tatain</i>
	+	<i>-un</i>	→	<i>tataun</i>
<i>tuut</i> ‘to follow’	+	<i>-in</i>	→	<i>tuutin</i>
	+	<i>-un</i>	→	<i>tuutun</i>
<i>popo</i> ‘to wash clothes’	+	<i>-in</i>	→	<i>popuin</i>
	+	<i>-un</i>	→	<i>popuun</i>

In most cases there is no discernible difference in meaning between *-in* and *-un*. Dialectical variation may be involved,⁷ and as will be further explained below, *-in* with certain verbs seems to be associated with the benefactive *-an₁* applicative. It is rare for a verb to take only *-un*. (For an account of the vowel raising in the root that occurs with *-in* / *-un* suffixation, see §2.5.2.) The imperative suffix never co-occurs with another suffix (e.g. *-an₁*). As will be shown below, the imperative suffix ‘replaces’ the *-an₁* suffix in the indicative form.

That the relevant criterion for voice selection in imperative mood appears to be ‘specificity of undergoer’ rather than telicity and/or result state, is shown by the following examples:

(13.13) “*Kuar-in do’ sup e!*”
 stir-UV.IMP EMPH soup DEM
 “Stir the soup!”

(13.14) “*Segir-in do’ dinding e!*”
 touch-UV.IMP EMPH wall DEM
 “Touch that wall!”

⁷ For example, one language helper said that the verb *beli* ‘to buy’ takes the imperative suffix *-in* to derive *beliin*, while noting that in Tuaran (a neighboring district) the imperative form occurred as *beli-un*.

In (13.13) the action of stirring the soup is atelic (an activity), but the verb takes UV morphology for the imperative (*-in*) because there is a specific undergoer (*sup e* ‘the soup’). In (13.14) the action of touching the wall has no result state, but again the verb takes UV morphology for the imperative (*-in*) because the undergoer (*dinding e* ‘the wall’) is specific. It is interesting to note that specificity of the undergoer is not the deciding criterion for voice selection in the indicative mood (see, for example, §6.2.1.2.4) whereas it may actually determine voice selection in the imperative mood.

With UV verbs in the imperative mood, a plural addressee must appear in the clause, while a singular addressee cannot appear in the clause:

- (13.15) a. **Popo-in=bi** *do'* *pakay-an* *tu* *m-aku*.
wash.clothes-UV.IMP=2p.I EMPH clothes-NOM DEM PREP-1s.II
‘Wash those clothes for me!’ (plural addressee)
- b. ***Popo-in=nu** *do'* *pakay-an* *tu* *m-aku*.
wash.clothes-UV.IMP=2s.I EMPH clothes-NOM DEM PREP-1s.II
‘Wash those clothes for me!’ (singular addressee)
- c. **Popo-in** *do'* *pakay-an* *tu* *m-aku*.
wash.clothes-UV.IMP EMPH clothes-NOM DEM PREP-1s.II
‘Wash those clothes for me!’ (singular addressee)

Note that the form of the plural addressee actor in (13.15) (a) is =*bi*, the set I (genitive) pronoun. This is evidence that the subject of transitive imperative constructions is not the actor but the undergoer, an analysis otherwise consistent with the lack of AV morphology on the imperative verb. The word order observed for transitive imperative constructions (where there is a plural addressee) is normally VAU, although the undergoer argument can be fronted:

- d. *Pakayan tu popo-in do' m-aku*.

These are the same word orders observed for UV constructions in the indicative mood, where the subject either occurs clause-final or (as here) in preverbal position. This is added evidence for analyzing the *-in* / *-un* imperative as a UV construction.

Some further examples of UV imperative sentences follow. The undergoer is not always required to occur in the clause when its presence is implied from the discourse context, as shown in (13.17).

(13.16) “*Di’...*, *enda-in* *do’* *bengkutut* *e* *lawa’* *bana*.
 younger.sibling look.at-UV.IMP EMPH shrimp DEM pretty very
 ‘Sister... look at the shrimps, (they are) so nice!’ (salaudin 005)

(13.17) *Ling iyo ta’ ella=ni*, “*Iyang=ku pala e, endu-un do’.*”
 say 3s.II PREP husband=3s.I mother=1s.I NEW.REAL DEM take-UV.IMP EMPH
 ‘She said to her husband, “That’s my mother... take (her)!”’ (kerabaw 074)

13.3.3 Imperative mood and applicativization

It has been reported for several Sama-Bajaw languages that the imperative mood distinguishes between UV verbs that have the applicative *-an₁* suffix and those that do not. Gault (1999:18) states that for Sama Bangingi’,

Both undergoer and beneficiary focuses have imperative counterparts. If a declarative UF [undergoer focus, =UV] verb has no suffix, the imperative will be formed with the suffix *-un....* if a declarative UF or BF [‘benefactive focus’] is suffixed with *-an*, the imperative is formed with *-in*.

Walton (1986:98-102) reports for Sama Pangutaran that the *-in* suffix is always and only used for imperative benefactive focus, whereas *-un* is imperative undergoer focus. In Mapun (another Sama-Bajaw language), *-un* is used as the imperative, but if the verb takes the *-an* suffix in the indicative, it “takes priority over the imperative suffix *-un*, so that no imperative suffix at all is used” (Collins and Collins 2001:44-5). For all of these Sama-Bajaw languages, some morphological distinction in the imperative mood is made based on the presence or absence of *-an* in the indicative mood (in Sama Pangutaran, only the benefactive use of *-an*).

There is evidence that, at least among some WC Bajau speakers, the imperative mood distinguishes between applicativized and non-applicativized forms. Consider the verb *endo'* 'to take (s.thing)', which combines with the benefactive applicative suffix *-an₁* to become *endo-on* 'to take (x) to/for (y)':

- (13.18) a. \emptyset -*Endo'* *iyang* *Azizy* *buas* *e* *m-iyō*.
 UV-take mother PN rice DEM PREP-3s.II
 'Azizy's mother took rice to him.'
- b. \emptyset -*Endo-on* *iyang* *Azizy* *iyō* *buas*.
 UV-take-APPL mother PN 3s.II rice
 'Azizy's mother took him some rice.'

In (13.18) (a), the verb *endo'* occurs as the UV form without any applicative suffix. The recipient benefactive argument (*m-iyō*) is marked as oblique. In (b), the verb occurs with the applicative benefactive suffix, thus promoting the recipient benefactive argument (*iyō*) to DCA (and undergoer) status.

In the imperative mood, the form *enduun* (*endo'* + *-un*) is fine when the benefactive recipient is oblique, as shown in (13.19) (a). When the benefactive recipient is treated as the undergoer DCA, however, only one of two language helpers accepted *endu-un*, as shown in (b). Both speakers accepted *endu-in* (*endo'* + *-in*) here, as shown in (c).

- (13.19) a. *Endu-un* *do'* *diing* *e* *m-aku*.
 take-UV.IMP EMPH fish DEM PREP-1s.II
 'Take the fish to me!'
- b. (?) *Endu-un do' aku diing e*.
- c. *Endu-in do' aku diing e*.

These results indicate that, at least for some speakers, the imperative form *-in* is used with an applicativized imperative, while *-un* is used for a non-applicativized imperative. However, not all speakers recognize this distinction. One of my language helpers accepted either *endu-un* or *endu-in* for an imperative sentence similar to (13.19) whether the benefactive recipient was oblique (non-applicativized) or DCA status (applicativized).

The occurrence of non-benefactive *-an₁* in the indicative mood has no bearing on the choice of imperative suffix. Many verbs take *-in* in the imperative regardless of whether they can take *-an₁* in the indicative. Consider the one-place verbs *kebo* ‘to collapse’ and *keet* ‘to shine’. The verb *kebo* takes the *-an₁* suffix in the indicative to derive its transitive (causative) form *kebo-on* ‘to collapse (x)’. The verb *keet* does not take the *-an₁* suffix; its transitive (causative) form is derived via the causative prefix *pe₂-*. Nevertheless, both forms occur with *-in* in the imperative:

(13.20) *Kebu-in* *do’* *tana’* *e.*
collapse-UV.IMP EMPH dirt DEM
‘Collapse the (pile of) earth!’

(13.21) *Pe-keet-in* *do’* *suu’* *e.*
CAUS-shine-UV.IMP EMPH light DEM
‘Turn on (shine) that light!’

Note in (13.20) that the imperative form *kebu-in* ‘masks’ the *-an₁* suffix that was overt with the indicative form: it is never possible to add *-in* to another suffix. In (13.21) the imperative form *pe-keet-in* shows both the causative morpheme (*pe₂-*) and the imperative morpheme (*-in*). Crucially, both verbs have the same imperative morpheme (*-in*), showing that the imperative morphology itself does not recognize the presence or absence of *-an₁* in the indicative form.

To summarize: In WC Bajau, some speakers do identify *-in* with the benefactive applicative for certain verbs, in accord with the general pattern observed above for other Sama-Bajaw languages. Even so, it is clear that *-in* is not exclusively identified with the *-an₁* suffix, benefactive or otherwise.

The morphology of imperatives in WC Bajau might best be characterized as ‘older’ or ‘fossilized’ morphology, where the distinction in meaning between *-in* and *-un* has mostly been lost.⁸

13.3.4 Negative imperatives *dong* and *daa*

There are two negative imperative markers, *dong* and *daa*, both of which may be glossed ‘do not’. Each marker begins a negative imperative sentence, and the two forms appear to be interchangeable. The negative markers are used in imperative statements with either intransitive or transitive verbs, with the addressee only made explicit in the contexts discussed above (e.g., with intransitive verbs, or transitive verbs with non-specific undergoers). Examples:

(13.22) “*Dong/Daa enna’-in suu’ e me em-bunda’=ku...*”.
 NEG.IMP set.down-UV.IMP light DEM there PREP-in.front.of=1s.I
 “Don’t set the light down there in front of me...”. (based upon belis 015)

(13.23) “*Dong no kam tinau...*”.
 NEG.IMP FOC 2p.II afraid
 “Don’t you (pl.) be afraid.” (Gipun 183)

(13.24) “*Daa kau manas e, aku ke-kuri jo*
 NEG.IMP 2s.II ACT.be.angry DEM 1s.II REDUP-play just
 ‘Don’t be angry! I was just playing around.’ (ngini using 053)

When the addressee is made explicit, it follows the negative marker but precedes the imperative verb, as in (13.23)-(13.24). This contrasts with the usual order for intransitive imperatives, where it was shown that the addressee followed the imperative verb. In fact, it appears that the negative imperative marker ‘draws’ the personal pronoun into second position in the clause. This is further evidence for regarding the Set II pronouns as second position clitics (see §12.6.5), where the negative imperative marker hosts the clitic.

⁸ Paul Kroeger (p.c.) made this suggestion as to the ‘older’ or ‘fossilized’ morphology of WC Bajau imperatives.

13.3.5 ‘Urgent’ vs. ‘soft’ imperatives

The force of the imperative is indicated either by the choice of particle (usually *do’* vs. *jo*) following the imperative, or by the use of a passive form instead of the morphological imperative.

13.3.5.1 Particles *do’* (emphatic) and *jo* (softener)

WC Bajau imperatives often (though not always) occur with together with a particle. Usually it is *do’* that follows the imperative, making it the ‘unmarked’ particle with imperatives.⁹ Apparently *do’* communicates urgency and calls for immediate action by the addressee. The use of *do’* with imperatives is reflected in examples (13.16)-(13.17) above, where in each case the speaker asks that the action be done promptly. When the particle *jo* (§12.6.2) ‘just, only’ follows the imperative, the force of the imperative is softened: the speaker does not wish to impose upon the addressee and/or attaches less urgency to the situation. The particles *jo* and *do’* never occur together following an imperative verb. The difference in meaning between *do’* and *jo* is reflected in the following pair of sentences:

- (13.25) a. *Amun ai entemu=nu payung e, Ø-bara-in do’ aku.*¹⁰
if PERF find=2s.I umbrella DEM UV-tell-UV.IMP EMPH 1s.II
‘If you find the umbrella, tell me (right away)!’
- b. *Amun ai entemu=nu payung e, Ø-bara-in jo aku.*
if PERF find=2s.I umbrella DEM UV-tell-IMP just 1s.II
‘If you find the umbrella, tell me (at your leisure).’

⁹ The *do’* particle also frequently occurs as an emphatic particle with auxiliaries such as the negator *enggai* (§12.3.2) and the adverb *bau* ‘just now; recently’ (§12.5.6).

¹⁰ The verb *en-temu* ‘to find’ (< *temu* ‘meet’) patterns syntactically like a UV decontrolled passive (§13.2.1), though it can have either volitional or non-volitional semantics. Its form is irregular, and seems to have become lexicalized.

13.3.5.2 Passive imperatives

The morphological passive in WC Bajau can express imperative mood. Sneddon (1996:326) notes that passive imperatives can be used in Indonesian to soften the force of the imperative. Passive imperatives in WC Bajau function the same way. Note the following example:

- (13.26) a. ***Pakan-in*** *do'* *uwa'* *e* *songom tu.*
 feed-UV.IMP EMPH dog DEM night DEM
 'Feed the dog tonight!'
- b. ***P-in-akan*** *do'* *uwa'* *e* *songom tu.*
 -PASS-feed EMPH dog DEM night DEM
 'The dog should be fed tonight.'

In (13.26) above, sentence (a) expresses a command to the addressee. Sentence (b) is more of a request than a command, and not necessarily directed to a particular addressee. My language helper claimed that (b) suggests 'sympathy for the dog', perhaps meaning that the utterance is oriented more toward the dog's need than to the need for any one person to perform the action.

The following is a text example of a passive verb used as an imperative. Note that the passive verb is combined with the *jo* particle, thus using both 'softening' strategies with the same verb:

- (13.27) "Daa *kau nangis, b-in-oo jo no sapi' e pu' ta' emma'=nu.*"
 NEG.IMP 2s.II ACT.cry -PASS-bring just FOC cow DEM to.there PREP father=2s.I
 'Don't cry; just bring the cow over to your father's place.' (pak 033)

While the *-in-* passive can express imperative mood, this is not possible with the *te-* passive, as shown in (13.28) below. This is evidence to show that *te-* is associated with de-controlled (here, non-volitional) action whereas the use of *-in-* entails volitional action:

- (13.28) a. *Daa kau nangis, t-in-elon jo toos e.*
 NEG.IMP 2s.II ACT.cry -PASS-swallow just medicine DEM
 'Don't cry, just swallow the medicine.'
- b. **Daa kau nangis, te-telon jo toos e.*

The fact that a (-in-) passive actor is a possible addressee of an imperative makes it seem (in this respect) more core-like than oblique, as discussed in §6.2.2.

13.3.6 *Permissive imperatives*

The phrase *baya'=ni* 'let it (be); allow it' expresses the permissive imperative in WC Bajau. With *baya'=ni* the addressee is asked to permit some course of action to proceed without interfering.

Example:

- (13.29) “*Mule' jo no kam baya'=ni no aku temban mitu.*”
 ACT.go.home just FOC 2s.II allow.it=3s.I FOC 1s.II stay here
 “You all go home; just let me stay here.” (salaudin 011)

The phrase *baya' ni* may also be used an exclamation to mean 'let it be!' or 'fine!':

- (13.30) “*Ahh... baya'=ni. Ø-Kakan=ku jo iyan uun.*”
 EXCL allow.it=3s.I UV-eat=1s.I just what EXIST
 “Ahh, let it be! I'll eat whatever is available.” (ngini using 033)

13.3.7 *Hortatives*

Hortatives are used where the speaker exhorts the addressee(s) to join him in some activity (or in refraining from the activity). The personal pronoun used with hortatives is the first person plural inclusive pronoun, whether *kiti* (with intransitive or AV clauses) or *=ti* (with UV clauses). The UV form with hortatives normally does not take the *-in* or *-un* suffix associated with second person imperatives, though apparently it can, as in (13.34) below. The hortative verb is often followed by the emphatic particle *do'*, as is true for the second person imperatives. Examples of hortatives with an intransitive verb (13.31), with an AV verb (13.32), and with UV verbs (13.33)-(13.34) follow:

- (13.31) “*Salam do' te' kiti dau.*”
 greet EMPH EMPH 1p.incl.II first
 “Let's greet (one another) first!” (bangi 123)

- (13.32) “*Daa no kiti nipu... daa no kiti muat ke-raat-an.*”
 NEG.IMP FOC 1p.incl.II AV-cheat NEG.IMP FOC 1p.incl.II AV-do NOM-bad
 ‘Let us not cheat, ... let us not do bad things.’ (antu bangkit 033)
- (13.33) \emptyset -*Tombol=ti do’ beluang tu.*
 UV-shut=1p.I(inc.) EMPH door DEM
 ‘Let’s shut the door.’
- (13.34) “... *tapi’ dong buat-in=ti katig biduk tu.*”
 but NEG.IMP do-UV.IMP=1p.incl.I outrigger boat DEM
 ‘But let’s not use the outriggers on the boat.’ (Gipun 116)

13.4 Interrogative mood

13.4.1 Polar questions

Polar questions, sometimes known as closed questions or yes-no questions, anticipate only a positive or negative reply. In WC Bajau, polar questions are marked primarily by rising intonation at the end of the sentence. The questioned element is the focused element and it normally occurs clause-initial. Consider the following pair of utterances, which have identical segmental material but different intonation patterns. In these examples, different numbers signify different pitch levels: [1] = low, [2] = low-mid, [3] = high-mid, and [4] = high. (The assigned numbers are based on my hearing of a recording and have not been empirically determined.)

- (13.35)
- (a) 3 1 1 1 1
Boi no gai mangan. ‘They have already eaten.’
- (b) 3 2 2 2 4
Boi no gai mangan. ‘Have they eaten yet?’

The declarative contour, shown in (a), is characterized by an initially high-mid pitch, followed by a sharp descent to low pitch. The interrogative contour, shown in (b), is characterized by low-mid pitch over most of the utterance, and rising noticeably to high pitch at the end.

Along with rising intonation utterance-final, the question particle *ka* optionally occurs in the clause.¹¹ The *ka* particle normally occurs in second position in the clause, just after the questioned (focused) element, though it can also occur in sentence-final position. Examples:

(13.36) *Jomo daras tilaw ta' Hussin, "Nya' ka aku te-kilo=nu?"*
 person strong ask PREP PN NEG Q 1s.II DC.PASS-recognize=2s.I
 'The strong man asked Hussin, "Don't you recognize me?" (baginda 092)

(13.37) *Rojo e pan ling ta' Abu Nawas, "Buli ka kiti be-soro?"*
 king DEM TOP say PREP PN can Q 1p.incl.II VBL-voice
 'The king said to Abu Nawas, "Can we dispute this (in court)?"' (abu nawas 042)

(13.38) a. *Meli diing ka kau?*
 AV.buy fish Q 2s.II
 'Are you buying fish?'

b. *Ø-Beli=ni ka diing e?*
 UV-buy=3s.I Q fish DEM
 [did not get translation]

c. *Ø-Beli=ni diing e ka?*
 UV-buy=2s.I fish DEM Q
 'Did he buy the fish (or not)?'

d. *Diing e ka boi Ø-beli=nu?*
 fish DEM Q CMPL UV-buy=2s.I
 'Is that the fish you bought?'

Note the difference in interpretation between (13.38) (c) and (d). In (c), the entire proposition is focused: is it true that he bought the fish? In (d), only the undergoer (*diing e* 'the fish') is focused: is that the fish you bought?

The response to a polar question can be made in the affirmative with *Aha* 'yes' or in the negative with *Nya* 'no'. More typically, the response to a polar question is made by repeating the focused element (where possible). For example, the usual response to (13.35) (b) would be simply

¹¹ The form *ka* is clearly related to (or borrowed from) the Malay question marker *kah*.

Boi no ‘already’ (or *Nya’ lagi* ‘not yet’). The usual response to (13.37) would be *Buli* ‘can’ (or *Nya’ buli* ‘cannot’).

13.4.2 Content questions

Content questions seek further information rather than a simple yes or no response. In WC Bajau, WH-words express the questioned constituent. Questioned direct arguments are treated in §13.4.2.1 and questioned oblique elements in §13.4.2.2.

13.4.2.1 Questioning DCAs

Direct core arguments are questioned using the interrogative pronouns *sian* ‘who’ and *iyau* ‘what’. As was discussed in §7.1.1.1.1, when a subject is questioned, it is normally fronted. When a non-subject DCA is questioned, it must remain in-situ, as is true for any non-subject DCA. As was mentioned in §7.2, it is unclear whether a fronted questioned constituent is clefted, or simply moved to the preverbal focus position in the clause. The following are examples of the interrogative pronouns:

(13.39) “*Sian oron=nu?*”
 who name=2s.I
 ‘What is your name?’

(13.40) ...*pak pan tilaw, “Iyan Ø-boo=nu e, Kin?”*
 frog TOP ask what UV-bring-2s.I DEM PN
 ‘...the frog asked, “What are you to bring, Kin?”’ (pak 062)

The WH-word *enggo* ‘which’ occurs as part of an NP, where it serves as an interrogative determiner:

(13.41) *Badu enggo boi pene’=nu?*
 shirt which CMPL UV-choose=2s.I
 ‘Which shirt did you choose?’

Sometimes the head noun is omitted, in which case the interrogative has a demonstrative function:

- (13.42) *Enggo boi Ø-pene'=nu?*
 which CMPL UV-choose=2s.I
 'Which (one) did you choose?'

13.4.2.2 Questioning obliques and other adjuncts

The following WH-words are used in WC Bajau to question obliques and other adjuncts, including place, time, manner, reason, and quantity:

- (13.43) *minggo, enggo* 'where?'¹²
emberen 'when?'
pian 'how?'
ngini 'why?'
dangay 'how many?'

Normally the WH-word begins the clause.¹³ Note the following examples:

- (13.44) "*Enggo di'=ku Amat?*" *ling Inang.*
 where younger.sibling=1s.I PN say PN
 "Where is my younger brother Amat?" said Inang. (belis 039)

- (13.45) "*Ngini kau nya' maku kebanaran m-aku...?*"
 why 2s.II NEG AV.ask.for permission PREP-1s.II
 "Why did you not ask permission of me...?" (baginda 094)

- (13.46) "...*k-in-iro jo dangay orang boi p-in-anggil e si'.*"
 -PASS-count just how.many CL CMPL -PASS-summon DEM just.now
 "...let it be counted how many people were invited." (bangi 100)

Sometimes the WH-word precedes a complement-taking noun which expresses the same adjunct function. For example, *pian* 'how' frequently precedes the complement-taking noun *le'* 'manner'

¹² Note that *enggo* can mean 'which' (as shown in the previous section) or 'where' (as here)

¹³ However, the WH-word *minggo* 'where' frequently occurs as the complement of the preposition *lua'* or *lekat* 'from'.

(§11.3.2.3). Also, *minggo* ‘where’ sometimes occurs before the complement-taking noun *tungan* ‘place’ (§14.2.2.2). Examples:

(13.47) **Pian** *le'* [=ku nya' sugul bana], ...
 how manner=1s.I NEG upset very
 ‘How could I not be upset...’ (salaudin 050)

(13.48) “**Minggo** *tungan* [*mandi*] *mitu?*”
 where place bathe here
 ‘Where is a place to bathe here?’ (baginda 064)

The interrogative pronoun *sian* ‘who’ can occur in a PP and thus express an oblique argument, as can a non-interrogative personal pronoun. However, oblique personal pronouns normally take the proclitic *em-* as the locative preposition, whereas the oblique interrogative pronoun always take the independent form *ta'*. Example:

(13.49) *Ta'* **sian** *kau boi turi debui?*
 PREP who 2s.II CMPL sleep last.night
 ‘At whom (whose place) did you sleep last night?’

Interrogative pronouns can also occur as the (oblique) agent of a passive clause:

(13.50) *Gandum tu boi t-in-onom le' sian?*
 corn DEM CMPL -PASS-plant PREP who
 ‘This corn was planted by whom?’

(13.51) *Mali e boi k-in-eket le' iyan?*
 PN DEM CMPL -PASS-bite PREP what
 ‘Mali was bitten by what?’

13.4.2.3 The use of WH-words as indefinite pronouns

The WH-words can be used as indefinite pronouns when they are reduplicated and/or followed by the particle *jo* ‘just, only’. Examples (indefinite pronoun + particle are in bold):

- (13.52) *Iyo... sanggup muat iyan jo asal jo langaw-langaw*
 3s.II willing AV.do what FOC so.long.as FOC fly-REDUP
e tarus apus.
 DEM right.away wiped.out
 ‘He... was willing to do whatever (was necessary) so long as the flies were wiped out.’ (masala langaw 051)
- (13.53) “*Uun iyan-iyen Ø-paku=nu?*”
 EXIST what-REDUP UV-ask.for =2s.I
 ‘Is there anything you request?’ (beta’ kerungayan 014)
- (13.54) *Sian-sian jo nginum=ni mesti’ betong.*
 who-REDUP FOC AV-drink=3s.I must pregnant
 ‘Whoever drank it would become pregnant.’ (kerabaw 013)
- (13.55) *Minggu-minggu jo pan bengen langaw.*
 where-REDUP FOC EMPH have fly
 ‘Everywhere there were flies.’ (masala langaw 003)

Note finally that the indefinite pronouns *ano* ‘what’s-it-called’ and *siano* ‘what’s-his-name’ are used when the speaker has momentarily forgotten the reference to something or someone.

CHAPTER 14

CLAUSE COMBINING

14.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the various clause combining processes in WC Bajau. The first three involve subordination: relative clauses (§14.2), complement clauses (§14.3), and adverbial subordinate clauses (§14.4). Then, in (§14.5) I discuss coordination and some of the main coordinating conjunctions used in WC Bajau. Parataxis (§14.6) occurs when clauses are coordinated without a conjunction. Finally, in (§14.7) I briefly consider serialization, that is, the juxtaposition of two predicates which share a single NP subject. Although serialization is a monoclausal operation, it is included here because of its superficial resemblance to complement clauses.

14.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a subordinate clause that modifies a noun. In WC Bajau, relative clauses occur in the descriptive slot of a noun phrase (§11.2), following the head noun. There is no relativizer to introduce a relative clause in WC Bajau, unlike Malay which uses the relativizer *yang* (though occasionally *yang* is now used as a relativizer in WC Bajau too).

The relativized noun phrase (NP_{rel}) is that noun phrase position within the relative clause (S_{rel}) to which the head noun refers. Languages vary as to which argument(s) in the relative clause may be relativized. According to Keenan and Comrie (1977), a language must have a primary strategy for relativization, which by definition allows relativization on subjects/ nominative arguments. Some languages use their primary strategy to relativize one or more other grammatical relations besides subject. Accessibility of these grammatical positions to relativization appears to be ordered hierarchically across languages, according to Keenan and Comrie's proposed Accessibility Hierarchy.

WC Bajau’s primary strategy for relativization applies only to subjects, as is the common pattern for western Austronesian languages (Kroeger 1993:23). In this strategy, known as the ‘gap’ strategy, the relativized noun phrase is expressed by a ‘gap’ in the clause. In other words, the NP_{rel} is omitted from the relative clause. Apart from its primary strategy for relativization, WC Bajau employs two secondary relativization strategies. One of these strategies relativizes obliques of location or instrument, using the generic noun *tungan* ‘place’. The other secondary strategy relativizes possessors, where the possessor is expressed by a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. All three relativization strategies are presented below.

14.2.1 *Relative clauses of subjects (= the gap strategy)*

The primary relativization strategy in WC Bajau is the gap strategy, where the relativized NP must be the subject of the relative clause. The verb in the relative clause may be transitive or intransitive. In what follows, ‘relative clause’ refers only to the restrictive (defining) kind. Non-restrictive relative clauses are found in the apposition slot of the NP. Very few examples of the non-restrictive type have been found in the corpus.

14.2.1.1 Relative clauses based on intransitive verbs

When the verb in the relative clause is intransitive, the single argument of the intransitive verb is the subject, and by default it is the gapped argument. Examples (the square brackets enclose the relative clause throughout this section):

(14.1) *Uwa’ [nguma] e pan beranti.*
 dog bark DEM TOP stop
 ‘The dog that was barking (or ‘the barking dog’) stopped.’ (belis 025)

(14.2) *Ella=ni pan ng-endo’ kerabaw [panut] e.*
 husband=3s.I TOP AV-take buffalo drift DEM
 ‘Her husband seized the buffalo that was drifting (or ‘drifting buffalo’).’ (kerabaw 075)

- (14.3) *Tarus* \emptyset -endo'=ni *pedang engko' meniik kuda' pu'*
right.away UV-take=3s.I sword and AV.ride horse to.there
- ta' jomo* [*mandi en-diam telaga'=ni*] *e.*
PREP person AV.bathe PREP-inside well=3s.I DEM
‘Immediately he took a sword and then (he) rode his horse over to the man who was bathing in his well.’ (baginda 085)
- (14.4) *Bengen anak=ni* [*boi b-in-oo ole' anak rojo*] *ai no*
PL child=3s.I CMPL-PASS-bring PREP child king already
- pan kawin.*
EMPH marry
‘Her children who were brought away by the princes got married.’ (kerabaw 061)

Example (14.4) shows a derived passive construction, which is syntactically intransitive. The passive morphology on the verb in the relative clause (*binoo* ‘brought away’) identifies the undergoer in the clause as the syntactic subject, which is the gapped argument referenced by *anak=ni* ‘her children’ in the main clause.

14.2.1.2 Relative clauses based on transitive verbs

Transitive predicates allow for either the actor or the undergoer argument to be the subject of the clause. If the voice marker on the verb in the relative clause identifies as the subject an argument that is expressed within the relative clause (hence not the ‘gapped’ argument in coreference with the head noun), the sentence is ungrammatical. This is shown in (14.5) and (14.6) below.

- (14.5) a. *Enselan* [\emptyset -boo *Azam kemuap e*] \emptyset -tuang-an=ni *en-tana'*.
gasoline UV-bring PN afternoon DEM UV-pour-TZ=3s.I PREP-land
‘The gasoline which Azam brought that afternoon he poured onto the ground.’
- b. **Enselan* [*moo Azam kemuap e*] \emptyset -tuang-an=ni *en-tana'*.
gasoline AV.bring PN afternoon DEM UV-pour-TZ=3s.I PREP-land

In (14.5) (a), the UV marking on the verb (*boo* ‘bring’) identifies the subject of the relative clause as the undergoer *enselan* ‘oil’, which is co-referential with the head noun and gapped in the relative clause itself. Since the subject of the relative clause is the gapped argument, the relative clause is properly formed. In (b), the voice marking on the verb is AV, which identifies the subject of the relative clause as the actor *Azam*. But since *Azam* appears explicitly in the relative clause rather than being the gapped argument coreferenced by the head noun *enselan* ‘oil’, the relative clause is improperly formed and the sentence is ungrammatical.

- (14.6) a. *Jomo* [*moo* *enselan* *kemuap* *e*] *nuang-an=ni* *en-tana*’.
 person AV.bring gasoline afternoon DEM AV.pour-TZ=3s.I PREP-land
 ‘The man who brought gasoline that afternoon poured it onto the ground.’
- b. **Jomo* [∅-*boo* *enselan* *kemuap* *e*] *nuang-an=ni* *en-tana*’.
 person UV-bring gasoline afternoon DEM AV.pour-TZ=3s.I PREP-land

In (14.6) (a), the AV marking on the verb (*moo* ‘bring’) identifies the subject of the relative clause as the actor, which is co-referential with the head noun *jomo* and gapped in the relative clause itself. The relative clause is properly formed. In (b), the voice marking on the verb is UV, which identifies the subject of the relative clause as the undergoer (*enselan*). But since *enselan* appears explicitly in the relative clause rather than being the gapped argument co-referential with the head noun *jomo* ‘person’, the relative clause is improperly formed.

Further examples of transitive relative clauses follow. Note that, while the gapped relativized NP must be the subject of the relative clause which contains it, the head noun modified by the relative clause need not be the subject of its respective (main) clause. Thus, in (14.7) and (14.8) below, the head noun of the relative clause is the non-subject undergoer of an AV main clause.

- (14.7) *Iyo* *ai no* *mono*’ *jomo* [*boi* *mono*’ *sioko=ni*].
 3s.II already AV.kill person CMPL AV.kill oldest.sibling=3s.I
 ‘He had now killed the men who had earlier killed his older brother.’ (baginda
 115)

- (14.8) *Entedo e Baginda Ali ingin m-oyo kawasan*
 once DEM PN want AV.CAUS-large region
- [*boi Ø-jaja=ni*].
 CMPL UV-conquer=3s.I
 ‘One time Baginda Ali wanted to enlarge the territory which he had conquered.’
 (baginda 129)

In a UV clause, usually the undergoer subject has the semantic role of patient or theme. However, oblique arguments, such as instruments or beneficiaries, may be relativized once they are promoted to subject status via applicativization. This is shown below for instruments (14.9) and recipient beneficiaries (14.10).

- (14.9) a. *Guuk [boi penedak Azizy diing] e tompol bana.*
 knife CMPL INSTR-clean.fish PN fish DEM blunt very
 ‘The knife which Azizy used to clean the fish was very blunt.’
- b. **Guuk [boi Ø-tedak-an Azizy diing] e tompol bana.*
 knife CMPL UV-clean-TZ PN fish DEM blunt very

In (14.9) the relative clause modifies the head noun *guuk* ‘knife’. Since the (gapped) NP within the relative clause to which the head noun refers has the semantic role of instrument, the verb in the relative clause must be marked for instrument (*peN-* + *tedak* ‘to clean fish’) to make the instrument NP_{rel} the subject of the relative clause. In (a) the relative clause is properly formed, but in (b) it is ungrammatical because the verb in the relative clause is marked simply for undergoer focus, identifying *diing* ‘fish’ rather than the gapped argument (*guuk*) as the subject of the clause.¹

- (14.10) a. *Anak=ku [boi Ø-beli-an Dzul sinsim e] nya’ kui kawin.*
 child=1s.I CMPL UV-buy-APPL PN ring DEM NEG willing marry
 ‘My child for whom Dzul bought the ring is not willing to marry.’

¹ The *-an* suffix on *tedak* ‘to clean fish’ in the relative clause in (14.9)(b) is an example of the ‘vacuous’ application of the *-an* suffix on certain transitive verbs, as discussed in §10.2.4.

b. **Anak=ku* [*boi* Ø-*beli* *Dzul sinsim e*] *nya' kui kawin.*

In (14.10) the relative clause modifies the head noun *anak=ku* ‘my child’. Since the (gapped) NP within the relative clause to which the head noun refers has the semantic role of recipient beneficiary, the verb *beli* ‘to buy’ in the relative clause must take the *-an* applicative to make the beneficiary NP_{rel} the subject of the relative clause, as in (a). Example (b) is ungrammatical because the relative clause verb is marked simply for undergoer voice, identifying *sinsim* ‘ring’ rather than the gapped argument (*anak ku*) as the subject of the clause.

14.2.1.3 Separation of a relative clause from its head

It is possible for a relative clause to separate from its head. Constructions with existential *uun* may involve an extraposed relative clause modifying the head noun (see §6.2.3.2.1.2.1). The following is an example:

(14.11) *Sikot no ellaw, uun no gai teko* [*boi l-um-aan e*].
 near FOC sun EXIST FOC 3p arrive CMPL -ACT-go DEM
 ‘When it was near daylight, those who had gone out now arrived.’ (namuk 065)

14.2.1.4 Headless relative clauses

It was also noted regarding the existential *uun* construction that when the head noun is a generic reference to ‘someone’ or ‘something’, it is often deleted, resulting in a headless relative clause.

Example (6.82) is repeated in (14.12) below:

(14.12) *Atay Mat Salleh kusut sebab nyaun* [*mandi mayat e*].
 heart PN troubled because NEG.EXIST AV.bathe corpse DEM
 ‘Mat Salleh felt desperate because there was no (one) who could bathe the corpse.’ (Mat Salleh 017)

14.2.2 *Relative clauses (and other descriptive clauses of location) with tungan ‘place’*

As an alternative to the ‘gap strategy’ discussed above (which relativizes only subjects), WC Bajau has a different relative clause strategy by which the oblique grammatical relation of location can be relativized, using the generic noun *tungan* ‘place’. Here *tungan* is a relative pronoun meaning ‘where’ that introduces the relative clause. The word *tungan* may also occur as a head noun, in which case the modifying element can be of various types. The different functions of *tungan* are discussed below.

14.2.2.1 *tungan* as a relative pronoun

In this construction, a head noun is followed by a relative clause with the form [*tungan* + subject + VP]. Here *tungan* appears to occur as a restrictive relative pronoun ‘where’, and the relativized grammatical relation is not the subject but an adjunct of location. Note that in this strategy (unlike the ‘gap’ strategy discussed above), the subject is not omitted from the clause, nor is it the relativized grammatical relation. If the subject of the relative clause is pronominal, it takes the possessive (class I) form. Examples:

(14.13) *Simono-mono leti’, tana’ [tungan=ni mantaw] e nge-leta’.*
suddenly lightning land where=3s.I ACT.stand DEM AV-crack
‘Suddenly lightning struck, and the ground where he stood cracked open.’
(adapted from biduk 149)

(14.14) ... *ai Ø-labu-an=ni sinsim kawin=ni diam boo’*
PERF UV-fall-CAUS=3s.I ring wedding=3s.I inside bamboo

[*tungan gai ngenduk*] *e.*
where 3p fetch.water DEM
‘... He dropped his wedding ring inside the bamboo which they used for fetching water.’ (salaudin 040)

(14.15) *Bo’=ku l-ul-ai sorop pu’ ta’ wad*
then=1s.I -ACT-ran toward to.there PREP ward

[*tungan iyang=ku p-in-osok*].
where mother=1s.I -PASS-enter
‘Then I ran toward the ward where my mother was admitted.’ (beta’ kerungayan 038)

Note that in (14.14), *tungan* seems to have more of an instrument than a locative interpretation. This versatile range of meaning for *tungan* has also been observed when it functions as a head noun (see below).

Example (14.15) is of particular interest, since the subject in the relative clause (*iyang=ku* ‘my mother’) is an undergoer rather than the (more usual) actor. Note too that if *iyang=ku* is replaced by a third person pronoun, it must take the possessive form:

(14.16) *Bo’ ku lulai sorop pu’ ta’ wad [tungan=ni p-in-osok].*

Should the construction shown in the above examples instead be analyzed as cases of apposition, where *tungan* + modifying clause is in apposition to the head noun? In this case, *tungan* itself would be a head noun, which is consistent with the use of *tungan* described in §14.2.2.2 below. However, the two language helpers I consulted about these sentences said that a pause was not required before *tungan* (except that one of them felt a pause should be included in (14.15)). Elsewhere in WC Bajau, apposition is marked by a pause between the juxtaposed NPs (§11.2.6). Note also that, while apposition is generally associated with a non-restrictive function, the above examples have a restrictive function.²

14.2.2.2 *tungan* as a head noun

The word *tungan* can also occur as a head noun. In some cases, *tungan* is followed by a complement clause in the descriptive slot of the NP (§11.2.4). If the subject of the complement clause (normally an actor) is a personal pronoun, it takes the genitive form. Examples:

² Paul Kroeger (p.c.) suggests the possibility that at some earlier stage in the language, examples like (14.13)-(14.15) were cases of apposition, but over time *tungan* in this position assumed the syntactic status of a relative pronoun.

- (14.17) *kerabaw e pan memia tungan=ni ng-anak.*
 buffalo DEM TOP AV.search place=3s.I VBL-child
 ‘The buffalo sought a place for her to give birth.’ (kerabaw 004)
- (14.18) *Iyang too Uban pan nyaun ta’ tungan=ni turi.*
 grandmother PN TOP NEG-EXIST PREP place=3s.I sleep
 ‘Grandmother Uban was not at the place where she slept (or ‘her sleeping place’).’ (belis 031)

The subject may be omitted from the modifying clause, particularly if it is non-referential or generic:

- (14.19) *Kawa oyo tungan mapi daging sapi’ amun uun kawin.*
 cauldron large place AV.cook flesh cow if EXIST marry
 ‘A large cauldron is what (one) uses for cooking beef when there is a wedding.’

In other cases, the modifying clause following *tungan* is apparently a relative clause (using the ‘gap’ strategy for relativization), which occurs when the verb takes the *pe(N)...-an* ‘location’ circumfix (§10.4). An example of this use of *tungan* is shown in (14.20) below, taken originally from (10.44):

- (14.20) *Itu no tungan [pe-napuk-an gai barang sapi’] Srel.*
 DEM FOC place LOC-hide 3p PL cow
 ‘That is the place where they hide (stolen) cows’ (or, ‘That is their hiding-place for (stolen) cows’).

Sometimes *tungan* as a head noun is followed not by a modifying clause but rather by another NP, which occurs in the possessor slot of the NP (see §11.2.3). Examples:

- (14.21) *Lagi pan si-odop engko’ tungan kuda’.*
 Yet also REC-face PREP place horse
 ‘What is more, (it) faced the horse stall (or ‘... the place of the horse’).’
 (abu nawas 034)

- (14.22) *Tungan kubu British e ngam bana engko' susa bana*
 place fort British DEM correct very and difficult very

s-in-erang ole' askar Gipun.

-PASS-attack PREP army Japan

'The location of the British fort was strategic and very difficult to be attacked by the Japanese army.' (kota belud 025)

14.2.3 *Relative clauses of possessors*

For relative clauses of possessors, the subject of the relative clause is the thing possessed by the head noun, and the relativized NP is the possessor. The following is an example of this strategy (the head noun and co-referential possessor are in bold):

- (14.23) *Uun dikau' kerabaw [warna=**ni** pute'] laan-laan*
 EXIST certain buffalo color=3s.I white go-REDUP

me en-sedi suang.

there PREP-beside river

'There was a certain buffalo of white color moving along beside the river.'

In (14.23), the head noun phrase *dikau' kerabaw* 'a certain buffalo' is modified by a relative clause whose subject *warna* 'color' is the thing possessed by the buffalo. The possessor in the relative clause (coreferential with the head noun) is a resumptive pronoun which takes the possessive form (=ni). Some further examples:

- (14.24) *Uwa' [betis=**ni** silau] nya' buli l-um-aan.*
 dog leg=3s.I sprain NEG can -ACT-go
 'The dog whose leg is sprained cannot move.'

- (14.25) *Tukang kayu [oron=**ni** Saiman] muat ruma'=ku.*
 carpenter name=3s.I PN AV.make house=1s.I
 'The carpenter whose name is Saiman will build my house.'³

³ This example was inspired by Sneddon (1996:288), who showed a similar example in Indonesian.

14.3 Complementation

In addition to relative clauses, another type of subordinate clause is a complement clause. The term ‘complementation’ in this chapter refers to clausal complementation, where a clause functions as the direct core argument of a predicate (Noonan 1985:42; Kroeger 2004:41). Two basic types of complementation are distinguished: (1) sentential complements (abbreviated by S-COMP) and (2) and open complements (abbreviated by XCOMP).⁴ Sentential complements can have an overt subject NP in the subordinate clause, whereas open complements have a missing argument in the subordinate clause that refers to an argument in the matrix clause, thereby showing a CONTROL relation (Kroeger 2004:104). Complement-taking predicates (CTPs; Noonan 1985) may be intransitive or transitive. Some take only sentential complements, others take open complements, and still others can take both kinds of complements. Three complementizers have been found to occur in WC Bajau, which are used exclusively with sentential complements and are optionally left unexpressed. Two of the complementizers, *bawa* ‘that’ and *supaya* ‘(so) that’, are apparently borrowed from Malay and seem to be used interchangeably with the indigenous form *engko*.

14.3.1 Sentential complements (S-COMP)

CTPs that take sentential complements in WC Bajau are described according to two broad semantic classes: verbs of emotion and cognition (psych verbs), and verbs that take an indirect speech complement.

14.3.1.1 Psych verbs

Psych verbs include several verbs of cognition such as **rati* ‘to know’, *pikir* ‘to think’, *sangka* ‘to suppose’, *agak* ‘to guess’, *pesoyo* ‘to believe’, *ingot* ‘to remember’, and *ngupi* ‘to dream’. They also include the commentative verb *nesol* ‘to regret’, and the perception verbs *kale* ‘to hear’ and *kito*

⁴ I have used these terms, with their definitions and abbreviations, from Kroeger (2004).

‘to see’ (when used in the sense of acquiring knowledge rather than of immediate perception).⁵ If a complementizer occurs at all with psych verbs, it is usually *engko’*, though *bawa* (from Malay *bahawa*) is sometimes used with cognition predicates. The following are examples of psych verbs with an overt complementizer:

(14.26) *Hussin nya’ pesoyo engko’ emma’=ni ai matay.*
 PN NEG believe that father=3s.I PERF ACT.die
 ‘Hussin did not believe that his father was dead.’ (baginda 013)

(14.27) *Te-ingot=ku balik engko’ iyang=ku tu nyaun no.*
 DC.PASS-remember=1s.I again that mother=1s.I DEM NEG.EXIST FOC
 ‘I was reminded again that my mother was no longer here.’ (beta’ kerungayan 079)

(14.28) *Iyo nya’ nge-rati bawa Situmang e emma’=ni...*
 3s.II NEG AV-know that PN DEM father=3s.I
 ‘He didn’t know that Situmang was his father...’ (biduk 068)

The following are examples without an overt complementizer (the complement clause of the psych verb is shown in brackets):

(14.29) “*Amun kau nya’ pesoyo [kau anak=ku], Ø-buan-an=ku kau*
 if 2s.II NEG believe 2s.II child=1s.I UV-give-APPL=1s.I 2s.II

duo sarat.”

two stipulation

‘If you don’t believe that you are my son, I will give you two conditions.’ (biduk 135)

(14.30) *Iyo pikir [jomo e sini’ meniik turi].*
 3s.II think person DEM just.now AV.go.up sleep
 ‘He thought that the man went up (to the house) to sleep.’ (namuk 013)

(14.31) *Sikin tu nangis jo ng-ingot [endo=ni pak e].*
 PN DEM ACT.cry FOC AV-remember wife=3s.I frog DEM
 ‘Sikin wept to remember that his wife was a frog.’ (pak 070)

⁵ Noonan (1985:118) distinguishes the use of perception predicates for ‘knowledge and acquisition of knowledge’ vs. immediate perception.

(14.32) *Jadi bengen ka'=ni e si' nesol [nya' kui*
 So PL older.sibling=3s.I DEM just.now AV.regret NEG agree

k-in-awin engko' uwa' e].
 -PASS-marry with dog DEM
 'So the older sisters regretted that they did not agree to be married to the dog.' (uwa' suk 094)

(14.33) *Tinau iyo [kaang Ø-sembet uwa' lagi].*
 afraid 3s.II later UV-chase dog more
 'He was afraid that later the dog would chase (him) again.' (ngini using 074)

(14.34) "*Te-kale=ku [kau tu ai no be-tunang].*"
 DC.PASS-hear=1s.I 2s.II DEM already VBL-fiancé
 "I heard that you got engaged." (Miller 2006:43)

Note that, when the actor of the main clause is the same as the subject of the complement clause (whether actor or undergoer), the subject of the complement clause may also be deleted, as in (14.32) and (14.33) above. The complement clause is typically intransitive or equative, but where the clause is transitive, the verb can be any voice. In (14.33) the verb in the complement clause is UV. The occurrence of tense/aspect particles like *ai* and *boi* in the complement clauses of psych verbs (such as in (14.26) above) suggests that these are finite (tense-bearing) clauses. Note also the occurrence of the time adverb *kaang* 'later' in the complement clause in (14.33), which is further evidence of the finite nature of these clauses.

A WH-word may function in place of a complementizer, in which case the complement expresses an indirect question:

(14.35) *jadi nya' no te-rati=ku iyan no nasib=ni.*
 so NEG FOC DC.PASS-know=1s.I what FOC fate=3s.I
 "...so I do not know what his fate is." (salaudin 029)

14.3.1.2 Verbs taking an indirect speech complement

Verbs of speaking may take an indirect speech complement, as described below. Some of these verbs also serve as quotative verbs for direct speech (§14.3.2). At least one verb of speaking (*soo* ‘to command’) can apparently show a control relation as well as take an indirect speech complement, as discussed in §14.3.3.1 below.

Verbs that take a sentential complement of indirect speech include *bara* ‘to tell’, and *tilaw* ‘to ask’, both of which may also precede direct speech. The verb *bara* optionally occurs with the complementizer *engko* when it takes an indirect speech complement. When *tilaw* takes an indirect speech complement, a WH-word is used in place of the complementizer. Examples:

(14.36) *Hussin pan mara’ engko’ oron=ni Hussin.*
 PN TOP AV.say that name=3s.I PN
 ‘Hussin said that his name was Hussin.’ (baginda 090)

(14.37) *Dela e mara’ [gai meseduo], sebab e no sibuk bana.*
 man DEM AV.say 3p recite.prayers because DEM FOC busy very
 ‘The man said that they were going to recite prayers; for that reason they were very busy.’ (namuk 042)

(14.38) *Saiman ai ng-endo’ ke-sempat-an tilaw ngini langaw e*
 PN PERF AV-take NOM-opportunity ask why fly DEM

iko bana.
 many very
 ‘Saiman took the opportunity to ask why there were so many flies.’ (masala langaw 010)

The verb *soo* ‘to command’ can take a complement of indirect speech that is either of the sentential (S-COMP) or control (XCOMP) type. Note the following examples of the S-COMP pattern for this verb:

(14.39) *Iyang Azizy noo’ Kuzik [endo=ku k-in-ua-an buas].*
 mother PN AV.command PN wife=1s.I -PASS-ladle-APPL rice
 ‘Azizy’s mother ordered Kuzik that my wife be served rice.’

- (14.40) *Jomo koyo e noo'* [*anak=ni p-in-emia-an bue'*].
 person rich DEM AV.command child=3s.I -PASS-search.for-APPL water
 'The rich man ordered [(someone)/ *his child] that water be sought for his
 child.'

Note in (14.40) that *anak=ni* 'his child' cannot be interpreted as being the undergoer of *noo'* (as is *Kuzik* in the previous example). If it were, then (14.40) could be an example of a control relation where *anak=ni* belongs to the matrix clause and is also the missing argument of the complement clause.

14.3.1.3 Apparent raising with the verb *soo'*

The verb *soo'* 'to command' sometimes occurs in what appears to be a raising construction.

Note the following example:

- (14.41) "Sapi' e s-in-oo' s-in-embali, p-in-api b-in-oo
 cow DEM -PASS-order -PASS-slaughter -PASS-cook -PASS-bring

pu' ta' ruma' metoo=ku maung."
 to.there PREP house parent-in-law=1s.I tomorrow
 '(I was) instructed that the cow be slaughtered, cooked, and brought to the house of my
 parents-in-law tomorrow' (lit. 'the cow was instructed to be slaughtered...'). (pak 038)

In (14.41) *sapi' e* 'the cow', though semantically the subject of the complement clause, appears to have been raised to subject of the matrix clause. It might be argued that *sapi' e* is in fact the subject of the complement clause but here extracted across a clause boundary. However, as shown in (14.42) below, when *sapi'* occurs sentence-initial it is not possible for another argument such as *aku* ('1s') to occur as the subject of the matrix clause:

- (14.42) *"*Sapi' e aku s-in-oo' s-in-embali, p-in-api b-in-oo*
pu' ta' ruma' metoo=ku maung."

A further example of apparent raising with *soo'* is shown below:

- (14.43) *Daging e Ø-soo' emma'=ku p-in-api eng-kau.*
 Meat DEM UV-command father=1s.I -PASS-cook PREP-2s.II
 'My father ordered that the meat be cooked by you.' (lit. 'My father ordered the meat to be cooked by you.')

A few instances of 'negative raising' have been found, where the negator occurs in a position where it seemingly has greater scope than is allowed for by the interpretation of the sentence (Trask 1993:180). Note the following example:

- (14.44) *Debagi ngen-dule' nya' s-in-oo' gai be-ragam bege...*
 some VBL-anger NEG -PASS-command 3p ACT-joke like.that
 'Some got angry, (and) they were ordered not to joke around like that...' (lit. '...they were not ordered to joke around...'). (nandas tebu 100)

In (14.44) the interpretation of the sentence requires that the negator (*nya'*) have scope only over the verb *beragam* 'to joke' in the complement clause. Syntactically, however, the negator has been 'raised' to precede (have scope over) the matrix verb (*sinoo'*). All examples of negative raising that I have found occur with the verb *soo'*.

In (14.45) below, both subject and negative raising with *soo'* occur in the same example:

- (14.45) *Amun kono' iyo boi ng-anak, anak=ni nya' s-in-oo'*
 if hearsay 3s.II CMPL VBL-anak anak=3s.I NEG -PASS-command

p-in-andi ta' ella=ni.
 -PASS-bathe PREP husband=3s.I
 'Once she gave birth, (she) was ordered that her child not be bathed by her husband.' (Lit., '... her child was not ordered to be bathed by her husband.')
 (asal linta 011)

14.3.2 Quotative verbs (direct speech)

Quotative verbs introduce direct speech. Direct quote material, unlike indirect speech, is essentially independent from the verb of speaking that introduces it, and should not be considered a

complement of the verb.⁶ The verbs *bara* ‘to tell’, *tilaw* ‘to ask’, and *jawab* ‘to answer’ can all introduce direct speech material. The quotative verbs can either precede or follow their complement.

Examples:

(14.46) “*Aa... nantu mesti kerjo-on using,*” Ø-***bara***’ *uwa’ manas.*
 EXCL DEM must work-NOM cat UV-tell dog ACT.angry
 “Ahh, this must be the cat’s doing,” said the dog (who was) angry.

(14.47) *Jomo too e pan mara’*, “*Duo-duo no kam*
 person old DEM TOP AV.tell two-REDUP FOC 2s.II
nya’ buli ngito pasal pisok.”
 NEG can AV.see because blind
 ‘The old man said, “You both cannot see because (you both) are blind.’ (jomo pisok 053).

(14.48) “*Nya’ te-rati=ku,*” Ø-***jawab*** *Sangsuriang.*
 NEG DC.PASS-know=1s.I UV-answer PN
 “I don’t know,” answered Sangsuriang.

However, the most common quotative verb is *ling* ‘to say’, which elsewhere occurs as the intransitive verb *ling* ‘to (make a) sound’. It also occurs as a noun ‘sound’ or ‘speech’, such as *ling Sama* ‘the WC Bajau language’ (lit. ‘sound of the Sama’). As a quotative verb, *ling* occurs in its most reduced form and does not inflect for voice. However, in terms of its morphosyntactic distribution, it seems plausible that *ling* occurs as UV or as AV, depending on its placement in the sentence. Note the following examples:

(14.49) “Ø-*Pemia=ti koso, dong kau susa atay,*” ***ling***=*ni.*
 UV-look.for=1p.incl.I will NEG.IMP 2s.II troubled say=3s.I
 “We will look for (him), don’t you worry,” he said. (biduk 127)

⁶ See Haiman (1985:222-8) for an explanation of the distinction between direct and indirect speech in this regard.

- (14.50) *Jadi iyo pan ling ta' ella=ni, "Dari mura' lagi hingga*
 so 3s.II TOP say PREP husband=3s.I from young still until
too no kiti..."
 old FOC 1p.II.incl.
 'So she said to her husband, "From the time we were young until now..."' (uwa'
 suk 002)

In (14.49), the actor occurs just after the verb and takes the possessive form, just as the UV actor normally does, and the quoted material occurs in preverbal position, as would a fronted UV undergoer. In (14.50), the actor precedes the verb and takes the Set II form, just as the AV actor normally does, and the quoted material occurs in the AV undergoer position following the verb.

The quotative verb *ling* may also occur in the middle of an utterance:

- (14.51) "*Lingaw no kau,*" *ling=ni, "L-um-aan kiti."*
 quick FOC 2s.II say=3s.I -ACT-go 1p.incl.II
 "Hurry up," he said, "Let's go." (antu bangkit 017)

14.3.3 *Open complements (XCOMP)*

Open complements show a control relation, in that a (missing) subject argument in the complement clause refers to (is 'controlled by') some argument in the matrix clause. Open complements in WC Bajau differ from sentential complements in at least two ways: (1) they never take a complementizer; and (2) tense/ aspect particles like *ai* or *boi* do not occur in the complement clause (though I have not yet verified that they cannot occur in such clauses).

Verbs that take open complements may be either intransitive or transitive. With intransitive CTPs, there is only one argument in the matrix clause, so by default it is the controller. However, with transitive CTPs, either the actor or the undergoer can be the controller, and the choice is semantically determined. Sag and Pollard (1991) group control verbs into three semantic classes: the 'order/permit' type, the 'promise' type, and the 'want/expect' type. Of these three classes, the 'promise' and 'want/expect' types show actor control, whereas the 'order/permit' type show

undergoer control. CTPs in WC Bajau representing each of these classes are described below. Because verbs of immediate perception can also show a reduced (e.g., non-sentential) type of complementation, they are included in this section.

14.3.3.1 ‘Order/permit’ control verbs

The ‘order/permit’ control verbs involve an INFLUENCE state of affairs, where “a certain participant [the undergoer]... is influenced by another participant [the actor]... to perform an action” (Sag and Pollard 1991:66). The ‘order/permit’ type verbs are all transitive, since it is the undergoer which controls the identity of the missing argument in the complement clause. The following is a partial list of control verbs of the ‘order/permit’ type:

- (14.52) *soo*⁷ ‘to command’
paksa ‘to force’
pogos ‘to urge; to force’
boo ‘to bring; to invite’
peberen ‘to let’
taan ‘to prevent’

In the following examples, (14.56) is repeated here from (10.62) (b). Note that the undergoer controller in the matrix clause need not be the subject. When the verb in the complement clause is transitive, it consistently occurs in the AV form, as in (14.53) and (14.57).⁸

- (14.53) *Iyang Azizy noo’ endo=ku ngua-an aku buas.*
 Mother PN AV.command wife=1s.I AV.ladle-APPL 1s.II rice
 ‘Azizy’s mother ordered my wife to serve me rice.’

- (14.54) *Jomo e sini’ nya’ Ø-boo gai ng-inum e ...*
 Person DEM earlier NEG UV-bring 3p AV-drink DEM
 ‘They didn’t invite the man to drink (with them)...’. (namuk 048)

⁷ As was seen in the previous section, *soo* can also take a sentential complement.

⁸ There is a strong preference or even requirement for the controllee of ‘order/permit’ verbs to be the actor argument in the complement clause, perhaps motivated by the semantics of ‘order/permit’ verbs. More investigation is needed to verify whether AV is required in the complement clause of such verbs.

- (14.55) *Iyang=ni pan mekebana Hussin l-um-aan.*
 mother=3s.I TOP AV-permit PN -ACT-go
 ‘His mother permitted Hussin to go.’ (baginda 027)
- (14.56) *Ruma’ e Ø-peberen gai jo rubu.*
 house DEM UV-let 3p FOC collapse
 ‘They let the house collapse’ (i.e. through years of neglect).
- (14.57) *Hussin naan jomo daras e mono’ iyo...*
 PN AV.prevent person strong DEM AV.kill 3s.II
 ‘Hussin prevented Strong Man from killing him...’. (baginda 102).

14.3.3.2 ‘Promise’ control verbs

The ‘promise’ control verbs involve a COMMITMENT relation, involving a “typically animate participant” (the commitor) who commits (or does not commit) to performing a certain action (Sag and Pollard 1991:66). Control verbs of the ‘promise’ type may be transitive or intransitive. The actor argument in the matrix clause controls the missing argument in the complement clause. A partial list of ‘promise’ control verbs in WC Bajau is shown in (14.58) below. The list includes *niat* ‘vow’ which is apparently a noun. As observed by Sag and Pollard (1991:67), “semantic control constraints function identically within nominal and verbal constituents”.

- (14.58) *niat* ‘vow’
suba’ ‘to try’
tawar ‘to offer’
kui ‘to agree; to be willing’
lupo ‘to forget’⁹

The following are examples (where (14.61) is repeated from (6.63) (b)):

- (14.59) “*Kau sengaja mutus niat=ku ng-endo’ kau jadi endo=ku...*”.
 2s.II on.purpose AV.cut.off vow=1s.I AV-take 2s.II become wife=1s.I
 ‘You purposely nullified my vow to take you as my wife...’. (biduk 131)

⁹ Sag and Pollard (1991) did not include the verb ‘to forget’ in their classification of control verbs. The verb might best be placed here, as the act of forgetting reflects one’s failure to commit to a certain course of action. Goudswaard (2005:344), in her division of Begak control verbs, includes the verb *liwag* ‘to forget’ with the commitment type verbs.

- (14.60) *Iyang=ku nuba' ng-angkat saging e.*
 mother=1s.I AV.try AV-lift banana DEM
 'My mother tried to lift the (stalk of) bananas.'
- (14.61) *Boi Ø-tawar'=ni diri=ni meniik poon suka' e.*
 CMPL UV-offer=3s.I self=3s.I AV.ascend tree coconut DEM
 'He volunteered himself to climb the coconut tree.'
- (14.62) *Dendo tu kui p-in-endo tapi' anak waris nya' kui*
 Woman DEM agree -PASS-propose.to.marry but relatives NEG agree
 'The woman agreed to be engaged (to him) but the relatives did not agree/ were not willing.' (mat sallah 004)
- (14.63) *...ai lupu iyo moo kantung=ni.*
 PERF forget 3s.II AV.bring bag=3s.I
 '... he forgot to bring his bag.' (pak pu' ta' bandar 014)

Note in (14.62) that the verb in the complement clause is passive (*p-in-endo*) rather than AV, where the semantic role of the controllee subject is an undergoer rather than an actor. This pattern will also be seen with the control verb *ingin* 'to want' in the following section.

14.3.3.3 'Want/expect' control verbs

The 'want/expect' control verbs involve an ORIENTATION relation, where someone experiences "desire, expectation, or similar mental orientation toward a give state of affairs" (Sag and Pollard 1991:66). As for the 'promise' control verbs above, the 'want/expect' verbs also involve actor control. Not many such predicates have been found in WC Bajau. The only solid example of a 'want/expect' type verb that I have found in WC Bajau is *ingin* 'to want, to desire'. Examples:

- (14.64) *Nya' aku ingin nganggu gai ng-usay iyang=ku e.*
 NEG 1s.II want AV.disturb 3p AV-arrange mother=1s.I DEM
 'I didn't want to disturb those who were tending to my mother.' (beta' kerungayan 056)
- (14.65) *"... tilaw-an=ku do' anak=ku, sian ingin Ø-pendo uwa' e."*
 ask-APPL=1s.I EMPH child=1s.I who want UV-propose.to.marry dog DEM
 "I will ask my daughters, who wishes to be proposed to by the dog." (uwa' suk 035)

In all the examples of control we have seen in WC Bajau, the missing argument in the complement clause is the subject. My hypothesis is that in WC Bajau, the controllee must be the subject, as is true for a large number of the world's languages. Note that in (14.65) above, the verb in the complement clause (*pendo*) is UV, and the missing argument is the undergoer, rather than the actor. The controllee, however, remains the subject. In this requirement that controllee = subject, WC Bajau differs from some Philippine-type languages such as Tagalog (Kroeger 1993) and also the Sabahan language of Begak (Goudswaard 2005) where the controllee must be the actor whether or not it is the subject.¹⁰

The verb *ingin* can also take a sentential complement, as show in (14.66) below:

- (14.66) *Iyo ingin supaya anak=ku melioro sapi'=ni.*
 3s.II want so.that child=1s.I AV.raise cow=3s.I
 'He wanted that my child would take care of the cows.'

The verb *ingin* frequently occurs as the derived nominalized form *ke-ingin-an* 'desire'. The nominal form is always followed by a modifying noun in the possessive slot of the NP (frequently a personal pronoun). The NP can take a sentential complement, as shown in (14.67) below (the complement clause is bracketed):

- (14.67) ...*ke-ingin-an*=ni [Ø-endo'=ni entelo emas semomon]...
 NOM-want=3s.I UV-take=3s.I egg gold all
 '...his desire was to take all the gold eggs...' (ansa' 012)

14.3.3.4 Immediate perception verbs

In §14.3.1.1 it was shown that perception predicates such as *kito* 'to see' and *kale* 'to hear' can take a sentential complement when they are used in the sense of acquiring knowledge, as opposed to

¹⁰ In Tagalog (and perhaps in Begak), the occurrence of a non-subject actor as controllee can be explained on the basis of anaphoric rather than functional control (see Kroeger 2004). A few Equi predicates in Tagalog are also capable of a functional control relation, where both controller and controllee are subjects irrespective of their semantic roles (Kroeger 2004:131).

immediate perception. When these verbs are used in the sense of immediate perception, they can take a complement expressing the action perceived, which necessarily must be interpreted as occurring simultaneous to the act of perception (see Noonan 1985:110). Syntactically, these CTPs resemble the ‘order/permit’ control verbs (§14.3.2.1) in that the undergoer of the matrix verb ‘controls’ the (missing) subject of the complement clause. However, the complement clause with immediate perception verbs is not required to be AV, in contrast with the ‘order/permit’ control verbs, as shown in (14.70). Examples:

(14.68) *Sangkalalana l-ul-ai te-kito=ni kerabaw [nembet d-angan dendo].*
 PN -ACT-run DC.PASS-see=3s.I buffalo AV.chase one-CL woman
 ‘Sangkalalana ran (and) he saw a buffalo chasing a woman.’ (biduk 116)

(14.69) *Nya’ beta, te-kale=ku jomo [ngatuk beluang bilik=ku].*
 NEG long.time DC.PASS -hear=1s.I person AV.knock door room=1s.I
 ‘It wasn’t long that I heard someone knocking on the door to my room.’ (beta’ kerungayan 071).

(14.70) “Za...!” *Mono-mono te-kale=ku oron=ku [p-in-au].*
 PN suddenly DC.PASS -hear=1s.I name=1s.I -PASS-call
 “‘Za...!’ Suddenly I heard my name being called.’

Note that the subordinate clauses shown in brackets above could be analyzed as participles, or as a type of relative clause modifying the undergoer argument of the matrix verb.¹¹ They could also be analyzed as ‘small clause’ objects, in which case the complement clause boundary would expand to include the preceding NP as its subject. However, given this analysis, we might expect some variation in the word order of the complement clause rather than the fixed AVU (or SV) order that these clauses appear to show.

¹¹ As noted by Noonan (1985:109, 140 [f.n. 33]), participles occur with immediate perception verbs in some languages, while relative clauses in this construction are less common.

14.4 Adverbial subordinate clauses

In the previous sections we considered relative clauses and complement clauses. We now turn to a third type of subordinate clause, called adverbial subordinate clauses. These clauses are adjuncts that modify verb phrases or entire sentences. In WC Bajau, adverbial subordinate clauses are often (though not always) introduced by a subordinating morpheme. In the following section I present the several types of adverbial subordinate clauses found in WC Bajau, roughly following the presentation of such clauses offered by Thompson and Longacre (1985).

14.4.1 Time clauses

Time phrases may be expressed as a single word or as clauses, in some cases introduced by a subordinating morpheme.

14.4.1.1 Time clauses with a subordinator

In WC Bajau, a variety of subordinating morphemes are used to express time adverbial clauses. Some of these forms apparently have been borrowed from Malay. A list of temporal adverbials in WC Bajau follows:

- | | | |
|---------|--------------|---|
| (14.71) | <i>paga</i> | ‘when’ |
| | <i>bila</i> | ‘when’ (Malay <i>bila</i>) |
| | <i>amun</i> | ‘if; when’ |
| | <i>beta’</i> | ‘at the time; while’ |
| | <i>masa</i> | ‘at the time; while’ (Malay <i>masa</i>) |
| | <i>waktu</i> | ‘at the time; when’ (Malay <i>waktu</i>) |
| | <i>lepas</i> | ‘after’ (Malay <i>lepas</i>) |

The following are illustrative sentences, with the adverbial subordinate clause shown in brackets. For those subordinators that mean ‘at the time; while’ (*beta’*, *masa*, *waktu*), the following (actor) pronoun in the temporal clause does not occur in its expected (set II) form but rather as the genitive (set I) form, as in (14.73). The reason for this phenomenon may be related to the fact that *waktu* and

masa can also be used as nouns in WC Bajau (as well as in Malay).¹² Temporal adverbial clauses in WC Bajau usually occur prior to the main clause, but not always, as shown in (14.74).

(14.72) [*Paga ai no Ø-beli=ni tiang rojo e*], *iyo pan ng-endo' paku...*
 when already UV-buy=3s.I post king DEM 3s.II TOP AV-take nail
 'When he had bought the king's post, he took a nail...' (abu nawas 037)

(14.73) [*waktu=ku muka moto=ku*], *ka'=ku ningkoo' en-sedi=ku.*
 when=1s.I AV.open eye=1s.I older.sibling=1s.I AV.sit PREP-beside=1s.I
 'When I opened my eyes, my older sister was sitting beside me.' (beta' kerungayan 078).

(14.74) *Jomo daras e beranti ng-amuk Hussin [amun te-kito=ni*
 Person strong DEM stop VBL-rage Hussin when DC.PASS-see=3s.I

sinsim ta' tangan Hussin e].
 ring PREP hand PN DEM
 'Strong Man stopped raging at Hussin when he saw the ring on Hussin's finger.'
 (baginda 103)

14.4.1.2 Time clauses without a subordinator

Many subordinate adverbial clause types that express time lack an overt subordinator, as described below.

The verb *teko* 'arrive' commonly forms the initial element of a subordinate time clause, without an explicit subordinator:

(14.75) [*Teko iyo pu'*] *kakal Hussin mandi en-diam telaga' e.*
 arrive 3s.II to.there still PN AV.bathe PREP-inside well DEM
 'When he arrived there, Hussin was still bathing in the well.' (baginda 086)

¹² Woollams (1996:335-6) identifies a similar phenomenon in Karo Batak for certain subordinate conjunctions of time meaning 'when' or 'while'. He claims that "Such syntactic behaviour points to the strongly nominal origins of such conjunctions, and is in fact analagous to the situation described for NPs when a noun head is modified by a Descriptive slot expounded by an independent clause, in which case any personal pronoun subject of the descriptive clause is 'advanced' and attached in enclitic form to the noun head". For a comparable construction in WC Bajau, see §14.2.2.2 above.

A common way to express the meaning ‘when’ or ‘after’ in WC Bajau is to begin the preposed time clause with the tense/aspect particles *ai* or *boi* followed by the particle *jo* and then the remainder of the clause, as shown in §12.6.2. In fact, the particle *jo* occurs frequently in time adverbial clauses where *jo* appears to signal that the clause is subordinate. Note the following example:

- (14.76) [*Beta jo gai boi l-um-aan*] *teko gai ta' laat asal gai*.
 long.time FOC 3p CMPL -ACT-go arrive 3p PREP place original 3p
 ‘A long time after they left, they arrived at their homeland.’ (baginda 123).

WC Bajau does not have a morpheme meaning ‘before’. Thompson and Longacre (1985:182) point out the “conceptually negative” feature of ‘before’ clauses in that they name an event that has not yet happened. It is thus not surprising that many languages use negation in combination with other elements to express their ‘before’ clauses. In WC Bajau, a ‘before’ clause is expressed by the negative particle *nya'* combined with the adverb *lagi* ‘still, yet’. The following is an example:

- (14.77) [*Nya' lagi iyo lumaan*] *iyang=ni nge-dede' sinsim...*
 NEG yet 3s.II go mother=3s.I AV-send ring
 ‘Before (her son) left, his mother sent (with him) a ring...’. (baginda 042)

14.4.1.3 *sambil* ‘while’

The subordinator *sambil* is used for expressing simultaneous action. Simultaneity clauses involve a temporal overlap between two actions, whether these are essentially coterminous (starting and stopping at the same time) or whether there is “a continuum of activity during which another activity takes place” (Longacre 1985:243). It is sometimes difficult to determine for a given language whether simultaneity constructions involve subordination or coordination. In WC Bajau, some evidence that *sambil* clauses are subordinate may be found in the fact that they may occur as either

the first or the second clause in the sentence (usually as the second). Normally coordination does not show this kind of variable order.¹³ Examples:

- (14.78) [*Sambil dela e nembali manuk*], *using engko' uwa' e*
 while man DEM AV.slaughter chicken cat and dog DEM
ng-enda'-ng-enda'.
 AV-watch-REDUP
 'While the man slaughtered the chicken, the cat and dog were watching.'
 (ngini using 017)

- (14.79) *Pe-sikot aku ng-enda' kayu e [sambil be-tutur engko' bangan jomo]*
 INTR-near 1s.II AV-look.at tree DEM while ACT-speech PREP PL person
 'I drew near to look at the tree while conversing with people.' (kayu ebba' 027)

In (14.78) the actor of the *sambil* clause is different than the actor of the main clause. In (14.79) the actor of the main and subordinate clauses is the same, and the actor of the subordinate clause has here been ellipsed. Such ellipsis is optional, however, as evidenced by the following example:

- (14.80) Ø-*Palu-palu=ni Sangsuriang [sambil=ni nangis]*.
 UV-hit-REDUP=3s.I PN while=3s.I AV.cry
 'She hit Sangsuriang repeatedly while she cried.' (biduk 076)

In (14.80), the actor of the subordinate clause is expressed in the clause, but as the possessive form of the pronoun (as with *bo'* above). In general, *sambil* prefers the possessive form of the actor in the clause it introduces, though a few instances have been found with a Set II pronominal actor following *sambil*. The voice of the verb in the *sambil* clause is almost always AV.¹⁴ Interestingly, for sentences like (14.80) the pronominal actor of the subordinate clause is identified with the actor of

¹³ Haspelmath (1995) points out that variable position is a criterion for subordination. Coordinate clauses may also show variable ordering, but when they do, "the crucial difference is that the meaning changes dramatically if the events are understood as sequential rather than simultaneous" (13-14). Of course, *sambil* encodes simultaneous action by its very meaning, so I am not sure if Haspelmath's criterion could be used with *sambil* to distinguish subordination from coordination.

¹⁴ Only in elicited examples could UV occur in the *sambil* clause, and even then it was not accepted by every language helper consulted.

the matrix clause, even if (as here) the actor in the matrix clause is not the subject. Perhaps this reflects the principle of actor continuity. We shall see that continuity of the actor is also important in interpreting the antecedent of the pronoun in clauses coordinated with *engko*' (§14.5.1).

14.4.3 *Locative clauses*

Thompson & Longacre (1985) state that “locative clauses in some languages have the shape of relative clauses” (183). In WC Bajau, locative clauses use a similar strategy, where the head noun *tungan* meaning ‘place’ is modified by a complement clause in the descriptive slot in the NP. This construction was described in §14.2.2.2 above. An additional example follows:

- (14.81) *Di-kau' lagi b-in-ersi tungan [langaw e ng-entelo].*
 one-CL more -PASS-clean place fly DEM VBL-egg
 ‘Another (method) is to clean up places where flies lay eggs.’ (masala langaw 047).

This strategy is similar to that used for Indonesian (Sneddon 1996:291), which has locative relative clauses introduced by *tempat* ‘(lit.) place’ or *di mana* ‘where’.

14.4.4 *Manner clauses*

In WC Bajau, subordinate manner clauses are encoded differently, depending upon the particular semantic relationship involved. Where the meaning is one of resemblance, the usual subordinator is *dokon* ‘like, as’,¹⁵ though sometimes *masam* (borrowed from Malay *macam*) is used:

- (14.82) *uran pan duwai [dokon nge-dua lumaan-an iyang=ku].*
 rain EMPH come.down PREP VBL-prayer go-NOM mother=1s.I
 ‘... rain came down as if praying for mother’s journey.’ (beta’ kerungayan 091)
- (14.83) *Be-sinar-sinar no emas e [masam keadaan kampung e tunu'].*
 DSTR-shine-REDUP FOC gold DEM like condition village DEM burn
 ‘The gold shimmered as though the village were burning.’ (uwa’ suk 054)

¹⁵ Recall that *dokon* ‘like, as’ can also function as a preposition; see §11.3.2.4.

Where the meaning is the means by which an action was accomplished, the subordinate clause begins directly with the verb *pakay* ‘to use’, which in this construction always occurs as the AV form *makay*.

Often *makay* can easily be translated ‘with’, and in fact it may function here as a preposition.

Examples:

(14.84) *Bue' tebu e s-in-ambut [makay upak pinang selalu]*
 water sugarcane DEM -PASS-receive AV.use flower.sheath areca.nut always
 ‘The sugarcane water was usually collected using the flower sheath of the areca nut palm...’. (nandas tebu 065)

(14.85) *...ai pe-patay Mastura [makay batu].*
 PERF CAUS-die PN AV.use rock
 ‘... Mastura killed (the snake) with a rock.’ (rupiah 005)

14.4.5 Condition clauses

Condition clauses in WC Bajau are usually introduced by the subordinator *amun* ‘if, when’.

When the conditional is used in a predictive (future) sense, no distinction is made as to the likelihood of the future event.¹⁶ The following are some examples of condition clauses in WC Bajau:

(14.86) [*Amun uun pakir teko*] *p-in-andi no ke-kanak e.*
 when EXIST relig.man arrive -PASS-bathe FOC REDUP-child DEM
 ‘When the religious man arrives, the child is bathed.’ (bejogo 010)

(14.87) [*Amun manuk kekuak nya' lagi kau lupus muat*
 if chicken crow NEG yet 2p.II finish AV.do

duo sarat e], bana no kau anak=ku.
 two condition DEM true now 2s.II child=1s.I

‘If the rooster crows before you have finished meeting the two conditions, then you are truly my son.’ (biduk 138)

(14.88) “*Kee jamban e arus t-in-ombol [amun nya' no p-in-akay]...*”
 hole toilet DEM should -PASS-close if NEG now -PASS-use
 “Toilet openings should be covered if/when they are not being used...” (masala langaw 040).

¹⁶ Indonesian is similar to WC Bajau in this respect; see Sneddon 1996:342-343.

Negative conditionals in WC Bajau are expressed either by *amun* followed by a negator such as *nya*’ (as in (14.88) above), or by the phrase *dong jo* ‘unless’:¹⁷

- (14.89) “*Dong jo liud, pu’ aku me-ruma’=nu maung.*”
 unless flood to.there 1s.II PREP-house=2s.I tomorrow
 “Unless it floods, I will come to your house tomorrow.”

Concessive conditionals in WC Bajau are expressed by the subordinator *ensan* ‘even if’, which is the same form used for the definite concessive ‘even though’ (see §14.4.9.1 below).

14.4.6 Reason clauses

WC Bajau expresses subordinate clauses of reason using the following subordinators, which may all be translated ‘because’:

- (14.90) (*ule*) *sebab* (Malay *sebab*)
pasal (Malay *pasal*)¹⁸
 (*ule*) *kerna, kerana*’ (Malay *kerana*)
podo

There seems to be little if any difference in meaning whatever subordinator is used. Most likely, *podo* is the older form, whereas *sebab*, *pasal*, and *kerna/ kerana*’ are Malay borrowings, having largely supplanted *podo* in common use. Usually, a subordinate reason clause follows the main clause. The subordinate clause must precede the main clause when the subordinator includes *ule*’.

Examples:

- (14.91) *Dela pisok e s-in-oo’ ngenduk [pasal gai too no...].*
 man blind DEM -PASS-order fetch.water because 3p old now
 ‘The blind man was instructed to fetch water because they were now old...’
 (jomo pisok 011)

¹⁷ The phrase *dong jo* is composed of the negative imperative word *dong* plus the *jo* particle; *dong jo* seems to function here as a phrasal unit.

¹⁸ In Malay, *pasal* can mean ‘cause’, ‘reason’ but (at least formally) cannot be used as a subordinator ‘because’.

- (14.92) *Suap-suap tu nya' ke-tentu-an ruo=ni, [podo enggai ko'*
hut DET NEG NOM-certain shape=3s.I because NEG PRT
t-in-unggu-an].
PASS-look.after-TZ
‘The hut was dilapidated, for it was not looked after.’ (mat salleh 021)
- (14.93) [*Ule' kerna male' bana], Deli ningkoo'-ningkoo'...*
because tired very PN sit-REDUP
‘Because he was very tired, Deli relaxed...’. (dela piatu 011)

The subordinator *kang* ‘lest’ indicates a future undesired event or state which can be avoided on account of some action taken in the present:

- (14.94) “*Dong aku Ø-kasaw=nu, kang mule' aku.*”
NEG.IMP 1s.II UV-harass=2s.I lest ACT-go.home 1s.II
“Don’t harass me, or else I’ll go home.”

14.4.7 Purpose clauses

As Thompson and Longacre (1985:187) point out, “Many languages have distinct syntax for purpose clauses whose subject is the same as the main clause subject as opposed to those whose subject is different.” In WC Bajau, the relevant distinction is not ‘different subject’ but rather ‘different actor’. WC Bajau uses one strategy that is limited to handling same-actor purpose clauses, and a different strategy which can accommodate both same-actor and different-actor purpose clauses.

In WC Bajau, same-actor purpose clauses are usually expressed by a control relation. Some argument (usually but not always the subject) in the main clause controls the (missing) subject argument in the subordinate clause, and there is no subordinator. With this construction, the verb in the main clause is often an intransitive motion verb such as *lumaan* ‘to go’ or *teko* ‘to arrive’. The verb in the subordinate clause (when transitive) may be AV, UV, or passive. The following are examples:

- (14.95) *L-um-aan no Hussin [memia emma'=ni]*.
 -ACT-move FOC PN AV.look.for father=3s.I
 'Hussin went off to look for his father.' (baginda 041)
- (14.96) *Ella=ni pan lebi awal lagi bangun [ng-endo' bue']*.
 husband=3s.I TOP more early still get.up AV-take water
 'Her husband got up yet earlier to fetch water.' (biduk 051)
- (14.97) ...*iyo ingin maku paray dekiit [Ø-boo=ni*
 3p want AV.ask.for paddy.rice little UV-bring=3s.I
mule' ta' laa].
 ACT.go.home PREP country
 'He wanted to ask for a little paddy rice to bring (it) home to (his) country.'
- (14.98) *Te-bangga' uwa' be-laan-an Ø-rungkup gai [b-in-oo mule']*.
 DC.PASS-meet dog DISTR-move UV-snatch 3p -PASS-bring ACT.go.home
 '(They) came across some roving dogs (and) they snatched (them) up to bring
 (them) home.' (uwa' suk 096)

In (14.95) and (14.96), the controller in the matrix clause is the actor (and subject), and the (missing) subject in the complement clause is the actor (hence the subordinate clause is AV). In (14.97), the controller in the matrix clause is the undergoer (and not the subject), and the (missing) subject in the complement clause is the undergoer (hence the subordinate clause is UV). In (14.98) the controller is the undergoer subject, and the controllee is the (missing) subject of a passive clause. In all these examples, the actor in the matrix clause is the same as the actor in the subordinate clause, such that actor continuity appears to be the primary requirement for the control purpose construction.

A different strategy, involving a sentential rather than an open complement, is employed when the actor in the subordinate purpose clause is different than the actor in the matrix clause. Here the subordinator *endo'* or *supaya* 'so that' is used. Most likely, *endo'* is the original form, with *supaya* being borrowed more recently into the language (from Malay *supaya* 'so that'). In this construction, the subject in the subordinate clause is optionally expressed, and the subordinate clause verb (when transitive) may be any voice. Examples:

(14.99) *Bilang-bilang kemuap gai nge-lesa engko' nebug*
 every afternoon 3p AV-clean and AV.make.smoke

[*supaya namuk lai*]...

so.that mosquito move.away

'Every afternoon they cleared (brush) and produced smoke so that mosquitoes would go away...'. (namuk 003)

(14.100) *...bo' gai nge-muwaw-an pipit=ni, [endo' nya' Ø-kakan pipit*
 then 3p AV-shoo.birds-TZ sparrow=3s.I so.that NEG UV-eat sparrow

paray e].

paddy.rice DEM

'Then they shoo the sparrows away so that the sparrows won't eat the rice.'

(tonom paray 011)

While (14.99) and (14.100) have different actors in the matrix and subordinate clauses, this construction is also possible with same-actor purpose clauses. In (14.101) below, the actor of the purpose clause (*gai* '3p') is the same as that in the matrix clause, and is optionally expressed in the subordinate clause:

(14.101) *Bila ai songom gai awal turi [endo' (gai) awal bangun sinsaung]*.
 when PERF night 3p early sleep so.that 3p early get.up morning
 'When it was night, they went to sleep early so that (they) could get up early.' (adapted from jomo pisok 024).

14.4.8 Extent clauses

Clauses of extent "indicate that the action of the main clause continues to the extent that the action of the subordinate clause results" (Sneddon 1996:344, in describing extent clauses for Indonesian). So defined, extent clauses overlap semantically with reason and purpose clauses, both of which provide "explanations for the occurrence of a given state or action" (Thompson and Longacre 1985:185). In WC Bajau, the subordinator used for extent clauses is *sampay* 'to the extent that; until; so that',¹⁹ and is probably a borrowing from Malay/ Indonesian *sampai*. Examples:

¹⁹ The word *sampay* 'until' can also function as a preposition (§11.3.2.5).

(14.102) *Nya' no te-padul=ni mangan [sampay suk no iyo].*
 NEG FOC DC.PASS-bother=3s.I AV.eat until thin FOC 3s.II
 'She did not bother to eat, to the extent that she became thin.' (kerabaw 060)

(14.103) *Anak kerabaw e pan aruk-aruk no memia indu'=ni*
 child buffalo DEM FOC roam-REDUP FOC AV.look.for mother=3s.I

[*sampay teko en-jata' belud*]...
 until arrive PREP-on.top hill

'The buffalo's child roamed about in search of its mother until it reached the top of a mountain...'. (kerabaw 007)

14.4.9 Concessive clauses

Thompson & Longacre (1985) distinguish two kinds of concessive clauses: definite, marked by a concessive subordinator such as 'although' in English; and indefinite, which contain "some unspecified element, typically an indefinite pronoun or question word", having meanings like 'no matter what' or 'whoever' (198).

14.4.9.1 Definite concessive clauses

In WC Bajau, definite concessive clauses are marked by the subordinator *ensan* 'although, even though'. Alternatively, the subordinator *walau* (*pan*) may be used, which is probably borrowed from Malay *walau*(*pun*). Whichever subordinator is used, concessive clauses may occur prior to or following the main clause. The following are examples:

(14.104) [*Ensan entelo emas akan pe-lua'*] *e pan ai lanyap.*
 although egg gold about.to INTR-outside DEM EMPH PERF disappeared
 'Although a gold egg was about to come out, it was gone.' (ansa' 015)

(14.105) *Tapi' jomo e nge-rati [walau pan gai nya' mara'].*
 but person DEM AV-know although 3p NEG AV.tell
 'But the man knew even though they did not tell (him).' (namuk 049)

14.4.9.2 Indefinite concessive clauses

Indefinite clauses use the same subordinating conjunctions (*ensan*, *walau* (*pan*)) as for definite concessive clauses, but with the addition of a question word following the subordinator. The following are examples of indefinite concessive clauses:

(14.106) *Uwa' e mara' mesti' jo iyo mendo anak rojo e*
dog DEM AV.tell must FOC 3s.II AV.propose child king DEM

[*walau iyan belaku*].

although what happen

'The dog said that he must propose (in marriage) to the king's daughter no matter what happened.' (uwa' suk 026)

(14.107) *Tapi' [ensan pian pan male' te-reso], atay=ku sukup sanang...*
but although how EMPH tired DC.PASS-feel liver=1s.I enough happy
'But however tired (I) felt, I was very happy...'. (beta' kerungayan 006)

14.5 Coordination

Coordination involves the joining together of two or more syntactically equivalent units, whether words, phrases, or clauses. Coordination in WC Bajau is typically expressed by coordinating conjunctions. The most common of these are shown in (14.108) below:

(14.108) *engko'* 'and'
atau 'or' (Malay *atau*)
tapi' 'but' (Malay *tapi*, *tetapi*)
jadi 'so; therefore' (Malay *jadi*)
bo' '(and) then'

14.5.1 *engko'* 'and'

The conjunction *engko'* 'and' may be used to coordinate two or more units, such as noun phrases

(14.109), VPs (14.110), or clauses (14.111). Examples:

(14.109) *Jomo e Ø-sedio-on gai tilam engko' bantal diam bilik*
person DEM UV-prepare-APPL 3p mattress and pillow inside room
'They prepared for him a mattress and pillow in a room.' (namuk 051)

- (14.110) *Uun debagi pe mandi, ngenduk engko' mandi*
 EXIST some to.there AV.bathe fetch.water and AV.bathe
bengen anak-anak=ni.
 PL child-REDUP=3s.I
 'Some had gone there to bathe, to fetch water, and to bathe their children.' (baginda 071)
- (14.111) ... *iyu lulai s-in-embet ole' Sangkalalana engko' Ø-bono'=ni*
 3s.II run -PASS-chase PREP PN and UV-kill=3s.I
emma' dendo e.
 father woman DEM
 '...he ran, being chased by Sangkalalana, and/then he (Sangkalalana)
 killed the woman's father.' (biduk 113)

Note that a passive (oblique) actor in (14.111) is interpreted as the antecedent for the pronoun *ni* in the second clause. Thus continuity of the actor is preserved, whatever the syntactic status of the antecedent. Since actors are most likely to be topics, this probably reflects a discourse strategy for preserving topic continuity.

14.5.2 *atau* 'or'

The conjunction *atau* 'or' can be used to join noun phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases, or predicates. Usually *atau* is not used to coordinate clauses, although the elicited example shown in (14.114) was fine with one of two language helpers. Examples:

- (14.112) *Jadi e no ke-jadi-an lintu e en-diam bue' suang*
 so DEM FOC NOM-origin leech DEM PREP-inside water river
atau diam ranaw...
 or inside paddy
 'So that is the origin of the leech in river water or in paddies...'. (asal lintu 034)
- (14.113) *Diam masa de-m-buan atau pan duo em-buan, ...*
 inside time one-CNT-month or also two CNT-month
 'In one or two months...'. (nandas tebu 054)
- (14.114) (?) *Aku ng-ajar tuisyen ellaw Sabtu atau endo=ku ng-ajar ellaw Aad.*
 1s.II AV-teach tuition Saturday or wife=1s.I AV-teach Sunday
 'Either I will teach tuition on Saturday or my wife will teach on Sunday.'

14.5.3 *tapi* ‘but’

The conjunction *tapi* ‘but’ frequently joins two main clauses:

(14.115) *S-in-embet iyo tapi’ tuan puteri tapuk.*

-PASS-chase 3s.II but princess hide

‘She (the princess) was chased but the princess hid.’ (biduk 044)

(14.116) *Buli pan ella=ni mandi tapi’ nya’ buli t-in-ata’ engko’ sabuk.*

may EMPH husband=3s.I AV.bathe but NEG may -PASS-pour.on PREP pail

‘It was fine for her husband to bathe (the child) but (the child) was not to have water poured on (him) using a pail.’ (linta 012)

Apart from joining two clauses, *tapi*’ may also serve as a linker, to connect two sentences.

Specifically, *tapi*’ is a contrast linker, “sometimes indicating that the action of the second sentence occurs despite what is stated in the first sentence” (Sneddon 1996:358-9, describing contrast linkers in Indonesian). Example:

(14.117) *Lapas e Ø-bujak bengen kuli’ emma’ dendo e.*

after DEM UV-spear PL servant father woman DEM

Tapi’ dendo e l-ul-ai em-bunda’ Sangkalalana.

but woman DEM -ACT-run PREP-in.front PN

‘After that, the woman’s father’s servants speared (Sangkalalana). But the woman ran in front of Sangkalalana.’ (biduk 110-111)

14.5.4 *jadi* ‘so; therefore’

The conjunction *jadi* ‘so, therefore’ (sometimes pronounced *jaji*) is frequently used to join two main clauses where the state of affairs expressed in the first clause is the logical precedent for the state of affairs predicated in the second clause. Examples:

- (14.118) *Gamut=ni nya' pe-lele pe-tio jadi iyo buli ebba'*
 root=3s.I NEG crawl INTR-far so 3s.II can topple
- semberen-semberen jo bila beriu daras niup.*
 when-REDUP FOC when wind strong ACT.blow
 'The roots did not extend very far, so it could fall over at any time when a strong wind blew.' (kayu bba' 045)

It is possible for *jadi* to link a subordinate reason clause introduced by *ule' kerna* to a following main clause:

- (14.119) *Ule' kerna keputusan peperiksoon=ku ta' PMR alap, jadi*
 because result examination=1s.I PREP PN good so
- badu engko' tudung e kono' sebagai hadiah iyang=ku m-aku.*
 shirt and head.covering DEM hearsay as gift mother=1s.I PREP-1s.II
 'Because the result of my PMR exam was good, the shirt and head covering were said to be like my mother's gift to me.' (beta' kerungayan 023)

The word *jadi* may also link two sentences, where it has a temporal and/or logical meaning.

Example:

- (14.120) *Setanga jam jo abis no badan anak=ni jadi linta.*
 half hour just complete FOC body child=3s.I become leech
- Jadi linta e ng-ogo no sab en-diam telaga'.*
 so leech DEM AV-go.to FOC PRT PREP-inside well
 'In just half an hour her child's body had completely become a leech. So the leech went inside a well.' (asal linta 030-31)

14.5.5 *bo'* '(and) then'

The conjunction *bo'* '(and) then' marks temporal succession between two clauses. Examples:

(14.121) *Aku pan pungkad, bo'=ku muka beluang.*
 1s.II TOP get.up then=1s.I AV.open door
 'I got up, and opened the door.' (beta' kerungayan 072)

(14.122) *Deli tarus pu' ta' tungan badu e, bo'=ni ng-endo'*
 PN immediately to.there PREP place shirt DEM then=3s.I AV-take
di-kau' badu...
 one-CL shirt
 'Deli went right away to the place where the shirts were, and he took one shirt...'. (dela piatu 021)

Note that, when a pronominal actor follows *bo'* in the second clause, it takes the possessive form. This pattern was also observed for certain time subordinators such as *waktu, beta'*, etc. and with the actor of descriptive phrases modifying the head noun *tungan* 'place'. However, *bo'* does not function like a subordinating conjunction. Its meaning '(and) then' is typical of coordinate constructions, and it identifies the main clause when paired with a subordinate clause, as in (14.123) below:

(14.123) *Boi jo salin badu, bo'=ku ningkoo'-ningkoo' ta' pentaran*
 after change shirt then=1s.I sit-REDUP PREP porch
ruma' punduk-punduk.
 House way.of.sitting-REDUP
 'After changing clothes, I sat on the porch with my knees pulled up.' (beta' kerungayan 019)

If *bo'* were a subordinating conjunction, then sentences like (14.123) would consist of two subordinate clauses, which is not plausible unless this use of *bo'* involved a correlative structure where neither clause could occur on its own.

The word *bo'* may also serve as a linker between sentences. Here *bo'* sometimes marks the resumption of temporally-sequenced (storyline) material, as shown in (14.124) below:

- (14.124) *Nya' aku pesoyo iyan Ø-bara' doktor e. Bo'=ku*
 NEG s.II believe what UV-tell doctor DEM then=1s.I

l-ul-ai sorop pu' ta' wad...
 -ACT-run heading to.there PREP ward
 'I didn't believe what the doctor said. Then I ran heading for the ward...'.
 (beta' kerungayan 037-038)

The clause introduced by *bo'* is usually but not obligatorily AV with a transitive verb. Note the following sentence, with a passive verb in the *bo'* clause:

- (14.125) *Lekat en-derio pu' en-delut teko en-sedi ruma'*
 from PREP-upriver to.there PREP-downriver arrive PREP-beside house

bo'=ni b-in-aba'.
 then=3s.I -PASS-carry
 'From upriver to downriver (we rafted) until we reached the house. Then (the wood) was carried on our shoulders (up to the house).' (jomo beramu 020)

14.6 Parataxis

Parataxis is the conjoining of clauses without the use of a coordinator. In WC Bajau, parataxis occurs quite frequently in discourse, and may be marked by an intonational break between clauses.²⁰

Sometimes the juxtaposed clauses are related by means of temporal succession. Examples:

- (14.126) *Ella=ni pan teko, Ø-bono'=ni jomo raat e.*
 husband=3s.I TOP arrive UV-kill=3s.I person bad DEM
 'Her husband arrived, (and) he killed the bad man.' (biduk 045)

²⁰ This needs further investigation. Many of the texts in my corpus do not regularly mark pauses, with the result that I find many juxtaposed clauses with no clear indication whether or not a pause break occurs between them. However, for the sentences shown above, pauses (marked by commas) were confirmed by a language helper.

- (14.127) *Alap pan, uun d-angan jomo too pe ta' suang e,*
 good EMPH EXIST one-CL person old to.there PREP river DEM
te-kito=ni Sangsuriang.
 DC.PASS-see=3s.I PN
 'Fortunately, there was an old man who went to the river, (and) he saw
 Sangsuriang.' (biduk 080).

Many times, the subject in the second clause is deleted, in what appears to be pro-drop:

- (14.128) ... *dela e tapuk en-diam kera', ng-agad songom.*
 male DEM hide PREP-inside kind.of.tree AV-wait night
 'The man hid inside a *kera*' tree, (and) waited for nightfall.' (namuk 012)
- (14.129) *Dendo e Ø-selamat=ni, Ø-dede'-an=ni pu' me-ruma'.*
 woman DEM UV-save=3s.I UV-send-TZ=3s.I to.there PREP-house
 'He saved the woman, (and) he sent (her) home.' (biduk 103)
- (14.130) *Jomo e sini' nedio enselan di-kau' tin engko'*
 person DEM earlier AV.prepare gasoline one-CL can and
kendidip, Ø-boo=ni pu' ta' ruma' dela e.
 matches UV-bring=3s.I to.there PREP house man DEM
 'The man prepared a tin of gasoline and matches (and) he brought (them) to
 the fellow's house.' (namuk 033)

In (14.130), note that the deleted undergoer (subject) argument in the second clause does not refer to the subject of the first clause, but rather to a non-subject DCA (the AV undergoer). We have already seen, with clauses coordinated by *engko'* or subordinated by *sambil*, that a pronominal actor in the second clause takes as its antecedent the actor argument in the first clause, regardless of the syntactic status of the antecedent (which has the effect of preserving actor continuity). Similarly, interpretation of the null pronoun for a coordinate structure such as (14.130) above appears not to be sensitive to the syntactic status of the antecedent in the first clause.

Sometimes the meaning expressed by parataxis is one of elaboration, where the second clause “may convey a reason or an outcome of what was referred to in the first clause” (Eades 2005:316, describing one kind of parataxis in Gayo). Note the following examples:

(14.131) *Tio bana gai l-um-aan, pe-lekat sinsaung teko kemuap...*
 far very 3p -ACT-go INTR-from morning arrive afternoon
 ‘They traveled very far, leaving in the morning and arriving in the late afternoon...’. (jomo beramu 002)

(14.132) “*Daa kau manas e, aku ke-kuri jo.*”
 NEG.IMP 2s.II ACT-angry DEM 1s.II REDUP-play only
 “Don’t you be angry, I’m only playing around.” (ngini using 053)

(14.133) *Reso=ni doko’ reso ungu, kasar.*
 feel=3s.I PREP feel sand rough
 ‘It’s texture was like the texture of sand, (it was) rough.’ (nandas tebu 114)

14.7 Serialization

Serialization is where two verbs “are juxtaposed in such a way that they act as a single predicate” (Durie 1988:3). As such, Durie notes the following characteristics of serial verbs: (1) they share one or more core arguments; (2) neither verb is subordinate to the other; (3) typically there is no marker of subordination or coordination; (4) there is no intonational or morphological indication of a clause boundary; and (5) the two verbs cannot have separate scope for such features as tense, mood, and negation.

In WC Bajau, serialization involves two verbs that share a single subject NP, and there is no intonation break (though admittedly these are features that might also characterize a functional control relation). At least two semantic relationships are possible with serialization in WC Bajau: accompaniment and reason.

14.7.1 Accompaniment

The AV verb *nuut* ‘to join, to participate’ frequently occurs in a serial construction with a following verb (or verbs) that express the activity participated in. Note the the following examples:

(14.134) *Bo'=ni* [*nuut*] [*mandi*] *ta'* *bangan ka'=ni*.
 then=3s.I AV.join AV-bathe PREP PL older.sibling=3s.I
 'Then she joined her older sisters to bathe.' (salaudin 007)

(14.135) *Iyo pan* [*nuut*] [*numpang*] [*turi ta' ruma' jomo too e*].
 3s.II TOP AV.join AV.stay.overnight sleep PREP house person old DEM
 'He joined (the old man) to stay overnight at the old man's house.' (baginda 059)

It might be asked whether these examples instead show a type of complement clause, perhaps a purpose clause as described in §14.4.7 above. Consider the sentence shown in (14.134). In a complement clause analysis, we would predict that the PP (*ta' bangan ka'=ni*) would occur in a separate (complement) clause beginning with *mandi* 'to swim'. However, as shown in (14.136) below, the verb *mandi* by itself is not compatible with the PP:

(14.136) **Bo'=ni mandi ta' bangan ka'=ni*.
 then=3s.I AV.bathe PREP PL older.sibling=3s.I
 'Then she swim at/with (?) her older sisters.'

In order for the PP to be acceptable with *mandi* alone, a different noun phrase is needed in the PP, such as *paip* 'water pipe' in place of (or preceding) *bangan ka'=ni* 'older sisters'. Furthermore, it does not work to simply replace *nuut* in (14.134) with a different motion verb such as *lumaan* 'to go', as shown in (14.137) below:

(14.137) **Bo'=ni [l-um-aan] [mandi] ta' bangan ka'=ni*.

Clearly in (14.134) the verb *nuut* subcategorizes for the PP. The only satisfactory explanation for the occurrence of the PP following the second verb (*mandi*) is to posit that both verbs occur juxtaposed in a single clause, allowing for the PP to occur freely at the end of the clause.

14.7.2 Reason

In the 'reason' serialization construction, the first verb is a change of state verb and the second is a passive or UV verb whose shared argument with the first verb is an undergoer. The first clause

expresses the change of state and the second clause expresses the reason why the change of state occurred. The only examples I have found with the ‘reason’ type of serialization involve *matay* ‘to die’ as the change of state verb. Examples:

- (14.138) *En-diam pe-bono-on e Hassan [ai matay]*
 PREP-inside NOM-fight DEM PN PERF ACT.die
 [*b-in-ono' ole' jomo-jomo raat*].
 -PASS-kill PREP person-REDUP bad
 ‘In the battle, Hassan died (from being) killed by the evil men.’ (baginda 022)

- (14.139) *Dendo e [matay] [te-rua' bujak emma'=ni.]*²¹
 woman DEM ACT.die DC.PASS-struck spear father=3s.I
 ‘The woman died from being struck by her father’s spear.’ (biduk 112)

An alternative analysis would be that sentences like (14.138) and (14.139) are not cases of serialization (=monoclausal) but rather show another type of reason clause (see §14.4.6), which is structurally similar to a same-actor purpose clause (§14.4.7). Further investigation might determine the monoclausal vs. biclausal status of these sentences, and also whether other statives besides *matay* can occur in this construction.

²¹ In this example the verb *terua* ‘struck’ appears to function both syntactically and morphologically as a decontrolled passive (and is glossed that way), but it may be a frozen form since I have not encountered any other derivations of **rua*’.

CHAPTER 15

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have described the major phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures of WC Bajau. Among the various features of the grammar, the voice system is of crucial importance, because it interacts with many other features of the language such as word order, the morphology of intransitive verbs, applicativization, inflection for mood, and some clause-combining operations. A central claim of this work is that WC Bajau has a ‘symmetrical voice’ system with a transitive UV-AV alternation. The main opposing hypothesis, that WC Bajau is an ergative voice system featuring a derived intransitive antipassive, has proved untenable: the AV construction in WC Bajau is often both syntactically transitive (the undergoer is a direct core argument) and semantically highly transitive (the undergoer is both definite and specific). The fact that WC Bajau also has a ‘true’ passive (marked by *-in-*) which does involve a clear syntactic demotion highlights (by way of contrast) the non-demoting nature of the UV-AV voice alternation. Thus, although an ergative analysis has been posited for several related Sama-Bajaw languages such as Sama Bangingi’ (Gault 1999) and Sama Pangutaran (Walton 1986), it clearly is not the best analysis for WC Bajau.

In addition to the symmetry observed with the morphosyntactic transitivity of both AV and UV constructions, WC Bajau also shows (partial) symmetry in that a verb phrase (VP) constituent occurs to some extent in both voices. There is clear evidence for a VP in the UV construction, where the verb + actor constituent is inseparable regardless of the form (pronominal or otherwise) of the actor argument. Evidence for a VP in the AV construction is mixed, since the verb + undergoer constituent is only inseparable under certain conditions (see §6.2.1.1.4). This pattern of a VP in one or both voices has been cited in several Indonesian-type languages, including Pendau, Toba Batak, Karo

Batak, and Balinese (where the VP is in both voices), and Lauje (where the VP is only in the undergoer voice) (Ross 2002:458).

Indeed, from a typological perspective, WC Bajau patterns in most respects like an Indonesian-type language and unlike a Philippine-type language. Recall from Chapter 1 that an Indonesian-type language, according to the criteria identified by Arka and Ross (2005:7), normally exhibits a two-voice system (actor and undergoer) “supplemented by applicative suffixes” which allow NPs of various semantic roles to become undergoer. We have seen that WC Bajau has a basic two-voice system and also possess an applicative suffix (*-an_I*) which may occur freely with either UV or AV marking on the verb to promote various oblique semantic roles (e.g., beneficiary-recipient, locative, or theme) to undergoer. WC Bajau does have two affixes (‘instrument’ *peN-* and ‘location’ *pe(N)- + -an*) which do not pattern clearly as applicatives and might be regarded alternatively as voice markers or as nominalizing affixes. Their ambiguous status points to the difficulty of locating WC Bajau squarely in the ‘Indonesian-type’ category as it appears to retain some morphology of an (older?) multiple voice system more characteristic of Philippine-type languages.

Even so, in most respects WC Bajau seems closer to Malay (an Indonesian-type language), particularly in its syntax, than it does to the Philippine-type languages—including most of the indigenous Sabahan languages, and those Sama-Bajaw languages spoken in the southern Philippines (whose classification as ‘Philippine-type’ is perhaps uncertain). Blust (2002:72) has noted the following “historically repeated sequence of changes” across several widely separated western Austronesian languages:

1. loss of focus system (by which he means 3 or more voices, where a different case role is ‘focused’ in each voice construction)
2. VS order changes to SV order in active (= transitive) constructions
3. VS order changes to SV order in intransitive and passive constructions

WC Bajau has apparently lost its ‘focus system’ and shows the basic UV-AV alternation. Furthermore, VS order has largely become SV order in the actor voice, partially so in the undergoer voice. Verb-initial syntax seems more prevalent with intransitive and passive constructions, meaning that WC Bajau is currently in Step 2 of Blust’s sequence. In contrast, Philippine-type languages (including here the Sama-Bajaw languages spoken in the Philippines) do have focus systems (albeit to varying degrees), and they are characterized by verb-initial syntax in all voices. Hence they do not (yet) show evidence of undergoing the sequence of changes identified by Blust.

The following table summarizes the ways in which WC Bajau patterns like Malay and unlike the majority of neighboring indigenous languages of Sabah and those Sama-Bajaw languages spoken in the southern Philippines (which are more like Philippine-type languages):

Table 15.1 WC Bajau and its relation to Malay and other neighboring languages

WC Bajau & Malay	Indigenous languages of Sabah, and Sama-Bajaw languages spoken in the Philippines
no focus system (or greatly reduced)	three or four-term (or more) focus system
subject-initial word order in actor voice clauses	verb-initial word order in all voices
definite and/or specific undergoer possible in either voice	definite and/or specific undergoer by default linked to an undergoer voice
co-occurrence of actor voice and applicative suffixes	no co-occurrence of actor voice with applicatives (apart from Sama Pangutaran)

This dissertation fills a gap in our knowledge of voice systems in languages of Borneo. Ross (2002b:453) states that “we still have little detailed knowledge” about the Philippine-type languages of Borneo “and the transition between them and Indonesian-type languages”. This grammar of WC Bajau presents evidence for such a transition, in that its syntax appears to have progressed more in the direction of an Indonesian-type language than is true of its sister languages spoken in the Sulu region of the Philippines. The reason(s) for this are not certain. However, if Blust (2005) is correct in his

hypothesis that proto-Sama Bajaw likely had an Indonesian origin (in southeast Kalimantan) (see §1.1.1), then that fact, coupled with the early migration of the WC Bajau to Sabah and their extensive language and culture contact with the Malayic world, has likely contributed to its present syntactic similarities with Malay (an Indonesian-type language). Conversely, those Sama-Bajaw peoples who did not migrate further than the Philippines, but settled there instead, may have assimilated more toward the Philippine-type languages. The question is not resolved here, but may be an interesting topic for further research.

APPENDIX A
SAMPLE TEXT (*KERABAW*)

The folk tale *Kerabaw* was narrated by Jika Binte Sito (now deceased) of Pendasan village, Kota Belud District. The story was written down and edited by Edith Mirafuentes, likely with the help of her WC Bajau assistant, Kaili Bte Said. Edith made the text available for my corpus. All glosses and the free translation are my own, though my translation is really an adaption of Edith's original work.

Kerabaw is the story of a mother water buffalo and her seven human daughters. The daughters are eventually kidnapped and taken as wives by princes in the land. The mother searches for her children long and hard, but when she finally reaches them, is killed by one of her own daughters. Another of her daughters faithfully carries out her last wish and is rewarded in the end. The story extols the virtues of a mother's sacrificial love and of the need for children to honor their parents.

- (1) *Dau-dau tu kono' iko bana kerabaw tenga' padang.*
 first-REDUP DEM hearsay many very buffalo middle field
 'A long time ago it is said that there were many buffalo in the fields.'
- (2) *Uun di-kau' kerabaw warna=ni pute'.*
 EXIST one-CL buffalo color=3s.I white
 'There was a certain buffalo whose color was white.'
- (3) *Kerabaw e betong.*
 buffalo DEM pregnant
 'The buffalo was pregnant.'
- (4) *Jadi bila te-reso=ni betong=ni pedi, kerabaw e pan*
 so when DC.PASS-feel=3s.I stomach=3s. hurt buffalo DEM TOP

memia tungan=ni ng-anak.
 AV.look.for place=3s.I VBL-child
 'So when she felt her labor pains coming, the buffalo looked for a place to give birth.'
- (5) *Bila ai ng-anak, pe-lua' anak=ni dendo.*
 when PERF VBL-child INTR-outside child=3s.I female
 'When (she) gave birth, out came a daughter.'
- (6) *Nya' beta indu' kerabaw e ai matay.*
 NEG long.time mother buffalo DEM PERF die
 'Not long after, the mother buffalo died.'

- (7) *Anak kerabaw e pan aruk-aruk no memia indu'=ni*
 child buffalo DEM TOP stab=REDUP FOC AV.look.for mother=3s.I
sampay teko en-jata' belud nyaun jo no en-temu.
 until arrive PREP-on.top hill NEG.EXIST FOC FOC PASS-found
 'The buffalo's child roamed about, looking for its mother, until it reached the top of a hill, but (it) found no one.'
- (8) *Anak kerabaw e pan ai no oyo.*
 child buffalo DEM TOP already large
 'The buffalo's child grew up.'
- (9) *De-m-bangi e, anak kerabaw e ke-too-n kelong.*
 one-CNT-day DEM child buffalo DEM ADVRS-dry throat
 'One day, the buffalo's child was thirsty.'
- (10) *Anak kerabaw e pan memia bue'.*
 child buffalo DEM TOP AV.look.for water
 'The buffalo's child looked for water.'
- (11) *Bila te-bangga'=ni bue' ta' lebak-lebak tarus Ø-inum=ni.*
 when DC.PASS-meet=3s.I water PREP pond-REDUP right.away UV-drink=3s.I
 'When she came across some water in a puddle she drank it right away.'
- (12) *Bue' e bue' mange' rojo.*
 water DEM urine king
 'The water was a king's urine.'
- (13) *Sian-sian jo ng-inum=ni misti' betong.*
 who-REDUP FOC AV-drink=3s.I must pregnant
 'Whoever drank it must get pregnant.'
- (14) *Jadi beta-beta betong no pan kerabaw e.*
 so long.time-REDUP pregnant FOC EMPH buffalo DEM
 'So after awhile, the buffalo got pregnant.'
- (15) *Bila rengot betong=ni iyo pan posok en-diam taun*
 when pain stomach=3s.I 3s.II TOP enter PREP-inside forest
memia tungan=ni ng-anak.
 AV.look.for place=3s.I VBL-child
 'When her labor pains came, she went into the forest to look for a place to give birth.'
- (16) *Diam taun e uun di-kau' gua.*
 inside forest DEM EXIST one-CL cave
 'Inside the forest there was a cave.'

- (17) *Kerabaw e posok en-diam gua e.*
 buffalo DEM enter PREP-inside cave DEM
 ‘The buffalo entered into the cave.’
- (18) *Kerabaw e ngakay-ngakay segik tungan=ni ng-anak.*
 buffalo DEM AV.rake-REDUP underbrush place=3s.I VBL-child
 ‘The buffalo raked up some underbrush (to prepare) a place for her to give birth.’
- (19) *Bila pe-lua' sab anak=ni pitu' kau'.*
 when INTR-from PRT child=3s.I seven CL
 ‘When the baby came out—there were seven.’
- (20) *Anak kerabaw e manusia' enggai do' anak kerabaw.*
 child buffalo DEM human NEG EMPH child buffalo
 ‘The buffalo children were human, not buffalo offspring.’
- (21) *Tapi' walau pan anak=ni manusia' iyo sayang bana ta' anak=ni.*
 but even.though child=3s.I human 3s.II love very PREP child=3s.I
 ‘But even though her children were human, she loved them very much.’
- (22) *Kerabaw e pan panday no be-tutur.*
 buffalo DEM TOP skilled FOC ACT-speak
 ‘The buffalo could speak.’
- (23) *Ellaw-ellaw kerabaw e memia-an anak=ni makanan en-diam*
 day-REDUP buffalo DEM AV.look.for-APPL child=3s.I food PREP-inside
taun: segala-gala bua'-bua' kayu, duun-duun kayu yang buli k-in-akan
 forest various fruit-REDUP tree leaf-REDUP tree REL can -PASS-eat
Ø-boo=ni ta' anak=ni.
 UV-bring=3s.I PREP child=3s.I
 ‘Every day the buffalo sought food for her children in the forest; all kinds of edible fruits and leaves she brought to her children.’
- (24) *Anak=ni ai no pan oyo.*
 child=3s.I already EMPH large
 ‘Her children were now grown up.’
- (25) *Gai ingin no pan makay badu, mangan buas masam jomo lain.*
 3p want FOC EMPH AV.use shirt AV.eat rice like person other
 ‘They wanted to wear clothes and eat rice like other people.’

- (26) *Kerabaw e pan posok en-diam kampung nangkaw pakayan*
 buffalo DEM TOP enter PREP-inside village AV.steal clothes
ta' ayang-an jomo.
 PREP hang.dry-NOM person
 'The buffalo entered villages to steal clothes off of clotheslines.'
- (27) *Amun serudung me-dia' lanjang jomo Ø-endo'=ni*
 if kitchen PREP-below rice.cooking.pot person UV-take=3s.I
amun iyo nya' te-kito.
 if 3s.II NEG DC.PASS-see
 'If the kitchens were underneath (the house) she would steal people's rice pots if she couldn't be seen.'
- (28) *Bege no ellaw-ellaw.*
 like.that FOC day-REDUP
 '(She did) that day after day.'
- (29) *Bila kerabaw e mule', moo makanan anak=ni*
 when buffalo DEM ACT-go.home AV.bring food child=3s.I
iyo nanduk-nanduk poon saging em-bunda' beluang gua e.
 3s.II AV.butt-REDUP tree banana PREP-in.front doorway cave DEM
 'When the buffalo returned home bringing food for her children, she would butt her horns against the banana tree in front of the door to the cave.'
- (30) *Kerabaw e be-lagu supaya te-kale bengen anak=ni.*
 buffalo DEM INTR-sing so.that DC.PASS-hear PL child=3s.I
 'The buffalo sang so that her children would hear.'
- (31) *"Anak-anak=ku bua' atay=ku buka-in no tu aku uun mitu."*
 child-REDUP=1s.I fruit liver=1s.I open-UV.IMP FOC DEM 1s.II EXIST here
 "My children, my dear ones, open this (door), I am here!"
- (32) *Beluang e pan b-in-uka no ole' anak=ni sioko.*
 door DEM TOP -PASS-open FOC PREP child=3s.I oldest
 'The door was opened by the oldest daughter.'
- (33) *Be-si-rebut-an no gai nambut iyang=ni teko moo makanan.*
 DISTR-REC-struggle FOC 3p AV.receive mother=3s.I arrive AV.bring food
 'They all fought with each other (getting to) their mother who was bringing food.'

- (34) *De-m-bangi e, masa kerabaw e mule' ai te-kito*
 one-CNT-day DEM time buffalo DEM ACT-go.home PERF DC.PASS-see
ole' pitu' orang anak rojo.
 PREP seven CL child king
 'One day, at the time the buffalo returned home, (she) was seen by seven princes.'
- (35) *Anak-anak rojo muru.*
 child-REDUP king AV.hunt
 'The princes were hunting.'
- (36) *Gai beranti en-dia' poon nunuk en-sedi gua e.*
 3p stop PREP-beneath tree balete PREP-beside cave DEM
 'They stopped beneath the *balete* tree beside the cave.'
- (37) *Gai airan bana ngito kerabaw moo bua'-bua' kayu ta' tanduk=ni.*
 3p surprise very AV.see buffalo AV.bring fruit-REDUP wood PREP horn=3s.I
 'They were very surprised to see a buffalo carrying fruit on her horns.'
- (38) *Anak-anak rojo e pan nuut em-buli' kerabaw e.*
 child-REDUP king DEM TOP AV.follow PREP-behind buffalo DEM
 'The princes followed behind the buffalo.'
- (39) *Bila teko en-sedi gua e kerabaw e lia-lia ng-enda' jomo.*
 when arrive PREP-beside cave DEM buffalo DEM *** AV-look.at person
 'When (she) arrived beside the cave, the buffalo looked in all directions (?) for any people.'
- (40) *Bila nyaun te-kito=ni iyo pan ling,*
 when NEG.EXIST DC.PASS-see=3s.I 3s.II TOP say
"Anak-anak=ku bua' atay=ku buka-in no tu aku uun mitu."
 child-REDUP=1s.I fruit liver=1s.I open-UV.IMP FOC DEM 1s.II EXIST here
 'When she saw no one, she said, "My children, my dear ones, open this (door), I am here!"'
- (41) *Beluang e pan Ø-buka anak=ni no pan.*
 door DEM TOP UV-open child=3s.I FOC EMPH
 'Her child opened the door.'
- (42) *Anak-anak rojo boi tapuk en-diam sumpat e airan*
 child-REDUP king CMPL hide PREP-inside underbrush DEM surprised
sambil gai ling "Itu pala, rupo=ni anak kerabaw tu jomo".
 while 3p say DEM NEW.REAL apparently child buffalo DEM person
 'The princes who had been hiding inside the bushes were surprised and exclaimed, "It seems that the children of this buffalo are people!"'

- (43) *Gai pan nuut sara kerabaw e no muka beluang.*
 3p TOP AV.follow way buffalo DEM FOC AV.open door
 ‘They followed (observed?) the way in which the buffalo opened the door.’
- (44) *Anak-anak rojo e tapuk no me ng-agad kerabaw e l-um-aan balik.*
 child-REDUP king DEM hide FOC there AV-wait buffalo DEM -ACT-go again
 ‘The princes hid there (and) waited for the buffalo to go out again.’
- (45) *Jadi teko simaung=ni, iyang=ni pan mara' no pasal iyo l-um-aan tio.*
 so arrive tomorrow=3s.I mother=3s.I TOP AV.say FOC reason 3s.II -ACT-go far
 ‘So the next day, their mother told (her daughters) (something) because she was going to travel far.’
- (46) *Iyo pasan ta' bengen anak=ni dong muka beluang.*
 3s.II give.message PREP PL child=3s.I NEG.IMP AV.open door
 ‘She gave them the message not to open the door.’
- (47) *Jadi kerabaw e pan l-um-aan no.*
 so buffalo DEM TOP -ACT-go FOC
 ‘So the buffalo left.’
- (48) *Bila kerabaw e ai no tio, anak rojo e pan nuut sara*
 when buffalo DEM already far child king DEM TOP AV.follow method

pian ole' kerabaw e noo' muka' beluang.
 how PREP buffalo DEM AV.command AV.open door
 ‘When the buffalo was a long way off, the princes followed the way in which the buffalo ordered (her daughters) to open the door.’
- (49) *"Anak-anak=ku bua' atay=ku buka-in no tu aku uun mitu."*
 child-REDUP=1s.I fruit liver=1s.I open-UV.IMP FOC DEM 1s.II EXIST here
 ‘‘My children, my dear ones, open this (door), I am here!’’
- (50) *Sampay men-duo baru no beluang e b-in-uka.*
 until FREQ-two then FOC door DEM -PASS-open
 ‘(This happened) two times, then the door was opened.’
- (51) *Bila sab beluang e buka, e no sab te-kito gai*
 when PRT door DEM open DEM FOC PRT DC.PASS-see 3p

pe-dendo-on pitu' orang.
 NOM-woman seven CL
 ‘When the door opened, they saw seven woman!’

- (52) *Anak rojo e si-rebut-rebut no me-si-rungkup pedendoon*
 child king DEM REC-struggle-REDUP FOC AV.CAUS-REC-s snatch NOM-woman
anak kerabaw e si'.
 child buffalo DEM just.now
 'The princes struggled among themselves to snatch up the buffalo's children.'
- (53) *Ø-Boo gai mule'.*
 UV-bring 3p ACT.go.home
 'They brought (the daughters) home.'
- (54) *"Pian no sab iyang kami e?"*
 how FOC PRT mother 1p(excl.) DEM
 'What about our mother?'
- (55) *Tapi' anak-anak rojo e nya' padul Ø-boo gai jo no.*
 but child-REDUP king DEM NEG pay.heed UV-bring 3p FOC FOC
 'But the princes paid no heed, they just brought (the daughters) along'
- (56) *Bila kerabaw e mule' te-kito=ni beluang gua e*
 when buffalo DEM ACT.go.home DC.PASS-see=3s.I door cave DEM
labang-labang.
 *** -REDUP
 'When the buffalo returned home, she saw the door of the cave opened wide (?).'
- (57) *Ø-Pau-pau=ni bengen anak=ni nyaun.*
 UV-call-REDUP=3s.I PL child=3s.I NEG.EXIST
 'She kept calling her daughters; (there) was no (response).'
- (58) *Sisid no tungan=ni memia nyaun.*
 everywhere FOC place=3s.I AV.look.for NEG.EXIST
 'She looked (for them) everywhere, (there was) no one.'
- (59) *Kerabaw e pan nangis sambil=ni teba'-teba'.*
 buffalo DEM TOP ACT.cry while=3s.I wander-REDUP
 'The buffalo cried while she wandered about.'
- (60) *Nya' no te-padul=ni mangan sampay suk no iyo.*
 NEG FOC DC.PASS=3s.I AV.eat until thin FOC 3s.II
 'She did not bother to eat, such that she became thin.'
- (61) *Bengen anak=ni boi b-in-oo ole' anak rojo e ai no pan kawin.*
 PL child=3s.I CMPL -PASS-bring PREP child king DEM already EMPH marry
 'Her children that were brought (home) by the princes were now married.'

- (62) *Masing-masing been ruma'.*
 each-REDUP have house
 'Each (of them) had a house.'
- (63) *Jadi teko no pan kerabaw e pe ta' kampung e.*
 so arrive FOC EMPH buffalo DEM to.there PREP village DEM
 'So the buffalo arrived there at the village.'
- (64) *Tio lagi te-kito anak rojo no, "U' no iyang=nu".*
 far still DC.PASS-see child king FOC DEM FOC mother=2s.I
 'When (she was) still far away, a prince saw (her): "That (over there) is your mother."
- (65) *Tapi' nampung endo=ni, "Enggai do' e iyang=ku, kerabaw e,"*
 but AV.answer wife=3s.I NEG EMPH DEM mother=1s.I buffalo DEM

sambil=ni ng-iyak kerabaw e Ø-soo'=ni lai.
 while=3s.I AV-throw.at buffalo DEM UV-order=3s.I go.away
 'But his wife answered, "That's not my mother, that's a buffalo", while she threw (a rock) at the buffalo (and) told her to go away.'
- (66) *"Dong te' aku iyak-in.*
 NEG.IMP EMPH 1s.II throw.at-UV.IMP
 "Don't throw (a rock) at me!
- (67) *Iyang=nu te' aku tu."*
 mother=2s.I EMPH 1s.II DEM
 I am your mother!"
- (68) *Tapi' endo anak rojo e nya' ng-akun.*
 but wife child king DEM NEG AV-confess
 "But the prince's wife would not admit (that the buffalo was her mother)."
- (69) *Ø-Endo'=ni bujak peng-iyak=ni kerabaw e si'.*
 UV-take=3s.I spear INSTR-throw.at=3s.I buffalo DEM earlier
 'She took a spear which she used to throw at the buffalo.'
- (70) *Kerabaw e pan nya' no be-daya.*
 buffalo DEM TOP NEG FOC VBL-ability
 'The buffalo was not able (to withstand the attack).'
- (71) *Kerabaw e Ø-soo'=ni p-in-anut-an ta' suang.*
 buffalo DEM UV-command=3s.I -PASS-drift-CAUS PREP river
 'She ordered that the buffalo be carried off by the river.'

- (72) *Masa e, anak kerabaw siari e boi kawin*
time DEM child buffalo youngest DEM CMPL marry
engko' anak rojo siari pan mandi me en-suang.
PREP child king youngest TOP ACT.bathe there PREP-river
‘At that time, the youngest daughter of the buffalo, who had married the youngest prince,
was bathing in the river.’
- (73) *Tio lagi e no te-kito=ni tanduk kerabaw nge-darag ole' bungo.*
far still DEM FOC DC.PASS-see=3s.I horn buffalo DISTR-red PREP flower
‘While (the mother buffalo) was still far away, she saw the horns of the buffalo which were
reddened by flowers.’
- (74) *Ling iyo ta' ella=ni "Iyang=ku pala e, endu-un do".*
say 3s.II PREP husband mother=1s.I NEW.REAL DEM take-UV.IMP EMPH
‘She said to her husband, “That’s my mother! Grab (her)!”
- (75) *Ella=ni pan ng-endo' kerabaw panut e.*
husband=3s.I TOP AV-take buffalo drifting DEM
‘Her husband took hold of the drifting buffalo.’
- (76) *Bila teko en-jata', kerabaw e ling ta' anak=ni siari e:*
when arrive PREP-on.top buffalo DEM say PREP child=3s.I youngest DEM
‘When (she) came to the surface, the buffalo said to her youngest daughter:
- (77) *"Amun aku matay nak kubur-un aku ta' poon odon.*
if 1s.II ACT.die ADR bury-UV.IMP 1s.II PREP tree ladder
‘When I die, child, bury me at the ladder post.
- (78) *Amun uun poon kayu tomo' ta' ponsot=ku usa-in bana."*
if EXIST tree grow PREP navel=1s.I care.for-IMP very
If a tree grows from my navel, take good care of it.”
- (79) *Bege no te' k-in-ubur no ole' anak=ni ta' poon odon.*
like.that FOC EMPH -PASS-bury FOC PREP child=3s.I PREP tree ladder
‘Like that, (the mother buffalo) was buried by her daughter at the ladder post.’
- (80) *Kayu tomo' ta' kubur e Ø-usa'=ni bana masam pan*
wood grow PREP grave DEM UV-care.for=3s.I very like also
pasan iyang=ni e.
give.message mother-3s.I DEM
‘The tree which grew at the gravesite she took good care of, just as her mother had asked
of her.’
- (81) *Kayu e pan pe-langa-pe-langa no.*
wood DEM TOP INTR-high-REDUP FOC
‘The tree kept on growing taller.’

- (82) *Bila sinsaung sepe'.*
 when morning plucked
 'When it was morning, (branches were) plucked off.'
- (83) *Ni-endo' ole' anak=ni jadi bengen emas.*
 PASS-take PREP child=3s.I become PL gold
 '(That which) was taken by her daughter became gold (things).'
- (84) *Beta-beta koyo no gai.*
 long.time-REDUP rich FOC 3p
 'Eventually they got rich.'
- (85) *Bila teko ka'=ni pe, "Ai koyo no sab kam tu*
 when arrive older.sibling=3s.I to.there PERF rich FOC PRT 2p.II DEM
minggo kam ng-endo'?"
 where 2p.II AV-take
 'When her older sister arrived there, (she said): "You have become rich. Where did you get (your wealth)?"
- (86) *Ling di'=ni "E no iyang boi Ø-bujak=nu e.*
 say younger.sibling=3s.I DEM FOC mother CMPL UV-spear=2s.I DEM
 'Her younger sibling said, "That is mother whom you speared.
- (87) *Kayu tu Ø-soo'=ni ni-usa' m-aku."*
 tree DEM UV-command=3s.I PASS-care.for PREP-1s.II
 She ordered that this tree be taken care of by me."
- (88) *Ling ka'=ni, "Betiru aku do' sele' ng-usa'=ni."*
 say older.sibling=3s.I today 1s.II EMPH instead AV-care.for=3s.I
 'Her older sister said, "Today I will take care of it instead (of you)."
- (89) *Tapi' bila ka'=ni ng-usa' e, amun Ø-sepe'=ni jadi*
 but when older.sibling=3s.I AV-care.for DEM when UV-pluck=3s.I become
bengen soo, kala jangking, lelipan, masam-masam no barang ng-eket.
 PL snake scorpion centipede all.kinds FOC PL AV-bite
 'But when her older sister cared for the tree, when she would pluck (branches) (they) became snakes, scorpions, centipedes, all kinds of things that bite.'
- (90) *Amun di'=ni nepe' singo kayu e jadi emas.*
 when younger.sibling=3s.I AV.pluck branch tree DEM become gold
 'When her younger sister plucked a branch it became gold.'
- (91) *Bo' ka'=ni nepe' singo bagal e ai jadi soo oyo.*
 then older.sibling=3s.I AV.pluck branch big DEM PERF become snake large
 'Then her older sister plucked a big branch (and) it became a large snake.'

- (92) *Soo e ngeket ka'=ni sampay ka'=ni matay.*
snake DEM AV.bite older.sibling=3s.I until older.sibling-3s.I ACT.die
'The snake bit her older sister until her older sister died.'

APPENDIX B
TEXTS USED IN THE CORPUS

Appendix B consists of two lists: the first shows the texts which I compiled, while the second shows the texts that Edith Mirafuentes compiled and later made available to me. Note that the ‘original recording’ column refers to whether the text was originally recorded orally or in written form. All texts (whether originally written or oral) were created sometime within the last twenty years, most of them between 1987 and 2000.

(1) Texts compiled by Mark Miller¹

Creator(s)	Sex	Original recording*	Title [and abbreviation]	Genre	No. of sentences
Sabdah Lamda, Adnan Hj. Abdul Razak	M, M	written (shell book)	<i>Ansa' ngentelo emas</i> [ansa']	narrative	017
Hamjah Lazim	M	oral [recorded and transcribed by Mohd. Sirun Siboh]	<i>Antu bangkit</i> [bangkit]	expository	043
Mohd. Razlan	M	written (writers workshop)	<i>Asal paray ko' tembolok pipit</i> [asal paray]	narrative (folk tale)	025
Nur Ani bte Hj. Mohd. Zin	F	oral	<i>Bangi</i>	expository	229
?	?	?	<i>Bejogo</i>	procedural	023
Chendramata Hj. Sinteh	F	written	<i>Bekenaan Sultan Salaudin</i> [salaudin]	narrative (folk tale)	055
Norjiah	F	written (writers workshop)	<i>Beta' kerungayan</i>	narrative (personal experience)	098
Mohd. Sirun Siboh	M	written	<i>Boo'</i>	expository	016
Jumel Hj. Ghani	M	oral	<i>Jomo beramu muat ruma'</i> [jomo beramu]	narrative (personal experience)	022
Maulani Hj. Diman	M	written	<i>Kayu ebba' petogor balik, been meroon?</i> [kayu ebba']	narrative (personal experience)	072

¹ All 28 texts in (1) are part of the electronic corpus and thus accessible to concordance operations in Shoebox. Two of the texts (*asal paray ko' tembolok pipit*, and *ngini using sasa' engko' uwa'*) have not been interlinearized.

Hj. Ghani bin Nudin	M	oral	<i>Keluman dau-dau</i> [keluman]	narrative (personal experience)	040
Rukidah Siran	M	written (writers workshop)	<i>Kisa dangan dela piatu</i> [dela piatu]	narrative (folk tale)	096
Mohd. Sirun Siboh	M	written	<i>Kulintangan</i>	expository	021
Adnan Hj. Abdul Razak	M	written	<i>Lumaan' pu' Api- Api</i>	procedural	024
Maulani Hj. Diman, Mohd. Sirun Siboh	M, M	written (shell book)	<i>Masala langaw</i>	narrative	051
Hamzah Lazim	M	oral [recorded and transcribed by Mohd. Sirun Siboh]	<i>Mat Salleh</i>	narrative (historical)	061
Hamidon	M	oral [recorded and transcribed by Aziz bin Jamal]	<i>Nandas tebu</i>	procedural	145
?	?	oral	<i>Ngeradu tana'</i>	procedural	010
Norjia	F	written (writers workshop)	<i>Ngini using sasa' engko' uwa' [ngini using]</i>	narrative (folk tale)	077
Mohd. Sirun Siboh, Malauni Hj. Diman	M, M	written (shell book)	<i>Pak pu' ta' bandar</i>	narrative	040
Rioh bin Jatin	M	oral	<i>Rambat</i>	procedural	030
Jumel Hj. Ghani	M	oral	<i>Rambat 2</i>	procedural	014
Mohd. Sirun Siboh	M	written	<i>Runsay</i>	expository	012
Adnan Hj. Abdul Razak, Sabdah Lamda	M, M	written (shell book)	<i>Rupiah keket soo</i> [rupiah]	narrative	032
Adnan Hj. Abdul Razak	M	written	<i>Telingo gaja</i>	narrative (folk tale)	007
Jena bte Bangsa	F	oral	<i>Tonom paray</i>	procedural	041
Hj. Ghani bin Nudin	M	oral	<i>Tonom paray 2</i>	procedural	023
Atong	M	oral	<i>Zaman Gipun</i> [gipun]	narrative (historical)	201

* If the original recording was oral, the person who recorded and transcribed the text (if other than myself) is also noted in this column.

(2) Texts compiled by Edith Mirafuentes²

Creator(s)	Sex	Original recording*	Title [and abbreviation]	Genre	No. of sentences
Guna bte Rinal	F	oral	<i>Abu Nawas</i>	narrative (folk tale)	053
Kaili bte Said	F	oral	<i>Asal linta</i> [linta]	narrative (folk tale)	034
Kaili bte Said	F	oral	<i>Asal namuk</i> [namuk]	narrative (folk tale)	080
?	?	?	<i>Baginda Ali</i> [baginda]	narrative (folk tale)	138
Kaili bte Said	F	?	<i>Belis ta' poon nunuk</i> [belis]	narrative	054
Kaili bte Said	F	?	<i>Jomo pisok</i>	narrative	054
Jika bte Sito	F	oral	<i>Kerabaw</i>	narrative (folk tale)	092
Mohd. Taib bin Tanjung	M	?	<i>Kinabalu</i>	narrative (historical/epic)	037
Mohd. Taib bin Tanjung	M	?	<i>Kota Belud</i>	narrative (historical/epic)	035
Jika bte Sito	F	oral	<i>Pak</i>	narrative (folk tale)	083
Kaili bte Said	F	?	<i>Tengkobon biduk</i> [biduk]	narrative (folk tale)	154
Damit bin Johan	M	oral	<i>Uwa' suk</i>	narrative (folk tale)	097

² Many or all of these texts were revised by Edith's WC Bajau language assistant, Kaili Bte Said, from Taun Gusi, Kota Belud. When Edith passed the texts on to me, I re-interlinearized them in Shoebox.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Mark Miller was born and raised in Spokane, Washington. After graduating with a B.A. in History at Washington State University (1993) and an MCS degree from Regent College in Vancouver, B.C. (1995), Mark pursued a graduate internship with SIL International in Sabah, Malaysia (1996-98). There he learned to speak West Coast Bajau and began to assist the Bajau community in the development of their language (including work on an orthography). After returning to the US, Mark pursued further studies in linguistics at the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics (GIAL) before entering the Ph.D. program in Linguistics at the University of Texas at Arlington in 2001. During his time at UT-Arlington Mark has enjoyed teaching writing and grammar as a graduate instructor, and making return trips to Sabah for research and continued involvement in the Bajau language community. His current research interests include voice systems in Austronesian languages, lexicology, and literacy. He and his wife Rachel presently serve with SIL International and look forward to serving the needs of indigenous language communities in Southeast Asia.