# HOTURAN DI BOROS <br> MOMOGUN (Rungus) 

## OUTLINE OF

## A MOMOGUN GRAMMAR

(Rungus Dialect)

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by T.A.Forschner

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## PREFACE

This booklet introduces the grammar of the Momogun language to outsiders as much as it will assist Momogun people to compare their way of speaking with the English language. A second booklet with the English grammar explains for Momogun readers the way of using the English language. As thus far no Momogun speaker has had the chance of learning English neither in a direct approach nor through any medium explaining English in Momogun, this grammar should assist in getting at last direct explanations and comparison with their own language.

I do hope that these booklets will be of much use to Momogun pupils and older folk learning and speaking English. NonMomoguns will be able to get an idea of the vary elaborate structure of the Momogun language.

Kudat, December 1994
T. A. Forschner

## Umpatod

Iti buuk diti manarang di vaza mamakai di boros dot Momogun om monulung dit Ongomomogun do momida di dau do boros om i boros dot Inggeris. Varo-po i koduvo o buuk di manarang sid Ongomomogun di vaza mamakai di boros dot Inggeris. Sampai biano iso Momogun nga aso kadapat misisingilo dot Inggeris dot tanid mantadko sid Bahasa. Sabap ino iti buuk kadapat tumabang manarang di boros Inggeris sid boros Momogun, supaya oruhai rumamit di harati om i vaza dot Inggeris.

Harapon-ku dot iti duvo i buuk kiguna bahagi dit kogumuai dot anganak sumikul om it ongoosukod di moniim misisingilo om mamakai di boros dot Inggeris. Pengkaa dino ulun do bansa vokon kadapat humarati sid buuk diti di vaza om hoturan di boros Momogun.

## Outline of a grammar in the R U N G U S -dialect

## Introduction:

O. 1 The Rungus people live on the Kudat and Bengkoka-Peninsulas which are farthest north of Sabah, one of the states of the Federation of Malaysia. The Rungus belong to the group of tribes, were generally known under the name Dusun. This name however is a Malay word meaning 'jungle'-people in this usage. They call themselves MOMOGUN, i.e. people who make 'pogun ' a deserted dwelling place. POMOGUNAN is the place, where all this takes place $=$ village, country, land, earth.
O. 2 This outline has been prepared for a comparison with other dialects of this group. It does not claim to comprise all morphological and phrasological possibilities.

### 1.0 PHONOLOGY

1.10 The alphabet
1.11 The phonemes
a, b, d, e, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, y, z, ng, ds, dz,'
1.12 Description and place of occurance of the phonemes.
$\mathrm{i}=$ initial $\mathrm{m}=$ medial $\mathrm{f}=$ final

| p vl. bilabial plosive | $\begin{aligned} & \text { i. } \\ & \text { m. } \\ & \text { f. } \end{aligned}$ | pampang pampang sabap | rock rock eason |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| b vd. bilabial plosive | i. | babo' | carry, to |
|  | m. | babo' | carry, to |
|  | f. | rontob | boundary |
| t vl. alveolar plosive | i. | tambang | deer |
|  | m. | antad | origin |
|  | f. | ambat | answer, to |
| d vd. alveolar plosive | i. | duat | ask, to |
|  | m. | kodim | call,to |
|  | f. | antad | origin |
| k vl. postpalatal plosive | i. | kodim | call, to |
|  | m. | rikot | come, to |
|  | f. | koritik | knock, to |
| g vd. postpalatal plosive | i. | gulu' | call, to |
|  | m | logod | spring |
|  | 1. | bozig | squirrel |
| m vd. bilabial nasal | i. | malan | lazy |
|  | m. | samung | counter, to |
|  | f | olim | to be quiet about |
| n vd alveolar nasal | i. | nizu' | coconut |
|  | m | suni' | shoot |
|  | f. | sa'an | shoulder, to |
| ng vd. postpalatal nasal | i. | ngaran | name |


' 'glottal stop see 1.13
i high closed unrounded front vowel

| i.. | idu | away |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| m. | rikot | come,to |
| f. | badi' | market |
|  | valai | house |
|  | ioku' | I |

e mid half closed front vowel, only as contraction of a+i or o+i

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
o+i d u '=e d u ' ~ & \text { taken away } \\
\mathrm{a}+\mathrm{i}=\quad \text { va'ig }=\text { ovegan } & \text { watered (water })
\end{array}
$$

a low open central vowel bala' really
o mid half closed central vowel orongod
suitable
u high closed rounded back vowel i. uli
m. hubang
f. radu'
back
overgrown
plough

### 1.13 Glottal stop

1.131 stem initial glottal stop is not written, as it occurs with any stem which has not an initial consonant.
1.132 stem final glottal stop stands in the unsuffixed forms in place of a group of consonants. Only the suffixed forms reveal these consonants.
a) stems which have an 'a' or 'o' as ultima vowel retain the glottal stop in the suffixed forms

| ogusa' | chased | gusa'on | chasing |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nakada' | thrown away | pada'on | throwing away |
| ahago' | speedy | hogo'on | hurrying |
| agazo' | big | gozo'on | enlarging |

b) stems which have 'i' or 'u' as ultima vowel, followed by a final glottal stop, have in the suffixed forms the following consonants in place of the stem final glottal stop.
stem final z

| ogili' | put down |  | gilizon | putting down |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ajadi' | happened |  | jodizon | happening |
| sasi' | witness |  | pososizon | witnessing |
| em final v | mamatu' | to weave | mats | votuvon weaving mats |
| ogulu' | first |  | poguluvon | putting first |
| oguru' | magic |  | poguruvon | getting magic power |
| radu' | plough |  | roduvon | ploughing |
| em final $h$ | ontolu' |  | testicles | ontoluhan castrated |
| vasi' | beauty |  | kovosihan | goodness |

## glottal stop retained

| avi' | finish | ovi'on | finishing |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gobu' | clearing for maize | gobu'on <br> kovotuan | making a clea ring for maize <br> vatu' |
| stone | stone ground |  |  |
| ontolu' | egg | pogontoluan | breeding place |

### 1.14 non syllabic vowels

The non-syllabic stem final vowels following a syllabic vowel show in the suffixed forms the full consonant value.
1.141 the pronounciation of these vowels clusters (i.e. a non-syllabic vowel following a syllabic vowel at stem ultima)

| au as the English | how | asalau <br> dau | thick <br> his (hers,its) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ou as the English | sew | tokou <br> oi as the English <br> ai as the English | oil <br> why |
| iokoi <br> valai <br> dahai | we (inclusiv) |  |  |$\quad$| we (exclusiv) |
| :--- |
| house |
| ours (i) |


| ui as the German | Luise | olungui <br> olumpatiu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | | depressed |
| :--- |
| upside down |

1.142 in the suffixed forms the non-syllabic $\mathbf{u}$ becomes $\mathbf{h}$, asalau thick adau day osilou yellow razou praised ongoi to fetch oroloi wanting valai house olungui depressed
pasalahon inadahan pilohon rozohon ongozon-ku rolozon kavavalazan lunguzon-ku
i becomes $\mathbf{z}$
make thicker days (past)
make yellow to be praised the one I am fetching the one wanted buildings my getting depressed

### 1.2O The contraction of vowels

Vowel clusters, caused by affixation tend to contract to one vowel. Only in emphasized speech the original vowels are retained.
1.21 contraction of $\mathbf{a + i}=\mathbf{e}$ and $\mathbf{0 + i}=\mathbf{e}$
the qualifying prefix o var. a-becomes e-, when prefixed to i - initial stem

| ilo | to know | o+ ilo $=$ elo | known |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ikum | to be shy | o+ ikum $=$ ekum | shy |
| ingin | to wish | o+ ingin $=$ engin | wanting |
| imot | to see | o+ imot $=$ emot | visible |

the verbal prefixes ma-, pa-ka-, var.mo-, po-, ko- + stem with initial i-vowel contract imot to see memot it ulun the person sees pemot it ulun he person shows kemot it ulun the p.is visible
note: the nominal affix combination $\mathbf{k a}+$ stem-an, var. ko+stem-an contract with i-initial stem to ke+stem-an

| ingin | to wish | kenginan <br> imot | to see |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

1.22 contraction of final vowel of plural prefix with the initial vowel of the stem
$\mathrm{o}+\mathrm{u}=\mathrm{u}$ ongulun people
$\mathrm{a}+\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{a}$ anganak children
$\mathrm{o}+\mathrm{o}=\mathrm{o}$ ongobpinai brothers (sisters)
$\mathrm{o}+\mathrm{i}=\mathrm{e}$ ongedi mothers
but emphasized ongo'ulun people ongo'anak children ongo'obpinai brothers ongo'idi mothers ongo'valai
1.23 contraction of the stem vowels in affix combinations, if stem vowels only separated by glottal stop

| la'id | earlier | koledo | time, age | kola'ido) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| va'ig | water | ovegan | watered | (ova'igan) |
| momo'ug | to wash | ovogan | washed | (ovo'ugan) |

1.24 contraction of the enclitic vowel with initial vowel of following pronoun
tahakan-zekau our giving you (tahakan-za ikau
tahakan-tekau our (dual)giving you " (-to ikau
"-peno(peti,pelo) giving still this (that)" (-po ino om (iti,ilo)
" -keno(keti,kelo) for this " (-ko ino
$"$-neno(neti,nelo) already this " (-no ino
1.25 contraction of the infixes -in- + -um-
if the infix -in- is used together with the infix -um- they often contract to -ium-
rumikot oku I come riumikot oku I came (rinumikot oku
sumavat oku I rise siumavat oku I rose (sinumavat oku

### 1.30 assimilation of vowels

Some of the affixes assimilate their vowels to the stem vowels, while others cause the assimilation of the stem vowels to the vowel of the affix.
1.310 the prefix vowels assimilate to the first stem vowel

The prefixes $\mathrm{m}+$ vowel-, $\mathrm{k}+$ vowel-, $\mathrm{p}+$ vowel-, have a - vowel, if prefixed to a stem with `a` in the first syllable. They have 'o' if prefixed to a stem with i , o , or u vowel in the first syllable
$1.311 \mathrm{~m}+$ vowel - +panau $=$
tukul =
idu $=$
obul =

| mamanau | to go |
| :--- | :--- |
| monukul | to measure |
| mongidu | to put away |
| mongobul | to wallow |

1.312 k + vowel= kapanau gone kotukul measured koidu away kobulwallowed
$\begin{array}{llll}1.313 \mathrm{p}+\text { vowel } & \begin{array}{l}\text { pamanau } \\ \text { pongidu }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { making go } \\ \text { make away }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { ponukul } \\ \text { pongobul }\end{array}\end{array} \begin{aligned} & \text { making measure } \\ & \text { make wallow }\end{aligned}$
1.32 the suffix -an and the suffix of the affix combination a (o)-stem-an cause the last stem vowel to assimilate to a, if o

| indakod | to climb | a o + an $=$ aaa/indakadan | ascendable |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| imot | to see | i o + an = iaa/imatan | isible |
| ilo | to know | o+i o + an = eaa/elaan | known |

If the last stem vowels is $u$ or $i$, the first stem vowel a , thenthe prefix vowel assimilate to the
high vowels $a+a i+-a n=o$ oi an
$a+a u+-a n=o o u$ an
anit to skin onitan skinned
darun rain odorunan rained onto
hali beyond oholian gone beyond
hambil to trespass ohombilan gone taken beyond
1.33 the suffixes -o and -on cause the penultimate syllable vowel to assimilate to the suffix


### 1.40 The assimilation of consonants

1.41 The unproductive prefixes in-, on-, un-, tin-, ton-, tun-, san-, son-, assimilate the final nasal to the point of articulation of the following stem initial consonant

| in-vagu | new | imvagu | to make new in + vagu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sakot | grass | insakot | to cut grass |
| kakat | lift | ingkakat | to stand upright |
| hopod | ten | inghopod | ten times |


| on- | ompizos | caterpillar |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | omputul | to be on both sides |  |  |
|  | ondiri | stick for long beans |  |  |
|  | ongkukul | dove |  |  |
| un- $\begin{aligned} & \text { palad } \\ & \text { daliu } \\ & \text { alad }\end{aligned}$ | palm (hand) | umpalad | to keep for oneself |  |
|  | to change | undaliu | to ferment |  |
|  | wing | ungkakad | to unfold |  |
| tin- pu'un koub | stem | timpuun | to beginn |  |
|  | downrurned | tingkoub | to lie with face to ground |  |
| ton- | tompuzung | to carry together |  |  |
|  | tondongon | to sing funny songs |  |  |
|  | tongkizad | to separate |  |  |
| tun- | vozo | to follow | tumbozo | to obey |
|  | tuntuvad | to turnhead over heals |  |  |
|  | tungkamang | to crawl like spider |  |  |
| san- | ba'ak | case samba'ak on |  |  |
| son- | talaga | well san | santalaga one | he same)well |
|  | ulun | person so | gulun peo | (collective) |

1.42 if the stem initial consonant is r , the nasal is dropped

| son- | ruvang | enclosure soruvang to enter house |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tun- | turidong | vertical <br> ton- | torodong |

or the r- initial is substituted by d , while the nasal is retained rangau span of fingers sandangau one fingers span
ropo span of arms sondopo one arm span, length of streched arms
with reduplication of the first stem syllable, the initial stem $r$ or 1 assimilate to the nasal of the prefix

| longoi | song | mindolongoi to sing |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| raat | bad | mongindaraat to slander |

1.43 Prenasalisation of the stem initial plosives and fricatives with supposition of the voiceless plosives and fricatives by nasals of the same point of articulation

| $\mathrm{t}=\mathrm{n}$ | turug | monurug | to turn |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{k}=\mathrm{ng}$ | kuro | monguro | to ask for reason |
| $\mathrm{v}=\mathrm{m}$ | vatu' | mamatu' | to gravel |
| $\mathrm{s}=\mathrm{n}$ | su'ul | monu'ul | to pay wages |
| ' $=\mathrm{ng}$ | idu' $^{\prime}$ | mongidu' | to put away |
| $\mathrm{p}=\mathrm{m}$ | pasi' | mamasi' | to bring to life |

the voiced bilabial plosive b also follows this supposition

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\mathrm{b}=\mathrm{m} & \text { babo } & \text { mamabo } & \text { to carry } \\
\text { butul } & \text { momutul } & \begin{array}{l}
\text { to shave }
\end{array}
\end{array}
$$

1.44 Prenasalisation of prefixed forms:
nasal addition before voiced plosives other than b , and other consonants $\mathrm{d}, \mathrm{g}, \mathrm{j}, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{z}$

| duat | mongoduat | to ask |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gamit | mangagamit | to catch |
| hatul | mangahatul | to rule |
| janji | mangajanji | to agree |
| latang | mangalatang | to stop work |
| radu' | mangaradu' | to plough |
| zopos | mongozopos | to make wet |

### 1.50 The phoneme pattern order of the word stems.

1.51 the simple root word (stem) has the following phoneme pattern (c-consonant, $\mathrm{v}=\mathrm{vowel}$ )

CV CVC valai house panau to go tukul to measure
whereby the vowel initial stem has actually a glottal stop in front of the initial vowel
'idu' away
'obul to wallow
$\begin{array}{cccc}\text { C V C } & \text { C V C } & \begin{array}{l}\text { tambang } \\ \text { pampang }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { deer } \\ \text { rock } \\ \text { tindal }\end{array} \\ & & \text { hintol land } \\ & & \text { tangkus } & \text { lame } \\ & & \text { run }\end{array}$
1.52 the extended word stems (simple stem + unproductive prefix) have the following patterns C V C + C V C V C timpu'un to begin

| or | C V + C V C V C | gutika <br> goromod <br> koruhang | pearl <br> to complete <br> buruvid <br> follower |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| or to roll |  |  |  |
| or |  | buribud <br> karabau | to drill <br> buffalo |
| C V + C V C C V C | kurunsong <br> palampag <br> salambat | wavy hair <br> floor <br> comb |  |

### 1.60 The stress

1.61 generally the stress lies with the penultimate of the stem. It can however retract unto the antepenultimate, (from the last to the second last syllable) when prefixed

| ta'ud | mana'ud | to guard |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| timbang | monimbang | to wage |  |
| tukul | monukul | to measure |  |
| sangkul | manangkul | to hoe |  |
| naru | anaru | long |  |
| podok | opodok | small $\quad$ but opodok-po still small |  |
| somok | osomok | near |  |
| sodu | osodu | far away |  |
| vasin | kovosihan | goodness |  |
| rikot | korikatan | place of arrival |  |
| banal | kabanaran | right (of. Malay kebenaran) |  |
| valai | kavanalazan | building |  |



There is also quite a diversity when stressing, even in the same stem
ara'at bad kara'atan badness
mongindara'at to slander ruma'at to get bad
mangara'at to make bad
tumabang to help (assist)
atabang assisted katabangan assistance
1.62 Enclitics may sometimes shift the stres s unto the ultima
opodok small opodok-po still small
1.63 the prenasalized verb, substantified by an article, has the primary stress on its first syllable

| mananom | to plant | it mananom | the planter |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mana'ud | to watch | it mana'ud | the watchman |
| mangagama | to work | it mangagama the workmann |  |

1.64 the tune of some sentences
osodu ino pomogunan dino far that village there / That village is far away
sinodu- .. ino pomogunan dino really far that village / That village is very far away mangagama-oku do meja make I a table/ I make tables
ioku-no o minangagama do meja I then who made tables / it was I who made tables isai-ka o minangagama diti meja? who made this table?

### 1.70 Borrowed words

Most borrowed words are from the Malay and English language
1.71 Borrowed words from Malay generally undergo the following changes

| y becomes z | Melayu | Malazu | Malay |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | buayo | buazo | crocodile |
|  | kayu | kazu | wood |
| c (phon.t')= | cuci | susi | clean |
|  | cangkul | sangkul | hoe |
|  | cat | saat | paint |
| final $\mathbf{r}$ becomes | suffixed |  |  |
|  | khabar | habal | news |

pepet é assimilates to a full vowel of the following syllable
pepet $\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{i}=$ oi beli boli to buy
$\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{oia}$ perentah porinta government
$\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{a}+\mathrm{u}=\mathrm{aau} \quad$ Melayu Malazu Malay
$\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{e}+\mathrm{a}+\mathrm{a}=\mathrm{a}$ a a $a$ kebenaran kabanaran right
dissimilar consonant clusters get separated by full vowels, which are similar to the full stem vowel

| kerbau | karabau | water buffalo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| berkat | barakat | blessing |
| hormat | horumat | honour |

j (phon.d') retains its phonetic value, even though it occurs in borrowed words only janji agreement jaga to watch jadi to happen balanja livelihood
1.72 borrowed words from English are the following
kumbani company matusikal motorcycle ba'as bus supiring spring sikul school ki'is case
ki'is refers to the court case and means today any offence worth a trial. The stem ki'is can be affixed to various meaningful forms as

```
kumi'is oku I get into trouble
noki'is-ku sentenced my (my being sentenced)
oki'isan worth of trial
poki'is to bring before court
```


### 1.8O The Gonsomon dialect.

Generally the Gonsomon people which live mostly in village group s under or side by side with the Rungus, are slower and less lively than the Rungus. This is also reflected in their way of speaking.
1.81 there ist one main phonetic difference between Rungus and Gonsomon. Where Rungus has the phoneme"1", Gonsomon has a postpalatal fricative "x", comparable with the"ch"in German Wachtel or the Scots loch

| Rungus | valai | Gonsomon | vaxai | house |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | aralom |  | araxom | deep |
|  | valu |  | vaxu | eight |
|  | lada |  | xada | pepper |
|  | ilo |  | ixo | that one |
|  | Malazu |  | Maxazu | Malay |

There is one exception kolopioi rubber tree which both dialects pronounce the same.
1.82 some of the stem medial nasal plosive consonant clusters nd in Rungus have in Gonsomon the postpalatal equivalents, i.e. ngg (X) kolopindang kolopinggang belt

### 2.0 MORPHOLOGY

The Momogun language has stem morphemes, affix morphemes and non stem words, such as enclitics, conjunctions, articles and interjections.

### 2.10 The stem morphemes

2.11 the simple stems

There are stems, which are in themselves substantives as they are names of things. Other stems do not occur in the mere stem form but are always affixed as e.g. qualifiers of verbs

| sangkul | hoe | it sangkul | the hoe | manangkul-oku | I hoe |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sigup | tobacco | it sigup | the tobacco | monigup-oku | smoke |
| rinding | wall | it rinding | the wall | mongorinding-oku | I make a wall |
| -tangkus | tumangkus-oku I run |  |  |  |  |
| -naru | anaru | long |  |  |  |
| numaru it kazu | the tree gets longer |  |  |  |  |

2.12 O compound stems (stems with unproductive prefixes)
2.121 compound stems with prefix i + nasal
sakot grass monginsakot-oku I cut grass
savat height monginsavat-oku I put high up
toron stay mintoron-oku I live

| tutun | intimate | mongintutun-oku I recognize |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| vozo | follow | pemozo oku (poinbozo) I I give in |  |
| guli | return | mingguli-oku | I repeat |
| kakat | lift | mingkakat-oku | I stand up |

The following stems have in addition a reduplication of the first stem syllable, whereby the initial r or 1 is replaced by voiced plosive d of. 1.42
-raat bad mongindaraat-oku I slander
longoi song mindolongoi-oku I sing
ronok fear mongindoronok-oku I threaten
2.122 compound stems with prefix o + nasal

| diri | oneself | ndiri |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ stick for climbing beans

2.123 compoundstems with prefix $u+\operatorname{nasal}(m, n, n g)$
palad hand (palm) mumpalad-oku I keep for myself
daliu change mundaliu it kinomol the rice wine ferments
alad wing mungkalad it vusak the flower unfolds
vasih goodness mongumbasih-oku I show goodness
2.124 compound stems with prefix ti + nasal
puun trunk tumimpuun-oku I begin
koub horizontal moningkoub-oku I lie with face to the ground position
2.125 compound stems with prefix to + nasal obpinai brother/sister monongobpinai-oku dikau I hold you as my brothers piri turn monompiri oku I make fire by turning a stick
2.126 compound stems with prefix tu + nasal
vozo follow tumbozo monumbozo oku I obey
tuvad turn tumuntuvad oku I turn head over heels
2.127 compound stems with unproductive prefix $\mathrm{k}+$ vowel, assimilating to first stem vowel ruhang to accompany i koruhang the companion kumoruhang oku I accompany you
varo there is kavaro misingkavaro act as if real
gangau noisy kogangau noise
aso none kaso none mamagkaso oku I hold as non existent
2.128 compoundstems with unproductive prefix san- var- son- -m -ng -r-
anu to take sanganu possess
manansanganu I take into possession
ruvang enclosure soruvang to enter monoruvang oku I visit non relatives
vozo follow sombozo initate sumombozo see 2,213

### 2.20 Productive affix-morphemes: group A prefixes.

2.210 intransitive prefixes
2.211 prefix $m+$ stem: indicating process

| -imot | mimot oku | I see |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -atag | matag oku | I get better |
| -vozo | mozo oku | I follow |
| -odop | modop oku | I sleep |
| -ogom | mogom oku | I sit |
| -idu | midu it soval | the trousers come off |
| -udou | mudou it gula | the sugar melts |
| -valiu | maliu oku | I move house |


| 2.212 | prefix mu | stem: indicating state of being |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| valai | house | muvalai oku diti | I make, build a house now |
| kadai | shop | mukadai oku | I make a shop (keep a shop) |
| -tanom | plant | mutanom oku | I plant, I am planter |
| tagad | ricefield | mutagad oku | I plant hill rice |
| kabun | garden | mukabun oku | I am farmer |
| aki | grandfather | muaki oku dit NN | I am grandchild of NN (male) |
| odu | grandmother | muodu oku dit NN | I am grandchild of NN (female) |
| -vozo | follow | movozo oku dit NN (muvozo) I follow NN |  |

in movozo the $u$-vowel of the prefix mu- assimilates to the o-vowel of the stem, because of the v -initial stem, see also 2.421 nominal affix combination pu + stem -an
2.213 infix -um- after stem initial consonant

| rikot | to come | rumikot oku | I come |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -handab | to burn | humandab it valai | the house burns down |
| -hali | to exceed | humali it sakit | the sickness gets worse |
| kadai | shop kumadi oku diti I go to the shop now |  |  |

### 2.220 transitive prefixes

2.221 prefix ma- var. mo- + prenasalized substitution or nasal addition manga- + stem or mongo- + stem. The substitution of the initial plosive or fricative consonant by a nasal (if initial stem consonant is either voiceless plosive fricative or 1 and $r$

| panau | to go | mamanau oku | I go |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ta'ud | to guard | mana'ud oku | I watch |
| babo | to carry | mamabo oku | I carry |
| bubul | to mix | momubul oku dot ginazu I mash rice |  |
| vagas | rice | mamagas oku | I husk rice |
| vo'ug | to wash | momoug oku | I wash up |
| valiu | to move | mamaliu oku | I change position of something |
| vudut | to lie | momudut oku | I lie |
| sukung | to meassure | monukung oku | I measure |
| tanom | to plant | mananom oku | I plant |
| tulung | to assist | monulung oku | I help |
| kama | to touch | mangama oku | I touch |
| kuvo | to speak ?? | monguvo oku | I speak without naming |

Nasal addition before stem initial voiced plosives (excluding b), fricatives glottal stops and the cons.h,r,l,

| duat | to question | mongoduat oku | I ask |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dundung | to cover | mongodundung oku | I make a shelter |


| gama | to make | mangagama oku | I make something |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| guna | to use | mongoguna oku | I use |
| havol | to try | mangahavol oku | I grip in the dark |
| hanggum | to measure | mangahanggum oku | I measure by hand full |
| radu | plough | mangaradu oku | I plough |
| ramit | to grip | mangaramit oku | I hold fast |
| lobong | grave | mongolobong oku | I bury |
| ladtak | to step | mangaladtak oku | I step onto |
| la'ab | broad | mangalaab oku | I broaden, enlarge |
| idu | to take away | mongidu oku | I take away |
| ovit | to take along | mongovit oku | I bring,take with me |
| ada | to put away | mangada oku | I throw away |
| orod | to rounden | mongorod oku | I make round |
| ukab | to open | mongukab oku | I open up |
| umo | to open field | mongumo oku | I plant hill rice |
| zopos | wet | mongozopos oku | I make wet |
| zazak | to open knot | mangazazak oku | I untie knot |
| malun | to accuse | mangamalun oku | I accuse |
| navau | light | manganavau oku | I make light |
| jamin | to be trusty | mangajamin oku | I guarantee |

2.2220 prefix pa- var po- + prenasalized substitution as 2.221 describing action of subject substitution

| panau <br> ta'ud <br> tanom | to go <br> to watch <br> to plant | pamanau oku <br> panaud oku <br> panamon oku | I am one who goes <br> I am one who watches <br> I am one who plants |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nasal addition | to question | pongoduat oku | I am one who asks <br> duat <br> guna <br> radu |
| pongoguna oku <br> to use <br> plough | pangaradu oku <br> pane who uses <br> pangajamin oku | I am one who ploughs <br> I am one who guarantees |  |

2.2221 prefix pa- var. po- + ko (var.ka-) action of substituted usage asu dog pokoasu to treat as a dog
2.2230 prefix $\mathrm{p}-+$ vowel, assimilating to first stem vowel: indicating causative action
imot pemot oku dot ulun I make visible to people (show)
atag patag oku I put in order
odop podop oku I set down
ogom pogomoku I set down
inum penum oku di NN I give NN a drink
panau papanau oku dikau I make you go, let you go
ta'ud pataud oku dikau I make you a watchman
tangkus patangkus oku dikau I let you run
compare also. po+ stem+ on + nominal personal suffix
inum penumon-ku ikau I shall give you a drink
but pinenum oku di NN I was given a drink by NN
om pinenum-ku it NN I gave NN a drink
2.2231 prefix $p+u+$ stem indicating "master or way of" action
agai puagai master of adultery
boros puboros speaker
longoi pulongoi tune, singer
2.224 prefix k- + vowel assimilating to first stem vowel or contracting with vowel initial: function realisation of action or conclusion of process, also potentiality of action
rikot korikot oku I am here (have arrived)
gama kagama iti it is made
imot kemot oku I being visible
Also. with plural infix -anga- var. ongo-
kongimot-ku kavi my seeing all
kongimot oku dot ulun wholly visible to people
2.225 prefix combination kapa- var. kopo- + nasal substitution or addition function: realisation of 2.22 , describes person who has finished with the action: having realized
boros speech kopomoros oku I have said, have been speaking tanom plant kapananom oku I have been planting kirim to order kopongirim oku I have been ordering gama to make kapangagama do meja I have been making tables imot to see kopongimot oku I have been seeing
2.226 prefix combination naka- var. noko- with assimilation of prefix vowels to first stem vowel, or contraction of final prefix vowel to stem initial vowel. Function: describes long existence of spontaneous state or realisation of action.

| odop | to sleep | nokodop oku | I had fallen asleep |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tanom | to plant | nakatanom i parai | the rice had been planted |
| rikot | to come | nokorikot ialo | he had come |
| panau | to go | nakapanau iosido | he had gone |

2.227 prefix combination nakapa- var. nokopo- with nasal substitution or nasal addition kirim to order, send nokopongirim oku I was one who had rdered imot to se nokopongimot oku I have seen already gama to make nakapangagama oku do meja I have already made tables
with plural infix -anga- var. -ongo-
odop to sleep nongokodop okoi we all had dropped off to sleep nokongodop okoi we had all slept then
2.228 prefix combination sang var.song with nasal assimilation: Dual or group action sombozo sambazaai to follow owe another, do together sangakan eating together
sampanau-panau to go together

### 2.230 Prefixes with prefix vowel -i-

2.231 prefix -i- : describing the matter concerned in the action or state

| tahak | give | itahak-ku | my gift, what I give |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ginit | hang | iginit | what hangs |
| dagang | buy | idagang | payment, what to buy with |
| kinis | tear | ikinis | tear in garment |
| valiu | change | ivaliu | the moved article |
| duat | ask | iduat-ku | my question |

2.232 prefix mi- + stem (ef.Mal. ber-) describes the process of action often reciprocal or

| reflexive or dual, |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| tangkus | to run |
| duat | to qestion |
| vozo | to follow |
| umpug | to collect |
| ada | to throw away |


| mitangkus ioti | they are running together |
| :--- | :--- |
| miduat it ulun | they ask (each other) |
| mivozo it anganak | the children go together |
| miumpug it ongoulun the people gather |  |
| miada ioti | they divorce,separate |

also: prefix mi + tor- describes repeated reciprocal action or occurrencee mitoremot-okoi we (ecl) will se each other again and again
2.233 prefix pi- + stem, occurs usually together with causative prefix po-

| tangkus | to run | popitangkus | make run together |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tongkizad | to separate | popitongkizad | make to separate them |

cf. also affix combinations pi- + stem-on 2.426
pi- + stem-an 2.422
opi- stem 2.435
kopi-stem 2.436
nokopi-stem 2.437
2.234 prefix ni- describes the state of completion of an action $=$ preteritum of $\mathrm{mi}-+$ stem duat to ask niduat-ku my having been in the state of asking boros to speak niboros-ku my having been in the state of talking ada to throw away niada-ku my having been in the state separating
2.235 prefix ti- + stem, describes the wish to do or be what root word expresses (with contraction of vowel with i- initial stem vowel)

| imot | to see | timot | wish to see, long to see |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| langad | to long for | tilangad oku | I am homesick, I long to go home |
| akan | to eat | tiakan oku | I like to eat something |
| savo | partner in marriage | tisavo | wanting to mate |
| sangkul to hoe | tisangkul oku | I like to hoe |  |

2.236 prefix ki- + stem describes the existence of a state
sangkul hoe
vaig water
valai house
boros speech
hukum advise
cf. further affixation
boros kiboros
kisangkul oku
kivaig it talage
kivalai oku
kiboros oku
kihukum oku

I have a hoe, I own a hoe the well has water I own a house I have something to say I speak with authority and experience
kumiboros oku dikau I speak to you or (I have something to tell you)
2.24 prefix misi- + nasal + stem, whereby the nasal assimilates to the initial plosive: describes playful action, pretention of
anak child misinganak oku I act as if I were a child
lovong fool
tangkus run
patai die
misinglovong oku
misintangkus oku
misimpatai oku

I play the fool
I act as if I were running I act as if I were dying
with reduplication of si-
ilo to know misisingilo-oku I learn (try to know)
2.25 prefix miri- + nasal + stem, whereby the nasal assimilates to the initial consonant:
describes an action without aim

| panau <br> ilob | to go <br> to vomit | mirimpanau oku <br> miringilob oku | I walk to and fro, for walking sake <br> I vomit without stopping <br> (for no apparent reason) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| odop | to sleep | miringodop oku | I sleep without stopping |

2.26 prefix mag- var. mog- + stem: describes action causing existence of odu to quarrel mogodu oku I bring on a quarrel
anak child maganak oku I bear a child, woman's side)
Also mamaganak oku I create child (man's side)
paganakan uterus
apid second wife magapid oku I take second wife
$\begin{array}{llcl}\text { avang } & \text { await } & \text { magavang oku } & \text { I ambush, wait to catch } \\ \text { apon } & \text { fishing line } & \text { magapon oku } & \text { I angle, do fishing }\end{array}$
kovosihan goodness
mogkovosihan I plead for goodness
2.27 prefix mana-var. mono- + nasal which assimilates to first consonant of stem: describes dressing up, using of clothes

| banat | shirt | manambanat oku | I put a shirt on, dress |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pakai | feast dress | manampakai oku | I dress up |
| sigal | head wear | mononsigal oku | I put head dress on |
| soval | trousers | mononsoval oku | I put trousers on |
| tompa | shoes | monontompa oku | I put shoes on |
| hogkos | waistcloth | mononghogkos oku | I put waist cloth on |
| tapi | sarong | manantapi oku | I put sarong on |

2.28 prefix mad- var. mod- (often with reduplicaton of prefix)
singkudou kneel momodsingkudou I practically kneel
tangkus to run mamadtangkus oku I practically run
suni to grow momodsuni practically-suni
also cf. sumuni $=$ virgin and i momodsuni girl growing up
2.290 prefix moki- + stem before verbal stems and secondary substantives to indicate intention of action or ownership of what substantive expresses
2.291 koruhang follower mokikoruhang oku dikau I want you to be my follower
imot see mokiimot oku dikau I want you to let me see
pasi life mokipasi oku dikau I want you to liven me up
2.292 irreal wish by reduplication of first stem syllable
koruhang follower mokikokoruhang oku I should somehow like to have a F. imot to see mokiimot oku disau I should like to see him but
rikot to come mokiririkot oku sori I should somehow like to go there
2.293 improbable prefix combination mokipopokodimot
imot see mokipopokodimot oku I should somehow like to see
2.294 poki-+ stem artificiality of matter =apparence of bunga flower pokibunga artificial flower timog cover pokitimog something used as cover (blanket)

### 2.30 Suffix morphemes.

2.31 imperative suffix -ai with assimilation of last stem vowel to ai or assimilation of first stem vowel, if second (last) is a high vowel

$$
\begin{aligned}
& a o+a i=a a a i \\
& i o+a i=i a a i \\
& a i+a i=o i a i \\
& a u+a i=o u a i \\
& o o+a i=a a a i
\end{aligned}
$$

| -imot | see | imatai | see ! |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -habal | news | habarai | report! |
| -dagang | buy | dagangai | buy! |
| -ajal | teach | ajarai | teach ! |
| samod | love | samadai | love ! |
| ampun | plead | ompunai | ask forgiveness! |
| amung | add | omungai | add! |
| andus | make peace | ondusai | make peace! |
| anit | skin | onitai | peel ! |
| antas | short cut | antasai | make short cut ! |
| apil | bribe | opilai | bribe ! |
| apit | call in | opitai | call in! |
| pigis | cut in pieces | pigisai | cut small! |
| pongo | finish | pangaai | finish! |
| hondom | remember | handamai | remember ! |
| iit | bite | iitai | bite! |
| kapit | stick | kopitai | hold fast ! stick to it ! |

2.32 imperative suffix -o with assimilation of first stem vowel if a

| vozo | follow | vozoo | follow! |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rikot | come | rikoto | come ! |
| anu | take | onuvo | take ! |
| hondom | remember | hondomo | remember ! |
| ibo | go in field | iboo | go into field ! |
| itung | consider | itungo | think! |
| kakat | lift | kakato | lift! |
| kodim | call | kodimo | call! |
| kiro | calculate | kiroo | think ! |
| kuvo | Mr NN | kuvoo | talk per Mr. NN ! |

2.33 continuous tense suffix -o with assimilation of first stem vowel as 2.32

| mimot-oku | I see | dot memoto | while seeing |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mogom oku | I sit | dot mogomo | while sitting |
| mindakod oku | I climb up | dot mindokodo | while climbing up |
| rumatu-oku | I fall down | do rumatuo | while falling down |
| sumako-oku | I ride | do sumokoo-no it anganak while the children are riding |  |
| rumikot-oku | I come | do rumikoto | while coming |

2.34 suffix -on: forms nomina gerundiva

| kiro <br> vozo | calculate <br> follow | kiroon-ku <br> vozoon-ku <br> i vozoon-ku | my way of calculating / my calculation <br> that what makes me follow <br> my leader |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| habal | news | habaron-ku | my news |
| piding | break | pidingon-ku | my breaking |

panau go panahon-ku my intended journey
guna use kogunaanon-ku my future usage
2.35 imperative suffix -ai combined with causative verb prefix p+ a e io
imot see pematai show, make visible!
atag orderly patagai repair!
dagang buy padagangai sell!
apit call in popitai call in to fetch !
amung add pomungai dioti make them add!
habal news pahabarai make tell news!

### 2.40 Affix combinations.

2.41O Affix combinations with ka-var. ko- + stem + suffix
2.411 affix combination ka-var. ko- stem +o forms nomina abstracta

| asavat | high | kasavato | height |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| alaab | broad | kalaabo | breadtb |
| osodu | distant | kosoduo | distance |

2.412 affix combination ka- var. ko- + stem + an forms nomina collectiva
patai die kapatazan death
rikot come korikatan coming, arrival
imot see kematan sight
valai house kavalazan building
panau go kapanahan walk
2.413 affix combination kapa- var. kopo- + stem + -an forms nomina actionis causativae imot see kopematan (the) showing patai die kapapatazan (the) killing
2.414 affix combination kapanga- var. kopongo- + stem + -an forms nomina actionis perfectae imot see kopongimatan (the) show then habal news kapangahabaran (the reporting then
2.415 affix combination ka- var. ko- + stem + -on forms nomina actionis futurae patai die kapatazon the future death, the dying
panau go kapanahon the intended walk
2.416 reduplication of first syllable of stem + suffix -on repeated happening (nomina actionis): assimilation of suffix vowel on first stem vowel
rampai rob rarampasan robberies
rokp abduct rorokopon abductions
tibas to cut titibason slaughters
usok defy uusokon defiances

### 2.420 affix combination with pa- var. po- + stem + suffix

2.421 affix combination pa- var. po- + stem +- an nomina loci actionis (ex eventu)
sidang sunny it posidangan-ku place of my getting clothes dried in the sun sanda pawn it pasandaan-ku place where I'll pawn lombus continue it polombusan-ku place (direction) of travel/my further journey
2.422 affix combination pi- + stem -an (from mi-verbs)as 2.421
umpug gather piumpugan dot ulun place of gathering odu quarrel pioduhan place (cause) of quarrel
volit boundary pivolitan place of boundary
2.423 affix combination pu- + stem -an (from mu- verbs)as 2.421 forms nomina collectiva muvalai build house puvalazan-ku place of my building a house mutanom plant putarasan place of planting place of planting maize $/ 2$ nd clearing)
2.424 affix combination pa-var. po- + stem -an with nasal substitution or nasal addition, forms nomina loci collectiva

| sidang | sunny | ponidangan-ku | my place for drying clothes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| anda | pawn | panandaan | pawnshop |

2.425 affix combination pa-var. po- + stem -on forms nomina causativa futuri
sidang sunny posidangon-ku what I am going to pu in the sun angkat borrow pangkaton-ku what I am going to lend sanda pawn pasandaon-ku what I am going to pawn
2.426 affix combination poki- + stem -an forms nomina actionis gerundivi imot see pokiimatan-ku what I wish to see indamo ask pokiindamaan-ku what I wish to ask for with reduplication pokipopokodimatan-ku what I should rather like to see (but shall never see)
2.427 affix combination poko + stem reduplication $=$ intensified action
boros speak pokoboro-boros to speak harshly, to be outspoken!
2.430 Qualifying affixations (adjectival) produces adjectives
2.431 prefix a- var. o- before stem, whereby prefix assimilates to first stem vowel $=$

2.432 prefix na- var. no- before stem, prefix vowel assimilating to first stem vowel, forms qualifying nomina describing concluded state or condition
gazo big nagazo it ulun grown big the person/one who has grown big ining hear nening it habal the heard news nening-ku-no it habal nening oku dot ulun
the news heard by my
heard I by people/ I have been heard by people
2.433 affix combination a- var. o- stem -an substantifies the qualifier in comparison / with assimilation of first stem vowel to $o$, if second stem vowel is a high vowel (i,o,u) see
assimilation

| asavat | high | asavatan-ku | too high for me |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| agazo | big | agazaan-ku | too big for me |
| osodu | distant | osoduan-ku | too distant for me |
| araat | bad | araatan-ku | too bad for me |
| ahali | very | oholian-ku | too much for me |

2.434 affix combination as 2.433 , describes state of being hit by fame, etc.

| darun | rain | odorunan oku <br> osogitan oku | I am hit by rain |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cold | cold am hit by cold, have a cold |  |  |

2.435 affix combination o+ pi- stem forms qualifier comparable with the English worthy in thrustworthy

| panau | go | opipanahan | worth to go there |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rikot | come | opirikot | worth to come to |
| longoi | song | opilongoi | worth singing |
| ining | audible | opiining | well known |

also: affix combination $\mathrm{k}+$ opi-: concluded state of opi- cf. $\mathrm{k}+2.224$
rikot come kopirikot oku I am one who has been there already
panau go kopipanan oku I have already walked (this road)
ada away kopiada ioti they are divorrced/got away fromone another
2.4361 affix combination o+ bi- + nasal, forms qualifiers: to be in state of rosi fear obingrosi ot ulun person $w$ is full of fear sakit sick obinsakit ot anak child who is always sick malan lazy obimalan it kuvo NN is always lazy ruol pain obingruol iosido he is always in pain
vozo follow obingvozo follow always suhut obey obingsuhut obedient always sala fault obingsala always faulty ratu drop down obingratu drop always haba fall down obinghaba fall all the time susa unlucky obingsusa difficult always hungot angry obinghungot angry forever
2.4362 affix combination o+ bo- nasal or plosive forms qualifier being in state of ihad to cry obogihad always crying inud to wait obohinud always waiting
2.4362 affix combination $o+$ lu- + plosive or nasal, forms qualifier: to be in practice of doing or being
sigup tobacco olungsigup to chain smoke
agai to have intercourse outside marriage olugagai to sleep around everywhere
izud to have intercourse olugizud to continuously have i.
2.4363 affix combination $o+b u-+$ nasal forms qualifier indicating continuous state
tai bowel obuntai it anak the child has diarrhoe
burui obuburui
2.4364 affix combination ori+ nasal forms qualifier as above

| panau | to go | orimpanau | someone wandering about |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tuod | root | orintuod | being rooted, fixed |

2.4365 affix combination $-\mathrm{o}-+$ tu + nasal $=$ repeated action

| boros | speak | otuboros | speak always |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| galak | funny | otugalak | funny endless |
| gerak | laugh | otugerak | laugh always |
| bozo | obey | otubozo | follow always |
| ihad | cry | obogihad | cry always |

2.44 infix -in- occurs with many of the affixes and indicates the preteritum of the action or the state or the location. The infix follow the first stem consonant, or if prefixed the first prefix consonant $=$ past tense

| mapit oku | I call in at | minapat oku | I called in at |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mananom oku | I plant | minananom oku | I planted |
| mangagama oku | I make | minangagama oku | I made |
| pemot-ku | my showing | pinemot-ku | my showing then |
| pongimot-ku | while seing | pinongimot-ku | my having been seen |
| kemot oku | visible I | kinemot oku | My having been visible |
| mokiimot oku | I wishing to see minokiimot oku I having wished to see |  |  |
|  | mokipopokodimot oku | I should somehow like to see.. |  |
|  | minokipopokodimot oku | I have had the intention to see then |  |
| humaba i kazu | the tree fall |  | hiumaba i kazu the tree was falling |
| kematan-ku | my sight | kinematan-ku | my sight then |
| kopimatan-ku | my showing them | kinopimaten-ku | my showing |
| kopongimatan-ku my show | kinopongimaten-ku | my show then |  |
| emot | visible | inimot | visible them |
| ematan-ku | visible for me too | inimatan-ku | visible for me then |

2.45 Infix -in- forms nomina collectivae. Infix follows first consonant in stem

| adau | day | inadahan | days |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hopod | ten | hinapadan | tens |
| valai | house | vinalazan | houses then |
| agazo | big | ginazo | what bigness |
| asavat | high | sinavat | the being high |
| suhu | order | it sinuhu | the one who gave orders |

### 2.46O Plural affixes

2.461 plural prefix ongo- var. anga- + stem or noun prefix vowels assimilate to first stem vowel, if 2nd prefix vowel contracts with first stem vowel (vowel initial nouns

| valai | house | ongovalai | houses |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| palampag | floor | ongopalampag | floors |
| aki | grandfather | angaki | grandfathers |
| anak | child | anganak | children |
| idi | mother | ongedi | mothers |
| ulun | person | ongulun | people |
| dupot | animal | ongodupot | animals |
| with qualifiers (adjectives) |  |  |  |
| asavat | high | ongosavat | high all |
| aralom | deep | ongoralom | deep all |
| emot | visible | ongemot | visible all |
| nasavat | high then | nangasavat | high then all |
| nasavatan-ku | too high for | nangasavatan-ku | high all for me |

2.462 collective noun prefix san- var. son-

| ulun | person | songulun | people (all) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| anak | child | sanganak | children |
| pomogunan | village | sompomogunan | land, country |
| riniba | mankind | songriniba | all mankind together |

2.463 affixes plural -in- + stem + an cf. nomina collectiva 2.45 (of the past)
adau day inadahan days
sodop night sinadapan nights
ribu thousend rinibuvan thousends
2.47 enlarged stems to (var.ta- + nasel + stem (verbal)
2.471 sometimes inactive prefix to- having become part of three sylable stem, sometimes active when prefixed to substantives
bubu fishtrap monombubu to close way, to hinder escape
notombubu do lizud notombubu-okoi do darun pomogunan land, village caught by flood caught by rain monompomogunan to set up village
2.50 Iteration and reduplication.
2.51 Iteration of the stem weakens the meaning agazo big agazo-gazo high - asav-savat emot visible emot-imot panau go manau-panau to walk about ) qualifies verbs mimot see memot-imot to look about )
with iteration of stem +- an cohortation to continue an action gradually imat-imatan-po go on looking! wait and see! savat-savatan-po Let it get higher still'
2.52 Reduplication of first stem syllable with nasal substitution
a) collective action
mamanau it ulun the person goes mamamanau ioti they go
mangagama iosido mitangkus ioti
he works
they run
quite big )
quite high )qualifies adjective just visible)
) reduplication with iteration of stem repetitive collective action
mitatangkus-tangkus ioti they run again and again miumpug it ulun miuumpug-umpug ioti pisusumad kopupunsaan (opunso) pininggomit-gomitan-ku-no antad sid angaki-ku
my having got it from my grandfathers
2.53 reduplication of first syllable: forms nomina instrumenti from verbal stems

| vuhau | to sweep | vuvuhau | broom |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gau | to paddle | gagau | paddle |
| tindok | to make holes | titindok | instrument for making holes |

with reduplication of first stem syllable + -on suffix describes person executing an action, i.e. being instrument of action

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { suhu } & \text { to order } & \text { it susuhuon } & \text { the one who is ordered } \\
\text { suhut } & \text { to obey } & \text { it susuhuton } & \text { the one who obeys }
\end{array}
$$

with reduplication of first stem syllable and suffix -an: when execution of action becomes a general function of the person or matter

| boli to propitiate | bobolizan | the priest(ess) |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tolon | to swallow | tatanan | throat |

with reduplication with qualifiers, indicates plurality of adjectives
agazo big ongogagazo it sapi all big the cows/all the cows are big

### 2.60 Articles and pronouns

2.61 The articles

There are six articles (markers of substantives)
$\mathbf{i}$ is the personal article before names of person
$\mathbf{0}$ is the vocative article when adressing a person by name
it marks the substantive or substantified subject
ot marks the suppositioned substantive, or substantified subject
dit marks the attribute, if attribute is a known or certain person or thing or singularity
dot marks the apposition, if the latter is general term or collective name
The collective prefix son.-- var. san- (2.462) stands also in place of an article.
After the preposition sid only direct names of persons use the personal article.
The final -t of the articles can be left unpronounced in fast speech, especially if the following substantive has an initial consonant. It is, for convenience, not produced in writing.

Examples of the usage of it
$\mathrm{i}(\mathrm{t})$ manangon the legend teller but it manangon iosido the legend teller is he
it minanangon the legend teller then
it tangon the legend
it mokitangon
it pokitanganan
the person asking for a legend to be told
it katanganan it kinapangananan it nakatangon iosido the legend asked for the story it kinatanganan the story then the way of telling the story then
it agazo he having told the story
the big one
i momobog the beater (hitter)
i binobog the person having been hit

| Examples of ot |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| iosido ot komulakan dot kusai he | he the youngest child, male |
|  | he is the youngest child a boy |
| agazo ot ulun iosido big | big a person he/he is a big person |
| bangku dot Tuntudun ot indomoon | on Beaks of hornbill birds were the requirements/ beaksof hornbill were asked for |
| tolu gantang ot vagas | three gallons the rice/ three gallons of rice |
| Examples of dit |  |
| ka dit ama dau spe | speach of his father / said his father |
| nening-po dit osukod it iadino hea | heard still of headman this like this/heard by the headman that it was that way |
| pongitungan dit ulun do Bakaka it binatang di Korudong |  |

## Examples of dot

it rogon dot araat
aso kerad dot kavantang di korudong
mogihim dot bangku dot Tuntudun
a bad spirit
none as beautiful as Korudong
look for beaks of hornbill birds
nokoling-no, tu ino manganu dit bangku dot Tuntudun
away for this getting the beaks of hornbill birds (in question)

### 2.62O Pronouns

2.621 personal pronouns

prepositioned. ioku o mamanau it is I who goes mamanau oku I go
b) the suppositioned personal pronouns are suppositioned in two ways. When the negation of the verb amu is used; the pronouns without the initial $i$ are suppositioned to the negation. while the others are used as with any other subject
amu mamanau it ulun not goes the person $=$ does not go
amu mamanau i karabau not goes the buffalo $=$ does not go
but
amu-oku mamanau
amu-ko mamanau amu mamanau ialo a-tokou mamanau amu-okoi mamanau amu-kou mamanau amu mamanau iolo
not I go = I do not go
not you go = you do not go
not go he $=$ he does not go
not we go $=$ we do not go (incl.)
not we go $=$ we do not go (excl.)
not you go $=$ you do not go
not go they $=$ they do not go
c) pronominal attribute,

1st singular
2nd singular
3rd singular
1st plural incl. tokou
excl. -za
dikou
diolo valai diolo
dioti valai dioti
-to valai-to
my house your house his house
our house our house your house their house their house our house (two owners)
with negation amu, followed by a nomen actionis perfectae, the suffix forms are suffixed to the
negation, while the independent forms follow the nomen
amu nening it ulun amu-za nening amu-ku nening amu nenning diolo
not heard by person $=$ the person did not hear
not heard by us = we did not hear
not heard by me $=\mathrm{I}$ did not hear
not heard by them $=$ they did not hear

With the morpheme ka referring to direct speech, the pronominal attribute suffixes are suffixed with prenasalisation while the full forms are suppositioned
ka dit ulun
kangku
kanu
ka dau
ka di tokou
kanza
ka dikou
ka diolo (dioti)
kanto
speech of person, said he
says I (me)
says you
said he
said we (inclusive)
saying us (exclusive)
your saying
their saying
saying of us two
ka bo (impersonal futuric) saying of them (may be)
kangku bo shall be my saying
ka, and kaka it says (retelling legends)
d) pronomina possessiva and objectiva

| 1st singular | dohon | i dohon dot valai | the house which is mine |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2nd singular | dikau | i dikau dot valai | your house |
| 3rd subfular | dau | i dau dot valai | the one which is his |
| distant | disau | i disau dot valai | the house which is his |
| 1st pl. incl | di tokou | i di tokou do valai | the house which is ours |
| excl | dahai | i dahai dot valai | our house exclisive |
| 2nd plural | dikou | it dikou dot valai | your house |
| 3rd plural | diolo | it diolo dot valai | the house which is theirs |
|  | dioti | it dioti dot valai | person refered to already |
| dual | dit kito | i dit kito dot valai | the house which is ours |
| objective |  |  |  |
| mamatai iosido | dohon | he kills me |  |
| mamatai iosido | dikau | he kills you |  |
| mamatai iosido | dau | he kills him |  |
| mamatai iosido | di tokou | he kills us (inclusiv) |  |
| mamatai iosido | dahai | he kills us (exclusiv) |  |
| mamatai iosido | dioti | he kills them |  |

2.622 demonstrative pronouns
iti his here ino that there ilo that over there iri that then (temporal)
independent usage
iti-no it valai di NN
ino-po ot valai di NN
this is NN's house
ilo nga valai di NN
that too is a house of NN
that there too is a NN -house
contracted with article
iti + it $=$ itit ino + it $=$ inot $\quad$ ilo $+i t=i l o t$
itit valai di NN ot dagangon-ku that (his house there) I shall buy
ilot karabau ot dagangon-ku that there buffalo I shall buy
irit sapi ot pinatai dau

```
diti of this (close by) dino of that (less close)
dilo of that there (distant) diri of that long ago
```

in combination with iti, ino, ilo, as apposition to substantive
itit valai diti ot dagangon-ku
inot valai dino ot dagangon-ku
ilot valai dilo ot dagangon-ku
this house here I shall buy that house there)I shall buy that house over )there ...
contracted with article
diti + it $=$ ditit dino + it $=\boldsymbol{d i n o t}$ dilo + it $=$ dilot
it valai ditit ulun ot dagangon-ku it valai dinot ulun ot ozi oku
my buying the house of this person
I like the house of that man
locative of these demonstrative pronouns
siti here sino there silo over there
sori there distant hodi there in vicinity,still visible nokorikot-oku siti I have arrived here nokorikot-oku sino I have arrived there nokorikot-oku silo I have arrived over there nokorikot-oku sori I have arrived there far away nokorikot-oku siri/diri I have been there then
contracted with preposition sid to demonstrative markers
siti + sid $=$ sitid $\quad$ sitid valai-ku at this house of mine
$\operatorname{sino}+\operatorname{sid}=\sin d \quad$ sinod badi $\quad$ at the market there
silo + sid $=$ sirid $\quad$ sirid tagad diri $\quad$ at that ricefield then
sori + sid $=$ sorid soris Sandakan at Sandakan
hodi + sid $=$ hodid $\quad$ hodid kadai $\quad$ at the shop there (visible)
These locatives are also root words and follow the affixation order of the verbal stems
siti here sumiti-oku I come here nokositi-oku I have been here
sino there sumino-oku I go there positi ino barang bring the things here!
hodi there humodi it ulun the person goes here!
sori there far away sumori-oku diti I go now there far away
2.623 Interrogative pronouns, often occuring with question -ka
isai? who? isai iti? who is this?
disai? whose? disai dot valai iti? whose house is this?
ombo? which? future ombo ot valai dagangon-nu? which house will you buy?
onggo? which? preteritum onggo it nanu dau? which one did he take?
sionggo? where? preteritum sionggo-ko antad? where did you come from?
siombo? where? future siombo ot pakazan-nu? where do you go?
nunu? what? nunu-ka iti? what is this?
kuro-ka? why? kuozon? for what reason?
nokokuro-ka? why? preteritum
kuran-ka? how? kuran-ka iti? how is this?
sera? when? preteritum
impiro-ka? how often?
piro-ka? how many?
songkuro-ka? how much?
songkuro-ka ot parai-nu?
songira? when? future
piro-ka karong ot parai? how many bags of rice?
how much is your rice? (how much rice do you have?)

### 2.70 Preposition

There is only one preposition sid. It describes the place of state or motion. Before nomina propria the personal article comes in between preposition and nomen proprium, while other substantives follow directly after the preposition.
kumaa oku sid di Majimil
but kumaa oku sid rahat

I go to Majimil
I go to the sea

To indicate the exact location as under, in or on top of something, substantives are added to define the exact position. Some ot these are
sid timpak do burul
sid tupak do bavang
sid sunsud dot valai
sid sampaping dot valai
sid rinuvang dot valai
sid isan dot tagad
sid saralom dot tana
sid tombing dot rahat
sid timbang dot vaig
sid natad dot valai
sid tinoguvangon dot ulun
on top of the hill
on the other side of the river
under the house
at the other side of te house
inside the house
along the boundaries of the ricefield
in the ground
near the sea
along the water, on the riverside
around the house, outside the house in front of a person
others are
sid gulu in front, before, earlier
sid tohudi
after, later on
sid vanan
on the right hand side
sid gibang
Movements are indicated by the use of
ponong sid
ponong sid Lajong
kumaa sid
mananau oku kumaa sid Lajong
antad sid
antad sid Lajong ong ioku
sampai sid
sampai sid Garau o nokorikot oku
in the direction towards
towards Lajong
reaching
I go to Lajong
from
from Lajong it is where I come from arriving at

I have come as far as Garau
cf. usage of contracted forms of demonstrative pronoun + preposition 2.622

### 2.8O Enclitics and interjections

2.810 enclitics are added to the words stress, to describe time of action
2.811 enclitics of realisation -no = already
limo-no already five
nemot-ku-no already seen by me
nopongo-no already finished
2.812 enclitics of expectation $-\mathrm{po}=$ still more, yet
limo-po five more
imatai-po see first
amu-po opongo not yet finished
2.813 enclitics of continuation -nopo = already started, not yet completed, always

| limo-nopo | always five |
| :--- | :--- |
| emot-nopo | always visible |
| mangatag-nopo | always repairing |

2.814 enclitics of future continuation -nobo = shall always be
tokou-nobo it will be always us
ombo-nobo what ever it shall be, (it does not matter/ neverr mind)
2.82 Interjections of agreement
underlining speech
of surprise
of fear
of pain

| o' $^{\prime}$ | yes |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ba | so it is, really |  |
| adok | no, fancy! |  |
| adeh | o dear! |  |
| akai | o dear! akai-akai |  |
|  |  |  |

### 2.90 Numbers

2.91 cardinal numbers
the numbers with h - initial hopod and hatus change h to n by collective numbers: duvo-no hopod becomes duvo nopod
2.92 the ordinal numbers are formed by prefix ka- var. ko- before cardinal numbers with assimilation of prefix vowel to first stem vowel, or contraction of prefix vowel to vowel initial cardinal number
ko- + iso $=$ keso koduvo kotolu kapat kolimo kisizam
2.93 multiplication is formed by prefix in- + nasal of same articulation point in- before s,d,z, ing- before $\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{h}$ and im- before v
inghatus hundred times
ingapat four times
imvalu eight times
induvo twice
also i nenganaman mintutuk the six times having gone round
2.94 the ordinals of the multiplicativa are formed by prefixation of k - with contraction ko+in= ken, var.kong,kem
2.91 cardinals

| 1 iso | one | keso | first |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 duvo | two | koduvo | second |
| 3 tolu | three | kotolu | third |
| 4 apat | four | kapat | fourth |
| 5 limo | five | kolimo | fifth |
| 6 onom | six | konom | sixth |
| 7 turu | seven | koturu | seventh |
| 8 valu | eight | kavalu | eighth |
| 9 sizam | nine | kosizam | nineth |
| 10 hopod | ten | kohopod | tenth |

2.93 multiplicativa
insan once
induvo twice
intolu three times
ingapat four $x$
inglimo five $x$
ingonom six $x$
inturu seven $x$
imvalu eight x
insizam nine $x$
inghopod ten x
11 hopod om iso kohopod om iso inghopod om iso
12 hopod om duvo 13 hopod om tolu 14 hopod om apat
2 O duvo nopod twenty koduvo nopod twentiest induvo nopod Twenty times
21 duvo nopod om iso 22 duvo nopod om duvo

30 tolu nopod
100 hatus kahatus inghatus
111 hatus om hopod om iso
211 duvo natus om hopod om iso
1000 saribu kasaribu
10000 salasa 1000000

99 sizam nopod om sizam
101 hatus om iso
200 duvo natus koduvo natus induvo natus
999 sizam natus om sizam nopod om sizam
1111 saribu om hatus om hopod om iso sangjuta
2.94 ordinals of multiplicativa

| kensan | the first time | kenduvo | the second time |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kentolu | the third time | kengapat | the fourth time |
| kenglimo | the fifth time | kengonom | the sixth time |
| kenturu | the seventh time | kenghopod | the tenth time |

2.95 Fractions are formed by affix combination pi-stem-on
piduvoon half of
pitoluvon third of
piapaton fourth of
pilimoon fifth of
iso pionomon one sixth of
2.96 to cause fraction affix combination 2.95 takes causative prefix po-
popiduvoon divide by two !
popitoluvon divide by three !
popiapaton divide by four !
popilimoon divide by five !
popionomon divide by six !
2.97 Iteration of the cardinal number forms collective numbers
iso-iso $=$ iseso single
duvo-duvo ioti they two by themselves
ioti hopod-hopod all ten of them
2.98 distributive numbers formed by prefix to- var. tor- and tar- with iteration of cardinal number toriso-iso one by one toduvo-duvo two by two tarapat-apat four by four tohopod-hopod ten by ten

### 3.0 Syntax

### 3.10 Single morpheme sentence type

3.11 Exclamations, utterances as expressions of feelings

| ai | well, I am caught | ba | well, that's it |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| adeh | oh, (painfully) | adok | oh, (surprisingly) |
| akai | oh, (terribly painful) | ginazo (gazo) | what a size |
| rinubat (rubat) | what a waste | inaru (naru) | what a length |

3.111 repetitive exclamations
adok-adok-adok-adok well I never, did ai-ai-ai-ai-ai well, there is no way out akai-akai-akai-akai what a terrible pain I have
3.12 Answers to Questions
varo there is, there are aso (a-iso) there aren't any, none
okon not like this, not this way
o, oho yes
tau? I don't know
banal-no that is right
bo, ba yes, I agree
3.13 Imperative utterances tiko (siti-ko) come here
don't
kada-po-to let's not do this yet
3.20 The simple sentence type (equational sentence type)
3.21 Qualifiers as predicate $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}$
agazo ialo he is big
osodu i pomogunan the land is far away
engin-oku I like ekum-oku I am ashamed
3.211 with appositioned subject $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{A}$
agazo-oku ot ulun I am a big person
anaru i valai diti this is al long house
3.212 with modified qualifier $\mathrm{M}+\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}$
banal-ko agazo ialo he is really big banal-ko anaru i valai the house is really long
3.213 with negated qualifier
amu agazo ialo amu-po anaru i nizu
he is not big the coconut is not yet long
3.214 comparison of qualifiers

| 3.2141 | agazo <br> alangkas | big <br> fast | agazo-gazo <br> alangkas-langkas | quite big (not too big) <br> not too fast |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

3.2142 agagazo can be called big large, sizable
3.2143 agazo-mai impressive big
3.2144 agazo-mahi hardly to be called large
3.2145 ginazo of an impressive largeness
3.2146 agazo banal really large
3.2147 banalko agazo very large indeed
3.2148 agazo-nopo always large
agazo-po mantad larger than agazo-no already large or big
3.215 nomina actionis perfectae nagama i valai the made house/the house is $m$. naratu it uva the fallen fruit/the fruit has fallen
3.215.1 with apposition nagama i valai dot anaru
the long house is finished
3.216 nomina qualitativae comparationis as P .
nolosuan it ulun nohombilan i volit
the person is overheated the boundary is violated
3.22O Nomina as predicate $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}$
ulun-oku
raja-oku

I am a person
I am king
3.221 with apposition $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{A}$
ulun-oku dot lumundu I am a rich person
valai dot anaru iti this is a long house
3.222 with modifier Negation $+\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{A}$
okon-ko ulun-oku dot lumundu okon-ko valai dot anaru iti

I am not a rich person this is not a long house
3.223 kivagas-oku diti
kivalai it ama-ku
there is rice with me my father has a house
3.230 pronoun as predicate $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}$
3.231 demonstative pronoum
diti-oku this is me
siti-oku here am I
3.232 personal pronoun
ioku-no iti it is I
ialo ino (iti) he is the one
3.233 with apposition $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{A}$
iti-no it ulun dino this is the person in question iti-no it ulun di minangagama this is the person who made it
3.234 with interrogative personal pronoun
isai-ko-ka? answer I Manjil oku diti
who are you?
isai o minangagama?
who made it?
3.235 interrogative possesive pronoun
disai-ko iti ?
answer dang ulun iti
whose is this?
disai-ka o valai?
whose house is this?
3.236 interrogative pronoun of choice
ombo-ka i kazu?
onggo-ka i nokogulu?
answer
iti-no i kazu dino
iti-no i nokogulu
which one is the tree?
which is the first one?
this is the tree
this is the first one
3.237 interrogative pronouns of place
siombo-ko-ka?
sionggo-ka it asu?
where are you off to?
where has the dog been?
answer
sumori-oku diti I am off to there (that place)
antad sid sunsud it asu the dog came from underneath
3.238 interrogative pronouns of time
sera-ka korikot?
sera-ka kapanau it ulun?
songira-ka i badi?
answer
korikot-ku-no dino my arrival is just now
kapanau-no it ulun
suvab-no i badi
when will the market be?
he has already gone
tomorrow is the market
3.2391 interrogative pronouns of way and reason
kuro-ko-ka?
why are you like this?
why have you been like this?
answer
sabap anaru iti because it is long
sabap osopung iti because it is early
3.2392 interrogative pronoun of quality songkuro-ka osodu i valai?
songkuro-ka koledo?
answer
duvo vatu o kosodu dino valai, two miles the distance to the house
kotoluvan iti biano
how far is the house away?
how long is (length of time) three days until today
3.2393 interrogative pronoun of quantity
piro-ka o nizu dino?
piro-ka it ulun o nokorikot?
answer
hopod om limo iti nizu diti,
sizam-no o nokorikot
how many coconuts are there?
how many people arrived?
these coconuts are 15
nine people have arrived
3.2393 interrogative pronoun of recurrence of action
impiro-ka nakapanau-no it ulun? how often has the man gone
impiro-ka nokebo it ulun? how many times did he go to work in the ricefield answer
inhopod nakapanau it ulun, he went ten times
a-insan nikebo it ulun,
he didn't go once to the field

### 3.30 The verbal predicate sentence type $V=P$

There are three subgroups of verbal predicate sentences in which the utterance is either a subjective an objective or a referential predicate
3.3O1 The personal and possesive pronouns, used in these utterances indicate and clarify relations between topic and actor. In the following description of the various sentence types, the personal pronouns are referred to as Class A,
the possessive pronouns are referred to as Class B and, the objective pronouns are referred to as Class C .

| 3.3O2 Class A suffixed |  | Class B |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ioku -oku | I | -ku my |
| ikau -ko | you | -ko you, of yours |
| ialo | he, she, it | dau his,her |
|  | dizau remote he | dizau of him |
| iokoi -okoi | we (excl.) | dahai our |
| i tokou (incl.) | we | di tokou our |
| ikou -kou | you (plural) | dikou your |
| iolo | they | diolo their, of them |

Class C

| dohon <br> dikau <br> dialo | me, mine <br> to you <br> him, her, |
| :--- | :--- |
| dahai | us, of us |
| di tokou | us (ichl.) |
| dikou | your |
| dioti | of them |

### 3.310 Subjective predicate sentences

The subjective predicate sentence indicates, that the subject is the doer of the action.
$\mathrm{S}=\mathrm{A}=\mathrm{T}$. The verb takes the following affixes
m - (-in- if past tense forms) -um- ( + -in-)
mo + Nasalierung-, var. ma+ N.- ( + -in-)
mog- var- mag- ( + -in-)
noko- var. naka-
nokopo +N . var. nakapa +N .
also: $\mathrm{St}+\mathrm{o}$-no (or -ai-no) as imperative and : secondary affixes: k -stem and kopi-
The subject takes markers $\mathbf{i}$ (it before vowel initial nouns) or is a Pronoun Class A the object takes marker di (dit) for specified and do (dot) for unspecified objects or is a pronoun Class C
$3.311 \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}$ (simple sentence)
mamanau it ulun The person goes
nakakun-no i Kurudong K. has agreed (to it)
$3.312 \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{O}$
mangagama i tukang do meja the workman makes a table
momobog-ko dialo you hit him
mangatag-oku di jiip-ku I repair my Jeep
mininum-oku do vaig I drank water
nakapangakan-oku di pazas-nu I have eaten your popo-fruit
kopiakan-oku do runti I have tried eating yams
manangon tokou di Kurudong we tell Kurudongs story
3.313 with question indicator $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{Q}+\mathrm{O}$
mogodu-ko-ka dohon? do you want to quarrel with me?
kumiboros-ko-ka di dokutol? did you speak to the doctor?
3.314 with locator $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{L}(\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{O}+\mathrm{L})$
mamanau-oku sid alun-alun I walk along the road
sumiti-oku didino I am coming now
mangakan-oku dot ampalam sid R. I eat manggas in R.
3.315 with addressee Vocative $+\mathrm{NN}+\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}$

Adeh, Ahad, mihukum tokou-no Listen, boy, the marriage agreement is to be settled O pinsan, garaso-no i sapi-ku Listen, brother in law, kill my cow
3.22O The objective predicate sentence has as its topic the aim of the action word (the object)
$\mathrm{O}=\mathrm{T}$. The objective predicate takes either suffix-on or the infix -in- in the past forms (without -on)
The subject as actor takes marker di (dit) or pronoun Class B
The object (topic) takes marker i (it) or pronoun Class A
$3.321 \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{T}+\mathrm{S}$
duaton-oku dikau
dinuat-oku dit ulun bobogon-oku dikau binobog-oku
my being asked by you
my having been asked by people
my being beaten by you
I was beaten by you
$3.322 \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{O}$
duaton-ku izau bobogon-ku izau binobog-ku ialo
my asking him = I shall ask him
my beating him $=I$ shall beat him
I hit him (past)
also bambangan dau i kambing his having hit the goat dinuat dau i mata mata diri him having asked the police then
3.323 with further object $\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{O}+\mathrm{T}$
polombuson-ku i barang sid kampong pongoviton-ku dit ulun i surat-nu
my passing on the things to the village my making the person take your letter

### 3.330 Referential predicative utterances

where the topic only indirectly receives the action, or is the location of action or the recipient of benefaction. (=T) The verb takes suffix -an
the topic takes the marker $\mathbf{i}$ (it) or $\mathbf{0}$ (ot) or Class A pronoun
the actor takes Class B pronouns or marker di (dit) or do (dot)
the object takes Class C pronouns or maker do (dot)
$3.331 \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{T}+\mathrm{O}$
Tinahakan-oku do tinggol, I was given necklaces
$3.332 \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{T}+\mathrm{A}+\mathrm{O}$
Tinahakan-oku di pinsan-ku do tinggol, my having been given a neckless. by my cousin
$3.333 \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{A}+\mathrm{T}+\mathrm{O}$
Tinahakan it ulun dino dit pinsan dau do tinggol the person having been given a n.by his cousin
$\mathrm{P}+\mathrm{T}+\mathrm{A}+\mathrm{O}$
gamaon-oku dot ulun di tagad-ku my ricefield has been made for me by people

### 3.40 Further simple sentence types

3.41 varo (there is) $=\mathrm{P}$ aso (there is none) $=\mathrm{P}: \mathrm{P}+\mathrm{T}$
varo vaig aso vaig there is water/there is no water
varo sumaap there is an opponent
kivagas there is rice
aso vagas there is no rice
3.42 with apposition or location marker A or L
varo vaig dot alasu there is hot water
varo vagas dot aragang there is red rice on the table
with enclitics
aso-no vaig there is no more water
aso-po vaig there is not yet any water
3.43 Imperative sentences $P(+S)$
imatai-no! look!
gamao-no dikou! work you people!
3.44 Prohibition - demand
kada mamatai! don't kill!
kada-no mamatai! don't kill now!
kada lumombus! don't go on further!

### 3.50 Compound sentence types with conjunctions

$3.51(\mathrm{C})+\mathrm{T}+\mathrm{P} \quad$ (English in cursive writing)
Ioti dino turu songobpinai, limo it ongokusai om duvo it ongondu
They (were) seven, five male and two female brothers/sisters
note: obpinai can be either brother or sister
Manjadi i binatang sino dino banalko anaru now that longhouse was very long
Na ioti dino inturu-kopiinturu now those were seven times seven-seven

### 3.52 with Locator $\mathrm{C}+\mathrm{T}+\mathrm{p}+\mathrm{L}$

aso kerad di tokou siti ponong there was none equal to us this way
Na adau di kinoulian di Bakaka nga kinoulian di Kurudong sid govuton
Now the day of the B.'s return was also the return of from the jungle
Na i Kurudong kotoluvan sid himbaan
Now Kurudong was three days in the primary forest
3.53 with time marker (M)
3.531 Kinam Continously

Kinam-no mogihim dot inumon, sampai nokorikot sid livotung
Continously he looks for water until he reaches the lake
Kinam-no mansahari, sampai linumundu He works continously until he gets rich
Kinam lumogod i barat sampai notogob it alud
The storm got stronger and stronger until the boat capsized
3.532 Kinam-kinam more and more, gradually

Kinam-kinam humungot ialo sampai nokobobog dot ulun
He got angrier and angrier until he hit people
Kinam-kinam muraha sampai notitisan do raha
the bleeding became stronger and stronger until everything was covered with blood
Kinam-kinam monginsada ialo sampai noponu it alud
he got more and more fish until the boat was full of them
3.533 Kodori gima, For in olden times

Kodori gima kodung varo-no koronu For in olden times, as soon as somebody was renowned ong kodori gima as in olden times
3.534 Mazad-po At the time of

Mazad-po dit anak vagu-no banal i Kurudong, At the time of $K$. being a teen-ager..
3.535 Varo-po there also is to indicate action or being

Varo-po it ongondu di banalko avasih There also are the very beautiful women
3.536 Na toun-po diri In that year

Susuvab-po diri the next day
Na sid kotolu-po't adau di badi On the third day after the market
Mantad di tanga sumakai As from midday..
Mantad di tanga sumakai, muli-pulid-po it adau pilombus-no i K.
As from midday, towards evening K. moved on again..
3.537 Kananganko Concerning taking up a particular topic

Kananganko i valai dau, nijuval-no sid ombuvoi
What his house concerns, he sold it to a stranger

### 3.538 Other time markers

| Biano | today, now |
| :--- | :--- |
| Didino | at this moment, presently (forward looking) |
| Dino-no | just now (looking back) |
| I hiza diri | at that time |
| I toun | last year |
| I toun diri | two years ago |
| I toun vagu | next year |
| I kosinaan | time of birth |
| I kopisavaan | time of marriage |
| I kokotu | time of harvest koinsakod, kaasakai, kosukodo, kolohingo, |
| I kolingo dit aso dangol | time of death |

### 3.54 with enumeration

Keso, anaru banal it unturu dau First, he has very long fingers
Koduvo, banalko odoot iosido Secondly, he is very greedy
Pengavi, arampus banal ong humungot iosido lastly he gets very rough if he is angry

### 3.60 Conjunctions to open sentences

3.61 Manjadi when, then expressing or stating facts and proceedings in a story or tale.

Manangon tokou di Kurudong. Lets hear the story of $K$.
Manjadi i Kurudong dino opodok-po iosido, sinamadan laid dit ama.
When Kurudong was still little, he was his father's favourite.
G. om P. o nokosup di B. manakau. Manjadi aso-no tinganan dialo mongolim dino bungou dau dino.
G. and P. have caught B. stealing. There was no chance for him to deny his silliness
3.62 Na after, as soon as expressing completion of action as starting point for follow up

Na nosingkop-po i tolu toun, minuli-no iosido sid kampong dau
After three years he went back to his village
Na korongou-po, tinumangkus-no iosido sid himbaan
After hearing it, he ran to the jungle
Na koimot-po, minonimbak-no ialo di tambang
After seeing the dear, he shot the deer.
Na tu, After, if
Amu-oku engin dara mamanau. Na, tu norongou, araat dot amu korikot
I don't really want to go. After having heard it would be wrong if I don't come.
Amu dara korikot. Na, tu inongoi, mamanau-nobo.
I wasn't coming. But after being fetched, I had to go.
Amu dara kumioduw. Na tu noholian, sinumaap-nobo.
I didn't want to quarrel. After it was too much, I had to fight back
3.63 Ong When expressing follow up when state comes up

Ong korikot, obohogizan
Ong miginavo, kopisavo
Ong abanakau, kotorungku
whenever one arrives, sharing follows
when they love each other, they shall be married
when he is thief, he must be arrested
3.631 Okuro ong Even if

Okuro ong tuduk-tudukan-no, amui kotolunung
Even if you keep on showing him, he will not find the way
Okuro ong timbakon, amui rumosi Even shooting frightens him

Okuro ong mad kapatai dau, amu-no monurubis (mongitung)
Even if it nearly kills him, he doesn't care (mind)
Nokuro ong notopuan dot damat nga amui matai koduruk
Even covered with wounds he didn't die quickly
3.632 Kaluto ong in case that

Ihimo-no banal, kaluto ong emot-po Barasai banal, kaluto ong mangasip-po.
Indamo banal, kaluto ong tahakan-ko-po
search properly in case you find speak hard, in case he believes Ask really, in case you are given
3.633 Dolupo ong .. minsan-ko whether ..or not

Dolupo ong abanal, minsan-ogi ko amu, borosoni.
Whether it is right, even if not, tell it
Dolupo ong iad-to-no, minsanko ulun kihukum, amui mangasip.
Whether it is only us, even people with more wisdom don't believe it
Dolupo ong varoi, minsan-ogi aso, ong kenginan-no, ihimoni.
Whether there is anything or not, if one has it in mind, one looks for it
3.634 Vokon-no ong Sometimes

I panau do mongimpori, vokon-no ong kiovit, vokon-no ong aso.
Going hunting, sometimes one has to bring home, sometimes not.
It ongopitounan, vokon-no ong mongopud, vokon-no ong amu.
Some years have a good harvest, some not.
it ongopakakas di kuvo, vokon-no ong dangol, vokon-no ong kapak
The tool of NN is sometimes a jungle knife, sometimes an axe
3.635 Ogi-no ong, minsanko Whether few or much

Ogi-no ong okudik, minsanko ogumu, kakali moguhang ialo
Whether there is little or a lot, he ist still moody
Ogi-no ong onibak, minsanko anaru, kakali dot amu kotulai
Whether it is short or even long, it will still not protrude
Ogi-no ong opian, minsanko ologod, kakali dot amu orongou.
Whether quiet or very noisy, it cannot be heard
3.64 Bang If In case expressing possibility for follow up

Bang itahak, onuvon If it is given, it should be taken
Bang engin-ko, ombo-ko ikau If you want it, it is up to you
Bang osin o taduk, banalko kotuliou If the food is salty, one gets very thirsty
Bang okonko tinarik-ku ialo, tantu aratu-no sid pansung
If I hadn't pulled him over, he would certainly have fallen down
3.65 Contitional conjunctions
3.651 Baiko Only

Baiko umpakai do valai ino bunga dino, asoi kosusaan ong aso.
Only to make the house look better are these flowers. If there were none it wouldn't matter.
Ong baiko amu kosigup, aso-pot ikoruol do ginavo
If one does only not smoke, one will not be sad about it
Ong baiko ialo ot amu kovozo, amu korungoi do panau ino
If only he doesn't come along, the journey will not be in vain
3.652 Suvaiko Only if expressing condition for success against failure

Suvaiko magavi-ko banal dino om kapaasan-nu.
Only if you really work hard you will pass your examination

Suvaiko isesoon banal o ginavo om varo rikoton-nu
Only if you set your mind to it you will reach your goal
Suvaiko ontokon-no banal, ong ialo dino om amu-ogi kohungot
Only if he tries hard, will he not get angry
3.653 Kodungko As soon as Conditional clause

Na kodung nagazo-gazo-no, boros dit ama, Ikau-nobo dino
As soon as he was grown up, his father said: You....
Kodungko korikot, turus gumama
As soon as he arrived, he started work
Kodungko manambarat-no, banalko misok it ongopolitaan
As soon as the storm comes, all lamps will get exstinguished
Kodungko amu-no kenginan, kadan-no torimoon. If you do not want it, don't accept it.
3.66 Osuhul ko better than

Okudik-po-ma, kakali dot osuhul ko aso. Better a little than nothing at all
Ialo ma dino-oi osuhul ko ioku Better him than myself
Kolingi ong ialo do nokotokin, osuhul ko bansa kondiri
Better to have an Indian as son in law than from the own folk
Osuhul-no sumuhut-ko dilo dohon do kenginan You better follow my wishes
Manjadi osuhul-no om mangandu i tokou-no
Then we better look for a woman
3.67 Iri-ogi then, Further, also, too

Nopongo-no kavi monuturan om iri-ogi rinotuan-no dit osukod
When everything had been told, then the elder made the decision
Noumpug-no i sokoviai om iri-ogi miniuupakat-no do kurozon
When all were there, then they agreed what was to be done
Kotutuk-no om iri-ogi tumimpuun vagu
Having done the round, then the start begins again

### 3.70 Conjunctions joining clauses

3.71 om and joining two simple sentences of action together

Nopongo-po it alud om nokoudan-no i barang, minunsud-no
Having finished the boot and loaded it, we left the place
Notohos-po i darun om notimung-no it ongoulun, minamanau-no i baas
When the rain stopped and all people where together, the bus went.
Nopudung-po i kazu om nalaas-no, niudan-no sid kurita.
When the tree was cut and split it was loaded onto the lorry.
3.72 sampai until, and

Mogihim iosido dot inumon sampai nokorikot sid livotung
He looks for water until he has reached the lake
3.73 supaya until, in order to, that

Habarai-no ioti, supaya elaan do noumpug-no it ongoulun
Tell them, that they know that people have come together
Pampangai-no koduruk, supaya oluvas i ralan.
Clear quickly the paths that the way is open
Rikot-no sid dahai, supaya kikoruhang-okoi. Come to us, so that we have company
3.74 tu for, because

Linapos dit ama ino, tu oguvail he was hit by his father because he was stubborn
Inanu dau i dangol, tu dau He took the jungle knive because it was his
Otuvong ong pukul lapan, tu sodop it is dark at eight o clock, because it is night

Nakakun-nopo i K. tu agazo-no banal iosido He agreed, for he was very strong
3.741 Gima, tu Because expressing reason for following action

Gima, tu osilat, nokosurat kavi i norongou
Because he was clever, he wrote everything down he heard
Gima, tu obungou, nokotorungku Because he was silly, he got imprisoned
Gima, tu aparu, amu akama o tizan Because he was working hard, he had enough to live on
3.742 Sabap, tu Because expressing cause for follow up, which is contra one's own inclination Amu-oku dara otibang. Sabap, tu upakat-no sokoviai, minozo-okui.

It didn't suit me. But because everybody agreed, I went also along
Amu-oku dara engin. Sabap, tu kenginan-no dot molohing, tinorima-ku-no.
I didn't really want. Because it was the wish of the parents, I accepted.
Okon dara-ko sino o kenginan. Sabap, tu nagaratan-no do kinoruhangan, minozo-nobo.
It wasn't there he wanted to go. Because his friends pressed him, that he went along
3.75 nga concerning, as far as

Kasamung sori, nga asoi guna concerning meeting there it is of no use Ioku, nga ino-no o kenginan
Ioti, nga aso nemot do karabau
concerning myself, this is what I want
concerning them, they didn't find the buffalo

### 3.80 Quotation of direct or indirect speech

Where English and other languages mark quotations in writing, the oral tradition of Momogun indicate direct speech as well as indirect with appropriate quotation markers, previous to the quotation and closing the quotation (see 2.621 c )
3.81 reported speech
boros-ku diri, Anaru banal i binatang dioti, kangku diri.
there were strong ones, also giants, also bewitched ones.
I said then, their longhouse is very long, said I.
I boros dau, Nokoling-no i savo dau, ka dit ulun dino
He/she said, his/her partner is away, said that person.
boros dit ama, Adeh, Ahat mihukum tokou-no, ka di ama.
said father, Boy, lets get married, said father.
3.82 futuric speech
boroson-ku dara dot, amu-oku otibang diti, kangku dara.
I shall probably say then that I have no time for it, shall I say.
__Ong korikot-kou sino, boroson-no dikou dot, Amu otibang ialo, ka bo.
When you arrive there, say then that he couldn't come,
3.83 enumeration in reporting
varo't akansang, ka, varo kinabalan-po, ka, varo kiansamung-po, ka.

### 4.0 TABLES

### 4.1 VERBAL FLECTION

| Tense | Actor transitiv | Actor intrans. | Object | Reference |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| not copleted action <br> present tense | mong-stem <br> moki-stem <br> mi-stem <br> mog-stem <br> mirim-stem | m-stem | stem - on | stem -an |
| past action, p-tense | m-in-ong-stem <br> minoki-stem <br> mini-stem <br> minog-stem <br> mrim-stem | min -stem <br> -inum- | - stem -in | stem-an |
| completed action <br> perfect tense | nokopong -stem | noko-stem | no-stem |  |
| intended action | ti- stem |  |  |  |
| desirous action | mokipopookot- <br> stem | stem-o | stem-ai |  |
| imperative <br> immediate | ponng - stem <br> pi-st. Pog-stem | stem | stem -on | st -an |
| imperative <br> non imediate | mong-stem | stem |  |  |

### 4.2 Table of affixation of the nouns for abstraction

| simple st. $\begin{gathered}\text { present } \\ \text { stem } \\ \text { valai }\end{gathered}$ | past |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Stem c. | - in-stem |
|  | v -initial cons. +-in- st. | vinalai |
| time of doing ko- +st+-an | kino- +st+-an | kinovosihan |
| kovosihan |  |  |
| with dual kopi- st -an | kinopi- st -an | kinopivosihan |
| kopivosihan |  |  |
| causation of kopong- st -an | kinopong- st -an | kinopngimatan |
| kopongimatan |  |  |
| with dual $\begin{gathered}\text { kopipong- st -an } \\ \text { kopipongogontian }\end{gathered}$ | kinopipong-st-an | kinopipongogontian |
| place of doing po-st. -an | pino-st. -an | pinalabangan |
| palabangan |  |  |
| with dual $\begin{gathered}\text { popi- st }- \text { an } \\ \text { pogontizan }\end{gathered}$ | pinopi- st. -an | pinogontizan |
| desiribility poki-st -an | pinoki- st. -an | pinokigontizan |
| pokigontizan |  |  |

### 4.3 Abbreviations:

A = actor
var $=$ varying
$\mathrm{L}=$ locator
M = Marker of time
$\mathrm{N}=$ Nasalisation
$\mathrm{O}=$ object
$\mathrm{P}=$ predicate
$\mathrm{Q}=$ question indicator
S = subject
T = topic
St $=$ stem
$\mathrm{vl}=$ voiceless
$\mathrm{vd}=$ voiced
pl. = plural
sing. singular
cf. = compare with (confere)
s. $=$ see >
i. $=$ stem initial position
m . $=$ stem medial position
f. = stem final position

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