
Nabay Verb Morphology

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ABSTRACT

Nabay is an Austronesian language of Sabah, Malaysia. This data paper documents the verb morphology of Nabay with over 500 sample sentences. All verbs are marked for time and focus; further verb affixes may mark mode or aspect. The focus system is the most notable feature of the clause in Nabay. Five nuclear clause elements are eligible to receive focus: Actor, Goal, Referent, Instrument, and Time/Location. In addition to the focus affix on the verb, focus or non-focus may be marked in a noun phrase by special particles or pronoun sets.

0. Introduction

The Nabay people are a Murut group (Austronesian family) living around the perimeter of Keningau township in the Keningau District of Sabah, Malaysia. They number about 3,000 people. The Nabay are historically known as Abay, having formerly been self designated as "ulun nu abay" 'town people', or else, 'Murut people'. The more recent identification as 'Nabay' appears to be a contraction from "nu abay."¹

1. Time and focus affixes

All verbs used in discourse are marked for both time and focus. There are two specific time settings: past vs. non-past. The third group of time-related affixes is called atemporal.

The specific time settings tend to occur at or near the beginning of a paragraph, with the rest of the paragraph continuing with atemporal affixes, especially in narrative, legend, drama, and procedural texts. Hortatory text settings, suggestions, and warnings tend to be in present tense; however, imperatives are always atemporal tense. There is insufficient data yet to be able to make any firmer statements.

The time and focus elements are often fused into a single morpheme, so throughout this paper they are treated as unitary morphemes containing two or more semantic elements (time, focus, aspect, mood, etc.).

¹This paper is based mainly on two years residence in Keningau from 1980 to 1982. The data was obtained largely from Mr. Eyai Linituk, Mr. Egang Linituk, Mrs. Inggim Linituk, and Mrs. Norsia Mainol of Maasak Village, Mrs. Idui Ungud, Mrs. Biaton, and Mrs. Tiam of Patikang Village, and later, during 1990-1993, from Mrs. Mary Korok of Limbawan Village. I am greatly indebted to David Thomas and Paul Kroeger for their significant help in editing, and to Gene Fuller, David Moody, Greg Lyons, Hope Hurlbut, Richard Brewis, Julie King, Lou Hohulin, and my husband Patrick Cohen for help, advice, and encouragement during the data gathering and the writing of this paper, to Ina Ipil for tireless assistance in transcribing texts from taped recordings, and to Elisabeth Bersagel who taught and cared for my children while I was recording and transcribing legends and other text material.

Table 1 Key to Abbreviations

FOCUS	AFFIXES	VERB/AFFIX	PHENOMENA
af	actor-focus	sr	syllable reduplication
gf	goal-focus	ri	root initial
rf	referent-focus	rr	root reduplication
if	instrument-focus	fu	affix-stem fusion reduplication
lf	location-focus	sa	split affix (see : : in text line)
tf	time-focus	da	discontinuous affix
OTHER	VERBAL AFFIXES	OTHER	CODES
des	desiderative	com	completive
re	recent	ncom	non-completive
dt	distributive	conj	conjunction
inv	involuntary	0	zero occurrence
i	intensive/deliberative	()	understood/not in text
ca	causative	neg	negative
ind	independent	qt	quote
nsp	non-specific	emph	emphatic
sp	specific	cl	classifier
inc	increasive	dis	disclaimer of responsibility
dec	deceasive	ord	ordinal
pet	petitive	cpd	compound
var	variance	ext	existential
der	derivative	loc	locative
per	persuasive		
	FOCUS, NON-FOCUS		
VERB	TENSES	F	focus
at	atemporal tense	EF	emphatic focus
npt	non-past tense	nfa	non-focus actor
pt	past tense	nfo	non-focus oblique
		o	oblique
PRONOUN	LOCATION	POSSESSION	
n	near	po	possessive
fr	far	pp	possessive pronoun
r	remote		
PARTICLES		NUMBER	
nm	noun marker	sg	singular
Nm	Name marker	pl	plural
inf	infinitive		
PRONOUN	PERSON-NUMBER		
1s	1st singular		
1d	1st dual		
1pe	1st plural exclusive		
1pi	1st plural inclusive		
2s	2nd singular		
3s	3rd singular		
2p	2nd plural		
3p	3rd plural		

Table 2 Verb tense-focus affixes

	ATEMPORAL	NON-PAST	PAST
ACTOR	k- ~ 0 (zero)	m- ~ -um-	n- ~ in-/inum-
FOCUS	pang-	mang-	nang-
	pag-	mag-	nag-
	paka-	maka-	naka-
	paki-	maki-	naki-
	pati-	mati-	nati-
	pa-	ma-	na-
	ka-	ma-	na-
	papa-	mapa-	napa-
	pasa-		
GOAL	-o' ~ ka- -o'	-on ~ ka- -on	-in- ~ ka- -in-
FOCUS	ka-	ma-	na-
REFERENT	-i' ~ ka- -i'	-in ~ ka- -in	-in- -an ~ ka- -in- -an
FOCUS			
INSTRUMENT	pa- -o'	pa- -on	pina-
FOCUS			
TIME/LOCATION	pang- an	mang- -an	nang- -an
FOCUS			

1.1 Time setting affixes

The non-past time setting affixes will be referred to collectively as the *m-* affixes, and the past time setting affixes as the *n-* affixes.²

1.1.1 Non-past affixes

The non-past affixes may be used in situations that are either present or future time. A common non-past affix is the simple intransitive actor-focus *m-*. And many of the non-past affixes contain an *m-*. See Table 2.

111a M- uli' i MARIS.
 npt.af-go.home Nm.F Maris.F
 Maris is going home.

111b Mang- kiwa' i ASRI du piasaw.
 npt.af-climb.up Nm.F Asri.F nm.nfo coconut.tree.o
 Asri is climbing a coconut tree.

111c T -um- urabas PIASAW ino. (turabas)
 ri-npt.af-float.downstream coconut.F the (float downstream)
 The coconut is floating downstream.

² In all examples in this paper the verb or item being illustrated is underlined, and the focused argument is in caps.

111d Mom- okok AKU susuab. (bokok)
 npt.af-make.dike 1s.F tomorrow (dike)
 I will make dikes tomorrow.

1.1.2 Past affixes

The past affixes are used for real, assumed or fictional past time and are prevalent in narratives. A common past affix is the simple intransitive actor-focus *n-*. And many of the other past affixes contain an *n*. See Table 2.

112a N- uli' i MARIS.
 pt.af-go.home Nm.F Maris.F
 Maris went home.

112b Nang- ansak IYO noiyo du lamud.
 pt.af-cook 3s.F com nm.nfo cooked.rice.o
 She cooked rice.

112c Nama- dangkat AKU du bilod dai'.
 pt.af-transfer 1s.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o yesterday
 I moved the rice yesterday.

112d Noko- kolong noiyo DALAING dano.
 pt.af-sleep com child.F those.fr
 Those children have already slept.

1.1.3 Atemporal affixes

The atemporal affixes are time-neutral and can continue the time of the previous time setting affix in a paragraph, without drawing further attention to the time (see text, Appendix A). Or, if an atemporal verb stands alone in a paragraph, it is usually an imperative. The atemporal affixes tend to start with a *p*, *k*, or *0* (zero). See Table 2.

113a Paka- akan IYO poiyo, 0- uli' IYO noiyo.
 after.at.af.eat 3s.F ncom at.af-go.home 3s.F com
 After she ate, she went home. (context is past tense)

113b ITO pang- ansak.
 1d.EF at.af-cook
 You and I will cook. (context indicates future tense)

113c "An gua' ka- alap-alap mu MONDOW iti," konon dukuwon.
 how at.gf-get.rr 2s.nfa Spirit.Bird.F that.r qt dis
 "How in the world did you actually get that elusive Spirit Bird!" they said, it is said.

1.1.4 Homophonous affixes

Note that the verbal affix {*ka-*} set in actor-focus is not to be confused with the homophonous affix {*ka-*} set in potential goal-focus. Compare ex:114a with 114b; see also 3.2 ex:32nnn.

114a	<u>Ma-</u> <u>saga'</u> AKU diso.	114b	<u>Ma-</u> <u>saga'</u> ku IYO.
	npt.af-like 1s.F 3s.nfo		npt.gf-like 1s.nfa 3s.F
	I like him.		I can like him.

1.2 Focus

Focus, which is in some ways similar to English "subject", is the grammatical marking of one item in a clause as being the center of attention. This item may be semantically the actor, causer, goal, referent, instrument, or time or place of the action.³ Control of focus usage is important, as it can reflect cultural mores and values, i.e. avoidance of taboos, mitigation, approval, or it can convey fear, anger, blame or shame.

1.2.1 Marking of focus and non-focus

The verbal affixes indicate the clause item in focus; note that the item in focus itself has zero marking, except personal names which are marked with an *i*.

121a Mang- kiwa' i ASRI du piasaw tio' Dangu^lad.
 npt.af-climb.up Nm.F Asri.F nm.nfo coconut.tree.o loc Dangu^lad
 Asri is climbing coconut trees in Dangu^lad.

The unfocused items in a clause, non-focus actor and oblique, have markers which indicate that they are not in focus. There are two non-focus actor markers: *nu* precedes nouns, and *ni* precedes proper names. There are two oblique markers: *du* precedes nouns and *di* precedes proper names. Time/location settings have no focus markers (see 121a,b; 6.; also, compare ex:121m with 121n).

121b Kiwa -in AKU ni Asri du piasaw odow daitu.
 climb.up-npt.rf 1s.F Nm.nfa Asri.nfa nm.nfo coconut.tree.o day now
 Asri is climbing a coconut tree for me today.

An oblique item is non-actor and is unfocused; it can be a third noun or pronoun in a clause which has a non-focused actor plus a focused goal, referent, instrument, or time/location (see ex:121b above); or, it can be a second oblique noun or pronoun in a clause which has a focused actor (see ex:121c). See Appendix B.

121c Na ki- tutu AKU di An du bilod ino dai'.
 pt.af.pet-pound 1s.F Nm.nfo Ann.o nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o the yesterday.
 I asked Ann to pound the rice yesterday.

121d Nang- kiwa' JABULOW ino du piasaw.
 pt.af-climb.up monkey.F the nm.nfo coconut.tree.o
 The monkey climbed a coconut tree.

121e Kiwa -in AKU nu jabulow ino du piasaw ino.
 climb.up-npt.rf 1s.F nm.nfa monkey.nfa the nm.nfo coconut.tree.o the
 The monkey is climbing the coconut tree for me.

Although a focused common noun is not preceded by a marker, a deictic often follows it. Note in exs:121f-g homophonous morphemes *no* (3s) and *no* (com).

³ Many Austronesian specialists prefer to call the focused item the "topic" of the clause. For simplicity's sake, we have chosen to retain the term "focus" for both the verbal marking and the item being marked.

- 121f Na- alap ku no APIN ino. 121g Na- kito no IGIU ino noiyo.
 pt.gf-get 1s.nfa com mat.F the pt.af-see 3s.nfa mare.F the com
 I already got the mat. (no, short for noiyo) He already saw the mare.

Pronouns take different forms for focus, non-focus actor and non-focus oblique. See Appendix B.

- 121h Mang- kiwa '121i AKU du rumbio'. Ma- kada' ku IRO.
 npt.af-climb.up 1s.F nm.nfo sago.palm.o npt.gf-miss 1s.nfa 3p.F
 I will climb a sago palm tree. I miss them.
- 121j Ma pa-saboy IRO daki' tio' dasawat.
 npt.af.ca-reach 3p.F 1s.nfo loc top
 They made me reach the top.

Note that *TAKAW* and *TO* focus pronouns are not to be confused with the homophonous non-focus actor pronouns *takaw* and *to*. See Appendix B.

- 121k Ma- laan TO du asu itu. 121l Kai' ka-laan-o' to ASU itu!
 npt.af-fear ld.F nm.nfo dog.o the.n neg gf-fear-at ld.nfa dog.F the.n
 We two are afraid of this dog. Don't let us two fear this dog!
- 121m Pang-ansak-an takaw SUSUAB. 121n Ansak- in TAKAW mu susuab.
 at- cook -tf lpe.nfa tomorrow.F npt.cook.rf lpe.F 2s.nfa tomorrow
 The time for us to cook is tomorrow. You cook for us tomorrow.

Note also *ni* and *nu* marking non-focus actor are homophonous with *ni* and *nu* in the possession pronoun sets; see Appendix B & C.

- 121o Ma- asa' ni An KAWAL nu! 121p Ma- jamot nu asu KAWAL ni An.
 npt.gf-wet Nm.nfa An dress.F 3s.pp npt.gf-dirty nm.nfa dog dress.F Nm.po Ann
 Ann might get her dress wet! The dog might get Ann's dress dirty.

1.2.2 Focus fronting

The focused item can be placed before the verb for special emphasis or prominence. Pronouns have a special set of forms in this fronted position, which vary only slightly from the usual focused set. See Appendix B.

- 122a ITAKAW noiyo mang- kiwa' du piasaw dano.
 lpe.EF com npt.af-climb.up nm.nfo coconut.tree.o those.fr
 We ourselves will be the ones to climb those coconut trees.
- 122b I ASRI noiyo mang- kiwa' du piasaw.
 Nm.EF Asri com npt.af-climb nm.nfo coconut tree.o
 Asri will be the one to climb the coconut tree.
- 122c JABULOW ino noiyo mang- kiwa' du piasaw.
 monkey.EF that com npt.af-climb nm.nfo coconut.tree.o
 That monkey will be the one to climb the coconut tree.

1.2.3 Focusable items

There are five nuclear clause level arguments which are eligible for receiving focus: Actor,

Goal, Referent, Instrument, and Time/Location. Of these, Actor is the element most commonly put in focus. See Table 2 for a listing of the sets of tense-focus affixes.

The focused item must be a discrete object, thus one cannot focus on 'water in general,' but can focus on 'the river.' The focused item is frequently marked with an article or demonstrative such as *ino* 'the, that' to show its discreteness and specificity.

- 123a T -um- urabas PIASAW ino. (turabas)
ri-npt.af-float.downstream coconut.F the.fr (float downstream)
The coconut is floating downstream.
- 123b Putul-o' PINSIL ino!
break-at.gf pencil.F the.fr
Break the pencil! (Imperative)
- 123c Ansak-in AKU ni An.
cook -npt.rf 1s.F Nm.nfa Ann.nfa
Ann is cooking for me.
- 123d Pa-lamba-a' TATAUN ino du dipo! (-a', an irregular form of -o')
at-hit -if stick.F the.fr nm.nfo snake.o
Use the stick to hit the snake!
- 123e Pang-ansak-an takaw SUSUAB.
at- cook -tf 1pe.nfa tomorrow.F
The time for us to cook is tomorrow.
- 123f Man-amaal-an ku du baloy kuy TIO' PATIKANG.
npt-build-1f 1s.nfa nm.nfo house.o 1s.pp.r loc Patikang.F
The place I will build my house is there in Patikang.

1.3 Mode/aspect affixes

In addition to the time/focus affixes, there are other verb affixes which mark mode or aspect:

1.3.1 *pa-* causative (this has been found to occur in each focus except Time/Location)

- 131a P: in :a-akan IYO nu dangan nano. (split affix pa- causative)
sa.pt.gf.ca-eat 3s.F nm.nfa friend.nfa 3s.pp.fr
His friend made him eat.
- 131b P:-in-:a-ibit -an ni Asri BUK mutu daki'.
sa.pt.ca-carry-rf Nm.nfa Asri.nfa book.F 2s.pp.n 1s.nfo
Asri asked me to bring your book.
- 131c Pa-pidis-o' PAIS kutu du kalat.
ca-cut -at.if knife.F 1s.pp.n nm.nfo rope.o
Use my knife here to cut the rope.

Causative appears more often as *mapa-*, *napa-*, or *papa-* in actor-focus. (See 7.2)

- 131d Ma pa-tutu AKU diso du bagas.
npt.af.ca-pound 1s.F 3s.nfo nm.nfo husked.rice.o
I will get her to pound rice.

1.3.2 *ti-* involuntary feeling, found to occur only in actor-focus (See 2.6)

132 Ma ti- kolong IYO.
 npt.af.inv-sleep 3s.F
 He is nodding./He feels sleepy.

1.3.3 *ki-* petitive, found to occur only in actor-focus (See 2.5)

133 Ma ki- labus IYO daki'.
 npt.af.pet-release 3s.F 1s.nfo
 He is asking me to release him.

1.3.4 *di-* increasive, in actor-focus, found in supernatural legend text

134 "Pa di- ka kabur AKU, pa di- ka kabur," kono dukuwon Mondow ino.
 at.af.inc-sr.power 1s.F at.af-inc-sr.power qt dis Spirit.Bird the
 "I am preparing with power, preparing with power," said the Spirit Bird, it is
 said. (context is present tense)

1.3.5 *kumu-* decreasive, in actor focus, found in supernatural legend text

135 Kumu- du duwas TOMOW ino ngai'ngai' ngapuun!
 at.af.dec-sr.pour.out green.rice.wine.jar.F the all cl.large.round.objects
 Every single one of all the rice wine jars kept pouring out by themselves!

1.3.6 *in-* desiderative, actor, referent-focus (See 2.14; 7.1.2 ex:712k, 8.7)

136 Mang in- torodog AKU.
 npt.af.des-stand.up 1s.F
 I will try to stand it up.

1.3.7 *i-* deliberative, intensive, in actor, referent focus (See 2.13; 4. ex:4l)

137 Mang i- la laa' KOW daki'.
 npt.af.del-sr.scare 2s.F 1s.nfo
 You are deliberately making me scared.

1.3.8 *-mun-*, *-nung-* independency: independently, individually, i.e. ability by oneself; *-nung-* occurs before velars; *-mun-* occurs elsewhere.

138a Makapa nung-kamang IYO.
 npt.af.ind- crawl 3s.F
 He can crawl by himself.

138b Pa mun-iawo po!
 at.af.ind-breathe ncom
 Breathe again! (Imperative)

1.3.9 *ka-* recence: recent time, just (See 3.3)

139 Ka ka- kito no IYO.
 re.at.gf-see 3s.nfa 3s.F
 She just saw him.

1.3.10 *paka-* time margin: when, after, as soon as, if, simultaneously (See 2.4.1)

1310 Naka- sukal AKU iyak, ugad IRO!
 after.pt.af-get.up 1s.F emph at.af.go 3p.F
 After I got up, as a matter of fact, they left!

1.3.11 *-in-* variance; to change state

1311 Mamadayang IRO du t -in- uug.
 npt.af.spread 3p.F o.inf si-var-dry.in.sun
 They are spreading rice to dry it. (see 2.12 ex:212g, 3.2 ex:32tt, 8. 7)

1.3.12 *ku-* persuasive/force, referent-focus, in legend text

1312 Kando' na ku- bayaw-an AKAI yak, ka' inuoyi' AKAI pakato'.
 neg.ext pt.per-join- rf lpi.F emph but des.go.rf lpi.F at.af.fight.
 Indeed, there wasn't (anyone who) forced us to be the ones to join, but (others)
 wanted us to go to fight (you). (See also 7.1.2)

2. Actor-focus affixes

The actor-focus affixes are used to highlight the "Actor," i.e., the person or thing that IS or DOES or HAS what the predicate says.

2.1 The {*k-*} set of intransitive affixes

The {*k-*} set of actor-focus affixes is used with verbs that take an Actor but do not have an overt Goal. Before vowel initial roots the affixes are *m-* 'non-past', *n-* / *in-* 'past', *k-* / *O* 'atemporal'.⁴ With consonant initial roots the affixes are infixes *-um-* 'non-past', infixes *-inum-* 'past', and the atemporal is a zero.

- 21a M- uoy AKU tio' du kasarawan.
 npt.af-go 1s.F loc nm.nfo jungle.o
 I'm going there to the jungle.
- 21b N- uoy IYO tio' du kaday.
 pt.af-go 3s.F loc nm.nfo store.o
 He went to the store.
- 21c K- uoy du liwad!
 at.af-go nm.nfo outside.o
 Go outside! (Imperative)
- 21d Ka i n- uoy TAKAW pa-kato' damuyun!
 neg.del.pt.af-go lpe.F at.af-fight 2p.nfo
 None of us plotted to go and fight with you all!

⁴ It is not clear why some verbs take a *k-* prefix for the atemporal, but others take nothing. Similarly with the *n-* and *in-* past time prefixes.

- 21e N- uli' IYO dai'.
pt.af-go.home 3s.F yesterday
He went home yesterday.
- 21f 0- Uli'!
at.af-go.home
Go home! (Imperative)
- 21g 0- Ondo' dukuwon anu ino, BUAYOI.
at.af-ext dis thingummy young.man.F
Once there was, it is said, umm, a young man.
- 21h N- ugad IYO du Koningaw.
pt.af-go 3s.F nm.nfo Keningau.o
He went to Keningau.
- 21i 0- Ugad IYO du gino.
at.af-go 3s.F nm.nfo there.o
He went there.
- 21j M- imad ULUN ino daki'.
npt.af-approach person.F that 1s.nfo
That man is approaching me.
- 21k In- imad IYO daki' dai'.
pt.af-approach 3s.F 1s.nfo yesterday
He approached me yesterday.
- 21l 0- Imad KOW diso daitu!
at.af-approach 2s.F 3s.nfo now
You approach him now! (Imperative)
- 21m D -um- uli' AKU susuab. (duli')
ri-npt.af-return 1s.F tomorrow (return)
I will return tomorrow.
- 21n D -inum- uli' IYO daki'. (duli')
ri-pt.af-return 3s.F 1s.nfo (return)
He returned to me.
- 21o 0- Duli' daitu!
at.af-return now
Return now! (Imperative)
- 21p T -um- orodog AKU. (torodog)
ri-npt.af-stand up 1s.F (stand up)
I am standing up.
- 21q T -inum- orodog AKU. (torodog)
ri-pt.af-stand.up 1s.F (stand up)
I stood up.
- 21r 0- Torodog!
at.af-stand.up
Stand up! (Imperative)

- 21s T -inum- utu IYO du tutuan ino. (tutu)
ri-pt.af-pound 3s.F nm.nfo mortar.o that (pound)
She pounded rice in that mortar.
- 21t 0- Tutu KAW!
at.af-pound 2p.F
You all pound rice! (Imperative)
- 21u 0- Tutu!
at.af-pound
Pound! (Imperative)
- 21v S -um- aboy IYO. (saboy)
ri-npt.af-arrive 3s.F (arrive)
He is arriving.
- 21w S -um- agow AKU. (sagow)
ri-npt.af-gangpole 1s.F (gangpole)
I will carry water.
- 21x S -um- unu' AKU diun. (sunu')
ri-npt.af-follow 1s.F 2s.nfo (follow)
I am following you.
- 21y T -um- uun IYO. (tuun)
ri-npt.af-go.down 3s.F (descend house ladder)
He will go down the ladder.
- 21z S -um- imbul IRO. (simbul)
ri-npt.af-run 3p.F (run)
They are racing.
- 21aa S -um- arigot AKU. (sarigot, sigot)
ri-npt.af-commit.suicide 1s.F (tie neck, choke)
I will commit suicide.
- 21bb S -inum- arigot IYO. (sarigot, sigot)
ri-pt.af-commit.suicide 3s.F (tie neck, choke)
He committed suicide.
- 21cc M- olong IRO.
npt.af-sleep 3p.F
They are asleep.
- 21dd M- olong AKU tio' du pisuk.
npt.af-sleep 1s.F loc nm.nfo room.o
I will sleep there in the room.
- 21ee N- olong AKU dai'.
pt.af-sleep 1s.F yesterday
I slept yesterday.
- 21ff K- olong no!
at.af-sleep com
Sleep! (Imperative)

- 2lgg S -inum- arom i SUMAH. (sarom)
ri-pt.af-fever Nm.F SUMAH.F (fever)
Sumah got a fever.
- 2lhh T -um- urabas PIASAW ino. (turabas)
ri-npt.af-float.downstream coconut.F that (float downstream)
That coconut is floating downstream.
- 2lii L- inum- abung i MURA'. (labung)
ri-pt.af-fat Nm.F Mura'.F (fat)
Mura' got fat.

The *-um-* non-past infix changes descriptive verbs into comparative verbs or to a progressive change of state, e.g. *lampas* 'tall'; *l-um-ampas* 'getting taller'.

- 2ljj L- um- ampas DALAING ino. (lampas)
ri-npt.af-tall child.F that (tall)
That child is getting taller.
- 2lkk T- um- ukal i SUMAH. (tukal)
ri-npt.af-thin Nm.F Sumah.F (thin)
Sumah is getting thinner.
- 2lil D- um- ondom KAWANAN ino. (dondom)
ri-npt.af-dark sky.F the.fr (dark)
The sky is getting dark.

With nouns the *-um-* acts as a verbalizer, e.g. *sagow* 'a gangpole; *s-um-agow* 'to carry water with a pole'.

- 2lmm S -um- agow AKU. (sagow)
ri-npt.af-gangpole 1s.F (gangpole)
I will carry water.

2.2 The {*pang-*} set of transitive affixes

The {*pang-*} set of affixes is used with transitive verbs. It is the default affixation for transitive verbs. Before *u*, *a*, or *i* vowel-initial roots, it takes the forms *mang-* 'non-past', *nang-* 'past', and *pang-* 'atemporal'; before two *o-* vowels in the root, it takes the forms *mong-*, *nong-*, *pong-*.

- 22a Mang- alap IYO du dalaing ino.
npt.af-take 3s.F nm.nfo child.o the.fr
She is taking the child.
- 22b Kai' KAW pang- alap du lias.
neg 2p.F at.af-take nm.nfo reed.o
Don't you all take any reeds. (Imperative)
- 22c Mang- akan AKU.
npt.af-eat 1s.F
I am eating.

- 22d Mang- akan IRO du lamud.
npt.af-eat 3p.F nm.nfo cooked.rice.o
They are eating rice./They eat rice.
- 22e Mang- inum AKU du tapay.
npt.af-drink 1s.F nm.nfo rice wine.o
I am drinking rice wine.
- 22f ITO noiyo mang- ansak.
1d.EF com npt.af-cook
You and I will cook.
- 22g Nang- ansak AKU noiyo du lamud.
pt.af-cook 1s.F com nm.nfo cooked.rice.o
I already cooked rice.
- 22h Mong- omot AKAY du bilod susuab.
npt.af-stem.cut 1pi.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o tomorrow
We will all harvest rice together tomorrow.
- 22i Nong- omot AKAY du bilod dai'.
pt.af-stem.cut 1pi.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o yesterday
We harvested rice yesterday all together.
- 22j Mang- ambut IYO diso.
npg.af-lie 3s.F 3s.nfo
He is slandering her.
- 22k Mang- ibit i ASNI.
npt af-bring Nm.F Asni.F
Asni will bring it.
- 22l Mang- agik IYO.
npt.af-thresh 3s.F
He is threshing. (flailing)

Before *l-*, *d-*, or *j-* consonant-initial roots, it takes the forms *mama-*, *nama-*, and *pama-*.

- 22m Mama- lilit ULUN ino du owoy.
npt.af-coil man.F that nm.nfo rattan.o
That man is coiling up the rattan.
- 22n Pama- lamba' i JON di Tuni.
at.af-hit Nm.F John.F Nm.nfo Tony.o
John hit Tony.
- 22o Mama- lalak IYO du karatas ino.
npt.af-turning 3s.F nm.nfo papers.o the.fr
She is going to turn the pages.
- 22p Mama- lamba' AKU daki' sondiri.
npt.af-hit 1s.F 1s.nfo myself
I hit myself.

- 22q Nama- lamba' i JON di Awid.
pt.af-hit Nm.F John.F Nm.nfo David.o
John hit David. (compare with 3.2 ex:32s, potential goal-focus)
- 22r Mama- dayang IRO du tinuug.
npt.af-spread 3p.F o.inf si.var.dry.in.sun
They are spreading rice to dry it. (note oblique infinitive use of du)
- 22s Nama- dangkat AKU du bilod dai'.
pt.af-transfer 1s.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o yesterday
I moved the rice yesterday.
- 22t Mama- jaga AKU du dalaing ino.
npt.af-look.after 1s.F nm.nfo child the.fr
I am looking after the child.

Before other consonant-initial roots, the nasal assimilates to and replaces the initial consonant.

- 22u Mam- abak AKU du piring. (babak)
npt.af-break 1s.F nm.nfo plate.o (break)
I will break a plate.
- 22v Man- antab AKU du bilod. (tantab)
npt.af-cut.stalk 1s.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o (cut.stalk)
I will harvest rice.
- 22w Mang- asaw KOW. (kasaw)
npt.af-disturb 2s.F (disturb)
You are disturbing me.
- 22x Mom- okok AKU susuab. (bokok)
npt.af-make.dike 1s.F tomorrow (dike)
I will make dikes tomorrow.
- 22y Mam- ising AKU du daging. (pising)
npt.af-cut 1s.F nm.nfo meat.o (knife)
I am slicing the meat.
- 22z Mam- ibil i MASRI du daragang. (bibil)
npt.af-carry Nm.F Masri.F nm.nfo baby.o (carry)
Masri is carrying the baby.
- 22aa Mam- iid AKU du buros ku. (piid)
npt.af-wipe 1s.F nm.nfo face.o 1s.pp (wipe)
I will wipe my face.
- 22bb Nan- utu IYO noiyo du bilod. (tutu)
pt.af-pound 3s.F com nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o (pound)
She pounded rice already.
- 22cc Man- uug IYO du bilod. (tuug)
npt.af-dry 3s.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o (dry in sun)
He is drying rice.

- 22dd Man- uug IYO du kain ino. (tuug)
npt.af-dry 3s.F nm.nfo clothes.o the.fr (dry in sun)
She is drying the clothes.
- 22ee Mam- unduk IYO. (bunduk)
npt.af-unsheathe 3s.F (unsheathe)
He will unsheathe it.
- 22ff Man- antab AKU du bilod. (tantab)
npt.af-cut.stalk 1s.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o (stalk)
I will harvest rice.
- 22gg Pan- utu KAW du bilod ino! (tutu)
at.af-pound 2p.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o the.fr (pound)
Pound the rice, all of you! (Imperative)
- 22hh Kuoy pan- utu! (tutu)
at.af.go at.af-pound (pound)
Go pound (rice)! (Imperative)
- 22ii Man- ikit IYO du apuy. (sikit)
npt.af-ignite 3s.F nm.nfo fire.o (light)
He is lighting a fire.
- 22jj Nan- abit IYO du ngaran nu pangina' nano. (sabit)
pt.af-mention 3s.F nm.nfo name.o 2s.pp mother 3s.pp.fr (mention)
She mentioned her mother's name.

2.3 The {*pag-*} set of intransitive collective/continuative affixes

The {*pag-*} set of affixes is used with intransitive verbs, usually indicating collective or continuing non-punctiliar action. Before vowel-initial roots, it takes the forms *mag-* 'non-past', *nag-* 'past', and *pag-* 'atemporal'. If the root vowels are *o*, the prefix vowel also becomes *o*.

- 23a Mag- ium YAKA' ku du dangan-dangan mu dano.
npt.af-search brothers.F 1s.pp nm.nfo friend.pl.o 2s.pp those.fr
My brothers are looking for those friends of yours.
- 23b Mag- ium i JON du buk nu.
npt.af-search Nm.F John.F nm.nfo book.o 3s.pp
John is looking for his book.
- 23c "Mag- ium du duandu' dondo poiyo," kono.
npt.af-search nm.nfo girl.o ext ncom qt
(He is) looking to see if there is still a girl," she said.
- 23d Nag- ium IYO daki'.
pt.af-search 3s.F 1s.nfo
He looked for me.
- 23e Pag- ium du paku'.
at.af-search nm.nfo edible.fern.o
Go look for fern. (Imperative)

- 23f Pag- ium du duandu' dondo poiyo," kono.
at.af-search nm.nfo girl.o ext ncom qt
"Look to see if there is still a girl," he said. (Imperative)
- 23g Mag- idu' IRO.
npt.af-run.away 3p.F
They are running away.
- 23h Mag- idu' AKU intod dugitu.
npt.af-leave 1s.F from here
I am going away from here.
- 23i Nag- idu' i LIAH nuli' du baloy.
pt.af-leave Nm.F Liah.F pt.af.go home nm.nfo house.o
Liah ran home to her house.
- 23j Nag- idu' i SARIPAH intod du baloy.
pt.af-run.away Nm.F Saripah.F from nm.nfo house.o
Saripah ran away from home.
- 23k Mag- awang DALAING ino du urobon ino.
npt.af-block child.F that nm.nfo doorway.o that
That child is blocking the doorway.
- 23l Nag- awang PULIS ino tio' du alun-alun.
pt.af-block police.F the.fr loc nm.nfo roadway.o
The police blocked the roadway there.
- 23m Mag- ulu IYO.
npt.af-head 3s.F
He will go ahead.
- 23n ITO mag- ulu.
1d.EF npt.af-head
You and I will be the ones to lead.
- 23o Pag- ulu AKU.
at.af-head 1s.F
I will go first.
- 23p Mag- usig ASU maino.
npt.af-bark dog 1pi.pp.fr
Our dog is barking away off there.
- 23q Mag- intat IYO.
npt.af-chew.betel.nut 3s.F
He is chewing betel nut.
- 23r Mag- ambut IYO.
npt.af-lie 3s.F
He is lying.
- 23s Nag- ambut IYO dai'.
pt.af-lie 3s.F yesterday
He lied yesterday.

- 23t Mag- inga' ULUN ino du kalabaw nano.
npt.af-withhold person.F that nm.nfo water.buffalo.o 3s.pp.fr
That man is withholding his buffalo.
- 23u Mag- anak IYO daitu.
npt.af-child 3s.F now
She is giving birth now.
- 23v Nag- anak IYO du dalaing kusoy.
pt.af-child 3s.F nm.nfo child.o male
She gave birth to a boy.
- 23w Mag- uab AKU.
npt.af-yawn 1s.F
I am yawning.
- 23x Pag- uab AKU paat AKU nambasa buk ino.
at.af-yawn 1s.F when 1s.F pt.af.read book that
I yawned when I read that book.

Before consonant-initial roots, the *g-* is nasalized and assimilates to the point of articulation of the root-initial consonant.

- 23y Man- su sunu' IRO.
npt.af-sr.line.up 3p.F
They are continuing to line up.
- 23z Nang- kiwa' JABULOW ino du baloy.
pt.af-climb.up monkey the nm.nfo house.o
The monkey climbed up a house.
- 23aa Kura' pan- taran KAW du kalabaw ngai'ngai' ngainan?
how.much at.af-sell 2P.F nm.nfo water.buffalo all cl.animal
How much will you all sell each one of the water buffaloes for?
- 23bb Man- dilit DIPO ino du tataun ino.
npt.af-coil snake.F the.fr nm.nfo tree.o the.fr
The snake is coiling around the tree.
- 23cc Man- sail AKU po.
npt.af-pass.by 1s.F ncom
I will just pass by./Excuse me!
- 23dd Nan- tamung IYO du dalaing.
pt.af-take.care.of 3s.F nm.nfo child.o
She took care of a child.
- 23ee Mang- katu' AKU du bunga.
npt.af-pick 1s.F nm.nfo flower.o
I am picking flowers./I am picking a flower.
- 23ff Mang- kidaw IYO daitu.
npt.af-step.on 3s.F now
He is stepping on it now.

- 23gg Man- dalom LIAGO ino.
npt.af-deep river.F the.fr
The river is deep.
- 23hh Man- sikit APUY nano.
npt.af-glow fire.F 3s.pp.fr
His fire is glowing away off there.

In some cases these affixes are used with transitive verbs to show reciprocal action; note that the initial root consonant is not replaced. See 2.2

- 23ii Man- dilit DIPO dano.
npt.af-coil snake.F those.fr
Those snakes are coiling around themselves.
- 23jj Mam- pising IRO.
npt.af-cut 3p.F
They are cutting each other.
- 23kk Mom- bobog IRO.
npt.af-hit 3p.F
They are hitting each other.
- 23ll Mon- tobok IRO.
npt.af-stab 3p.F
They are stabbing each other.
- 23mm Mam- putul IRO du tataun ino.
npt.af-break 3p.F nm.nfo stick.o the.fr
They are breaking the sticks to share with each other.
- 23nn Man- jaga IRO.
npt.af-look.after 3p.F
They are looking after each other

Other transitive cases show collective action.

- 23oo Mam- babak IRO du piring niro.
npt.af-break 3p.F nm.nfo plate.o 3p.pp
They are breaking their plates.
- 23pp Mam- bunduk IRO du pairang niro dano.
npt.af-unsheathe 3p.F nm.nfo sword.o 3p.po those.fr
They are all unsheathing those swords of theirs over there.

Some intransitive cases show a state rather than action.

- 23qq Mon- topong IRO.
npt.af-lengthwise.measure 3p.F
They are the same height.
- 23rr Nom- bolow IYO paat IYO in- anak.
pt.af-blind 3s.F when 3s.F pt.af.child
He was blind when he was born.

- 23ss Kai' ilai' ODOW ino, mom- bolow KOW.
neg look.at.rf sun.F the.fr npt.af-blind 2s.F
Don't look at the sun, you will become blind.
- 23tt Nom- bongol IYO paat IYO inanak.
pt.af-deaf 3s.F when 3s.F pt.af.born
He was deaf when he was born.
- 23uu Kai' ining du dagu mapuad, mom- bongol KOW.
neg at.hear.af nm.nfo voice.o der.strong npt.af-deaf 2s.F
Don't listen to loud sounds, you will become deaf. (ma- changes verb to modifier)

2.4 The {*paka-*} set of non-volitional/non-predictable affixes

The {*paka-*} set of affixes may indicate accidental, abilitative, potential, or other non-volitional or non-predictable actions. It takes the forms *maka-* 'non-past', *naka-* 'past', and *paka-* 'atemporal'. It is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs. Before a root with two *o* vowels, it becomes *moko-*, *noko-* and *poko-*.

- 24a Maka- saboy IYO daitu.
npt.af-arrive 3s.F now.
He is arriving now.
- 24b Maka- saboy AKU du dasawat ino.
npt.af-arrive 1s.F nm.nfo top.o the.fr
I am able to reach the top there.
- 24c Maka- akan AKU du lamud daitu.
npt.af-eat 1s.F nm.nfo cooked.rice.o now
I can eat rice now.
- 24d Ka maka- imad IYO diun.
neg npt.af-approach 3s.F 2s.nfo
He cannot come near you.
- 24e Naka- suang AKU du luang mandalom.
pt.af-enter 1s.F nm.nfo hole.o der.deep
I got into a deep hole. (man- derives a descriptive from a verb)
- 24f Maka- tutu AKU du bilod ino daitu.
npt.af-pound 1s.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o the.fr now
I am able to pound the rice now.
- 24g Kai' onggoyo' tataun ino, maka- lamba' KOW du ulun.
neg hold.at.gf stick that npt.af-hit 2s.F nm.nfo person.o
Don't carry that stick, you might hit someone.
- 24h Maka- lamba' AKU diun.
npt.af-hit 1s.F 2s.nfo
I am able to hit you./I might hit you accidentally.
- 24i Maka- simbul AKU.
npt.af-run 1s.F
I can run./I can race.

- 24j Naka- tutu IYO noiyo du bilod ino.
pt.af-pound 3s.F com nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o the.fr
She has already managed to pound the rice.
- 24k Paka- kudit IRO daki' paat AKU na- atu.
at.af-laugh 3p.F 1s.nfo when 1s.F pt.af.fall
They managed laughing at me when I fell down.
(Note preposed topic for emphasis in the second clause; see 2.8 ex:28f)
(Laughing at someone else's calamity in some SE Asian cultures is acceptable; it shows the calamity has not caused stress or unhappiness to other people.)
- 24l Maka pa nung-kamang.
npt.af.ca.ind- crawl
(He) can crawl by himself.
- 24m Pakapadusu' poiyo IRO, paka- kito IRO du dipo.
after.at.af.swim ncom 3p.F at.af-see they nm snake.o
After they went swimming, they happened to see a snake.
- 24n Noko- kolong noiyo DALAING dano.
pt.af-sleep com child.F those.fr
Those children have already slept.
- 24o Naka- tutun AKU diso.
pt.af-know 1s.F 3s.nfo
I knew her.
- 24p Ka maka- rigogot AKU diun.
neg npt.af-hate 1s.F 2s.nfo
I am not able to hate you.
- 24q Nakapa mun-iawo IYO dai'.
pt.af. ind-breath 3s.F yesterday
He was able to breathe on his own yesterday.

2.4.1 The subordinating use of {paka-}

The {paka-} set of affixes can also introduce a subordinate clause in a sentence to indicate meanings such as 'after, when, as soon as, if, at the same time'.

- 24la Maka- taam AKU po diun, ani' -in AKU du gula'.
if.npt.af-answer 1s.F ncom 2s.nfo give.npt.rf 1s.F nm.nfo candy.o
If I can answer you, give me a candy.
- 24lb Paka- uli' IYO du baloy, kolong IYO noiyo.
as.soon.as.at.af-go.home 3s.F nm.nfo house.o at.af.sleep 3s.F com
As soon as he got home to his house, he slept.
- 24lc Paka- tutu AKU po du bilod ino, om ugad AKU no.
after.at.af-pound 1s.F ncom nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o the.fr conj at.af.go 1s.F com
After I had pounded the rice, then I went home.
- 24ld Paka- lamba' AKU diso om pagidu' IYO.
after.at.af-hit 1s.F 3s.nfo conj at.af.run.away 3s.F
After I hit him, then he ran away.

241e Naka- sukal AKU iyak, ugad IRO!
 after.pt.af-get.up 1s.F emph at.af.go 3p.F
 After I got up, as a matter of fact, they left!

2.4.2 The possessive/stative use of *maka-*

Maka- can be prefixed to nouns, giving a meaning of inalienable ownership or of having a permanent state or quality. The past and atemporal forms are not used with nouns.

- 242a Maka- adung AKU.
 npt.af-nose 1s.F
 I have a nose.
- 242b Maka- bunga.
 npt.af-design
 (It) has a design.
- 242c Maka- kawal AKU.
 npt.af-shirt 1s.F
 I have a shirt.
- 242d Maka- baloy AKU.
 pt.af-house 1s.F
 I have a house.
- 242e Maka- piring AKU.
 npt.af-dishes 1s.F
 I have dishes.
- 242f Maka- gandang IYO.
 npt.af-drum 3s.F
 He has a drum.
- 242g Maka- agong AKU.
 npt.af-gong 1s.F
 I have gongs.
- 242h Maka- talingo AKU.
 npt.af-ear 1s.F
 I have ears.

2.5 The {*paki-*} set of petition affixes

The {*paki-*} set of affixes indicates a petition or a request for someone to do something. It takes the forms *maki-* 'non-past', *naki-* 'past', and *paki-* 'atemporal'. If not otherwise specified, the person making the request would also be the recipient of the action.

- 25a Ma ki- labus IYO daki'.
 npt.af.pet-release 3s.F 1s.nfo
 He is asking me to release him.
- 25b Pa ki- labus IYO daki' paat IYO in- ongoy daki'.
 at.af.pet-release 3s.F 1s.nfo while 3s.F npt.af.hold 1s.nfo
 He asked me to release him while he was the one holding onto me!

- 25c Ma ki- tutu AKU du bilod ino.
npt.af.pet-pound 1s.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o the.fr
I'm asking someone to pound the rice.
- 25d Na ki- tutu AKU di An du bilod ino dai'.
pt.af.pet-pound 1s.F Nm.F Ann.o nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o that yesterday.
I asked Ann to pound that rice yesterday.
- 25e Pa ki- riu' DALAING ino.
at.af.pet-bathe child.F that
That child is asking to be bathed.
- 25f Na ki- wara' AKU noiyo diun.
pt.af.pet-tell 1s.F com 2s.nfo
I already asked him to tell you.
- 25g Pa ki- wara' diso!
at.af.pet-tell 3s.nfo
(You) ask him to tell (you)! (Imperative)
- 25h Pa ki- lamba' IYO daki'.
at.af.pet-hit 3s.F 1s.nfo
He asked me to hit him.

2.6 The {*pati-*} set of feeling affixes

The {*pati-*} set of affixes indicates involuntary feeling or desire. It takes the forms *mati-* 'non-past', *nati-* 'past', and *pati-* 'atemporal'.

- 26a Ma ti- kolong IYO.
npt.af.inv-sleep 3s.F
He is nodding./He feels sleepy.
- 26b Na ti- kolong AKU dai'.
pt.af.inv-sleep 1s.F yesterday
I felt sleepy yesterday.
- 26c Na ti- lamba' AKU diso dai'.
pt.af.inv-hit 1s.F 3s.nfo yesterday
I felt like hitting him yesterday.
- 26d Ma ti- akan AKU du manga'.
npt.af.inv-eat 1s.F nm.nfo mango.o
I feel like eating a mango.
- 26e Ma ti- kito AKU diun.
npt.af.inv-see 1s.F 2s.nfo
I long to see you.
- 26f Pa ti- torodog AKU.
at.af.inv-stand 1s.F
I feel like standing.

2.7 The {*pa-*} set of intransitive affixes

The {*pa-*} set of affixes indicates a simple intransitive action. It takes the forms *ma-* 'non-past', *na-* 'past', and *pa-* 'atemporal'.

- 27a Ma- dimbay gitiu' i MASRI du dimbay manginum.
pt.af-song might Nm.F Masri.F nm.nfo song.o drinking
Masri might sing a drinking song.
- 27b Na- dimbay i RINI du dimbay no.
pt.af-song Nm.F Rini.F nm.nfo song.o 3s.pp
Rini sang her song.
- 27c Pa- dimbay KAW du dimbay Malayu.
at.af-song 2p.F nm.nfo song.o Malay
You all sing a Malay song! (Imperative)
- 27d Kuoy pa- dusu' KAW!
at.af.go at.af-swim 2p.F
You all go and swim! (Imperative)
- 27e Ma- du dusu' IRO tio' du liagu mandalom.
npt.af-sr.swim 3p.F loc nm.nfo river.o deep
They are always swimming there in the deep part of the river.
- 27f Mo- kondo' KOW kia du dongkot? (ma- changes to mo- with this root)
npt.af-ext 2s.F ? nm.nfo spear
Do you have a spear?
- 27g Mo- kondo' kia dua pasang KAWAL dugitu?
npt.af-ext ? two cl.clothes shirt.F here
Are there two shirts here?
- 27h Ma- da damba' IRO.
npt.af-sr.hit.magic 3p.F
They keep on hitting at each other. (said of inanimate objects)
- 27i Ba- iya' du pangama' mutu. (Ba-, an irregular form of pa-)
at.af-accompany nm.nfo der.Father.o 2s.pp.n
Go with your father here. (pang- derives a common noun from a proper noun)
- 27j Ma- gagandang po bagu DALAING dano.
npt.af-sr.drum ncom then child.F those.fr
Those children can still keep sounding the gongs then.
- 27k Ma- alud BUAYOY ino poiyo.
npt.af-far youth.F the.fr ncom
The young man is still far off.

The {*pa-*} set can also indicate a simple state of being.

- 27l Ma mun-iawo DALAING ino.
npt.af-ind.breathe child.F that
That child is breathing.

- 27m Pa mun-iawo IYO poiyo!
at.af.ind-breathe 3s.F ncom
He is breathing still!
- 27n Ma- puod TIMUG ino.
npt.af-strong water.F that
That current is swift.
- 27o No- bobow DALAING ino.
pt.af-mute child.F that
That child is mute.

Many descriptives can take only the non-past *ma-*, not *na-* or *pa-*.

- 27p Ma- labung AKU.
npt.af-fat 1s.F
I am fat.
- 27q Ma- waad KALAT nu kalabaw ino.
npt.af-long rope.F nm.po water.buffalo the.fr
The water buffalo's rope is long.
- 27r Ma- amu' ANAK ku.
npt.af-many child.F 1s.pp
My children are many.
- 27s Ma- amu' IRO.
npt.af-many 3p.F
They are many.
- 27t Ma- diwa' ULUN ino.
npt.af-short person.F that
That man is short.
- 27u Ma- sawat BALOY nano.
npt.af-high house.F 3s.pp.fr
His house is high.
- 27v Ma- lampas AKU.
npt.af-tall 1s.F
I am tall.
- 27w Ma- ria' AKU.
npt.af-red 1s.F
I am red.
- 27x Ma- simu' AKU.
npt.af-cold 1s.F
I am cold. (skin is cold; also of corpse)
- 27y Ma- lasu' ODOW itu.
npt.af-hot sun.F this
This sun is hot.

27z Mo- osat IYO paat IYO inanak.
 npt.af-small 3s.F when 3s.F pt.af.born
 He was small when he was born.

2.8 The {ka-} set of involuntary affixes

The {ka-} set of affixes is similar in form to the {pa-} set; however the atemporal form is *ka-* rather than *pa-*. This set is used with verbs of emotion or involuntary action.

28a Ma- saga' i AN dito.
 npt.af-like Nm.F Ann.F 1d.nfo
 Ann likes you and me.

28b Tarus kumudampayan, na- patoy, ka- patoy IRO ngai'-ngai'!
 sudden at.dec.prone.af pt.af-die at.af-die 3p.F all
 Presto (they) were the ones to sprawl, (they) died, they all died! (See 7.1.1)

28c Ma- rigogot AKU diun.
 npt.af-hate 1s.F 2s.nfo
 I hate you.

28d Na- ingot i JON di Tuni.
 pt.af-jealous Nm.F John.F Nm.nfo Tony.o
 John was jealous of Tony.

28e Kolong IRO MAGINA', om kai' ka- buoy om ka- tawang.
 at.af.sleep 3p.F der.Mother conj neg at.af.long conj at.af.dawn
 The family slept, and (it) wasn't long until (it) was dawn. (Note derived mag-
ina', a peripheral appositive)

The *ka-* prefix is found introducing subordinate clauses meaning 'when' or 'after'.

28f Ka- labung bagu KALABAW ino, IYO nokopongkotop!
 when.at.af-fat then water.buffalo.F the.fr 3s.EF pt.af.graze
 When the water buffalo then has become fat, it is that he has been able to graze
 well! (Note *IYO* 'he' preposed for emphasis; see 2.4 ex:24k)

28g Ka- ingot IYO poiyo daki', pantangi' AKU no.
 when.at.af-jealous 3s.F ncom 1s.nfo at.af.sad 1s.F com
 When he was jealous of me, I felt sad.

28h Ka- rigogot AKU po diso, pantangi' IYO noiyo.
 when.at.af-hate 1s.F ncom 3s.nfo at.af.sad 3s.F com
 When I hated him, he felt sad.

28i Ka- kadat poiyo IRO, ba-...iya' no IRO daki'.
 after.at.af-wake ncom 3p.F at.af.go.with com 3s.F 1s.nfo
 After they woke up, they went with me. (ba- is an irregular form of pa-)

28j Ka- saga' AKU po diso, om pakauma' AKU no di Alis.
 after.at.af-like 1s.F ncom 3s.nfo conj at.af.meet 1s.F com Nm.nfo Alice.o
 After I liked her, then I happened to meet Alice.

2.9 The *pasa-* collective prefix

The *pasa-* atemporal prefix is used to indicate non-specific, collective action.

- 29a Pa sa- kito IRO.
at.af.nsp-see 3p.F
They are all having a look at it together.
- 29b Pa sa- kudit IRO.
at.af.nsp-laugh 3p.F
They are all having a laugh together.
- 29c Pa sa- garak IRO.
at.af.nsp-screech 3p.F
They are all screeching together.
- 29d Pa sa- gagang IRO.
at.af.nsp-scream 3p.F
They are all screaming together.
- 29e Pa sa- lamba' IRO.
at.af.nsp-hit 3p.F
They are having a brawl.

2.10 The {*panung-*} set of independent action prefixes

The {*panung-*} set of prefixes combines the affixes *pa-* 'simple intransitive' and *nung-* 'independent action, by oneself, without help'. This takes the forms *manung-* 'non-past', *nanung-* 'past', and *panung-* 'atemporal'.

- 210a Ma nung-kamang IYO.
npt.af.ind- crawl 3s.F
He is crawling.
- 210b Na nung-kamang IYO.
pt.af.ind- crawl 3s.F
He crawled.
- 210c Om, bagu pa nung-kamang IYO.
conj then at.af.ind- crawl 3s.F
And then he crawled.
- 210d Pa nung-kamang!
at.af.ind- crawl
Crawl! (Imperative)
- 210e Pa nung-kamang AKAW!
at.af.ind- crawl 2p.EF
All of you crawl! (Imperative)
- 210f Naka pa mun-iawo IYO dai'.
pt.af. ind-breathe 3s.F yesterday
He was able to breathe by himself yesterday.

2.11 The collective repetitive {*pag-*} + fusion reduplication

{*pag-*} with affix-stem fusion reduplication is used to indicate collective repetitive action. The affix forms, *mag-* 'non-past', *nag-* 'past', and *pag-* 'atemporal', are found only with vowel initial roots. The reduplicated syllable shows the final consonant of the affix (*g*) fused with the initial vowel of the root.

- 211a Magig- inum IRO. (mag- + inum<magiginum)
npt.af.fu-drink 3p.F
They are all drinking together.
- 211b Magug- usig ASU dano. (mag- + usig<magugusig)
npt.af.fu-bark dog.F those.fr
Those dogs are barking and barking.
- 211c Nagig- idu' ULUN dai'. (nag- + idu'<nagigidu')
pt.af.fu-run.away person.F yesterday
Those people were running away yesterday.
- 211d Pagig- inggama' IRO! (pag- + inggama'<pagiginggama')
at.af.fu-hit 3p.F
They are all hitting each other!

There is one example found with the affix *mig-* which is possibly is a form reflecting dialect difference. (Patikang dialect)

- 211e Migag- anja' IRO. (mig- + anja'<migaganja')
npt.af.fu-play 3p.F
They are all playing together.

{*pag-*} may also indicate individual habitual action.

- 211f Magag- asab IYO. (mag- + asab<magagasab)
npt.af.fu-slander 3s.F
He is a slanderer.
- 211g Magug- uab ULUN ino. (mag- + uab<maguguab)
np.af.fu-yawn person.F that
That person is a yawner.

Some verb roots that contain a nasal consonant take the affix forms *mang-* and *nang-* and indicate individual habitual action.

- 211h Mangang- ansak ULUN ino. (mang- + ansak<mangangansak)
npt.af.fu-cook person.F that
That person is a cook.
- 211i Mangang- akan GINO du ulun. (mang- + akan<mangangakan)
npt.af.fu-eat it.fr.F nm.nfo person.o
It is a man-eater.
- 211j Mangang- akan GINO du pait. (mang- + akan<mangangakan)
npt.af.fu-eat it.fr.F nm.nfo fish.o
It is a fish-eater.

- 211k IYO noiyo mangang- ansak dami'. (mang- + ansak<mangangansak)
3s.EF com npt.af.fu-cook lpi.nfo
He is the one who is the cook for us.
- 211l ATU KOSON nangang- ansak mu dugitu? (nang- + ansak<nangangansak)
what kind.EF pt.af.fu-cook 2s.pp here
What was your recipe for cooking this?

2.12 The continued/reciprocal {*pang-*} + reduplication

{*pang-*} plus reduplication is used to indicate continued, collective, or reciprocal action. The affix forms are *maN-* 'non-past', *naN-* 'past', and *paN-* 'atemporal', in which the *-N* is realized as *-ng* before vowels or velar consonants, *-m* before bilabial consonants, and *-n* before other consonants. If the root is vowel-initial, the whole root is reduplicated. If the root is consonant-initial, only the first syllable of the root is reduplicated. If both vowels in the root are *o*, the prefix is {*pong-*}.

- 212a Mang- uyu'-uyu' KOW daki'.
npt.af-rr.shame 2s.F 1s.nfo
You are always shaming me.
- 212b Nang- ambut-ambut IYO diso.
pt.af-rr.lying 3s.F 3s.nfo
He was always lying about her.

The following examples reduplicate the first syllable of the stem.

- 212c Ugad dukuwon IRO mang- ki kitang,
at.af.go dis 3p.F npt.af-sr.hold.onto

sangulun kaa kakito, sangulun napandakan.
one.person neg at.gf.see one.person pt.break.leg.af
They walk on, it is said, continuing to hold onto each other, one man (he's) not able to see (anything), the other man (he's) the one with a leg broken (by the Spirit Bird).
- 212d Mang- ku kurakas _____ dukuwon MONDOW ino.
npt.af.sr-scratch.for.food dis Spirit.Bird.F the
The Spirit Bird keeps on scratching for food, it is said.
- 212e Nam- pa patoy IRO.
pt.af-sr.kill 3p.F
They were killing each other.
- 212f Pon- to tobok IRO.
at.af-sr.jab 3p.F
They were jabbing each other.
- 212g Man- da dayang DUANDU' dano du tinuug.
npt.af-sr.spread girl.F those.fr o.inf si.var.dry.in.sun
Those girls are all spreading rice to dry it.

2.13 The *i-* intentional affix

The affix *i-* can be combined with {*pag-*} or {*pang-*} indicating intent, special skill,

deliberateness, plan, thought, concentration, or intensity.

- 213a Mang i- la laa' KOW daki'.
npt.af.del-sr.scare 2s.F 1s.nfo
You're really trying to scare me.
- 213b Mang i- bubua' KOW du Mondow ino.
npt.af.del-sr.pet 2s.F nm.nfo Spirit.Bird.o the.fr
You are intending to make a pet of the Spirit Bird.
- 213c Mang i- ngaran IYO du dalaing ino.
npt.af.del-name 3s.F nm.nfo child.o that
He is choosing a name for that child.
- 213d Mag i- dodor IYO diun.
npt.af.del-stare 3s.F 2s.nfo
He is deliberately staring at you.
- 213e Mag i- rurupot IYO.
npt.af.del-sr.legend 3s.F
He will spin a folk tale.

2.14 The *-in-* special desire affix

An infix *-in-* is used to indicate special desire, want, attempt, or effort. It is infix following an *m-*, *n-*, or *mang-* prefix. *-in-* assimilates to the point of articulation of the consonant of the root following. (See also 7.1.2 ex:712k, 8. 7)

- 214a Mang in- torodog AKU.
npt.af.des-stand.up 1s.F
I will try to stand it up.
- 214b M in- tutun AKU diso.
npt.af.des-know 1s.F 3s.nfo
I want to know him.
- 214c Mang in- tutun IYO daki'.
npt.af.des-know 3s.F 1s.nfo
He's trying to identify me.
- 214d M im- padan IYO.
npt.af.des-behave 3s.F
He wants to behave.
- 214e M ing-kurus JABULOW ino.
npt.af.des-descend.tree monkey.F the.fr
The monkey wants to come down from the tree.
- 214f N im- balui i MINA du Singapura.
pt.af.des-move.house Nm.F Mina.F nm.nfo Singapore.o
Mina wanted to move to Singapore.
- 214g M in- dabugus DALAING ino.
npt.af.des-go.downstream child.F the.fr
The child wants to go downstream.

2.15 The {*panga-*} set of distributive prefixes

A prefixed {*panga-*} is used to give a plural or distributive sense to a descriptive verb. It may take the forms *manga-* 'non-past', *nanga-* 'past', and *panga-* 'atemporal'.

- 215a Mang a- lampas BUAYOY dano.
npt.af.dt-tall young.man.F those.fr
Those young men are all tall
- 215b Mang a- diwa' DALAING dano.
npt.af.dt-short child.F those.fr
Those children are all short.
- 215c Mang a- pura' MANUK dano.
npt.af.dt-white chicken.F those.fr
Those chickens are all white.
- 215d Mang a- linsi DAUN day.
npt.af.dt-green leaf.F those.r
Those leaves are all green way off there.
- 215e Nang a- silow BILOD datu.
pt.af.dt-yellow unhusked.rice.F these.n
These rice plants here have all ripened.
- 215f Pang a- itom TURUAK dano.
at.af.dt-black cowbird.F those.fr
Those cowbirds were all black.

3. Goal-focus affixes

With goal-focus affixes, the focus of attention is not on the actor of the action but is on the person or item being acted upon. There are relatively few goal-focus affixes in Nabay, in contrast with some Philippine languages where goal-focus occurs perhaps even more frequently than actor-focus.

The goal itself, though focused, may sometimes be left unstated. This kind of argument deletion is not unusual in Southeast Asian languages (see Thomas 1988; 8.).

3.1 The {-*o'* ~ *ka-* *o'*} set of simple goal-focus affixes

Simple goal-focus actions take the suffix *-on* ~ *ka-* *-on*, 'non-past', the infix *-in-* ~ *ka-* *-in-*, 'past', and the suffix *-o'* ~ *ka-* *o'*, 'atemporal'.

- 31a Tapuliy-o' daki'.
repair -at.gf 1s.nfo
Repair (it) for me. (Imperative)
- 31b Bansiw-o' mu GITU disiro.
good -at.gf 2s.nfa it.n.F 3p.nfo
You make it good for them. (Imperative)
- 31c Po-torodog-o'!
ca-stand -at.gf
Make (it) stand! (Imperative)

- 31d Pa-diw -on mu IYO.
ca-bath-npt.gf 2s.nfa 3s.F
You give him a bath. (Imperative)
- 31e Pa-diw -on DALAING ino.
ca-bath-npt.gf child.F the.fr
Give the child a bath. (Imperative)
- 31f P: in :a- diu' IYO nu duandu' ino.
sa.pt.gf.ca-bath 3s.F nm.nfa woman.nfa that
That lady bathed him.
- 31g P: in :a- akan IYO nu dangan nano.
sa.pt.gf.ca-eat 3s.F nm.po friend 3s.pp.fr
His friend made him eat.
- 31h Kai' putul-o' PINSIL ino!
neg break-at.gf pencil.F that
Don't break that pencil! (Imperative)
- 31i P: in :a sa- lura' IYO nu pulis ino.
sa.pt.gf.ca-one.let.go 3s.F nm.nfa police.nfa the.fr
The police let him go.
- 31j Bobog-on no MONDOW ino.
club -npt.gf 3s.nfa Spirit.Bird.F the.fr
He is going to club the Spirit Bird.
- 31k "Iyaw, om ka akan-on AKU mu?" kono.
yes conj neg eat -npt.gf 1s.F 2s.nfa qt
"Yes, and won't you eat me?" he said.
- 31l "Alap-on ku ASU ino du bubua'," kono.
get -npt.gf 1s.nfa dog.F that o.inf make.pet qt
"I am getting that dog to make a pet of it," he said.
- 31m Pa- ibit -on ku GULA' di Tiam.
ca.npt-bring-gf 1s.nfa sugar.F Nm.nfo Tiam.o
I am asking Tiam to bring sugar.
- 31n P: in :a- ibit ku OKOW du gula'.
sa.pt.gf.ca-bring 1s.nfa 2s.F nm.nfo sugar.o
I asked you to bring sugar. (polite command)
- 31o Dusuw-o' TIMUG ino!
swim -at.gf water.F the.fr
Swim the river! (Imperative)
- 31p Dusuw-o' PIASAW ino!
swim -at.gf coconut.F the.fr
Swim after and fetch that coconut! (Imperative)

31q Kai' ka-laan-o' to MONDOW ino!
neg gf-fear-at 2d.nfa Spirit.Bird.F the.f
Don't let us two fear that Spirit Bird!

31r Ka-tarang -on no LADYU itu.
gf-loud.clear-npt 3s.nfa radio.F the.n
He is making the radio loud and clear

3.2 The {ka-} set of potential goal-focus affixes

A prefixed {ka-} may be used to indicate the potential or ability (or the lack of such) to complete the action. It is used for obligatory action as well (see 3.2 ex:32rr). This affix becomes {ko-} before a root with two *o* vowels.

Potential goal-focus in Nabay tends to downplay any effort by the actor and emphasize the effect of the action on the goal. It may also serve the purpose of avoiding social taboos in softening direct confrontation and accusation, or avoiding or ameliorating accusations against oneself; it may also serve to mitigate the harsh effect of strong warning. There may be times too, when it is used for politeness or respect.

In simple potential sentences the forms *ma-* 'non-past', *na-* 'past', and *ka-* 'atemporal' are found; note the non-prefixal *ka-* 'negative' found in several of the examples. (The {ka-} goal-focus set is not to be confused with the {pa-} actor-focus set; see 2.7; see also 1.1.4 ex:114a and 114b.)

32a Ma- saboy mu DASAWAT ino?
npt.gf-reach 2s.nfa top.F the.fr
Can you reach the top?

32b Ka ma- saboy no GINO.
neg npt.gf-reach 3s.nfa it.fr.F
He cannot reach it.

32c Ka na- saboy AKU dai'.
neg pt.gf-reach 1s.F yesterday
(No one) could reach me yesterday./I could not be reached yesterday (by anyone).

32d Ma- saboy AKU.
npt.gf-reach 1s.F
(Anyone) can reach me./I can be reached (by anyone needing to).

32e Ma- rasak niro poiyo TIMUG ino om maniyud no IRO.
npt.gf-dry.up 3p.nfa ncom water.F the.fr conj npt.af.scoop.fish com 3p.F
They will dry up the river first and then they will scoop all the fish.

32f Na- rasak TIMUG ino.
pt.gf-dry.up water.F the.fr
(They) have dried up the river./The river has been dried up.

32g Ma- abak PIRING ino.
npt.gf-break plate.F that
That plate can be broken.

- 32h Ma- asab KOW.
npt.gf-curse 2s.F
(Someone) will curse you./You might be cursed.
- 32i Ma- putul GINO.
npt.gf-break it.fr.F
It can be broken. (Something or someone can break it.)
- 32j Ma- putul ku GITU.
npt.gf-break 1s.nfa it.n.F
I can break it.
- 32k Ma- pua' no noiyo AKU.
npt.gf-dry 32.nfa com 1s.F
She can dry me.
- 32l Na- pua' noiyo DALAING ino.
pt.gf-dry com child.F that
That child had already been dried.
- 32m Ma- pua' noiyo KAIN dano.
npt.gf-dry com clothes.F those.fr
Those clothes might be dry now.
- 32n Ma- kada' may OKOW.
npt.gf-miss 1pi.nfa 2s.F
We all miss you.
- 32o Ma- saga' KOW.
npt.gf-like 2s.F
(I) like you. (compare with 2.8 ex:28a, actor-focus)
- 32p Ma- saga' ku OKOW.
npt.gf-like 1s.nfa 2s.F
I like you. (compare with 2.8 ex:28a, actor-focus)
- 32q Ma- lamba' DALAING dano.
npt.gf-hit child.F those.fr
(It) might hit those children./Those children might get hit (by it).
- 32r Na- lamba' AKU.
pt.gf-hit 1s.F
(It) hit me./I was hit (by it).
- 32s Ma- lamba' ni Jon i TUNI.
npt.gf-hit Nm.nfa John.nfa Nm.F Tony.F
John might accidentally hit Tony.
- 32t Ma- lamba' ku OKOW.
npt.gf-hit 1s.nfa 2s.F
I might/can hit you.
- 32u Ma- lasu' TIMUG ino.
npt.gf-hot water.F the.fr
The water is being heated.

- 32v Ma- lasu' AKU.
npt.gf-hot 1s.F
I am becoming feverish.
- 32w Ma- asa' KAWAL muno.
npt.gf-wet dress.F 2s.pp.fr
That dress of yours will get wet.
- 32x Ma- asa' AKU mu!
npt.gf-wet 1s.F 2s.nfa
You'll get me wet!
- 32y Na- bunduk no PARANG ino.
pt.gf-unsheathe 2s.nfa bush.knife.F the.fr
He unsheathed the bush knife.
- 32z Ma- bunduk PARANG ino.
npt.gf-unsheathe bush.knife.F the.fr
The bush knife can be unsheathed.
- 32aa Ma- tatag mu BUK kuy.
npt.gf-lose 2s.nfa book.F 1s.pp.r
You might lose my book.
- 32bb Ka ma- sukal ku ULUN ino.
neg npt.gf-lift 1s.nfa person.F that
I can't lift that man.
- 32cc Na- putul no TATAUN ino.
pt.gf-break 3s.nfa wood.F the.fr
He broke the stick in half.
- 32dd Na- suu' noiyo ni Masina i RINI.
pt.gf-feed com Nm.nfa Masina.nfa Nm.F Rini.F
Masina already fed Rini.
- 32ee Na- suu' mu noiyo DALAING ino?
pt.gf-feed 2s.nfa com child.F the.fr
Have you fed the child?
- 32ff Ma- alap ku BUK tio' dasawat.
npt.gf-get 1s.nfa book.F loc above
I can get the book up there.
- 32gg Ma- kama' ku KARINDU' nano.
npt.gf-touch 1s.nfa hand.F 3s.pp.fr
I can touch his hand there.
- 32hh Ma- ining ku IYO.
npt.gf-hear 1s.nfa 3s.F
I hear him.
- 32ii Ma- kito ku IYO.
npt.gf-see 1s.nfa 3s.F
I see him.

- 32jj Ma- kito ku i ASRI.
npt.gf-see 1s.nfa Nm.F Asri.F
I see Asri.
- 32kk Ma- kito AKU ni Asri.
npt.gf-see 1s.F Nm.nfa Asri.nfa
Asri sees me.
- 32ll Ma- arok ku GITU.
npt.gf-smell 1s.nfa it.n.F
I smell it.
- 32mm Na- kito IYO nuulun ino.
pt.gf-see 3s.F nm.nfa person.nfa that
That person saw him.
- 32nn Na- alap ku BILOD.
pt.gf-get 1s.nfa unhusked.rice.F
I got rice.
- 32oo Na- tutu ku noiyo BILOD ino.
pt.gf-pound 1s.nfa com unhusked.rice.F the.fr
I have already pounded the rice.
- 32pp Ma- tutu mu poiyo BILOD ino om
npt.gf-pound 2s.nfa ncom unhusked.rice.F the.fr conj

ibito' muli'.
bring.at.gf npt.af.return.home
You pound the rice first and bring it home.
- 32qq Ma- katu' mu poiyo BUNGA ino om taki daki'.
npt.gf-pick 2s.nfa ncom flower.F the.fr conj at.give.gf 1s.nfo
You pick the flower and (you) give it to me. (compare with 2.3 ex:23ee, actor focus)

Note the following use of potential goal-focus 'must' from procedural text:

- 32rr "Ma- waul ku LIAS ino poiyo om ka- watu, anuon, bagu antopo'."
npt.gf-slit 1s.nfa reed.F the.fr ncom conj at.gf-weave ummm then at.gf.hem
"I must slit the reeds first and weave (them), ummm, then hem (them)."

Note the change of *nam-* to *nom-* before a root with two *i-* vowels in the next example. (Patikang dialect) Also note participial construction, *nombibil du Mondow*.

- 32ss Ka- kito dukuwon niro BUAYOI ino nombibil du Mondow.
at.gf-see dis 3p.nfa youth.F the.fr pt.af.carry nm.o Spirit.Bird
They saw the youth carrying the Spirit Bird on his hip, it is said.

Note the participial construction also in the next example, juxtaposing the actor-focus verb phrase *mandadayang du tinuug* after the phrase *daraa dano* in the first clause. Note the infinitive use of the *du* phrase in the second clause, imbedding an actor-focus verb *magidu'* as head of the phrase to form the infinitive 'to run away'.

32tt Ka- kito no DARAA dano mandadayang du tinuug
 at.gf-see 3s.nfa young.girl.F those.fr npt.af.sr.spread o.inf si.var.dry.in.sun
 om mamandurun IRO du mag- idu'.
 conj npt.af.scatter 3p.F o.inf npt.af.run
 He sees the young girls, spreading out the rice to dry, and then they all scatter
 in every direction to run away.

Note the imbedding of the actor-focus clause *mongibubua' kow du Mondow* as head of the *du* infinitive phrase in the next example from a legend; this entire infinitive phrase then becomes the goal-focus of the sentence. Note also that *ka-* changes to *ko-* before two *u* vowels. (Patikang dialect)

32uu "Ko- ungo-ungo mu yak kudi' DU MONG-I-BUBUA' KOW DU MONDOW!"
 at.gf-crazy.rr 2s.nfa emph fool o.inf npt.i.af.make.pet 2s.F nm.nfo
 Spirit.Bird.o

"You must be really crazy, indeed a fool, to try to make a pet of Spirit Bird!"

32vv "An gua' ka- alal-alal mu MONDOW iti," konon dukuwon.
 how at.gf-get.rr 2s.nfa Spirit.Bird.F that.r qt dis
 "How in the world did you actually get that elusive Spirit Bird!" they said, it
 is said.

Note the root reduplication in the last two examples emphasizing the verb. Note also in ex:32uu the change of *ka-* to *ko-* and *mangi-* to *mongi-* before a root with two *u-* vowels. (Patikang dialect)

In compound temporal sentences a time margin, goal-focus {*ka-*} (or {*ko-*} before a root with two *o* vowels) is usually found on the first verb and backgrounds the action of that verb. See also *paka-* (2.4.1), and *ka-* (2.8 ex:28f-28j).

32ww Ka- rasak poiyo TIMUG ino om paniyud no IRO.
 when.at.gf-dry.up ncom water.F the.fr conj at.af.scoop.fish com 3p.F
 When (they) dry up the river, then they will scoop fish.

32xx Ka- abak ku poiyo PIRING ino om pantangi' AKU no.
 after.at.gf-break 1s.nfa ncom plate.F that conj at.af.cry 1s.F com
 After I broke that plate, then I cried.

32yy Ka- asab no AKU poiyo om pangampun AKU diso.
 after.at.gf-slander 3s.nfa 1s.F ncom conj at.af.forgive 1s.F 3s.nfo
 After he slandered me, then I forgave him.

32zz Ka- putul ku poiyo PINSIL ino om patidi' ku noiyo.
 after.at.gf-break 1s.nfa ncom pencil.F the.f conj at.rf.discard 1s.nfa com
 After I broke the pencil, then I threw (it) away.

32aaa Ka- pua' mu DALAING datu om pangkawal KAW disiro.
 after.at.gf-dry 2s.nfa children.F these.n conj at.af.shirt 2p.F 3p.nfo
 After you dry these children, then you dress them.

32bbb Ka- pua' mu poiyo KAIN dano om lipato' mu.
 after.npt.gf-dry 2s.nfa ncom clothes.F those.fr conj at.gf.fold 2s.nfa
 After you dry those clothes, then you fold (them).

- 32ccc Ka- lamba' no poiyo DALAING dano pagidu' no IRO.
after.at.gf-hit 3s.nfa ncom child.F those.fr at.af.run com 3p.F
After he hit those children, they ran away.
- 32ddd Ka- pidis ku poiyo ASU ino om pagidu' AKU no.
after.at.gf-cut 1s.nfa ncom dog.F the.fr conj at.af.run.away 1s.F com
After I had cut the dog, then I ran away.
- 32eee Ka- lasu' mu poiyo TIMUG ino om panginum KOW noiyo.
after.at.gf-hot 2s.nfa ncom water.F the.fr conj at.af.drink 2s.F com
After you have boiled the water, then you drink (it).
- 32fff Ka- asa' AKU po nu dassam om pangkawal AKU noiyo.
when.at.gf-wet 1s.F ncom nm.nfa rain.nfa conj at.af.shirt 1s.F com
When the rain had made me wet, then I put on a shirt.
- 32ggg Ka- bunduk poiyo PAIRANG ino om pagidu' AKU no.
after.at.gf-unsheathe ncom sword.F that conj at.af.run.away 1s.F com
After that sword was unsheathed, then I ran away.
- 32hhh Ka- bunduk ku poiyo PAIRANG ino om pagidu' IYO no.
after.at.gf-unsheathe 1s.nfa ncom sword.F that conj at.af.run.away 3s.F com
After I had unsheathed that sword, then he ran away.
- 32iii Ka- tatag poiyo BUK kuy om pamali AKU du baguon.
after.at.gf-lose ncom book.F 1s.pp.r then at.af.buy 1s.F nm.nfo new.one.o
After (I) had lost my book, then I bought a new one.
- 32jjj Mo- lobong IYO poiyo susuab, muli' KOW no.
when.npt.gf-bury 3s.F ncom tomorrow npt.af.go.home 2s.F com
When he is buried tomorrow, you go home. (See 3.2 ex:32kkk)
- 32kkk Ko- lobong niro poiyo ULUN ino om paguguli' no IRO.
after.at.gf-bury 3p.nfa ncom man.F the.fr conj at.sr.af.go.home com 3p.F
After they had buried the man, then they all went home together.
- 32lll Ka- alap no poiyo BUK ino, om buriako' no noiyo.
after.at.gf-get 3s.nfa ncom book.F that conj tear.at.gf 3s.nfa com
After he had gotten that book, then he tore (it).
- 32mmm Ka- tutu no poiyo BILOD ino om buli'i' no noiyo.
after.at.gf-pound 3s.nfa ncom unhusked.rice.F that conj at.keep.rf 3s.nfa com
After he first pounded that rice, then he kept (it).

From a legend text, a compound non-past tense equational sentence follows with actor-focus *ma-* in clause 1, and goal-focus *ma-* in clause 2.

- 32nnn Maalud IYO paiyak om ma- kito no MONDOW ino!
npt.af.far 3s.F ncom.emph conj npt.gf-see 3s.nfa Spirit.Bird.F the.fr
While he is still far off, then that's when he sees the Spirit Bird!

3.3 The *ka-* + reduplication recent action prefix

Ka- may occur with reduplication and goal-focus to indicate a recent action. The reduplication may be either a reduplication of the *ka-* or a reduplication of the first syllable of the

root; it is not yet clear what difference there may be in meaning between the two forms.

- 33a Ka ka- alap ku BILOD itu.
re.at.gf-get 1s.nfa unhusked rice.F this
I just got this rice.
- 33b Ka- tu tutu ku BAGAS ino.
at.gf-re.pound 1s.nfa husked.rice.F that
I have just pounded that rice.
- 33c Ka- tu tutu BAGAS ino.
at.gf-re.pound husked.rice.F that
That rice has just been pounded.
- 33d Ka ka- tutu no BILOD ino.
re.at.gf-pound 3s.nfa unhusked rice.F the.fr
He has just pounded the rice.
- 33e Ka ka- kito no IYO.
re.at.gf-see 3s.nfa 3s.F
She just saw him.
- 33f Ka ka- katu' ku BUNGA itu.
re.at.gf-pick 1s.nfa flower.F this
I just picked this flower.
- 33g Ka ka- ulig ku IYO.
re.at.gf-recognize 1s.nfa 3s.F
I just recognized him.

4. Referent-focus affixes

A set of referent-focus affixes focuses one's attention on an added person or item, such as a recipient, a beneficiary, a goal, a listener, a catch, etc., according to the semantics of the verb.

The referent-focus set takes the forms *-in ~ ka-* *-in* 'non-past', *-in- -an ~ ka- -in- -an* 'past', and *-i' ~ ka- -i'* 'atemporal'. The affix *-in- -an* becomes *-in- -on* in verbs with back vowels.

- 4a Ulig -i' daki'.
identify-at.rf 1s.nfo
Identify (it) for me.
- 4b Iba -i' no BARAIT ino.
put.on-at.rf 3s.nfa back.basket.F the.fr
He put on the back basket.
- 4c Saan -i' no SAPUK nano.
carry.on.shoulder-at.rf 3s.nfa blowgun.F 3s.pp.fr
He shouldered his blowgun.
- 4d Ganggang -i' no AWAK nu Mondow ino.
tie.up -at.rf 3s.nfa waist.F nm.po Spirit.Bird the.fr
He tied up the Spirit Bird's waist.

- 4e Bara-in mu DALAING dano kain kalaano'.
tell-npt.rf 2s.nfa child.F those.fr neg.pl at.fear.gf
You tell those children not to be afraid.
- 4f P: in :a-ibit -an ni Asri BUK ino daki'.
sa.pt.ca-carry-rf Nm.nfa Asri.nfa book.F the.fr 1s.nfo
Asri asked me to bring the book.
- 4g T -in-aan-an no BOUG ino du bulud.
ri-pt-set-rf 3s.nfa trap.F the.fr nm.nfo hilltop.o
He set the trap on the hilltop.
- 4h Taan-in no BOUG ino tio' du bulud.
set -npt.rf 3s.nfa trap.F the.fr loc nm.nfo hilltop.o
He is setting the trap there on the hilltop.
- 4i Ansak-in AKU ni An.
cook -npt.rf 1s.F Nm.nfa Ann.nfa
Ann is cooking for me.
- 4j B -in-asa -an AKU ni Sumah du buk.
ri-pt-read-rf 1s.F Nm.nfa Sumah.nfa nm.nfo book.o
Sumah read the book to me.
- 4k B -in-ara -an no AKU, linumunsut nak ino NAGAS.
ri-pt-tell-rf 3s.nfa 1s.F ri.pt.af-fall.down just the.fr ground.F
He told me, there has just been a landslide.
- 4l I- da dadar-in dukuwon TAMPAK ino.
del-sr.stare-at.rf dis peak the.fr
(He) kept on staring intently at the peak, it is said.
- 4m Ka- puad -in ku OKOW.
at-strong-rf 1s.nfa 2s.F
I am making it strong for you.
- 4n "Oy-o' ku po BOUG kuy, ma' no s -in-ulung-on ku," kono.
at-go.check-gf 1s.nfa ncom trap.F 1s.r maybe com ri-pt-catch-rf 1s.nfa qt
"I'll go check my trap first, maybe I've already had a catch in it," he said.
- 4o "Ka-dua-an, ka-talu- an, dukuwon, ka-wansur-i' ULUN disom nu pagun ino."
da-two-ord da-three-ord dis at-gossip-rf people.F all 3s.po village the
"By the second (or) third night, it is said, (the news) was spread to all the
people of the village."

5. Instrument-focus affixes

The {*pa-* *-o'*} set of affixes is used to indicate instrument-focused action. It takes the forms *pa-on* 'non-past', *pina-* 'past', and *pa-* *-o'* 'atemporal'. Instrument focus, at first glance, might appear to be merely a combination of the primary goal-focus affixes with the causative prefix, *pa-*; however, the focused item is an instrument in each example. Therefore this set is treated as distinctive from goal-focus.

- 5a Pa-pidis-on ni Jon PAIS kuno du tataun.
ca-cut -npt.if Nm.nfa John.nfa knife.F 1s.pp.fr nm.nfo wood.o
John is hacking wood with that knife of mine.
- 5b P: in :a- pidis no PAIS ino du tataun.
sa.pt.ca.if-cut 3s.nfa knife.F the.fr nm.nfo wood.o
He used the knife to hack wood.
- 5c Pa-pidis-o' PAIS itu du kalat.
ca-cut -at.if knife.F the.n nm.nfo rope.o
Use the knife to cut rope.
- 5d P: in :a- lamba' ni Jon TATAUN ino du sisirak.
sa.pt.ca.if-hit Nm.nfa John.nfa wood.F the.fr nm.nfo bird.o
John used the stick to hit the bird.
- 5e Pa-lamba-a' TATAUN ino du dipo ino! (-o' becomes -a' with lamba')
ca-hit -at.if wood.F the.fr nm.nfo snake.o that
Use the stick to hit the snake!
- 5f P: in :a- bambang ni Jon BATU ino du asu makaulos ino!
sa.pt.ca.if-throw Nm.nfa John.nfa rock.F the.fr nm.nfo dog.o der.mad that
John used the rock to throw at that mad dog! (Note derivative prefix maka-)
- 5g Pa-bambang-o' BATU ino du asu makaulos ino.
ca-throw -at.if rock.F the.fr nm.nfo dog.o der.mad that
Use the rock to throw at that mad dog! (Note derivative prefix maka-)

6. Time/Location-focus affixes

The {*pang-* *-an*} set of affixes focuses on the time or location of an action, sometimes employing 'when', 'where', or 'here' as the item in focus. Semantic topicalization confirms and establishes time/location as in focus.

Time/Location employs the forms *mang-* *-an* 'non-past', *nang-* *-an* 'past', and *pang-* *-an* 'atemporal'.

- 6a ATU pang-katuw-an mu du bunga ino?
where.F at- pick -lf 2s.nfa nm.nfo flower.o that
Where is the place you picked that flower?
- 6b ATU nang-katuw-an ni Asni du kangkong ino?
where.F pt- pick -lf Nm.nfa Asni.nfa nm.nfo spinach.o that
Where is the place Asni picked that spinach?
- 6c TIO' DUGITU pang-katuw-an ku du bunga ino.
loc this.F at- pick -lf 1s.nfa nm.nfo flower.o the
Here is the place where I will pick the flower.
- 6d ATU TIO' pang-ibit-an mu dugino?
what.F loc at- take-lf 2s.nfa that
Where is the place you are taking that?

- 6e SANGGIRAN pang-ansak-an ku?
when.F at- cook -tf 1s.nfa
When is the time for me to cook?
- 6f Pang-ansak-an muyun SUSUAB.
at- cook -tf 2p.nfa tomorrow.F
The time for us to cook is tomorrow.
- 6g ATU TIO' man-amaal-an mu du baloy mu?
what.F loc npt-build-lf 2s.nfa nm.nfo house.o 2s.pp
Where is the place you will build your house?
- 6h Man-amaal-an ku du baloy kuy TIO' PATIKANG.
npt-build-lf 1s.nfa nm.nfo house.o 1s.pp.r loc Patikang.F
The place I will build my house is there in Patikang.
- 6i Nan-amaal-an no du baloy nay TIO' NABAWAN.
pt- build-lf 3s.nfa nm.nfo house.o 3s.pp.r loc Nabawan.F
The place where he built his house is there in NABAWAN.

7. Combinations of affixes

Some of the simple affixes described above may be combined with *-an* 'identifier' or with *pa-* 'causative'.

7.1 Combinations with the *-an* identifier suffix

There are combinations of affixes that co-occur with an *-an* suffix, which seem to identify in a special way the item in focus. When these combinations appear they indicate that a specific person, thing, or place is involved apart from all others in a certain action.

7.1.1 The {*pa-* *-an*} set of actor-focus identifier affixes

The {*pa-* *-an*} combination is used to specify the actor, taking the forms *ma-* *-an* 'non-past', *na-* *-an* 'past', and *pa-* *-an* 'atemporal'. The verbs are mostly intransitive.

- 711a Masarok AKU ma- tatag-an du buk kuy day.
always 1s.EF npt.af-lose -sp nm.nfo book.o 1s.pp.r there.r
I am the one who is always losing my book someplace.
- 711b M- ansiw-an AKU diun. (bansiw)
npt.af.good -sp 1s.F 2s.nfo (good)
I am the one who really likes (feels good about) you.
- 711c Na- iduw -an PINIAWON nano.
pt.af-leave-sp breath.F 3s.pp.fr
It is his life that is really gone.
- 711d Om, sa- pa- tindal -an IYO du bulud.
conj one-at.af-flat.land-sp 3s.F nm.nfo hilltop.o
Then, he was the one to actually make a field on the hilltop.

- 711e Ma- duol-an AKU du ulu.
npt.af-sick-sp 1s.F nm.nfo head.o
I am the one who is truly sick with a headache
- 711f Ma- lasuw-an AKU.
npt.af-hot -sp 1s.F
I am the one who really feels hot.
- 711g Ma- simuw-an AKU.
npt.af-cold -sp 1s.F
I am the one who is so cold.
- 711h Na- duol-an IYO paat IYO inanak.
pt.af-sick-sp 3s.F when 3s.F pt.af.born
He was the one who was so sick when he was born.

7.1.2 The {*ka-* *-an*} set of goal/referent-focus identifier affixes

The {*ka-* *-an*} combination, taking the forms *ma-* *-an* 'non-past', *na-* *-an* 'past', and *ka-* *-an* 'atemporal', can be used in a goal-focused/referent-focused clause. Many of these verbs are cognitive, or negative, or the focused item is only potentially affected by the verb, or the verb is past or future tense.

- 712a Kai' imad daki', ma- tutu -an TO-KOW! (tokow polite; see Appendix B)
neg at.af.approach 1s.nfo npt.gf-pound-sp 1s.nfa-2s.F
Don't come near me, the place where I pound might be you!
- 712b Na- imad- an ku IYO.
pt.rf-approach-sp 1s.nfa 3s.F
She is the one that I actually got near to.
- 712c Ma- ansak-an AKU no du lamud.
npt.rf-cook -sp 1s.F 3s.nfa nm.nfo cooked.rice.o
I am the one he is cooking rice for.
- 712d Na- tudung-an ku PUNTI ino.
pt.gf-sit -sp 1s.nfa banana.F the.fr
The place where I sat was right on the banana.
- 712e Ka ma- alap-an KOW du bilod.
neg npt.rf-get -sp 2s.F nm.nfo unhusked.rice.o
You are the one (that no one) can ever get rice from.
- 712f Ka ma- alap-an KOW ni Jon du buk.
neg npt.rf-get -sp 2s.F Nm.nfa John.nfa nm.nfo book.o
You are the one John can never get books from.
- 712g Ka ma- ibit -an ku IYO du lamud.
neg npt.rf-bring-sp 1s.nfa 3s.F nm.nfo cooked.rice.o
She is the one I can't even bring rice to.
- 712h Ma- suuw-an ni An i RINI. (suu' to feed)
npt.gf-feed-sp Nm.nfa Ann.nfa Nm.F Rini.F
Rini is the one An can manage to feed.

- 712i Ma- buliy-an ku BUK itu. (buli' to keep)
npt.rf-keep- sp 1s.nfa book.F this
This book is the one that I can actually keep.
- 712j Ka na- alap-an IYO ni An du barait ino.
neg pt.rf-get -sp 3s.F Nm.nfa Ann nm.nfo back.basket.o that
The one that Ann could never get that back basket from was him.
- 712k Ma- in- tutun-an ku OKOW.
npt.rf-des-know -sp 1s.nfa 2s.F
The one that I want to truly know is you.
- 712l Na- katuw-an mu noiyo IYO du paku' ino? (katu' to pick)
pt.rf-pick -sp 2s.nfa com 3s.F nm.nfo edible.fern.o the.fr
Is she the one you have picked the fern for already?
- 712m Ma- dusuw-an ku LIAGO ino?
npt.rf-swim -sp 1s.nfa river.F that
Is that river a place where I can swim?
- 712n I ASRI noiyo ka- saga'-an ni An. (note fronted emphatic focus)
Nm.EF Asri.F com at.gf-like -sp Nm.nfa Ann.nfa
It is Asri now who is the one that Ann truly likes.

7.1.3 *ka-* *-an* ordinals

In addition to its verbal usages, *ka-* *-an* is found in use to form ordinal numbers from cardinals.

- 713a Soodow, ka-dua-an, ka-talu- an, ka-apat-an, kakada' no i BOUG nay.
one.day da-two-ord da-three-ord da-four-ord at.think.gf 3s.F r trap.F 3s.pp.r
A day (passes), the second, third, fourth, he remembers his trap away off there.
- 713b Kapo sodondom no, ka-dua-an, ka-talu -an, barai' pakato'.
neg.ncom one.night com da-two-ord da-three-ord tell.at.rf at.fight.af
It is hardly one night, the second, the third, (they) conspire to go and fight.

7.1.4 *ka-* *-an* compounds

ka- *-an* is also found in use changing singular nouns to compound nouns.

- 714a Ka-daraan-an, ka-buayoi-an dano, kai' kalaano'!
da-girl- cpd da-youth- cpd those.f neg at.fear.gf
(Those) young girls, those young men, (they) shouldn't be afraid of (me)!

7.2 Combinations with the causative *pa-* prefix

The actor-focus prefix set {*pa-*} can be combined with *pa-* 'causative', taking the forms *mapa-* 'non-past', *napa-* 'past', and *papa-* 'atemporal'. They indicate causing, permitting, or assisting an actor-focus action. Causative *pa-* has not been found to occur by itself in actor-focus.

- 72a Ma pa-saboy IYO daki' tio' dasawat.
npt.af.ca-reach 3s.F 1s.nfo loc top
He made me reach the top.

- 72b Ma pa-la laa' KOW daki'.
npt.af ca-sr.scare 2s.F 1s.nfo
You keep making me scared.
- 72c Ma pa-uyu'-uyu' KOW daki'.
npt.af.ca-rr.shame 2s.F 1s.nfo
You are making me more and more ashamed.
- 72d Na pa-kito IYO daki' du buk no dano dai'.
pt.af.ca-see 3s.F 1s.nfo nm.nfo book.o 3p.pp those.fr yesterday.
He let me see those books of his yesterday.
- 72e Pa pa-kito AKU diso.
at.af.ca-see 1s.F 3s.nfo.
I will let him see it.
- 72f Ma pa-tutu AKU diso du bagas.
npt.af.ca-pound 1s.F 3s.nfo nm.nfo husked.rice.o
I will get her to pound rice.
- 72g Ma pa-kaus IYO daki'.
npt.af.ca-hurt 3s.F 1s.nfo
He makes me feel hurt.
- 72h Ma pa-taak IYO daki' du buk.
npt.af.ca-give 3s.F 1s.nfo nm.nfo book.o
He is helpfully giving me the book.
- 72i Na pa-ingot i TUNI di Jon.
pt.af.ca-jealous Nm.F Tony.F Nm.nfo John.o
Tony made John feel jealous.
- 72j Na pa-anak AKU di Masina dai'.
pt.af.ca-child 1s.F Nm.nfo Masina.o yesterday
I helped Masina give birth yesterday.

7.3 Combination with the referent-focus *-i'* suffix

The *ka-* subordinating prefix can be combined with referent-focus *-i'* to indicate a sequence time margin. This follows the actor-focus and goal-focus subordinating patterns for such clauses.

- 73a Ka- ansak-i' poiyo nu pangina' nu om akan noiyo dugino.
after.at-cook -rf ncom nm.nfa der.Mother.nfa 3s.pp conj eat.at.af comp there
After his mother had cooked (for him), then (he) ate there.
- 73b Ka- iduw -i' poiyo ni Jon DALAING ino, pantangi' IYO noiyo.
after.at-leave-rf ncom Nm.nfa John.nfa child.F the.fr at.af.cry 3s.F com
After John had left the child, he cried.

7.4 Combination with the subordinating *paka-* prefix

The *paka-* subordinating temporal prefix may be combined with the actor-focus prefix sets {*pa-*}, {*pang-*}, {*pag-*}, and {*k-*}. Note the variation, *pakaba-*, using *ba-*, an irregular form of *pa-*, in ex:74b.

74a Paka pa- dusu' poiyo IRO, paka- kito IRO du dipo.
 after.at.af-swim ncom 3p.F at.af.see 3s.F nm.nfo snake.o
 After they went swimming, they happened to see a snake.

74b Paka ba- iya' poiyo IRO daki' du kaday,
 after.at.af-go.with ncom 3s.F ls.nfo nm.nfo shop.o
 After they went with me to the shop,
 bantaii' ku noiyo IRO om uli' AKU.
 leave.rf.at ls.nfa com 3s.F conj at.af.go home ls.F
 I left them and I went home.

7.5 Other combinations

Other combinations of affixes have been found in text, such as *magpa-*, *mampag-*, *mampa-*, *mangka-*, *manam-*, *makimagin-*. They have not been treated here due to insufficient comparative data.

8. Focus deletion

As noted in section 3., argument deletion occurs in Southeast Asian languages. Taken from an eleven sentence hortatory text, these three extracted sentences have eleven verbs (underlined), eight in actor-focus and three in goal-focus; however, they have only two overt focused items, one goal and one actor (capitalized).

Hortatory Text, "Advice to Young Girls", Sentences 2, 8, 9:

Kai' pantudung du kiing nu urobon ino , kah mansiu makito nu ulun. Mantudung poiyo, tarandanon muyun mantudung; sala' kah pororodon KARAYAM muyun, makasadu ULUN mansail. Kai' pororodo'!

Don't (you) sit by the side of the doorway, (it) is unseemly for people to see (you) there. While (you) sit, you take great care when (you) sit, (you) make a bad mistake if (you) stretch out your LEGS, SOMEONE passing by, (they) might trip (over you). Don't (you) stretch out (your legs)!

The entire text follows. Note that while there are twenty nine verbs marked for actor, goal, or referent-focus, there are just twelve overt focused items.

ATU BARAIN NU PANGINA' DANO ANAK NU DUANDU

Advice for Girls, What a Mother Says to Her Daughters

1 Mugad KAW poiyo, kii pangkaili, malambay KAW makaduli'.
 npt.af.go 2p.F ncom neg at.af.linger npt-af.late 2p.F npt.af.return.home
 When you go somewhere now, don't (you) linger, or you might be late when (you)
 get home.

2 Kai' pantudung du kiing nu urobon ino,
 neg at.af.sit nm.nfo side.o nm.po doorway the
 Don't (you) sit by the side of the doorway,
 kah mansiu makito nu ulun.
 neg npt.af.good npt.gf.see nm.nfa person.nfa
 (it) is unseemly for people to see (you) there.

- 3 Mangakan KAW poiyo, tarandanon muyun mamiil du lamud ino.
npt.af.eat 2p.F ncom npt.careful.gf 2p.nfa npt.af.finger.eat nm.nto rice.o the
When you eat now, you take great care when (you) eat rice with your fingers.
- 4 Kai' KAW inso-inso pangakan, babalan KAW.
neg 2p.F at.af.hasty at.af.eat sr.npt.af.choke 2p.F
Don't you be gobbling when (you) eat, you might end up choking.
- 5 Mamaug KAW garing du karindu, bagu mangakan.
npt.af.wash 2p.F first nm.nto hand.o then npt.af.eat
You wash your hands first, then (you) eat.
- 6 Madiyu' KAW poiyo isasin muyun INAN om ULU muyun dano.
npt.af.bath 2p.F ncom npt.rf.scrub 2p.nfa body.F and head.F 2p.pp those
When you bathe now, scrub your bodies and those heads of yours.
- 7 Injagupin BUROS muyun.
des.wash.npt.rf face.F 2p.pp
(I) want your faces washed clean.
- 8 Mantudung poiyo, tarandanon muyun mantudung, sala'
npt.af.sit ncom, npt.careful.gf 2p.nfa npt.af.sit at.af.mistake
When (you) sit now, you take great care when (you) sit; (you) make a bad mistake
- kah pororodon KARAYAM muyun, makasadu ULUN mansail.
if ca.extend.npt.gf leg.F 2p.nfa npt.af.trip person.F npt.af.pass
if (you) stretch out your legs, a person passing by might trip.
- 9 Kai' pororodo'!
neg ca.extend.at.gf
Don't (you) stretch out (your legs)!
- 10 Sala' kah magidu'.
at.af.mistake if npt.af.run
(You) make a bad mistake if (you) run.
- 11 Kai' pagidu'!
don't at.af.run
Don't (you) let (yourselves) run!

APPENDIX A. Discourse Use of Atemporal Tense

On the paragraph level of narrative, legend, drama, and procedural discourse genre in Nabay, atemporal tense has been found to show a head-tail relationship between subordinate and main clauses, where it carries over the tense of the previous verb within the context of a paragraph, somewhat like a chameleon picks up its color from its surrounding environment. Past tense marks the main event line in narrative discourse.

Following is an elicited narrative paragraph, showing use of atemporal verb tense forms *PAKA-* ~ *POKO-*, *PA-* ~ *BA-*, *PANG-*, *KA-* ~ *K-*, and *O-* (zero occurrence) in narrative discourse. Past tense is established with the first verb, *nuoy* 'went' in sentence 1. Only the affixes being illustrated are underlined in this narrative, rather than the entire verb. Sentences 1 to 9, clause a and clause c, illustrate actor focus; sentence 9, clause b, has referent-focus.

1. N- uoy IRO pa- dusu'.
pt.af-go 3p.F at.af-swim
They went swimming.
2. Paka pa- dusu' poiyo IRO, paka- kito IRO du dipo.
after.at.af-swim ncom 3p.F at.af-see 3p.F nm.nfo snake.o
After they went swimming, they happened to see a snake.
3. Paka- kito IRO du dipo, 0- uli' IRO om pa- gandang IRO.
after.at.af-see 3p.F nm.nfo snake.o at.go-home 3p.F conj at.af-beat.gongs 3p.F
After they saw the snake, they went home and they played gongs.
4. Pa- gandang IRO om pa- dimbay.
at.af-play.gongs 3p.F conj at.af-sing
They played gongs and sang a song.
5. Paka pa- dimbay poiyo IRO, pang- inum no IRO du tapay.
after.at.af-sing ncom 3p.F at.af-drink com 3p.F nm.nfo ricewine.o
After they sang a song, they drank rice wine.
6. Paka pang- inum poiyo IRO, om pa nung-kamang no IRO om k- olong IRO.
after.at.af-drink ncom 3p.F conj at.af.each-crawl com 3p.F conj at.sleep 3p.F
After they drank, then they crawled off by themselves and went to sleep.
7. Poko k- olong poiyo IRO om 0- kadat no IRO naduolan du ulu.
after.at.af-sleep ncom 3p.F conj at.af-wake com 3p.F pt.af.sick.sp nm head.o
After they slept, then they were the ones to wake up sick with a headache.
8. Ka- kadat poiyo IRO, ba- iya' no IRO daki' du kaday.
after.at.af-wake ncom 3p.F at.af.go.with com 3p.F 1s.nfo nm.nfo shop.o
After they woke up, they went with me to a shop.
9. Paka ba- iya' poiyo IRO daki',
after.at.af.go.with ncom 3p.F 1s.nfo
After they went with me,

bantai-i' ku noiyo IRO om 0- uli' AKU.
leave- at.rf 1s.nfa com 3p.F conj at.af-go.home 1s.F
I left them and I went home.

APPENDIX B. Nabay Focus and Non-focus Pronouns and Noun Markers

	FOCUS	EMPHATIC FOCUS	NON-FOCUS ACTOR	OBLIQUE
.				
1s	AKU	AKU	ku	daki'
2s	KOW, OKOW	OKOW	mu	diun
3s	IYO	IYO	no	diso
1d	*TO	ITO	*to	dito
1pe	*TAKAW	ITAKAW	*takaw	ditakaw
1pi	AKAY	AKAY	may	dami'
2p	KAW	AKAW	muyun	damuyun
3p	IRO	IRO	niro	disiro
NOUN MARKERS				
Personal Names	i (Name)	i (Name)	*ni (Name)	di (Name)
Nouns	o (noun)	o (noun)	*nu (noun)	du (noun)
*Note homophonous morphemes <u>ITO</u> and <u>TAKAW</u> in FOCUS and NON-FOCUS; note also <u>nu</u> , <u>ni</u> Noun Markers above and <u>nu</u> , <u>ni</u> in Possession Sets below. (tokow 'I and you', is an irregular polite form fused from 1s.nfa & 2s.F; it does not appear in the chart above)				

APPENDIX C. Nabay Possessive Pronouns and Possessed Noun Markers

	BASIC SET	sg NOUN REMOTE	sg NOUN NEAR	sg NOUN FAR	pl noun REMOTE	pl NOUN NEAR	pl NOUN FAR
1s	ku	kuy	kutu	kuno	ku day	ku datu	ku dano
2s	mu	muy	mutu	muno	mu day	mu datu	mu dano
3s	*nu	nay	natu	nano	no day	no datu	no dano
1d	to	tay	tatu	tano	to day	to datu	tano
1pe	takaw	takaw i	tataw tu	takaw no	takaw day	takaw datu	takaw dano
1pi	may	may	maitu	maino	muy day	may datu	may dano
2p	muyun	muyun i	muyun tu	muyun no	muyun day	muyun datu	muyun dano
3p	niro	niro i	niro tu	niro no	niro day	niro datu	niro dano
POSSESSED NOUN MARKERS							
Personal Names							
	*ni	ni	ni <u>Name</u>	ni <u>Name</u>	ni <u>Name</u>	ni <u>Name</u>	ni <u>Name</u>
	<u>Name</u>	<u>Name</u> i	itu/tu	ino/no	day	datu	dano
Nouns							
	*nu	nu	nu <u>noun</u>	nu <u>noun</u>	nu <u>noun</u>	nu <u>noun</u>	nu <u>noun</u>
	<u>noun</u>	<u>noun</u> i	itu/tu	ino/no	day	datu	dano

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