

THE CHANGING FACE OF FOCUS IN THE LANGUAGES OF BORNEO

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1. INTRODUCTION

At the Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics in 1978, Paz Buenaventura Naylor suggested that focus, rather than subject, transitivity or case was the organising principle that underlay verbal predication, not only in Philippine-type languages but in other Austronesian languages as well (Naylor 1978:395). At the fourth conference, Otto Christian Dahl made the interesting point that although the Austronesian languages of Madagascar have a developed focus system, similar to that found in the Philippines, their nearest known relative, the Ma'anyan language spoken in south-east Borneo, appears to have lost it (see Dahl 1986:21,37). The aim of this paper is to show that a focus system is present in the languages of Borneo,¹ although it is generally in a much reduced form and less overtly marked than in Philippine-type languages.

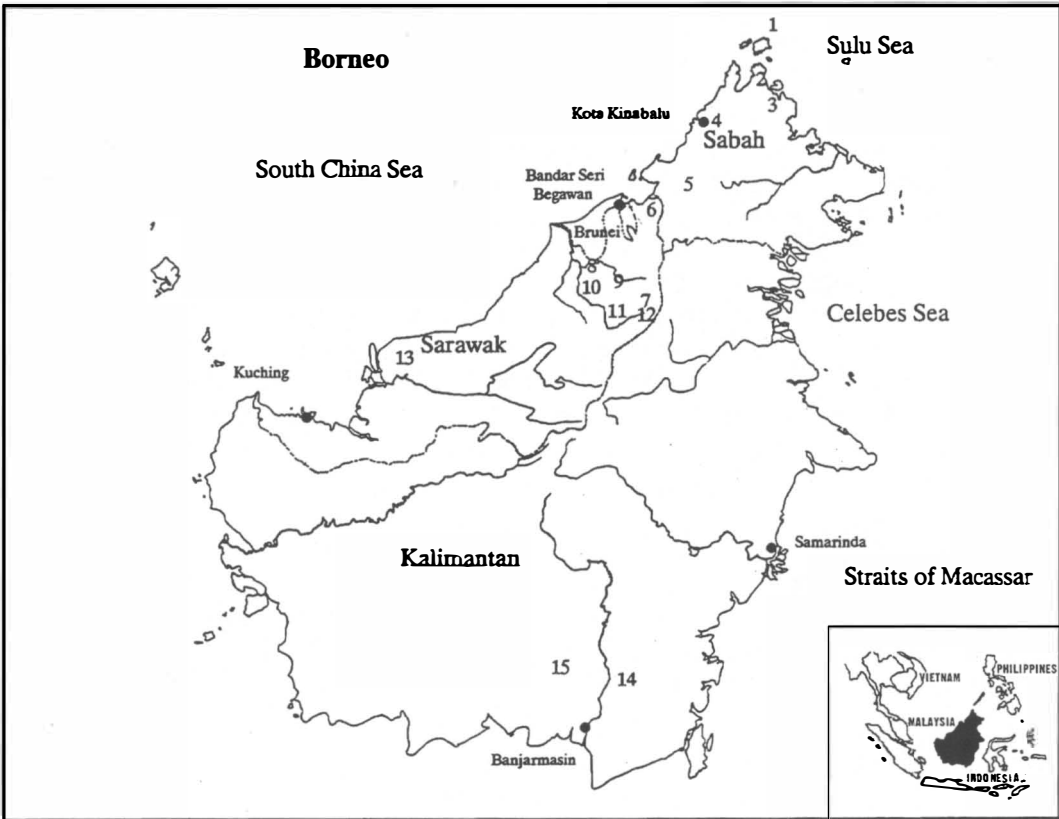
1.1 THE LANGUAGES

The survey of focus followed a detailed study of two related languages, Lun Bawang and Sa'ban, belonging to a language group which Hudson called the Apo Duat group (Hudson 1978:25). These two languages, although lexically 75 per cent cognate (Clayre, B. 1972:146), are markedly different both phonologically and morphosyntactically. Between them, these two languages reflect most of the patterns of change which can be observed in the focus systems of the languages of Borneo.

Fifteen languages were examined in the survey. They are from three different areas: Sabah, north-central Sarawak, and south-east Kalimantan (see map). With the exception of the two from Kalimantan, the languages were chosen on the basis of personal experience, or of access to reliable grammatical information. Of the two Kalimantan languages, Ma'anyan was chosen for the Malagasy connection, and Ngaju because it is spoken in the same region, and a published grammar was available for it. It might appear from the map that a large area of central Borneo had been omitted in this survey. In fact, the languages spoken there mostly belong to the Kayan-Kenyah group (Hudson 1978:28-32), four members of which, Kayan, Murik, Lepo Ké and Penan, were included among the languages examined in north-central Sarawak. The main area not represented in the survey is south-west Borneo where many of

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the languages, for example Iban, belong to the Malayic Dayak group (Hudson 1978:18-19). Details of the languages referred to in this paper, together with information on the sources used, are given in Appendix 1. The main languages examined, and the abbreviations used for them in the tables, are listed in Table 1.²



MAP: LANGUAGES IN BORNEO

1	Bonggi	(BI)	9	Penan	(PE)
2	Kimaragang	(KM)	10	Kayan	(KA)
3	Tombonuo	(TO)	11	Murik	(MU)
4	Coastal Kadazan	(CK)	12	Lepo Ké	(LK)
5	Timugon	(TM)	13	Melanau	(ML)
6	Lun Bawang	(LB)	14	Ma'anyan	(MA)
7	Sa'ban	(SA)	15	Ngaju	(NG)
8	Berawan	(BR)			

² For Sabah, I have followed the language classification of King and King (1984); for Sarawak and Kalimantan, that of Hudson (1978).

TABLE 1: ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGE NAMES

SABAH	Language	Language group
BI	Bonggi	Isolate
CK	Coastal Kadazan	Dusunic
KM	Kimaragang	Dusunic
TM	Timugon	Murutic
TO	Tombonuo	Paitanic
SARAWAK		
BR	Berawan	Rejang-Baram
KA	Kayan	Kayan
LB	Lun Bawang	Apo Duat
LK	Lepo Ké	Kenyah
ML	Melanau	Rejang-Baram
MU	Murik	Kayan
PE	Penan	Kenyah
SA	Sa'ban	Apo Duat
KALIMANTAN		
MA	Ma'anyan	East Barito
NG	Ngaju	West Barito

1.2 FOCUS

It became increasingly clear during this survey that a focus system does not operate in a vacuum. Focus marking, whether nominal or verbal, is interrelated with other syntactic and morphological features, which are themselves still imperfectly understood. These include factors such as the relationship between focus and aspect, the role played by verbal semantics, and the question of transitivity or ergativity. There are also examples of an interrelation between focus and phonological features. In a survey such as this, it would be impossible to take account of all these factors. It is, therefore, restricted by and large to nominal and verbal focus marking in main clauses containing eventive verbs.

The term 'focus' is used in Philippine-type languages, to describe a system of voice marking, by which a single nominal element in each verbal clause is morphologically marked for special prominence. The prototypical Philippine focus system, of which Tagalog may be regarded as a classic example, has four or more possible focus constructions, usually actor, goal, benefactive or locative, and instrument. The focused item³ in each clause is clearly indicated by the affixes on the verb and the case-markers of the nominal arguments.

1.3 ORGANISATION OF THE PAPER

In describing focus in the languages of Borneo, the marking of nominal arguments, including pronoun systems and word order (§2), is first discussed, followed by the system of verb affixation employed in the various languages studied (§3). In §4, a particular type of

³ In the literature on focus, the focused nominal has been variously called 'subject', 'topic', 'trigger' and more recently, following Foley and Van Valin (1984) 'pivot'.

focus construction recorded in several languages of central north Sarawak is discussed. Section 5 summarises some of the more interesting patterns to emerge from the survey, and comments on the position of Sa'ban in relation to Lun Bawang and certain other languages of the area.

2. THE MARKING OF NOMINAL ARGUMENTS

2.1 NOUNS OR NOUN PHRASES

Noun markers precede the head noun in noun phrases. Their primary function is to indicate the relationships, in terms of focus, of the noun phrases within the clause. They have other functions too, but since these do not relate to focus they are not discussed here.⁴ In Tagalog, the focused noun phrase is signalled by the marker, *ang*, the non-focused noun in the core argument by *ng*, and locative or benefactive by *sa*. Personal names are marked similarly by *si*, *ni* and *kay* respectively.

In the Dusunic and Paitanic languages of Sabah, generally speaking, the distinction, reflected in the noun markers, is between focused and non-focused noun phrases, whether they are common nouns or personal names.⁵ The markers used in four languages of Sabah are listed in Table 2. Only the Murutic language, Timugon, distinguishes between a non-focused actor, and a non-focused, non-actor nominal. In some of the Sabah languages, Timugon or Tombonuo for example, the focused noun phrase is signalled by the absence of a marker. In other words, the focused noun phrase is unmarked. Isolates, such as Bonggi or Ida'an, have no markers for common nouns, whether focused or not,⁶ but Bonggi, does mark personal names. In Bonggi, the absence of focus marking on the core nominals (actor and undergoer) means that word order becomes important: focused noun phrases usually occur in prepredicate position (Boutin 1988a:4; 1988b:58).

TABLE 2: NOUN MARKERS IN LANGUAGES OF SABAH

		Focus	Non-focus actor	Non-focus non-actor
TM	common noun	—	<i>ru</i>	<i>ra</i>
	personal name	<i>i</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ra</i>
CK	common noun	<i>i, o</i>	<i>di, do</i>	<i>di, do</i>
	personal name	<i>i, zi</i>	<i>di</i>	—
TO	common noun	—	<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i>
	personal name	<i>si</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>
BI	common noun	—	—	—
	personal name	<i>si</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>dii, i</i>

In Lun Bawang, there are no noun markers with common nouns. Personal names may be marked by *i* or *ni*, but these no longer relate to the focus system, as I presume they once

⁴ A full description of the forms and functions of noun markers in the languages of Sabah is given in Boutin (1991).

⁵ In Dusunic languages, the noun markers also signal definite and indefinite nouns. Definite is signalled by *i* or *di*, according to the focus, and similarly indefinite by *o* and *do* (Clayre, B. 1967:116; Boutin 1988b:57).

⁶ Non-core or oblique arguments are marked by the appropriate prepositions.

did.⁷ In all the other languages examined in this survey, those of Sarawak and Kalimantan, common nouns were unmarked. In other words, noun phrases in these languages carry no marker to distinguish the focused from the non-focused arguments of a clause. Focus in these languages is signalled by word order, cross-referenced by the verb affix. This will be discussed in §2.3.

Demonstratives behave in a similar way to noun markers. In the Dusunic languages of Sabah, for example, they distinguish between focused and non-focused nouns (Clayre, B. 1970:195). In Lun Bawang and the other languages of Sarawak, demonstratives do not distinguish focus. They have two forms: a long form or a short form, for example in Lun Bawang 'that' occurs as *ineh* or *neh*. The short form usually follows the nominal.

2.2 PRONOUNS

A feature of focus languages is the presence of several sets of pronouns, the use of which parallels the use of markers in noun phrases. In a typical Philippine language such as Tagalog, there will be at least three sets of pronouns. One set is used when the pronoun is the focused element in the clause. A second set is used for non-focused actors (this set is usually the same as the possessive pronoun set). The third set is used for non-focus, non-actor pronouns. Many languages have a further set used for emphasis, but since their primary function is not to mark focus they are not included in this survey.

2.2.1 SABAH

Sabah languages typically have three pronoun sets, as does Lun Bawang spoken in northern Sarawak. These sets are sometimes described in terms of syntactic case, as nominative, genitive and accusative (Boutin 1991), corresponding to sets I, II and III in Table 3.⁸ Boutin suggests that at one time all the languages probably had two basic sets of pronouns with a case marker being used for the accusative set (i.e. set III), as at present in Tombonuo. The case marker cliticised to the following host pronoun and was reinterpreted as part of the pronoun, thus forming a new pronoun set (Boutin 1991). The use of the different pronoun sets is illustrated in examples (1) - (3) from the Lun Bawang language. In these examples *ui* (1), and *ieh* (2) and (3) are focus pronouns of set I; *ku* (3) and *neh* (1) are non-focus actor pronouns of set II; and *negku* (2) and *neneh* (3) are non-focus, non-actor pronouns of set III. Examples (1) and (3) are undergoer focus clauses, example (2) is actor focus.⁹ The pronouns are underlined.

- (1) Ui *b-in-abeh* neh.
1SG.FOC R-CM-carry 3SG.NF
He carried me.

- (2) Ieh *n-ier* negku.
3SG.FOC AF-see 1SG.NF.NA
He sees me.

⁷ Their present use is not yet fully understood, but *ni* is, among other things, an oblique marker.

⁸ Boutin (1991) provides full lists of the pronouns for fifteen Sabah languages.

⁹ For a list of abbreviations used in the examples see Appendix 2.

- (3) *In-apung ku ieh rat neneh.*
 CM-hide 1SG.NF 3SG.FOC from 3SG.NF.NA
 I hid it from him.

TABLE 3: PRONOUN SETS IN LANGUAGES OF NORTH BORNEO

Set I: Focus pronouns (nominative)

Pronoun	BI	TO	KM	TM	LB
1SG	<i>ou</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>okuh</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>ui</i>
2SG	<i>aha</i>	<i>ko, ikau</i>	<i>koh, ikaw</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>iko</i>
3SG	<i>sia</i>	<i>iyo</i>	<i>yalo</i>	<i>io</i>	<i>ieh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kiti</i>	<i>toko</i>	<i>tokou</i>	<i>takau</i>	<i>tau</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ih</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>okoi</i>	<i>akai</i>	<i>kai</i>
2PL	<i>uhu</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>ikoo, kou</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>muyuh</i>
3PL	<i>sigelama</i>	<i>nosiro</i>	<i>yaalo</i>	<i>ilo</i>	<i>ideh</i>

Set II: Non-focus actor pronouns (genitive)

1SG	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>kuh</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>
2SG	<i>nu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>nuh</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mu</i>
3SG	<i>ngia</i>	<i>niyo</i>	<i>yoh, dialo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>neh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>ti</i>	<i>toko</i>	–	<i>takau</i>	<i>tau</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>mi</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>yah</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>kai</i>
2PL	<i>nyu</i>	<i>nuyu</i>	<i>duyuh</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>muyuh</i>
3PL	<i>sigelama</i>	<i>nosiro</i>	–	<i>nilo</i>	<i>deh</i>

Set III: Non-focus, non-actor pronouns (accusative)

1SG	<i>diaadn</i>	<i>so aku</i>	<i>dogon</i>	<i>raki'</i>	<i>negku</i>
2SG	<i>diha</i>	<i>so ikau, ko</i>	<i>dikaw</i>	<i>rurun</i>	<i>nemu</i>
3SG	<i>ngia</i>	<i>so iyo</i>	<i>dialo</i>	<i>riso</i>	<i>neneh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>dihiti</i>	<i>so toko</i>	<i>daton</i>	<i>ritakau</i>	<i>netau</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>dih</i>	<i>so kai</i>	<i>dagai</i>	<i>ramon</i>	<i>nekai</i>
2PL	<i>dihu</i>	<i>so kou</i>	<i>dikoo</i>	<i>ramuyun</i>	<i>nemuyuh</i>
3PL	<i>sigelama</i>	<i>so nosiro</i>	<i>daalo</i>	<i>risilo</i>	<i>nede</i>

Data sources for Table 3: BI, TO – Boutin (1988a:5, 1991); TM – Brewis and Levinsohn (1991:30); KM – Kroeger (1988:220); LB – personal notes.

2.2.2 NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK

In the languages of Sarawak, there are two basic sets of pronouns (see Table 4), which cannot be described in terms of syntactic case, since set I pronouns are used for the undergoer, regardless of whether or not the undergoer is in focus, and for the focused actor. Pronouns of set II (the genitive set), are used for the non-focused actor. Thus pronouns representing the undergoer are taken from set I, whereas pronouns representing the actor are split between sets I and II depending on the focus. This situation contrasts with that in many of the Sabah languages, where pronouns representing the undergoer are also split, but between sets I and III, depending on the focus. Oblique case is signalled by a preposition before the pronoun. The pronoun may be a member of set I or set II, depending on the

language,¹⁰ and sometimes they are fused. The phrase 'to me' is rendered in Berawan, Penan and Sa'ban respectively as follows: *ngaan akkoh* (set I), *ngan ké'* (set II), and *né'éek* (fused).

TABLE 4: PRONOUN SETS IN LANGUAGES OF SARAWAK

Set I: Undergoer and focused actor

Pronoun	BR	PE	ML	KA	MU	LK	SA
1SG	<i>akkoh</i>	<i>akeu', ku'</i>	<i>akou</i>	<i>akui, kui</i>	<i>aku'</i>	<i>aké</i>	<i>éek</i>
2SG	<i>noh</i>	<i>ka'au, ko'</i>	<i>ka'au</i>	<i>ika', ka'</i>	<i>ika'</i>	<i>iko'</i>	<i>céh</i>
3SG	<i>jah</i>	<i>iah, éh</i>	<i>nyin</i>	<i>iha', ha'</i>	<i>iha'</i>	<i>iah</i>	<i>ieh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kittah</i>	<i>itam, tam</i>	<i>telou</i>	<i>itam, tam</i>	<i>itam</i>	<i>ilu'</i>	<i>taem</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kamméh</i>	<i>amé, mé</i>	<i>kamei</i>	<i>kamé'</i>	<i>kami'</i>	<i>amé'</i>	<i>amai</i>
2PL	<i>kaam</i>	<i>ka'ah, keh</i>	<i>kelou</i>	<i>ikam, kam</i>	<i>kelo'</i>	<i>ikam</i>	<i>ciem</i>
3PL	<i>irah</i>	<i>irah, réh</i>	<i>luin</i>	<i>daha'</i>	<i>laha'</i>	<i>idah</i>	<i>deh</i>

Set II: Non-focused actor and genitive

1SG	<i>koh</i>	<i>ké'</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>kui, -k</i>	<i>ku, -k</i>	<i>ké'</i>	<i>éek, (-')</i>
2SG	<i>noh</i>	<i>ke'</i> (-m)	<i>ka'au</i> [nəw]	<i>ka'</i> -m	<i>ka'</i> -m	<i>ko'</i>	<i>céh</i> (-m)
3SG	<i>nyih</i>	<i>néh</i>	<i>nyin</i>	<i>na'</i>	<i>na'</i>	<i>oniah</i>	<i>ieh</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kittah</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>telou</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>lu'</i>	<i>taem</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kamméh</i>	<i>mé</i>	<i>kamei</i>	<i>amé'</i>	<i>kami'</i>	<i>mé'</i>	<i>amai</i>
2PL	<i>kaam</i>	<i>keh</i>	<i>kelou</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kelo</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>ciem</i>
3PL	<i>irah</i>	<i>réh</i>	<i>luin</i>	<i>daha'</i>	<i>laha</i>	<i>dah</i>	<i>deh</i>

Notes on Table 4: Round brackets indicate fossilised pronouns. Square brackets indicate information from another dialect. Data sources: KA – Clayre and Cubit (1974:48); ML – I.F. Clayre (1972:120); PE – Clayre and Britza (1967); BR, MU, SA and LK – personal notes.

In addition to singular and plural pronouns, the languages of north-central Sarawak have a dual and often a trial set of pronouns,¹¹ but they do not inflect for focus.

In Kayan and Penan, the pronouns of set I have a long and short form, but the use of these forms is not governed by the rules of focus.¹²

In Mukah Melanau, the distinction between the two sets of pronouns is reduced to the first two singular pronouns, (Blust 1988:154) but in Dalat Melanau the distinction is maintained in the first person singular only (Clayre, I.F. 1973b:245).

In Sa'ban there is only one set of pronouns which is used for both actor and undergoer, regardless of the focus. This was not always the case, however, for in Sa'ban the fossilised remnants of an earlier set of genitive and non-focused actor pronouns is still discernible in the language. A few nouns, such as *hnaen* 'mother', or *ppuen* 'grandparent', have a form

¹⁰ The reason for this difference has not yet been identified.

¹¹ Trial usually includes from 3 to about 10 people, and overlaps with the use of the plural pronoun.

¹² As a general rule, long forms occur clause initially, or before the verb, and short forms occur in second position in the clause, or following the verb, but this rule is not absolute, and short forms do occur before the verb and long forms can follow it. For example in Penan, 'I climbed' can occur as *akeu' mukat*, *mukat akeu'*, or *mukat ku'*, but when an undergoer is added the pronoun must precede the verb. '(Then) I climbed that tree' is *akeu' mukat kayeu' nah*, or (*Boh*) *ku' mukat kayeu' nah*. **Mukat ku' kayeu' nah* is unacceptable, since it would mean 'the tree climbed me'. See §2.3.

hnaem meaning 'your mother', or *ppuem* 'your grandparent'. A few verbs, such as *mraey* 'give' and *aro* 'do' or 'make', have preserved an undergoer focus imperative in *riem* 'be given!' and *uem* 'be made!' or 'be done!'. The final *m* in these words must reflect the second person singular, genitive pronoun *mu* or *nu* found today in Lun Bawang and other languages of Borneo (Tables 3 - 5).

A similar fossilisation occurs with some kindred terms in Penan, for example, *tuken* 'elder sibling', and *tukem* 'your elder sibling'.¹³ In Kayan and Murik the first and second person singular pronouns occur as *-k* and *-m* on certain verbs in undergoer focus constructions, for example, *kena-k* 'done by me' and *kena-m* 'done by you', which occurs in both Kayan and Murik.

Examples (4) and (5) illustrate the use of these pronouns in Penan, and (6) - (8) in Berawan. *Akeu'* and *iah* in (4) are examples of pronouns of set I, *neh* in (5) is a non-focus actor pronoun, and *ngan ké'* in (5) is an oblique with a pronoun of set II. Example (4) is in actor focus and (5) is in undergoer focus. In the Berawan examples, *jah* and *akkoh* (6) are pronouns of set I and *koh* (7) and (8) is a non-focus actor pronoun of set II. Example (6) is in actor focus, (7) and (8) in undergoer focus. Example (8) contains an oblique with a pronoun of set I. In examples (4) - (8) the pronouns have been glossed with the number of the set to which they belong, not with their role in focus. The pronouns are underlined.

- (4) Akeu' *ny-oho'* iah *bj babui.*
1SG.I AF-order 3SG.I carry pig
I told him to carry the pig.
- (5) *Inah bua' nena' neh ngan ké'.*
that fruit give 3SG.II OBL 1SG.II
He gave that fruit to me.
- (6) Jah *m-ango akkoh.*
3SG.I AF-hit 1SG.I
He hit me.
- (7) *Accoh n-ango koh.*
dog CM-hit 1S.II
I hit the dog.
- (8) *N-icun koh ngaan jah lu'ong.*
CM-give 1SG.II OBL 3SG.I fruit
I give the fruit to him.

Examples (9) - (11) illustrate the use of these pronouns in Sa'ban. Example (9) is in actor focus, (10) and (11) in undergoer focus. The pronouns are underlined.

- (9) Éek *n-nal ieh.*
1SG AF-see 3SG
I see him.
- (10) Éek *i-nal ieh.*
1SG CM-see 3SG
He saw me.

¹³ I am grateful to Professor Rodney Needham for drawing my attention to this, and other examples, from Penan.

- (11) *Búl nolnai i-raey ieh ncéh.*
 shirt this CM-give 3SG OBL.2SG
 He gave this shirt to you.

2.2.3 SOUTH-EAST KALIMANTAN

In the Ma'anyan and Ngaju languages of south-east Borneo, the sets of pronouns function in a similar way to those found in the languages of Sarawak (Table 5), although Epple noted that in Ngaju, third person singular pronouns of set II could be used as the object of an active (actor focus) verb. This is illustrated in example (13), (Epple 1933:14). The oblique case is formed, as in the languages of Sarawak, by preposing a preposition. Examples (12) and (13) illustrate the use of these pronouns in Ngaju. Example (12) is taken from Hardeland (1858), and (13) from Epple (1933). Both clauses are in actor focus. The morpheme break in the verb in (13) is omitted because of uncertainty regarding the break. The pronouns are underlined and the number of the set to which they belong is given. Both Hardeland and Epple seem to regard the pronouns of set II, at least the singular ones, as clitics. It has not been possible to check this.

TABLE 5: PRONOUN SETS IN LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EAST KALIMANTAN

Pronoun	MA		NG	
	Set I	Set II	Set I	Set II
1SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>ku</i>
2SG	<i>hanyu'</i>	<i>-nu</i>	<i>ikau</i>	<i>-m</i>
3SG	<i>hanyi</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>-e</i>
1PL.INC	<i>takem</i>	<i>takem</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>ita</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>ikai</i>	<i>ikai</i>
2PL	<i>naun</i>	<i>naun</i>	<i>keton</i>	<i>keton</i>
3PL	<i>here</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>awen</i>	<i>awen</i>

Data sources: Ma'anyan – Sunderman (1912); Ngaju – Hardeland (1858); Epple (1933).

- (12) *Aku m-ita ikau.*
 1SG.I AF-see 2SG.I
 I see you.
- (13) *Mamukul-e.*
 AF.beat- 3SG.II
 Beat him.

Of the other languages spoken in this area, Tawoyan, Lawangan, Ot Danum and Bayan have pronouns sets, similar to Ngaju or Ma'anyan, but Bawo, like Sa'ban, appears to have one set only.

2.2.4 OVERVIEW

The use of different sets of pronouns to signal focused and non-focused nominals is a very useful device. Few languages of Borneo, however, maintain the distinction throughout all the persons of the pronoun sets. In Sarawak and south-east Kalimantan, most languages

show little or no distinction in the plural pronouns between sets I and II, while Sa'ban has effectively lost set II altogether, only traces of its former presence in the language remaining. The same is probably true of Lepo Ké, although I have insufficient data to demonstrate it. In Sabah the distinction is maintained through most, but not all, of the pronouns.

An examination of the tables shows that the first pronoun to be neutralised is the first person plural inclusive, quickly followed by the third person plural. The first and second person singular pronouns were the most consistent. Among the pronouns of set II, the first person, in all the languages examined, was always a form of *ku*. The second person was most commonly a form of *mu* or *nu*, but in Kayan, Murik, Penan and Sa'ban it survived only as a clitic on some verbs or nouns. It was not recorded in Lepo Ké.

In none of the languages examined, were any examples noted of preclitic pronouns, such as are common in the languages of Sulawesi, and Indonesia (Wolff 1981:85; van den Berg, this volume).

2.3 WORD ORDER

In Dusunic, Paitanic and Murutic languages, the relationships of the nominal phrases within a clause are made perfectly clear by the affixation on the verb, and by the nominal or pronominal marking. Although these languages may have four or more focus types (Boutin 1988b:63), there are adequate signals within the clause to permit a relatively flexible word order.

In Lun Bawang, the situation is different. There are three focus types: actor, undergoer and instrument. The role of the focused noun phrase is signalled by the verbal affix, but with the exception of pronouns, none of the arguments in the clause is marked in any way. In the absence of overt marking, the correct interpretation of relationships within the clause becomes dependent on word order. In transitive clauses the position immediately following the verb is restricted to the non-focused core argument.¹⁴ In actor focus clauses, the undergoer occurs immediately after the verb. In undergoer focus clauses, the actor occurs immediately after the verb. In Lun Bawang, nothing may occur between the verb and the non-focused core argument, not even an adverb, particle or preposition. This effectively means that, in Lun Bawang the non-focused actor can never occur with an agent marker. The position of the focused core argument is more flexible, and it may occur before the verb (examples (14) and (15)), or later in the sentence following the verb and the non-focused core argument (examples (16), (37) and (38)). Instrument focus is less common than actor or undergoer focus. In all the examples in my corpus, the focused instrument always occurred clause finally following all other nominal phrases, including obliques.

Examples (14) - (17) illustrate the use of word order in Lun Bawang. Example (14) is an actor focus clause, and the non-focused undergoer follows the verb. Examples (15) and (16) are undergoer focus clauses in which the non-focused actor follows the verb. In example (15) the focused undergoer occurs before the verb, and in (16), it follows the non-focused actor. Example (17) is an instrument focus clause, the non-focused actor follows the verb, and the focused instrument occurs clause finally, following the core argument. In (15), the

¹⁴ This rule applies equally to nouns or pronouns, but since nouns are not marked (other than by word order) for focus, the relationships are more clearly seen in sentences containing pronouns. It is for this reason that pronouns feature so frequently in my examples rather than nouns.

verb is unmarked for undergoer focus, but marked for completed action. Underlining indicates the non-focused core argument.

- (14) *Ui m-aré kuyu nih neneh.*
1SG.FOC AF-give shirt this OBL.3SG
I give this shirt to him.
- (15) *Kuyu nih b-i-ré ku neneh.*
shirt this R-CM-give 1SG.NF OBL.3SG
I gave this shirt to him.
- (16) *Na meria', dedat-en ku ulu mu napeh.*
no be.noisy beat-UF 1SG.NF head your later
Don't make a noise, or I will beat your head later.
- (17) *Ping-akan ku ubi sudu' nih.*
IF-eat 1SG.NF ubi spoon this
I'll use this spoon to eat the ubi.

In the other languages of Sarawak, only the two core arguments of actor and undergoer may be focused. There are no noun markers. Relationships within the clause are signalled by the verb affix, and by word order. In all these languages the word order is consistent: the non-focused core nominal immediately follows the verb.

Examples (9) and (10) illustrate this pattern in Sa'ban, a language which cannot use pronouns to signal focus relationships. In both examples the non-focused core argument follows the verb.

Examples (18) - (21) illustrate the same word order in Penan. The non-focused core argument indicated by underlining immediately follows the verb. Example (18) is in actor focus, (19) in undergoer focus. Examples (20) and (21) are in actor and undergoer focus respectively. They illustrate constructions in which the focused nominal follows the non-focused nominal. Note that if the construction were **bj ku' babui*, it would mean 'the pig carries me'. In (20) the verb *bj* 'carry' is unaffixed in actor focus, and in (21) it is unmarked for undergoer focus, but marked for completed action.

- (18) *Akeu' p-akan anak ko' nah.*
1SG.FOC CAUS-eat child your EMPH
I fed your child.
- (19) *N-akan ké' tenéh anak ko' rit de'.*
CM-eat 1SG.NF already child your just now
I have just fed your child.
- (20) *Bj babui ku'.*
carry wild.pig 1SG.FOC
I carry the wild pig.
- (21) *Ne-bj ké' babui.*
CM-carry 1SG.NF wild.pig
I carried the wild pig.

In Sa'ban and Penan, the focused nominal may occur before the verb or following the non-focused core argument, but the preferred position is before the verb. In Berawan, the focused undergoer may occur before the verb, or following the non-focused actor, but the

focused actor is restricted to a preverbal position. In all these languages (Lun Bawang, Sa'ban, Penan and Berawan) it is unacceptable to insert anything between the verb and the following non-focused core argument, not even an adverb or particle.

In Melanau and the languages of south-east Kalimantan, the non-focused core argument follows the verb, as in the languages of Sarawak. The preferred position for the focused nominal seems to be before the verb. It was not possible to check if it could occur elsewhere.

Examples (22) and (23) are from Ma'anyan (Sundermann 1912:216); examples (24) and (25) from Ot Danum (Budi Santoso et al. 1984-85). Examples (22) and (24) are in actor focus, (23) and (25) in undergoer focus. The verb in (23) is an unaffixed root. The non-focused core arguments are underlined.

- (22) *Aku haut ng-alap ni.*
 1SG.FOC already AF-take 3SG.NF
 I have taken it.
- (23) *Surat hia haut alap ku.*
 book this already take 1SG.NF
 I have taken the book.
- (24) *Ahku nonge kunci aang Ali.*
 1SG.FOC give key to Ali
 I give the key to Ali.
- (25) *Ahku k-an-awat iyo atuh.*
 1SG.NF R-CM-help 3SG.NF this
 This person helped me.

Examples (26) and (27) are from Sa'ban. They illustrate the importance of word order to signal relationships within the clause. In (26) the verb affix which indicates completed action also implies undergoer focus so the pronoun following the verb is the non-focused actor. In (27) the affix indicates actor focus so the pronoun following the verb is the non-focused undergoer (compare examples (9) and (10)). The non-focused argument following the verb is underlined.

- (26) *Yuet noknai i-toe' ék.*
 monkey this CM-drop 1SG
 I dropped the monkey.
- (27) *Yuet noknai n-toe' ék.*
 monkey this AF-drop 1SG
 The monkey dropped me.

In some languages, such as Sa'ban or Penan, where the nominals are unmarked for focus, there are examples of verbs occurring without affixes or with the same affixation in both actor and undergoer focus constructions. In such cases an understanding of the clause is wholly dependent on word order. Examples (48) and (49) illustrate this.

Word order in Dusunic or Murutic languages may be flexible, but I would suggest that, in fact, in non-actor focus clauses the non-focused actor commonly follows the verb. Kroeger (1988:239) notes that non-focused actor pronouns occur in clause-second position. The pattern does not appear to be as rigid as in Lun Bawang, since in some languages, particles may occur between the verb and the non-focused actor. Examples (28) - (30) from

Kimaragang, Tombonuo and Timugon respectively, illustrate the occurrence of non-focused actor pronouns, immediately following the verb. They are underlined.

- (28) *Patay-on kuh it wulanut.*
kill-UF 1SG.NF NM.FOC snake
I will kill the snake.
- (29) *Waal-on ku walo*i* tu.*
make-UF 1SG.NF house this
I am making this house.
- (30) *Pimping-on mai kou.*
thrash-UF 1PL.EXC.NF 2SG.FOC
We will thrash you.

3. VERB AFFIXATION

In focus languages, the semantic role of the nominal is cross-referenced by the verbal affix. These affixes are remarkably consistent across the range of Western Austronesian languages, and occur too in the languages of Borneo. This paper examines the focus affixation of eventive verbs in main clauses.

3.1 FOCUS AFFIXATION IN THE LANGUAGES OF SABAH

The focus affixation of verbs in the languages of Sabah has been admirably summarised by Boutin (1988b). He concludes that the most common focus types are actor (AF), undergoer (UF) and benefactive (BF), followed by instrument (IF) or locative (LF). The affixation associated with these focus types is summarised in Table 6, which is based on Boutin (1988b:63).

TABLE 6: FOCUS AFFIXES OF FIVE LANGUAGES OF SABAH

Language	AF	UF	BF	IF	LF
BI	<i>ng-, g-</i>	<i>-Vdn</i>	<i>-adn</i>	<i>pVN</i>	—
CK	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	—	—
KM	<i>m-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>poN-</i>	<i>poN--an</i>
TO	<i>m-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>i-</i>	—
TM	<i>ma-, -um-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>redup</i>	<i>-an</i>

In Dusunic languages, the actor focus *m-*, an allomorph of *-um-*, is found in intransitive verbs; *m-* occurs before vowel-initial roots and *-um-* is infixes following the initial consonant of consonant-initial roots. In transitive verbs, actor-focus marker *m-* merges with the transitive prefix *poN-* to give *moN-*, the final nasal of which assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the root, or occurs as *ng-* before vowels (Hurlbut 1988:43; Kroeger 1988:222). A similar situation obtains in Timugon (Brewis & Levinsohn 1991:31-32). In the Dusunic, Murutic and Paitanic languages of Sabah, the focus affixes combine with other affixes of aspect and the like, to produce a rich and highly complex inventory of affixation (see, for example, Prentice 1971; Hurlbut 1988). Examples (31) - (34) are simple clauses chosen to illustrate the use of the focus affixes in Tombonuo. Example (31) is in actor focus, signalled by the *m-* prefix on the verb and the use of a focus

pronoun for the actor. The affix *poN-* signals a transitive verb. Example (32) is in undergoer focus signalled by the *-on* suffix, and the undergoer is unmarked. Example (33) is in benefactive focus (King calls it referent focus) signalled by the suffix *-an* on the verb and by the occurrence of a focus pronoun for the indirect object. Example (34) is in instrument focus signalled by the *i-* prefix and by the zero marking on the instrument. In the examples, the focus affix and the focused argument are underlined.

- (31) Mongalap (*m-poN-alap*) aku *nu* *undalo*.
 AF-TR-take 1SG.FOC NM.NF net
 I will take the net.
- (32) Lostik-on *ku* pompulu *no*.
 catapult-UF 1SG.NF FOC.bird SP
 I will shoot the bird (with a catapult).
- (33) Woli-an *niyo* aku *nu* *gitar*.
 sell-BF 3SG.NF 1SG.FOC NM.NF guitar
 He will sell me the guitar.
- (34) I-waal *ku* papan *tu*.
 IF-build 1SG.NF FOC.wood this
 I am building with this wood.

3.2 FOCUS AFFIXATION IN LUN BAWANG

In Lun Bawang, there are three sets of pronouns, but no noun markers. The non-focused argument follows the verb. There are three types of focus: actor, undergoer and instrument (Clayre, B. 1991).

The typical actor-focus affix *-um-* of Philippine-type languages occurs in Lun Bawang, usually as *-em-* (*m-* with vowel-initial roots) but, like Dusun and Timugon, only with intransitive verbs: for example, *l-em-angui* 'swim' (example (35)) or *t-um-ui* 'wake'. Another group of intransitive verbs in Lun Bawang is distinguished by its lack of affixation in actor-focus contexts, for example, *rudap* 'sleep' (example (36)) or *upun* 'run'. Completed action is signalled by prefixing *ne-* to the verb, for example, *nelemangui* and *nupun*.

In transitive verbs, actor focus is signalled by a nasal prefix *N-* which is phonologically conditioned by the initial phoneme of the root. Roots with initial stops replace the stop by a homorganic nasal, roots beginning with *l* or *r* take *nge-*, roots beginning with a vowel take *ng-*.¹⁵ Completed action in actor focus is signalled by prefixing *ne-* to the verb stem marked for actor focus, for example, *maré/nemaré* from the root *baré* 'give', or *ngerarak/nengerarak* from the root *rarak* 'tear'.

Undergoer focus is marked by the suffix *-en* if the action is uncompleted, for example, *barén* 'be given'. If the action is completed undergoer focus is unmarked, but completed action is marked by *-in-* which is infixed following the initial consonant of the root or prefixed to vowel-initial roots.¹⁶ In certain disyllabic roots beginning with a consonant in

¹⁵ Verb roots beginning with *j* or *s* are uncommon in Lun Bawang, and there is some variation in the realisation of the *N-* prefix occurring with them.

¹⁶ In Lun Bawang, the completed action infix, *-in-*, is restricted to undergoer-focus constructions. It is not found in actor or instrument focus, where completed action is signalled by *ne-* prefixed to all other prefixes. This contrasts with, for example, Coastal Kadazan where *-in-* marks completed action across the

which the first vowel is *a* or *ə*, this infix is realised as *-i-* replacing that vowel.¹⁷ These allomorphs are illustrated in Table 7. It is typical of Lun Bawang and other languages of north-central Sarawak, that the undergoer in undergoer-focus clauses is definite.

TABLE 7: ALLOMORPHS OF *-in-* IN LUN BAWANG

Root	<i>-in-</i>	
<i>baré</i>	<i>biré</i>	give
<i>bulu'</i>	<i>b-in-ulu'</i>	cut
<i>anid</i>	<i>in-anid</i>	share

In instrument focus the verb is marked by the prefix *piN-* to which the prefix *ne-* is added to indicate completed action, for example, *pimeli/hepimeli* from the root *beli* 'buy' (see example (39)).

Lun Bawang focus affixes are summarised in Table 8.

TABLE 8: FOCUS AFFIXES IN LUN BAWANG

Verb	Aspect	AF	UF	IF
Intransitive	UCM	stem, <i>-em-</i> , <i>m-</i>	—	—
Intransitive	CM	<i>ne-stem</i> , <i>ne--em-</i> , <i>m-</i>	—	—
Transitive	UCM	<i>N-</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>piN-</i>
Transitive	CM	<i>ne-N-</i>	<i>-in-</i> , <i>-i-</i> , <i>in-</i>	<i>ne-piN-</i>

Examples (35) - (39) illustrate the use of these focus affixes in Lun Bawang. Examples (35) and (36) are actor-focus intransitive verbs, in (35) the verb is marked by the infix *-em-*, in (36) it occurs as an unaffixed root. Example (37) is in actor focus. The verb is marked by an *N-* prefix; the focused actor is a pronoun of set I. Example (38) is in undergoer focus. The verb is marked by the suffix *-en*, and the non-focused actor is a pronoun of set II. The instrument in this example is marked as an oblique by the preposition *ku* 'with'. Example (39) is in instrument focus. The verb is marked by the prefix *piN-*, and the focused instrument is unmarked (contrast (39) with (38) where the non-focused instrument is marked as an oblique). The non-focused actor in (38) and (39) is a pronoun of set II. Notice that in all the examples of transitive clauses, the non-focused core-argument follows immediately after the verb. The focus affixes and the focused nominals are underlined.

range of focus types, occurring infixed in the verb root or, if there are prefixes, following the initial consonant of the outermost prefix. This situation is illustrated by the following examples with the root *pigis* 'slice' from Ranau Dusun (Clayre, B. 1967:120-121,125):

Root	aspect	AF	UF	BF
<i>pigis</i>	UCM	<i>m-om-igis</i>	<i>pigis-on</i>	<i>pigis-an</i>
	CM	<i>m-in-om-igis</i>	<i>p-in-igis</i>	<i>p-in-igis-an</i>

Because in many Austronesian languages *-in-* signals perfective aspect in all focus types, this affix is often interpreted as marking perfective aspect rather than undergoer focus. According to this interpretation, undergoer focus is unmarked when the verb is in perfective aspect. Naylor has drawn attention, however, to the fact that in Tagalog *-in-* occurs with non-actor focuses, and suggests that it signals non-actor orientation (Naylor 1975:73). In this paper, the position adopted is that undergoer focus is unmarked (a view strengthened by the not uncommon occurrence of undergoer-focused verbs as unaffixed roots), and that *-in-* (or *-en-*) signals completed action or aspect.

¹⁷ A similar form occurs in Bonggi (Boutin 1988a:9); Melanau (Clayre, I.F. 1972:193-194, 1973b:253); Iida'an (Moody 1991:141), and I have noted occasional examples in Berawan.

- (35) *L-em-angui ieh neh.*
R-AF-swim 3SG.FOC PT
He is swimming.
- (36) *Anid-anid malem ui rudap pukul pulu'.*
each-each night 1SG.FOC sleep strike ten
Every night I go to sleep at ten o'clock.
- (37) *Ngekeb (N-kekeb) lacang nih ui atun.*
AF-cover pot this 1SG.FOC before
I'll cover this pot first.
- (38) *Beli-en ku lal neh ku usin nih.*
buy-UF 1SG.NF hen that OBL money this
I'll buy that hen with this money.
- (39) *Pimeli (piN-beli) ku lal usin nih.*
IF-buy 1SG.NF hen money this
I'll buy the hen with this money.

In Lun Bawang, the focus affixes described above do not combine with other affixes as they do in many of the languages of Sabah. In Dusunic languages, for example, the focus affixes may occur with affixes indicating reciprocal action, repetitive action, petitive action, pretence action and so on (Clayre, B. 1970:196; Forschner 1978:19-20; Hurlbut 1988:54-64; Miller 1985:149-150).

Three prefixes in Lun Bawang which were not considered in this survey because they do not occur with the typical focus affixes are: *peri-* repetitive action, *pe-* reciprocal action, and *si-* pretence action.

3.3 FOCUS AFFIXATION IN SA'BAN

Sa'ban has no noun markers, and only one set of pronouns. The non-focused argument follows the verb, but the focused argument is flexible and may occur before the verb or later in the clause (see §2.3 and examples (26) and (27)). Focus affixation in Sa'ban is much simpler than in Lun Bawang, since many affixes have been lost. There are two focus types: actor and undergoer. There is no instrument focus in Sa'ban.

Actor-focus intransitive verbs, which are characterised by the *-em-* infix in Lun Bawang, usually occur as roots in Sa'ban. Some verbs have a prefix *m-* but its occurrence is not yet predictable. Table 9 gives examples of intransitive verbs which take the *-em-* infix in Lun Bawang, and the corresponding Sa'ban verbs which occur as roots.

TABLE 9: INTRANSITIVE VERBS IN LUN BAWANG AND SA'BAN

Lun Bawang	Sa'ban	
<i>t-em-ulud</i>	<i>hlút</i>	fly
<i>l-em-aba</i>	<i>laba</i>	pass
<i>t-um-ui</i>	<i>to'oi</i>	wake, get up
<i>k-um-an</i>	<i>maen</i>	eat
<i>d-em-amu</i>	<i>lamu</i>	weed
<i>r-em-urut</i>	<i>hroen</i>	descend

<i>s-em-ua'</i>	<i>siwa</i>	substitute
<i>g-em-io</i>	<i>jjiew</i>	move (of body part)

Actor focus in transitive verbs in Sa'ban is manifested by a diversity of prefixation. The most common prefix is a homorganic nasal preceding the initial consonant of the root, but *m-*, *la-* and gemination of initial consonants of the root also occur.¹⁸ A few roots, such as *alaek* 'take', occur without any affixation. Table 10 illustrates verbs in their actor-focus form in Sa'ban, together with the equivalent verb form in Lun Bawang.

TABLE 10: ACTOR FOCUS VERBS IN LUN BAWANG AND SA'BAN

Lun Bawang	Sa'ban	
<i>ngalap</i>	<i>alaek</i>	take
<i>ngabet</i>	<i>mabet</i>	tie
<i>ngerut</i>	<i>laruet</i>	sew
<i>maté</i>	<i>mataey</i>	die
<i>ngaté</i>	<i>mataey</i>	kill
<i>maman</i>	<i>mmaen</i>	feed
<i>maré</i>	<i>mraey</i>	give
<i>nelen</i>	<i>mlan</i>	swallow
<i>nibu</i>	<i>mbeu</i>	plant
<i>ngecuk</i>	<i>nsúek</i>	order
<i>ngetep</i>	<i>ntap</i>	bite
<i>ngiup</i>	<i>nyop</i>	blow
<i>ngekeb</i>	<i>ngkap</i>	cover
<i>nakap</i>	<i>ngkaep</i>	search
<i>mano</i>	<i>nnaew</i>	steal
<i>nier</i>	<i>nnal</i>	see
<i>nupak</i>	<i>mmét</i>	kick
<i>narak</i>	<i>rraek</i>	tear
<i>ngepid</i>	<i>llit</i>	entwine

There is no affix to signal completed action in actor focus in Sa'ban. If it is necessary to indicate that the action of the verb has already happened the word *pi* 'already' is used, as in example (40).

- (40) *Nnu' pi n-tung ma' deh yai.*
 enemies already AF-burn house their yonder
 Enemies had burnt their house yonder.

In Sa'ban, undergoer focus occurs almost exclusively in completed aspect. Only two examples of verbs in non-completed aspect, and undergoer focus have been recorded. They occur with the suffix *-en*, similar to the Lun Bawang suffix, but in Sa'ban the form has become fossilised. The two verbs which retain this suffix, *ri-en* 'be given' and *u-en* 'be done' or 'be made', are also among the very few verbs which retain an imperative construction in undergoer focus, which incorporates the fossilised remains of an earlier genitive pronoun set, as in *riem* 'be given!', and *uem* 'be done!' or 'be made!' (see §2.2.2).

¹⁸ Sa'ban verb morphology is still being studied. The use of the prefix *la-* may relate to a prefix *le-* which is found in Kayan and Murik.

The use of *uen* will be discussed in §4 since it is used in the formation of other undergoer-focus constructions. Example (41) illustrates the use of a verb in undergoer focus and non-completed aspect. The actor, being non-focused, occupies the position immediately following the verb.

- (41) *Ri-en deh si' angah, si' anak wéet.*
 give-UF 3PL one plate one child ladle
 A plate and a small ladle will be given.

Undergoer-focus verbs signal completed aspect by adding the prefix *i-* to the root. Roots which begin with the vowel *a*, take the prefix *y-*. Examples (42) - (44) illustrate undergoer-focus constructions with the completed action prefix *i-* or *y-*, indicated by underlining.

- (42) *Ken pah si' éek réek i-raey tama né 'éek?*
 Q where one 1SG beer CM-give father to me
 Where is the portion of beer father gave to me?
- (43) *Alút noknai y-abet éek.*
 boat this CM-tie 1SG
 I tied up this boat.
- (44) *Nueng anak éek y-amét ieh.*
 face child my CM-scratch 3SG
 He scratched my child's face.

Focus signals in Sa'ban are very limited. There are no markers on the nominals, and no distinctive sets of pronouns. Affixes mark most, but not all actor-focus transitive verbs. Undergoer focus is unmarked, except for the rare occurrences of this focus in uncompleted aspect; *i-* occurs on undergoer-focus verbs in completed aspect. Word order becomes critical for signalling the focal relationships within the clause. This means that Sa'ban shows a move from a morphological marking of focus to a syntactic marking. Word order in Sa'ban follows the pattern discussed earlier in §2.3. The non-focused core argument follows immediately after the verb, while the focused argument has more flexibility. Examples (26) and (27) illustrate the importance of word order in Sa'ban. In (26) the verb is in undergoer focus, and is marked for completed aspect, in (27) it is in actor focus marked by *n-*. In both examples, the non-focused nominal follows the verb (see also examples (9) and (10)).

3.4 FOCUS AFFIXATION IN PENAN

In Penan, there are no noun markers. There are two sets of pronouns (Table 4). Word order is important: the non-focused core argument follows the verb, but the focused nominal may occur before the verb or following the non-focused core argument (examples (18) - (21), and §2.3).

The situation with regard to focus affixation, particularly actor-focus affixation, is complex in Penan, and this account is preliminary, based on an examination of some 300 verbs.

Penan roots are typically disyllabic, but they are very difficult to isolate. The most common actor-focus prefix with transitive, eventive verbs is *m-*, which presumably occurs mostly with vowel-initial roots, since there is little clear evidence for the replacement of initial bilabials by *m-*. Roots beginning with *t*, *s*, *k* or *g* (often noun roots) replace the initial

consonant by a homorganic nasal *n-*, *ny-* [ɲ] or *ng-* [ŋ]. A number of roots occur in actor focus without any affixation, for example *alā* 'take' or *bj* 'carry on the back' (examples (4) and (20)). Roots beginning with *j*, *l*, *r* and *v* [β] prefix *nge-* to the root making them trisyllabic. In many cases *nge-* appears to be a transitivity marker (particularly with stative roots), for example *diva* 'low' and *ngediva* 'to lower'. Another prefix which functions as a transitivity marker (or a one-event causative) is *pe-*, which can also produce a trisyllabic verb.

Completed action in actor focus is not marked by an affix, the word *lepah* 'already' is used before the verb (see fn. 20).

In my data undergoer-focus constructions rarely occurred in non-past contexts. In the few examples recorded, the verb was unmarked for either focus or aspect, while in the case of the verb *alā* 'take' the root occurred in a reduced form as seen in example (47) where *lā* is the undergoer focus, non-completed aspect form of *alā*.

Completed aspect in undergoer focus is signalled by *n-*, *ne-* or *-en-*: *n-* replaces the actor-focus prefix *m-* (example (5)), *ne-* is prefixed to bilabial initial roots which occur as unaffixed roots in actor focus (in my data, these are mostly monosyllabic roots, see example (21)), and *-en-* occurs in other disyllabic roots. It is, however, a curious fact that *-en-* occurs predominantly with roots beginning with *t*, *s* or *k*.¹⁹ If the *nge-* prefix forms a verb of three syllables, *-en-* does not occur, instead *nge-* is replaced by *ke-* (Table 11). Verbs with the prefix *pe-* remain unchanged in this aspect (examples (48) and (49)).

The infix *-en-* must, like its counterpart in Lun Bawang, be a reflex of PAN **-in-*. In Penan, this infix which only occurs in undergoer-focus contexts, is restricted to disyllabic roots and, for reasons which are not yet understood, is limited largely to roots beginning with *t*, *s* and *k*. Otherwise this affix occurs as the prefix *n-* and less commonly as *ne-*.

Another unusual feature of the use of the *-en-* infix in Penan is that, despite its basic meaning of completed aspect, it can occur with the particle *juk* 'future intention' to indicate action to be completed in the future (example (50)).

Table 11 provides examples of the actor and undergoer focus forms of Penan verbs. Notice that the verbs *nga'at* 'bite' and *ta'an* 'see', are unmarked in undergoer focus and completed aspect. This is typical of the rare *g* initial roots but unusual for a *t* initial root.

TABLE 11: PENAN VERBS

Actor focus (UCM aspect)	Undergoer focus (CM aspect)	
<i>mena'</i>	<i>nena', na'</i>	give
<i>nokok</i>	<i>tenokok</i>	peck
<i>nekelak</i>	<i>tekelak</i>	chase
<i>nyatek</i>	<i>senatek</i>	cut (with parang)
<i>nyekipak</i>	<i>sekipak</i>	carry over shoulder
<i>ngamit</i>	<i>kenamit</i>	hold
<i>ngelepu</i>	<i>kelepu</i>	set free
<i>nga'at</i>	<i>ga'at</i>	bite
<i>ngejeret</i>	<i>kejeret</i>	tie
<i>ngelawan</i>	<i>kelawan</i>	fight back

¹⁹ I recorded only three examples of *-en-* with roots not beginning with *t*, *s* or *k*. Two of these were stative roots: *b-en-ila* 'split' and *p-en-atai* 'killed'. The third example was *p-en-itah* 'searched'.

<i>ngeripen</i>	<i>keripen</i>	enslave
<i>ngevelé'</i>	<i>kevelé'</i>	choose
<i>ala</i>	<i>nalā</i>	take
<i>bĭ</i>	<i>nebĭ</i>	carry on back
<i>na'at</i>	<i>ta'an</i>	see
<i>petawang</i>	<i>petawang</i>	lose something
<i>ngediva'</i>	<i>kediva'</i>	lower something

Examples (45) - (49) illustrate the use of actor- and undergoer-focus constructions in Penan. Example (45) is an actor-focus clause. The verb is not affixed, but the use of a set I pronoun for the actor signals that the actor is in focus, and the undergoer follows the verb. Note that if the actor had been a proper name, the focus would have been signalled by word order alone. Example (46) is in undergoer focus. The verb affix *n-* indicates completed aspect, and the non-focused actor, a pronoun of set II, follows the verb. Example (47) is also in undergoer focus but with non-completed aspect. The verb occurs as a reduced root, and the non-focused actor, a pronoun of set II, follows the verb. Examples (48) and (49) illustrate a verb root prefixed with the causative prefix *pe-* which does not change for undergoer focus (48). The focused nominal is indicated by word order, and by the pronoun sets. In example (48) the actor is a pronoun of set II, the non-focused actor set, and it occurs in the non-focused position following the verb (i.e. undergoer focus). In example (49) the actor is a pronoun of set I and precedes the verb (i.e. actor focus). Example (50) illustrates the use of *juk*, meaning 'future intention', in an undergoer-focus construction in which the head verb, *benila*, is marked with the completed aspect infix, *-en-*.

- (45) *Akeu' ala bā lem bolo'.*
1SG.FOC take water in bamboo (container)
I fetch water in the bamboo container.
- (46) *Bā inah n-ala ké' lem bolo'.*
water that CM-take 1SG.NF in bamboo (container)
I fetched the water in the bamboo container.
- (47) *Bā inah nah dā lā ké' éh.*
water that EMPH FUT take 1SG.NF 3SG.FOC
I'll take that water later on.
- (48) *Aseu' ké' pe-tawang néh tong tana.*
dog my TR-lose 3SG.NF in forest
He lost (deliberately) my dog in the forest.
- (49) *Iah pe-tawang aseu' ké' tong tana.*
3SG.FOC TR-lose dog my in forest
He lost (deliberately) my dog in the forest.
- (50) *Pina bolq nah juk b-en-ila ké'.*
several bamboo that intend R-CM-split 1SG.NF
I intend to split those bamboo canes.

Another type of undergoer-focus construction found in Penan will be discussed in §4.

3.5 BERAWAN

Berawan has two focus types: actor and undergoer. There are no noun markers, but there are two sets of pronouns, of which set II indicates the non-focused actor (Table 4). The non-focused nominal follows the verb. The focused actor is restricted to a preverbal position, but the focused undergoer has more flexibility (see §2.3).

Perhaps because the focused actor is syntactically marked by its preverbal position, focus marking on the verb is less important in Berawan. Certainly Berawan demonstrates a greater variation in actor-focus forms than any of the languages already described. This study is still at a preliminary stage and, as with Penan, difficulties have been encountered in trying to isolate the roots. Table 12 provides examples of Berawan verb affixation.

In three-quarters of the verbs studied, actor focus is signalled by an *N*-prefix: *n-*, *ny-* [ɲ] and *ng-* [ŋ] replace initial *t*, *s* and *k* respectively, while *m-* (the most common prefix) occurs presumably with vowel-initial roots, and possibly with roots beginning with a bilabial stop. *Nge-* occurs before initial *j*, *l* or *r*.

Two other groups of verbs are marked in actor focus by an initial *k* or initial *p*, for example *kicun*, 'give' and *pukaa'* 'search' (Table 12). Still other verbs, such as *dikka'* 'hold' occur as roots.

Intransitive verbs can be transitivised by adding *nge-* or *pe-* to the root.²⁰ These seem to be mostly stative roots, for example, *ngelubin* from the root *lubin* 'roll'.

Completed action in actor focus is not marked by an affix, the word *pengah*, 'finished', 'already' is used before the verb.²¹

Undergoer focus is unmarked. No non-completed action forms have yet been recorded. Completed action in undergoer focus is signalled in most cases by *-en-* or *n-*: *-en-* occurs with roots beginning with *t*, *s* or *k* which have an *N*-prefix in actor focus; *n-* replaces the actor-focus markers *m-*, *k-* or *p-* described above (examples (6) - (8)). If prefixation with *nge-* forms a verb of more than two syllables, the *-en-* infix does not occur in completed aspect, but the *nge-* prefix is replaced by *ke-* (examples (51) and (52)). There are a few examples of verbs where the vowel of the first syllable changes to *i* in completed aspect and undergoer focus, for example *tammang/timmang* 'fell a tree', or *mengan/bingan* 'strangle'. A fossilised example of the PAN infix **-in-* is found in *k-in-an* 'be eaten'. Table 12 gives examples of the types of verb affixation just described.

²⁰ Some verbs in Berawan seem to be able to take both prefixes, for example, *ngelako'* and *pelako'* are transitive forms of the intransitive root *lako'* 'to peel'. My Berawan helper was unable to distinguish any difference between them.

²¹ *Pangah* can also be used in Lun Bawang to indicate action that is already finished or completed. In Melanau, the particle *nga'* is used in the same way. *Pengah* is probably cognate with *pongo* in Timugon, and *pungo* in Ida'an which are verb roots meaning 'finish'. The Lundayeh dialect of Lun Bawang has a verb *mangeh* 'finish'. In Bonggi, an auxiliary verb *punga* is used to indicate finished action. Both Timugon and Ida'an have a verb root *lupus*. In Timugon, it inflects and means 'finish'; in Ida'an, it has the sense of 'already' and marks the completion of activity. *Lepah* in Penan (and also in other Kenyah dialects) may be a cognate root. I am grateful to Michael Boutin, Richard Brewis and David Moody for providing the information on Bonggi, Timugon and Ida'an.

TABLE 12: EXAMPLES OF BERAUAN VERB AFFIXATION

Actor Focus (UCM aspect)	Undergoer focus (CM aspect)	
<i>nappan</i>	<i>tenappan</i>	slap
<i>nyippau'</i>	<i>senippau'</i>	shoot with blowpipe
<i>ngeppéh</i>	<i>kenéppéh</i>	squeeze between finger and thumb
<i>ngeleppé'</i>	<i>keleppé'</i>	fold
<i>murau</i>	<i>nurau</i>	make
<i>mango</i>	<i>nango</i>	beat, hit
<i>kicun</i>	<i>nicun</i>	give
<i>pukaa'</i>	<i>nukaa'</i>	search
<i>kuman</i>	<i>kinan</i>	eat
<i>nammang</i>	<i>timmang</i>	fell tree
<i>dikka'</i>	<i>dikka'</i>	hold, grab
<i>pelutto'</i>	<i>pelutto'</i>	float (transitive)
<i>ngeliliin</i>	<i>keliliin</i>	wind, coil (transitive)

Examples (51) - (54) illustrate actor and undergoer clause structure in Berawan. Examples (51) and (53) are in actor focus. In (51) the prefix *nge-* is added to the root *leppé'* 'fold', in (53) *n-* replaces the initial *t* of the root *tallah* 'slash'. Both roots are nouns. Examples (52) and (54) are in undergoer focus. In (52) the affixed verb consists of more than two syllables so completed aspect is signalled by the change of *nge-* to *ke-*. In (54) the root is infixed with *-en-* to indicate completed aspect. In all the examples, the non-focused core argument follows the verb.

- (51) *Akkoh ngeleppé' (nge-leppé') yuun.*
 1SG.FOC AF-fold sarong
 I fold the sarong.
- (52) *Yuun keleppé' koh.*
 sarong fold 1SG.NF
 I folded the sarong.
- (53) *Akkoh nallah (n-tallah) kajjuh.*
 1SG.FOC AF-slash wood
 I cut the wood (by slashing)
- (54) *Kajjuh tu t-en-allah koh nyaan puko'.*
 wood this R-CM-slash 1SG.NF with parang
 I slashed the wood with a parang.

3.6 OTHER LANGUAGES OF NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK

3.6.1 MELANAU

This account of Dalat Melanau is based on I.F. Clayre (1972). In Melanau, noun phrases are unmarked for focus, and the distinction between focus pronouns (set I) and non-focused actor pronouns (set II), is marked only in the first person singular (§2.2.2; Table 4). The non-focused core argument follows the verb, and the 'focal nominal' is said to take clause-

initial position (p.335). While this seems to be true of the focused actor, it is clear that the focused undergoer may occur following the verb and the non-focused actor (pp.445-446).

Two focus types are distinguished: actor and undergoer. Clayre divides transitive verbs into two main groups according to their affixation. He calls these MNP verbs and UIE verbs. In actor focus, MNP verbs take one of the following affixes: *m-*, *me-*, *-em-* or *meN-*.²² There is no affix to signal completed aspect in actor focus, this is indicated by the word *nga*. The use of undergoer focus in non-completed aspect does not seem to be a very common construction. Clayre (p.194) records one example of a verb used with the suffix *-en*, otherwise, the verb seems to occur as an unaffixed root.²³ Completed aspect in undergoer focus is signalled by one of the following affixes: *n-*, *ne-* or *-en-* (p.165). The UIE verbs are characterised by a vowel change, which both Clayre and Blust call an ablaut (Clayre, I.F. 1972:129, 190; Blust 1974b:170, 1988:166). In actor focus the first vowel of the root is replaced by *u*, while in undergoer focus, completed aspect is signalled by the replacement of the same vowel by *i*. The root vowel of these verbs is a schwa, and this form occurs in undergoer-focus clauses without an actor. Table 13 illustrates some examples of verb affixation in Melanau.

TABLE 13: EXAMPLES OF MELANAU VERB AFFIXATION

Actor Focus (UCM aspect)	Undergoer Focus (CM aspect)	
<i>makup</i>	<i>nakup</i>	scoop up
<i>mebin</i>	<i>nebin</i>	carry on back
<i>melei</i>	<i>benelei</i>	buy
<i>memiti</i>	<i>peniti</i>	send
<i>menyabit</i>	<i>senabit</i>	hang up
<i>kemakan</i>	<i>kenakan</i>	feed (transitive)
<i>subit</i>	<i>sibit</i>	tear

Clayre (pp.355-356) argues that benefactive, dative and locative focus are also present in Melanau. In these cases, the verb is marked as for undergoer focus, and the benefactive, dative or locative nominals occur in the "focal position" at the front of the clause, but stripped of the prepositions that would mark them as obliques elsewhere in the clause (example (59)).

Examples (55) - (61) illustrate the use of some of these affixes in Dalat Melanau.²⁴ In examples (55), (57) and (60) the verb is in actor focus, represented by the affix *m-* or by the *u* ablaut. Examples (56), (58) and (61) illustrate the verb in undergoer focus, in which completed aspect is marked by *n-*, *-en-* and *i* respectively. Example (59) illustrates Clayre's

²² Iain Clayre (1972:149-150) describes the following as allomorphs of the *me-* affix:

me- affixed to polysyllabic, vowel-initial stems.

meng- affixed to some polysyllabic, vowel-initial stems.

meN- affixed to polysyllabic stems with voiceless initial consonants. *N-* is a homorganic nasal, which replaces the initial consonant.

meN-/em- (in apparent free fluctuation) affixed to polysyllabic stems with initial velars, *k* or *g*

meN-/me- affixed to polysyllabic stems with initial *b*.

me-/em- (in apparent free fluctuation), affixed to polysyllabic stems with initial *j*.

me- affixed to all monosyllabic stems, and to polysyllabic stems with initial liquid or nasal.

-em- elsewhere.

²³ This focus and aspect is not discussed in I.F. Clayre (1972).

²⁴ The examples are taken from I.F. Clayre (1973b:245, 261, 264).

benefactive focus, where the oblique nominal, *a pedih*, occurs without any oblique marking, clause initially, in the "focal position".

- (55) *Akou m-atu' pedeng.*
1SG.FOC AF-pick.up sword
I pick up the sword.
- (56) *Pedeng n-atu' kou.*
sword CM-pick.up 1SG.NF
I picked up the sword.
- (57) *Akou m-elei ubat 'ih gim a pedih.*
1SG.FOC AF-buy medicine this OBL person sick
I buy this medicine for a sick person.
- (58) *Ubat 'ih b-en-lei kou gim a pedih.*
medicine this R-CM-buy 1SG.NF OBL person sick
I bought this medicine for a sick person.
- (59) *A pedih b-en-lei kou ubat 'ih.*
person sick R-CM-buy 1SG.NF medicine this
I bought this medicine for a sick person.
- (60) *Akou s-u-bit bajou 'ih peba' pakou.*
1SG.FOC R-AF-tear shirt this use nail
I tore this shirt with a nail.
- (61) *Bajou 'ih s-i-bit kou peba' pakou.*
shirt this R-CM-tear 1SG.NF use nail
I tore this shirt with a nail.

3.6.2 OTHER LANGUAGES OF NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK

Of the remaining languages investigated in north-central Sarawak, undergoer focus in Kayan is constructed rather differently and is discussed in §4. In Lepo' Ké and Murik no undergoer focus construction of the type described above could be elicited. Undergoer focus in these languages is also discussed in §4.

3.7 THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EAST KALIMANTAN

Since I have had no contact with the languages of this area, the conclusions reached from a study of the published materials available to me, are tentative and fairly general. Nevertheless, the evidence seems to indicate many similarities with the north-central Sarawak languages. It has already been established that in Ma'anyan, Ngaju and other Barito languages of south-east Kalimantan there are two classes of pronouns (Table 5), and that word order is significant (§2.3). The languages appear to make use of a greater range of affixes than is the case in central Sarawak, a fact which requires more investigation than was possible in this survey. Transitive verb, actor focus is signalled in Ma'anyan by prefixes such as *mi-*, *nang-* or *ng-*, and in Ngaju, by *m-*, *ma-* or *maN-*.²⁵ Completed action is

²⁵ In Ma'anyan, *nang-* occurs before roots with initial *r* or *g*, *mi-* or *ng-* occur mostly in free variation before roots with initial *h* or an initial vowel, and *ng-* occurs elsewhere. *Ng-* also forms a homorganic

indicated in Ma'anyan by the word *haut* 'already', 'done' (Sundermann 1912), and in Ngaju by *jari* 'have' (Epple 1933).

In undergoer focus, completed aspect is marked by *i-* in Ngaju,²⁶ and *na-* in Ma'anyan. Unaffixed roots also occur in undergoer-focus constructions, but they are not systematically described in any of the publications. They seem to occur in uncompleted aspect constructions, and in undergoer-focus imperatives, but they also appear to be used in other types of undergoer-focus construction (Gudai 1988:219; Hardeland 1858; Sundermann 1912; Epple 1933). The publications of the Language Department of Palangkaraya University show that similar forms exist in other languages of that area. Ot Danum, for example, marks actor focus by an *N-* prefix and completed action in undergoer focus by the affixes *iN-* or *-an-*.

3.8 SUMMARY

Table 14 is a summary of the most typical affixes used to signal focus and aspect in transitive verbs in the languages of north-central Sarawak and south-east Kalimantan.

TABLE 14: TYPICAL FOCUS AND ASPECT AFFIXES IN LANGUAGES OF NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK AND SOUTH-EAST KALIMANTAN

Language	Aspect	Actor Focus	Undergoer Focus
Lun Bawang	UCM	<i>N-</i>	<i>-en</i>
	CM	<i>ne-</i>	<i>-in-, in-, -i-</i>
Sa'ban	UCM	<i>N-, la-,</i> gemination	(<i>-en</i>)
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>i-</i>
Berawan	UCM	<i>N-, k-, p-</i>	not known
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>n-, -en-, -i-</i>
Penan	UCM	<i>N-</i>	root
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>n-, ne-, -en-</i>
Melanau	UCM	<i>m-, me-, -em-</i> <i>meN-, -u-</i>	root, <i>-e-</i>
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>n-, ne-, -en-, -i-</i>
Ma'anyan	UCM	<i>mi-, nang-, ng-</i>	root
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>-na-</i>
Ngaju	UCM	<i>m-, ma-, maN-</i>	root
	CM	$\emptyset$ -	<i>i-</i>

4. FOCUS: AN ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTION

An alternative way of producing an undergoer-focus construction was noticed in Lun Bawang and Sa'ban. This construction, which involves the use of the verb 'make' or 'do' as

nasal prefix replacing initial *b*, *n* or *k* (Gudai 1988). In Ngaju, the final nasal of *maN-* also represents a homorganic nasal which replaces initial *p*, *d*, *t*, *s* and *k* (Epple 1933).

²⁶ The prefix *i-* is omitted if it would produce a four-syllable word (Epple 1933).

a modal verb, was later found to be present in other languages of north-central Sarawak.²⁷ Table 15 lists the actor- and undergoer-focus forms of the verb 'make' in eight of the languages of north-central Sarawak.

TABLE 15: THE VERB 'MAKE' IN LANGUAGES OF NORTH-CENTRAL SARAWAK

Language	Actor Focus		Undergoer Focus	
	(UCM)	(CM)	(UCM)	(CM)
Lun Bawang (Long Semado)	<i>nganau</i>	<i>nenganau</i>	<i>ruen</i>	<i>(t)inau</i>
Lun Bawang (Trusan)	<i>ngaru'</i>	<i>nengaru'</i>	<i>ruen</i>	<i>tinaru</i>
Kelabit	<i>naru'</i>	<i>nenaru'</i>	<i>tu'en</i>	<i>senaru'</i> <i>saru'</i>
Sa'ban	<i>aro'</i>	-	<i>uen</i> <i>an</i>	<i>aro'</i>
Berawan	<i>murau</i>	-	<i>urau</i> <i>uten</i>	<i>nurau</i>
Penan	<i>maneu'</i>	-	-	<i>naneu'</i> <i>neu'</i>
Murik	<i>na</i>	-	<i>uen</i>	<i>en</i>
Kayan	<i>na</i>	-	-	<i>en</i>

4.1 LUN BAWANG

Focus in Lun Bawang is clearly signalled. The affixation on the verb signals the nominal which is in focus, and the nominal phrase itself may be identified by word order and, in the case of pronouns, by their set. There is, however, another type of undergoer-focus construction in Lun Bawang, which uses the verb *taru'* 'make' or 'do' as a modal verb.²⁸ In this construction, the head verb with actor-focus affixation, follows the modal verb which is affixed for undergoer focus, and the non-focused actor:

make (UF) + non-focused actor + head verb (AF)

The occurrence of undergoer focus in the modal verb has the effect of cancelling the actor-focus signals occurring on the head verb.

Examples (62) - (65) illustrate the use of the verb 'make' in Lun Bawang (Long Semado dialect). In examples (62) and (63) the verb *nganau* 'make' occurs in straightforward actor-focus constructions. In Examples (64) and (65), the verb 'make' is used as a modal verb to form an undergoer-focus construction (indicated by underlining). In example (64) the verb *ruen* occurs in non-completed aspect and is followed by the non-focused actor. In example (65) the verb *i-nau* is marked for completed aspect. The head verb in both examples occurs in actor-focus form.

²⁷ Further study of this construction, since this paper was presented at 6ICAL, suggests that it is more typical of stative verbs. It does, however, occur with eventive verbs (particularly in Sa'ban) as the examples show.

²⁸ The verb 'make' in Lun Bawang shows unusual dialectal variation (Table 15). The examples in the text are from the Long Semado dialect.

- (62) *Idi ideh ng-anau ace kukud dawan.*
 then 3PL.FOC AF-make one leg tripod
 Then they make a cooking tripod.
- (63) *Ui ng-anau neneh sedia' luun pagkung dei'.*
 1SG.FOC AF-make 3SG.NF.NA ready on mountain there
 I'll make her ready on the mountain there.
- (64) *Ru-en ku ng-isu' kilu' luk nan dalam neh.*
 make-UF 1SG.NF AF-change bend which exist road it
 I'll change the bend in the road.
- (65) *I-nau ku ng-egkar tarob di iamo na kelabil di buro.*
 UF-make 1SG.NF AF-shake blanket SP but not cockroach SP run.away
 I shook the blanket but the cockroach did not go away.

4.2 SA'BAN

The construction with the verb 'make' is less common in Lun Bawang than in other languages of the Apo Duat group, especially Sa'ban. The reason for this may be that other Apo Duat languages, such as Kelabit and Sa'ban, have a smaller inventory of affixes than Lun Bawang. Whereas in Lun Bawang, the focus of the modal verb is very clearly signalled by its affixes, in Sa'ban it is not. The verb *aro'* 'make' is marked only for undergoer focus in non-completed aspect (i.e. *u-en*, Table 15). Because of this, and the fact that Sa'ban has only one set of pronouns, the relationships within the clause are less obvious than in Lun Bawang. The construction is, however, parallel in both languages.

In Sa'ban, as in Lun Bawang, there are straightforward actor-focus constructions. This is illustrated in examples (66) and (67) where the verb *aro'* occurs as an unaffixed root with the actor pronoun preceding the verb, and the undergoer (the non-focused nominal) following the verb. *Aro'* can also be used with a causative meaning before an actor-focus verb. This is illustrated in example (68).

- (66) *Deh aro' nguen ieh.*
 3PL.FOC make coffin his
 They make his coffin.
- (67) *Dei deh aro' réek.*
 then 3PL.FOC make rice.beer
 Then they make rice beer.
- (68) *Éek aro' anak diep.*
 1SG.FOC make child sleep
 I put the child to sleep (bed).

Undergoer focus constructions with *aro'* in Sa'ban are parallel to undergoer-focus constructions with *ruen* or *inau* in Lun Bawang. *Aro'* occurs as a modal verb followed in the

non-focus position by an actor, the head verb follows with actor-focus affixation.²⁹ If the action of the verb is not yet completed *an* occurs.³⁰

Examples (69) - (71) illustrate the construction with *aro'*, (72) and (73) with *an*. The head verbs in (69) and (70), *mo'oi* and *ntok*, occur with actor-focus affixation. The non-focused actors, *deh* and *lun*, follow *aro'*. Example (71) is a stative construction which also uses *aro'* as a modal verb. The head verbs in examples (72) and (73), *mpaeng* and *lanét*, are in actor focus, the non-focused actors which follow *an* are *éék* and *ieh* respectively. The construction with *aro'* or *an* is underlined.

- (69) *Aro' deh m-o'oi lueng pangat noknah.*
made 3PL AF-raise post post that
They raise the *lueng* (ceremonial) post.
- (70) *Oh, si' céh hnaen ai, aro' lun n-tok lem yoeng tah leu*
oh one you mother SP made people AF-pound in rice.mortar also head
hnae-m, am tah ieh m-ataey.
mother-your not yet she AF-die
Oh, as for your mother, her head has even been pounded in a rice mortar, but she is not yet dead.
- (71) *Ieh m-roet aro' éék.*
3SG STAT-wound made 1SG
He was wounded by me.
- (72) *Ayeu noknai an ieh m-paeng.*
tree this make 3SG AF-cut.down
He will cut down this tree.
- (73) *Aka noknai an ieh l-anét.*³¹
pig this make 3SG AF-skin
He will skin this pig.

4.3 PENAN AND BERAHAN

An undergoer-focus construction involving the use of the verb 'make' as a modal verb, followed by a non-focused actor and a main verb, occurs in both Penan and Berawan. It is not very common in either language, and seems to occur most commonly with stative or intransitive verbs.

Examples (74) - (76) illustrate the use of this undergoer-focus construction in Penan, and (77) - (79) in Berawan. In all these examples, the actor is a non-focus pronoun of set II. Example (79) is an imperative in undergoer focus. The whole verb phrase is underlined.

- (74) *Alut ineh kaham neu' ké.*
boat that capsized made 1SG.NF
I capsized the boat.

²⁹ Or with the actor-focus form of the verb, since not all verbs in Sa'ban are affixed in actor focus (Table 11).

³⁰ *An* [ʌn] is presumably a Sa'ban contraction of *uen*, but it is very close to the Kayan *en* [ən] and occurs in a parallel type of construction, as seen in examples (80), (81), (87) and (88).

³¹ The inspiration for this example came from Blust (1977:41).

- (75) *Babui ineh pe-kulit neu' ké'.*
 pig that TR- skin made 1SG.NF
 I skinned that pig.
- (76) *Jah suhat neu' ké'.*
 3SG.FOC wound made 1SG.NF
 He was wounded by me.
- (77) *Jah suyeh nurau koh.*
 3SG.FOC wound made 1SG.NF
 He was wounded by me.
- (78) *Lagilaan neh pe-kennam nurau koh.*
 door that TR-close made 1SG.NF
 I closed that door.
- (79) *Uten noh ng-ena biwih.*
 make 2SG.NF AF-skin pig
 You skin the pig.

4.4 KAYAN, MURIK AND LEPO KÉ

None of these languages has a convincing undergoer focus of the type described in §3. A common clause type in Kayan, however, is an undergoer-focus construction formed with the word *en*.³² In this construction *en* is followed by a non-focused actor, and then by the head verb. The undergoer may precede or follow the *en* phrase. Example (80) illustrates the use of the *en* construction (underlined), which is closely paralleled by the Sa'ban example (81), and similar to the Penan example (75).

- (80) *Bavui anan en na' manit.*
 pig that *en* 3SG.NF skin
 He skins that pig.
- (81) *Aka noknai an ieh lanét.*
 pig this *an* 3SG skin
 He will skin this pig.

Murik is a member of the Kayan language group (Hudson 1978:32). An undergoer-focus construction using *en* also occurs in Murik, similar in every way to the Kayan examples, except that it cannot be used with all verbs. It could not be elicited, for example, with *manit* 'to skin'.

This construction is illustrated in examples (82) - (88), of which, (82) - (84) are from Murik, (85) - (87) from Kayan, and (88) from Sa'ban. Although, Murik and Kayan do not have undergoer-focus constructions of the type discussed in §3, they do have constructions similar to the actor focus of other languages of the area, together with verb prefixes, which in other languages would be typical of actor focus. Such prefixes (*ng-* and *n-*) are seen in examples (82), (84), (85) and (87). The pronouns following *en* in both the Murik and Kayan examples belong to the non-focused actor set (set II, Table 4). The *en* phrase is underlined.

³² See Clayre and Cubit (1974:55) where it is unfortunately called the 'action sentence' type.

- (82) *En na' ngaem i aruk re.*³³
en 3SG.NF capsize PT boat PT
 He capsized the boat.
- (83) *En na' tebang i na kayeu re.*
en 3SG.NF cut.down PT PT tree PT
 He cut down the tree.
- (84) *En na' nasa' i na uma re.*
en 3SG.NF destroy PT PT house PT
 He destroyed the house.
- (85) *En na' ngaham haruk anan.*
en 3SG.NF capsize boat that
 He capsized the boat.
- (86) *En na' teveng na kayo anan.*
en 3SG.NF cut.down PT tree that
 He cut down the tree.
- (87) *En na' nasa' uma anan.*
en 3SG.NF destroy house that
 He destroyed that house.
- (88) *An ieh laet ma' noknah.*
an 3SG destroy house that
 He destroyed that house.

The similarity of *en* phrases in Kayan and Murik to those with *aro'* in Sa'ban, and to related constructions in other languages from this area of Sarawak, suggests that *en* in Kayan and Murik, may originally have been an undergoer-focus form of the verb 'make'. This verb occurs today in both Kayan and Murik as *na*, as illustrated in example (89) from Kayan.

- (89) *Akui na uma.*
 1SG.FOC make house
 I make a house.

It is probable that both Kayan and Murik formerly had a more developed focus system (the verb affixes suggest this), but that all that survives of it today is the construction with *en* and some fossilised examples.

Lepo Ké does not have an undergoer-focus construction comparable either to the type discussed in §3, or to that formed with the verb 'make'. Brief encounters with two further Kenyah dialects gave similar negative results.³⁴ On the other hand, Penan, also a Kenyah language (Needham 1972:177; Blust 1974b:255-256) has both types of undergoer-focus construction. The evidence from Penan suggests therefore, that at one time Kenyah also had some type of focus system.³⁵ Despite the fact that Kenyah is one of the main language

³³ I am not able to explain further the particles *i*, *re* and *na*, which occur in the Murik clauses. In my data they occur only in this type of undergoer-focus construction. Similar-looking particles occur in Penan where they are used in anaphoric reference, or to indicate degrees of past time.

³⁴ The two Kenyah dialects were: Lepo La'an from the Baram, and Melasan from the Bahau River, Kalimantan.

³⁵ After preparing this paper, I had an opportunity to check Sebop, a Kenyah language closely related to Western Penan. It showed evidence of a focus system similar to that found in Eastern Penan.

groups of central Borneo, very little is known about the structure of the language. It would appear from Lepo Ké, however, that the focus system has been lost in Kenyah to a greater extent than it has been in Ma'anyan.

5. COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 THE BORNEO SITUATION

5.1.1 FOCUS TYPES

The Dusunic, Murutic and Paitanic languages of Sabah, like the languages of the Philippines, have four or more focus types (§3.1).³⁶ In the languages of Sarawak, with the exception of Lun Bawang, the number of possible focus constructions is reduced to two: the core arguments of actor and undergoer. This means that it is only necessary to mark one of the arguments for focus. In these languages, undergoer focus is commonly unmarked. Similarly, because there is only a two-way distinction in aspect marking (completed or non-completed action) only one need be marked. Actor-focus verbs are commonly unmarked for aspect, while undergoer-focus verbs are marked by *-in-* or one of its related forms. As a result, the main contrast in the verb morphology is between actor-focus verbs unmarked for aspect, and unmarked undergoer-focus verbs marked for completed aspect. This was not always the case in these languages: fossilised affixes, such as the *-en* suffix on verbs like *ri-en* 'be given' in Sa'ban, *kan-en* 'be eaten' in Berawan or *sud-en* 'be followed' in Melanau, suggest that at an earlier stage these languages also had a more complex system.

Lun Bawang, situated geographically between the languages of Sabah and the languages of north-central Sarawak, has three focus types: actor, undergoer and instrument, but the affixation for instrument focus has more in common with the actor-focus affixes than with the undergoer-focus affixes. The languages of south-east Kalimantan seem to pattern like the languages of north-central Sarawak.

5.1.2 FOCUS AFFIXATION

On the whole, the Sabah languages retain the basic Philippine-type focus affixes (Table 6). In north-central Sarawak, the reduction in focus types has led to a reduction in the number of affixes. It is characteristic of this group of languages, and also of the languages of south-east Kalimantan, that actor focus is signalled by an *N-* prefix, and completed aspect in undergoer focus by *-en-* or *ne-* (Table 14). Lun Bawang, alone among the languages of Sarawak, retains the suffix signalling undergoer focus in uncompleted aspect (*-en*), and the imperative suffixes in undergoer focus (Clayre, B. 1991:420-423). The infixes *-um-* and *-in-*, common in the Sabah languages, seem to be being lost in the languages of north-central Sarawak.

In the Dusunic and Murutic languages of Sabah, and in Lun Bawang, *-um-* (or *-em-* in Lun Bawang) is restricted to intransitive (actor focus) verbs (§3.1 and §3.2). This is also the case in the Malagasy languages (Dahl, pers.comm.). In Melanau *-um-* is preserved in the ablaut *u* and as *-em-*, both of which occur with transitive as well as intransitive verbs. In other languages *-um-* occurs, mostly as *-em-*, but is non-productive; *-um-* is fossilised in *k-um-an* 'eat' in Lun Bawang, Penan, Berawan, Ngaju and Bolongan.

³⁶ Only three focus types are recognised in Coastal Kadazan (Boutin 1988b:63).

In the Dusunic and Murutic languages of Sabah, *-in-* marks completed action in actor and non-actor focus clauses (Boutin 1988b:67-68; Brewis & Levinsohn 1991:31; Hurlbut 1988:31; Kroeger 1990:111-113). In Lun Bawang, *-in-* is restricted to verbs in undergoer focus (see fn.15). In Penan and Berawan it occurs as *-en-*, but it is restricted to disyllabic roots which mostly have an initial *t*, *s* or *k* (§3.4 and §3.5). In many languages of north-central Sarawak and south-east Kalimantan it is being replaced by the prefix *n-/ne-* or, as in the case of three-syllable Penan or Berawan verbs, lost altogether (see Tables 11 and 12).

In Lun Bawang, completed action in actor focus (and instrument focus) is signalled by the prefix *ne-*. There is no prefix in any of the languages of north-central Sarawak, or of south-east Kalimantan to signal this aspect in actor focus. Instead, completed action is indicated by words, such as *pengeh* in Berawan, or *lepah* in Penan, which both have the sense of 'already' (see fn.20). They occur before the verb which is marked by *N-* or some other actor-focus prefix.³⁷

Undergoer focus occurs predominantly with verbs marked for completed aspect (i.e for punctiliar action). Since the undergoer in these clauses is definite, it means that this construction brings both event and undergoer into sharp definition.

5.1.3 NOMINAL MARKING FOR FOCUS

The Sabah languages have a smaller inventory of noun markers than typical Philippine languages such as Tagalog. In north-central Sarawak and south-east Kalimantan there are no markers for common nouns. Some languages have markers for personal nouns, but these no longer follow the rules of focus. With few exceptions, pronoun sets across Borneo distinguish focused from non-focused singular pronouns, while plural pronouns are distinguished only in the Sabah languages (see §2.2.4).

The lack of nominal markers to signal focal relationships within the clause increases the importance of word order. The languages of north-central Sarawak consistently place the non-focused argument immediately after the verb. This pattern is also apparent in the languages of south-east Kalimantan, as seen in the available publications. The same pattern occurs in the Malagasy languages where the non-focused nouns always follow the verb (Dahl, pers.comm.). The focused argument in Malagasy occurs clause finally (compare with the focused instrument in Lun Bawang), but it can be placed at the beginning of the clause followed by the word *dia* (Dahl, pers.comm.). In north-central Sarawak the position of the focused argument is more flexible (see §2.3) and is probably determined by the rules of discourse, but this was not investigated further at this stage. It is evident, however, that in these languages the preferred position for a focused actor is before the verb, while in Berawan it is the only position permitted to a focused actor. This is not surprising since in Berawan, a *k-* or *n-* prefix can signal either actor focus (non-completed action) or completed action in undergoer focus depending on the verb root (compare *nammag* and *nango* or *kicun* and *kinan* in Table 12). Word order in such situations is important.

³⁷ *Pangeh* has also been recorded with verbs affixed for completed aspect in undergoer focus!

5.1.4 OBLIQUE AGENTS

It is typical of Philippine-type languages that the non-focused actor is not 'demoted' or introduced by an oblique. The languages of north-central Sarawak conform to this pattern, and the same pattern can be observed in the languages of south-east Kalimantan. In the latter area, however, some of the languages such as Tawoyan or Ot Danum also employ an oblique construction to introduce the non-focused actor or agent. In Ma'anyan, Darmansyah Gudai records the presence of an agent marker *daya*, the use of which is optional unless the verb and the agent are separated by another constituent. If the verb has no affix then the agent (the non-focused actor) must follow the verb (Gudai 1988:215, 219). This marker belongs, presumably, to a later stage in the development of the language. At the northern tip of Borneo there is another language, Bonggi, in which a non-focused actor may be introduced by an oblique. There the agent marker is *ga'* (Boutin 1988a:5). In the examples given by Boutin, it occurs predominantly with stative verbs. It may be significant, therefore, that in north-central Sarawak it is predominantly stative verbs which are found in the construction described here in §4.

5.1.5 MA'ANYAN

It is clear that Ma'anyan no longer has a complex focus system of the type still conserved by the Malagasy languages. It has not, however, lost the focus system altogether, but has retained elements of the system in relation to the two-core arguments of actor and undergoer. In this respect it shares many features not only with neighbouring languages, but also with languages of north-central Sarawak. This suggests that the processes of change which have affected Ma'anyan have been common to many languages of Kalimantan and Sarawak. Focus exists in Ma'anyan today, not in the classic Philippine form, but rather in a form which shares many features with languages spoken in north-central Sarawak.

5.2 THE SA'BAN SITUATION

Sa'ban and Lun Bawang belong to the same language group, but Lun Bawang has been shown to share many features with the languages of Sabah, whereas Sa'ban shares features with the north-central Sarawak languages, and even with Kayan and Murik. In 1974, Blust (1974b:251) commented on the "rapid, drastic and sometimes quite peculiar sound changes" which have taken place in Sa'ban. It can now be seen that changes affected the grammatical system too, resulting in a marked loss in the number of affixes, pronouns and focus types, together with changes in word order. Other Apo Duat languages, such as Kelabit, also show some loss of affixes, but none to the extent of Sa'ban.

This survey has revealed certain parallels between Sa'ban and the Kayanic language group. Sa'ban first and second person plural pronouns are closer to Kayan than to Lun Bawang (Table 4), and Sa'ban, along with the Kayanic languages, has lost the second person singular pronoun *mu* (§2.2.4). Then there are the similarities between the use of *an* or *aro'* in Sa'ban and the use of *en* in Murik and Kayan (§4.4).

The Murik were the traditional allies of the Sa'ban. They separated sometime towards the end of the last century, when some of the Murik people migrated into the Baram area, and others moved elsewhere in Kalimantan (Ngau Jalong 1989). The memory of the alliance is still strong among the Sa'ban people who often say that they are related to the Murik. The

Kenyah Lepo Ké have also had a long association with the Sa'ban, earlier in the region of the upper Bahau in Kalimantan, and now in the upper Baram area of Sarawak. Before migrating to Sarawak, the Sa'ban were relatively isolated from the speakers of other Apo Duat languages. In fact, their nearest Apo Duat neighbours to the north, the Long Ilo (Lengilu') people, were their traditional enemies.

In view of the fact that both Murik and Lepo Ké show little evidence today of a developed focus system, it seems likely that the loss of affixes and the loosening of the focus structure in Sa'ban can be attributed, at least in part, to areal pressure following the long association of the Sa'ban with the Murik and possibly the Lepo Ké.

APPENDIX 1: LANGUAGES AND SOURCES

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Bawo | A north-east Barito language of south-east Kalimantan. My only source was a mimeographed publication of the University of Palangkaraya (Rus Andianto et al. 1985-86). I am grateful to Sian Jay of St Antony's College, Oxford for drawing my attention to the publications of this university. |
| Bayan | A language of south-east Kalimantan (Andriastuti 1984-85). |
| Berawan (BR) | A minority language spoken on two tributaries of the Baram River in Sarawak: the Tutoh and the Tinjar. I am grateful to Timo Beliwán, Jacob Melai and Denny Belawing Wan (all from Long Terawan) for their help in this language. Use was also made of a word list compiled by Proctor (1979). |
| Bonggi (BI) | A language isolate spoken on the island of Banggi, off the north coast of Sabah. I am grateful to Michael Boutin of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information concerning this language. See also Boutin (1988a). |
| Coastal Kadazan (CK) | A Dusunic language spoken on the west coast of Sabah around Penampang and Papar. I am grateful to John and Carolyn Miller of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information on this language. Other Kadazan languages referred to in this paper are Eastern Kadazan, spoken in the Labuk-Sugut, Sandakan and Kinabatangan districts of Sabah (Hurlbut 1988); Ranau Dusun, spoken around Ranau (Clayre, B. 1967, 1970); Rungus spoken on the Kudat Peninsula (Forschner 1978). See also Kimaragang. |
| Ida'an | A language isolate spoken on the south-east coast of Sabah. I am grateful to David Moody of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information on this language. |
| Kayan (KA) | A Kayanic language spoken in central Sarawak and Kalimantan. The examples used in this paper are from the Uma Pu and Uma Peliau dialects. I worked in this language in 1966 (Clayre, B. 1970; Clayre & Cubit 1974). I am grateful to Long of Long Bedian for recent help in the language. See also Blust (1977). |

- Kimaragang (KM) A Dusunic language spoken at the south end of the Pitas Peninsula in north-west Sabah. I am grateful to Paul Kroeger of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information on this language. See also Kroeger (1988, 1990).
- Lepo' Ké (LK) A Kenyah dialect spoken on the headwaters of the Baram River in Sarawak, and the headwaters of the Bahau River in Indonesia. I am grateful to Tama Gerawat, originally from Long Malong, for his help with the language.
- Lun Bawang (LB) An Apo Duat language spoken in the north of Sarawak and over the border in Kalimantan. A group in south-west Sabah (where they are called Lundayeh) have migrated there in recent times from Indonesia. I worked on the language at various periods between 1969 and 1973, and more recently from December to March 1990-91 (Clayre, B. 1970, 1972, 1991). I gratefully acknowledge the award of a Small Personal Research Grant from the British Academy, and of a grant from the Committee for South-East Asian Studies of the British Academy which enabled me to carry out this research in 1990-91. Many Lun Bawang have helped me with their language, but Semion Lalung and John Labo deserve special mention and grateful thanks for their patience and help.
- Ma'anyan (MA) An East Barito language spoken to the east of the mid-Barito River in south-east Kalimantan. The only source available to me, when I was preparing this paper for 6ICAL, was Sundermann's account published in 1912. I have since seen the dissertation by Darmansyah H. Gudai, and have consequently been able to amplify some of the information in the present text.
- Melanau (ML) A language of coastal Sarawak, in the Third and Fourth divisions. Hudson (1978) classified it as belonging to the Rejang Baram group of languages. Blust (1974b) places it in his North Sarawak group. Sources used in this study: I.F. Clayre (1972, 1973b); Blust (1988).
- Murik (MU) A Kayanic language now spoken in two long houses on the Baram River. The Murik (also Ngurek) came originally from the upper Bahau in Kalimantan, where they were the traditional allies of the Sa'ban. I am grateful to Philip Saging Lejau of Long Semiang for his help with the language. I also used Blust (1974a).
- Ngaju (NG) A West Barito language spoken west of the Barito River in south-east Kalimantan. The only sources available to me were Hardeland (1858) and Eppele (1933).
- Ot Danum A north-west Barito language spoken in the upper reaches of the Barito River in Kalimantan (Budi Santoso et al. 1984-85).
- Penan (PE) The language (Kenyah group) of a nomadic people known as Eastern Penan. They live on the east side of the Baram River

between the Brunei border and the Kelabit Highlands (Clayre, B. 1970; Needham 1972:176-180). In 1967, together with Marjorie Britza, I prepared an outline grammar of Penan, which is currently being revised for publication in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*. I am particularly grateful to Garen Jengan, originally of Long Lamai, for his help with the language.

- Sa'ban (SA) An Apo Duat language spoken on the headwaters of the Baram River in Sarawak. The Sa'ban have migrated there in recent years, from the upper reaches of the Bahau River in Kalimantan. I lived in the Sa'ban village of Long Banga' for eighteen months in 1967-68 (Clayre, B. 1970, 1972; Clayre, I.F. 1973a). More recently a Small Personal Research Grant from the British Academy and a grant from the Committee for South-East Asian Studies of the British Academy made it possible for me to return to Sarawak to complete a study of focus in the Sa'ban language. I am grateful to the many Sa'ban who have helped me learn their language, but particularly to Balan Usat who worked with me in 1967-68, and again in 1990-91.
- Tawoyan A north-east Barito language spoken in central and south-east Kalimantan (Yos Ngabut et al. 1984-85).
- Timugon (TM) A Murutic language spoken in the district of Tenom, Sabah. Described by Prentice (1971). I am grateful to Richard Brewis of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who provided me with all the data on Timugon used in this paper.
- Tombonuo (TO) A Paitanic language spoken in the Labuk-Sugut and Pitas districts of Sabah. I am grateful to Julie King of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for information on the language.

APPENDIX 2: ABBREVIATIONS

AF	actor focus	NM	noun marker
BF	benefactive focus	OBL	oblique
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
CM	completed action	PT	particle
EMPH	emphatic	Q	interrogative
EXC	exclusive	R	consonant of root preceding an infix
FOC	focused item	SG	singular
FUT	future	SP	specific, definite
IF	instrument focus	STAT	stative
INC	inclusive	TR	transitive
LF	locative focus	UCM	uncompleted action
NA	non-actor	UF	undergoer focus
NF	non-focused		

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