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THE IBAN LANGUAGE OF SARAWAK
A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION

Thesis submitted for the
Ph. D. Degree
of the
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by
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a grammatical study of Iban, an Austronesian language, spoken in Sarawak, Malaysia. It commences with an account of the background of the people and their language, the aim and scope of the thesis, the collection of data and the method of describing the grammar.

Although the theme of the thesis is grammar, a chapter on phonology is included to justify the phonemic transcription of the examples given, and to elucidate certain statements on the morphological characteristics of Iban. Only a brief account of the various intonation types is given.

The grammatical description begins in Chapter 3, which treats the morphology of the language. The bound morphemes, comprising prefixes and one suffix, are classified into verbal and nominal morphemes. Reduplication is a morphological characteristics of the verbals and the nominals.

Chapter 4 classifies words into verbals, nominals and function words. These classes are divided into subclasses which can undergo further subclassification or cross-classification.

Chapter 5 discusses the phrases: endocentric and exocentric, simple and complex. Complex phrases are formed by

co-occurrence, embedding and conjoining. The latter two processes result in subordinative and co-ordinative complex phrases. All these phrases are classified into verbal, nominal and adverb phrases, which are then divided into types and subtypes.

The simple and complex sentences are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The simple sentences fall into four major types: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative. The subordinative complex sentences, formed by embedding, are considered according to the classes their subordinate clauses enter: adjectival, nominal or adverbial. Like the co-ordinative complex phrases, the co-ordinative complex sentences are described in terms of their types of conjoining, by co-ordinating conjunctions or parataxis.

Chapter 8 discusses the minor sentences of the contextual type only. This type consists of ellipses of declarative and non-declarative sentences.

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

[]	enclose phonetic symbols.
//	enclose phonemes.
{ }	(i) enclose a bound morpheme when one occurrence is involved. (ii) mean "choose one" when more than one occurrence of units are involved.
()	(i) in the formulation of rules, they denote option. (ii) in the translation part, they enclose words which do not occur in the Iban sentence, but which are necessary for the smoothness of the English translation.
-	(i) separates stems in reduplicated words. (ii) separates elements in a sentence-structure.
+	(i) separates a bound from a free form. (ii) separates the constituents of a phrase.
~	(i) indicates free alternation. (ii) indicates nasalization when superposed to a vowel.
→	means "rewrite as".
/p/	stands for pause.
?	stands for the question intonation.
!	stands for the imperative-exclamative intonation.

Adv	= adverb, adverb phrase.
Attrib	= attributive.
Aux	= auxiliary verb.
Ben	= benefactive.
C	= consonant.
Card	= cardinal.
Cl	= clause.
Coef	= coefficient.
Conc	= concession.
Cond	= condition.
Conj	= conjunction.
Dec	= declarative.
Dir	= direction.
du	= dual.
Emph	= emphasis, emphasizing word.
Equa	= equative.
Exc	= exclamative.
Gen	= genitive.
H	= head.
Im	= imperative.
Interj	= interjection.
inton	= intonation.
Loc	= locative.
M	= modifier.

Mn	= main (clause).
N	= noun.
Nasaliz	= Nasalization.
Neg	= negative word.
Nom	= nominal.
NP	= nominal phrase.
NP1	= subject.
NP2	= direct object.
NP3	= indirect object.
NPhr	= noun phrase.
Nuc	= nucleus.
Num	= numeral.
Numb	= number.
Obj	= object.
Ord	= ordinal.
Pas	= passive.
Phr	= phrase.
pl	= plural.
Pre	= prefix.
Prep	= preposition.
Pro	= pronoun.
Pro _d	= demonstrative pronoun.
Pro _p	= personal pronoun.
Pro _Q	= interrogative pronoun.
Propos	= propositive.
Purp	= purpose.

Q	= question.
Q _{tag}	= tag-question.
Q _{tv}	= truth-value question.
Q _{wh}	= question which does not require a truth-value answer.
Quant	= quantifier.
Quot	= quotative word.
R	= root.
Rea	= reason proper.
S	= sentence.
S'	= embedded sentence.
sing	= singular.
Suf	= suffix.
Temp	= temporal.
V	= (i) vowel (Chapter 2 only). (ii) verb.
V _{adj}	= adjective.
V _{adj-d}	= descriptive adjective.
V _{adj-m}	= manner adjective.
Vb	= verbal.
vd	= voiced.
V _i	= intransitive verb proper.
V _{in}	= intransitive verb.

- v_l = voiceless.
- V_{mid} = middle verb.
- V_{mid-a} = middle verb which can occur in the absence of an
 object.
- V_{mid-b} = middle verb which cannot occur in the absence of an
 object.
- V_{mid-prim} = primary middle verb.
- V_{mid-sec} = secondary middle verb.
- V_t = transitive verb proper.
- V_{t-a} = transitive verb proper which can occur in the absence
 of an object.
- V_{t-b} = transitive verb proper which cannot occur in the
 absence of an object.
- V_{t-do} = transitive verb proper which can take a double object.
- V_{t-prim} = primary transitive verb proper.
- V_{t-sec} = secondary transitive verb proper.
- V_{t-so} = transitive verb proper which only takes a single
 object.
- V_{tr} = transitive verb.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Background of the Iban People

The Iban people, also known as Sea Dayaks, live in Sarawak, which is located in northwest Borneo. Sarawak, once a British colony, gained her independence in 1963 together with British North Borneo (or Sabah), when the two joined Malaya and Singapore to form the Federation of Malaysia.¹

The state of Sarawak covers 47,000 square miles.² Her population consists of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. The former group comprises Ibans, Malays, Land Dayaks, Melanaus, Kenyahs, Kayans, Kelabits, Bisayahs, Muruts and Punans. According to the 1960 census, the indigenous people, numbering 507,252, form 68.1 percent of the total population of 744,529.³ The Ibans represent the largest group with a population of 237,741,⁴ which is 32 percent of the total population or 46.9 percent of the population of the

1. Singapore seceded from the Federation of Malaysia in 1965.

2. Human Relation Area Files, North Borneo. Brunei. Sarawak, (New Haven, 1959), p. 19.

3. Nigel Heyward, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, (Eastern University Press Ltd., Singapore, 1963), p. 42.

4. Ibid.

indigenous people. The non-indigenous people consist of the Chinese and other Asians as well as the Europeans.

It is because of their language, which is closely related to Malay, coupled with their physical characteristics that the Ibans are regarded as Proto-Malays. In other words, they belong to the same stock as the "true" Malays of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, deviating from the latter mainly in the fact that they are not affected by Islam and the Muslim Malay culture.

Due to their close association with the sea, these people were given the appellation of "Sea Dayak" by the rajah of Sarawak, Sir James Brook, in the late nineteenth century. Their other designation, "Iban", was given to them by the Kayans, one of the indigenous tribes of Sarawak. The word was adapted from the Kayan word "ivan", which means immigrant or wanderer. This name was given to them, because the Iban people, reputed to be bold and most aggressive of all the indigenous tribes of Sarawak, immigrated from Indonesian Borneo, and in Sarawak, they were all the time migrating and pushing other ethnic groups out of their settlements. According to certain ^usources, the period of Iban pioneer settlement in the major rivers of the Second Division of Sarawak ended only about 275 years ago.⁵

5. Benedict Sandin, The Sea Dayaks of Borneo Before The White Rajah Rule, (MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 28.

Before the two terms "Sea Dayak" and "Iban" were attached to them, these people did not have a word by which they could refer to themselves as a group. They commonly referred to themselves by the names of rivers or localities where they came from, such as /kami ?undop/, we the people of Undup, or /kami balaw/, we the people of Balau. More often they spoke of themselves as /kami mənəa/, where /mənəa/ can mean country, territory or even the locality of a single long-house. Nowadays, the expression /kami ?iban/, we Ibans, or /kami daja?/, we Dayaks, are frequently used by them. The former expression proves to be more popular especially among the people of the Third Division, although the term Iban did not come into general use until quite late in the nineteenth century. Even today, in the streets of Kuching, the capital of Sarawak, one is liable to encounter with someone who denies that he is an Iban but claims to be a Sebuyau or a Balau, whereas in actual fact, he is a Sea Dayak from a place with either of those names.

This practice of referring to themselves as a race by the names of their areas of habitat explains why the Ibans refer to the Malays as /laut/, which means sea or downstream. According to the Iban genealogies, when one of the Iban pioneers first met a Malay, he asked the Malay where he was from, and the latter replied that he was from /laut/. Ever since that

day, the Malays have been known to the Ibans as /laut/.⁶

The Iban settlements are situated along the banks of the major rivers in all the five administrative divisions of Sarawak. Their areas of concentration are mainly in the Second and Third Divisions. These rivers not only form their sources of water supply, but also their means of communication. For their livelihood, they depend on rice-cultivation and rubber.

The people live in longhouses. Each longhouse is an aggregation of separate family units, independent of each other. A family unit is referred to as a "door" (/pintu/), and a single longhouse may consist of more than 200 people. The head of the longhouse is known as /tuaj/, which literally means old. A chief or headman governs over several longhouses in a specified area. He is known as the /penulu?/, and the literal meaning of this word is one who leads or guides. The "offices" of the /tuaj/ and the /penulu?/ are not hereditary. Men are chosen to hold these "offices" on the basis of their valour, physical appearance, wealth and mastery of the Iban customs and traditions.

In matters of religion, a considerable number of the Iban people have become Christians. Nevertheless,

6. Ibid. , p.22.

a large majority still held on to their traditional beliefs, whereby reverence is paid to mythical and legendary heroes and deities. Their cult of /pətara/, god, shows traces of an influence from the Javanese and the Hindus. Among their deities are /səŋalaŋ buron/, a god identified with war, head-hunting and bravery; /simpulaŋ gana/, god of land; and /kumaŋ/, divine patroness of successful warriors. They also believe in spirits known as /ʔantu/ who, like the gods, have to be fêted from time to time with rituals and celebrations known as /gawaj/, in order to keep them contented. By holding a /gawaj/, the Ibans can assure themselves that the well-fed and contented spirits will not pester their people with illnesses and misfortunes, until such a time when another /gawaj/ is necessary, due to an illness or a misfortune befalling a member of the longhouse. The most-feared of all these spirits is the /ʔantu gerasi papa/.

The Ibans were known for their head-hunting tradition. The human head was the most-prized of all possessions, as it was the symbol of bravery. The head of the enemy was usually the dowry (/dərian/) which the bride's father demanded from the bridegroom, along with other highly-valued objects like valuable jars (/tad₃aw/ or /ʔalas/). The higher the status of the bride and her family, the more the fresh heads of enemies required as dowry. Iban tales describe feuds and battles after which the

victorious party returned with heads of enemies, which were ceremoniously received by the womenfolk, who placed them on their best-woven blankets, the /pua?/. Only the most respected members of the longhouse community were allowed the task of drying the heads and preserving the skulls. Head-hunting was finally made illegal by the British after the Second World War, but many Iban longhouses of today still take pride in the bunches of skulls which hang down as "ornaments" from the ceilings of the inner parts of their verandahs.

A very small percentage of the Iban population is literate in English, Malay or even in their own mother tongue. The Iban language is taught in vernacular schools, which are confined to the primary level only, and the variety that is considered as the norm is the one spoken in the Second Division, for the sole reason that most educated Ibans of today come from this area. The chief media in schools, business and administration are Malay and English. Besides fulfilling its role as the national language of Malaysia, Malay also serves as the lingua franca, particularly among the illiterate and the non-English educated sections of the total population. Knowledge of English is restricted to a very small percentage of the people who live in the major towns of Sarawak.

1.2

General Background of the Iban Language

Iban, or Sea Dayak, is a language of the Indonesian (Austronesian) family. It is distinct from Malay but closely related to it. The existence of certain structural as well as lexical affinities between the two languages has led several authors to treat Iban as a dialect of Malay.⁷

The similarity between Iban and Malay can be seen in the structures of phrases and sentences which are unmarked by special types of intonation, an inversion in word-order, emphasis, negation or an internal pause (cf. 1.5). The unmarked structures for both languages show a rigidity in word-order in which the modifiers follow the heads. An exception to this rule for both languages is a type of quantity phrase in which the modifier precedes the head (cf. 5.22.11.1). As far as the sentence-structures are concerned, the unmarked structures NP - VP and NP - NP - (Adv) form the major sentence-patterns of Iban and Malay. Even the marked structures, phrasal and sentential, stand as evidence that Iban and Malay are cognate languages.

The close relationship between the two languages can be further justified by the classification of their words into three major classes: verbals, nominals and function words.

7. A. A. Gense and E. M. Uhlenbeck, Critical Survey Of The Studies Of The Languages Of Borneo, ('s-Gravenhage - Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), p. 10.

The subdivision of these classes into subclasses in one language very much parallels that of the other (cf. Chapter 4).⁸

At the level of the morpheme, there are certain bound morphemes in the two languages which are almost ^{identical} similar in phonetic realizations as well as in grammatical functions. Such morphemes are as follows:-

	<u>Iban</u>	<u>Malay</u>
<u>Verbal</u>	{bə-}	{bər-}
<u>Affixes</u>	{di-}	{di-}
	{tə-}	{tər-}
	{sə-}	{se-}
	{-ka}	{-kan}
<u>Nominal</u>	{pə-}	{pə-}
<u>Affixes</u>	{sə-}	{se-}
	{kə-}	{kə-}

The nominal prefix {pə-} in Iban is partially similar to the Malay {pə-}. Both are class-changing, deriving nouns from verbs, but the difference between them lies in the subclasses of the nouns they derive. In Iban, {pə-} derives human, concrete and abstract nouns, while in Malay, {pə-}

8. A. H. Omar, "Word-Classes in Malay", Anthropological Linguistics, May, 1968, pp. 12 - 22.

derives human and concrete nouns only. Derived abstract nouns in Malay are formed by the suffixation of {-an} or the affixation of the discontinuous morphemes {pə - an}, {pər - an} and {kə - an}.

Apart from the ones given above, there are three more affixes in Iban, which complete the inventory of the bound morphemes in the language. These are the verbal affixes Nasalization, {ʔən-} and {kə - ka}. The functions of Nasalization and {ʔən-}, both of which indicate the active voice, correspond to that of the Malay {mə-} whose occurrence is always accompanied by the nasalization of the first phoneme of the root except only when the phoneme is /l/ or /r/. The Iban discontinuous morpheme {kə - ka}, which denotes causativity, corresponds to the Malay {pər - (kan)}.

Another morphological factor which separates the two languages lies in the inventories of their suffixes. The Malay language has three suffixes; one is the nominal suffix {-an}, and the other two the verbal suffixes {-kan} and {-i}. Iban, on the other hand, has only one suffix, and that is the suffix {-ka} whose functions and meanings are almost identical to those of the Malay {-kan}. Due to the presence of these suffixes, the Malay morphology is characterized by a number of discontinuous morphemes, whereas the only discontinuous morpheme in Iban is {kə - ka}.

Although the inventory of the suffixes in Malay exceeds that of Iban by two, the suffix {-i}, which is hardly used in spoken Malay, is not very productive and its functions in most words have gradually been transferred to {-kan}. In spoken Malay, the usages of these suffixes are most irregular. For instance, in the Kedah dialect of North Malaya, there is hardly any verbal suffix, while the nominal suffix {-an} has a very low frequency. The causative function of {-kan} is, in this dialect, fulfilled by the prefix {per-} or a verbal phrase consisting of two verbs, while its benefactive function is fulfilled by a prepositional phrase. A complex word with the suffix {-an} very rarely occurs in this dialect, for in its stead, a nominal phrase is used.

Reduplication, partial and total, is common to nominals and verbals of both the languages. It is most striking to note that in Malay and many other Western Austronesian languages, one of the functions of total reduplication of the noun is to indicate plurality, whereas this is not the case with such a reduplication in Iban (cf. 3.32.2).

Gender, number and tense do not form grammatical categories in Iban and Malay. In either language, the sex of a person or an animal is signified by certain nouns which follow the animate noun (person or animal) they modify. Number

is indicated by a number or a quantifier in a numeral phrase, while time and aspect are indicated by nominal and prepositional phrases and the aspect verbs.

The phonemic inventories of Iban and Malay seem to coincide. The only difference is that the rolled /r/ in Iban corresponds to the velar or uvular fricative in Malay, as spoken informally, although the variation for this in the formal variety of spoken Malay, especially the variety used in mass-media, schools and learned circles, is the rolled /r/. The free morphophonemic alternation between /u/ and /o/ in closed final syllables of polysyllabic words is characteristics of both Iban and Malay. The main phonological distinctions between the two languages are the centering vowel clusters and the complex syllable onsets, which exist in Iban only.

Iban, unlike Malay, does not have the phonemes which are peculiar to borrowed words. The same can be said of loan-affixes, although as far as loan-words (from Sanskrit, Arabic, English etc.) are concerned, they enter the Iban language via Malay. Scarcity of loan-elements in the Iban language is due to the fact that Iban is confined only to the Iban community and contact with the non-Iban world has only had a recent start. On the other hand, the Malay language (including the variety spoken in Indonesia) is much more widespread, as it has become the common language in insular Southeast Asia. Moreover, elements from languages which are neither geographically nor

genetically related to Malay , like Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, Dutch and English, have been assimilated into the Malay language in various periods in history since the first century A. D.

A portion of the Iban vocabulary can be predicted by Malay speakers and vice versa. This prediction is based on the prior apprehension of certain sound laws operating between the two languages; for instance, in some cases, in the context of a preceding /a/, the final nasal consonants in Malay correspond to /j/ in Iban. Exx.

Malay: /makan/ = to eat.

/pand₃aŋ/ = long.

Iban: /makaj/ = to eat.

/pand₃aj/ = long.

Nevertheless, this fact plus certain similarities in the structural factors discussed above do not sufficiently justify the classification of Malay and Iban as two dialects of the same language, as there is no mutual intelligibility between the speakers of the two media.

Although various research projects have been carried out, delving into the history and the cultural background of the Ibans, and publications on these subjects have appeared from time to time (cf. Section B of Bibliography for some of these publications), nothing so far has been done towards

describing the grammar of the language. If there is anything at all that is written on the grammar of the language, it is Burr Baughman's Speaking Iban, which was published by the Sarawak Information Service in 1963. This book aims at teaching the language at a very fundamental level to English speakers. It gives short sentences with their English translation and short notes explaining the usages of certain words in their grammatical as well as sociolinguistic contexts. Besides this book, there is the English - Iban Phrase Book: Bup Jako Inglis - Iban (Borneo Literature Bureau, 1965), which serves as a tourist guide and can hardly be called a grammar book.

Apart from N. C. Scott's article, "Notes on the Pronunciation of Sea Dayak" (published in Bulletin Of The School Of Oriental And African Studies, Vol. 20, 1957, pp. 509 - 512), there has not been any attempt to describe the phonetics of the language using modern linguistic methods.

In the domain of lexicography, so far only three dictionaries are available. Two of these dictionaries were compiled jointly by W. Howell and D. J. S. Bailey; they are A Sea Dayak Dictionary (Singapore, 1900), and An English Sea Dayak Vocabulary (Kuching, Sarawak, 1909). The first-mentioned dictionary contains a short grammatical account which is not of much significance. The third dictionary, which proves

to be superior to the first two, is N. C. Scott's A Dictionary Of Sea Dayak (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1956). In the introduction to his dictionary, Scott gives a scheme for the systematic spelling of Iban with a few remarks on its phonetics.

The Ibans do not have a writing system of their own, but through the efforts of Christian missionaries, the Latin alphabet has been adopted for the language. The writing board, known as /papan turaj/, does not really represent the existence of a writing system. The board does not have a fixed alphabet which can be used by everybody. It is used only by the ritual expert, the /ləmamban/, in his ritual incantations. The individual /ləmamban/ selects his own ideograph which will remind him personally of a particular verse or stage in his journey to the spirit world. His ideograph may or may not be intelligible to another /ləmamban/.

Due to the absence of a written tradition, the Iban literature consists wholly of oral tradition. It was not until quite recently that the Borneo Literature Bureau in Kuching started to put down the oral literature into writing (cf. Section C of Bibliography for some of these publications).

Oral literature in Iban consists of myths, legends, genealogies, ritual incantations, ghost and animal stories,

comical yarns, proverbs, riddles, songs of praise, welcome and satire. Young educated Ibans have attempted using their language as a medium for novel writing. An example is Andria Ejau, author of the novel Dilah Tanah (Borneo Literature Bureau, 1964). This novel describes the everyday life of the people in a longhouse community and their reactions towards the western orientated way of life under a new and independent government.

Before achieving Independence (within Malaysia) from the British in 1963, the Ibans were content with having to learn English and to learn to write in that language before they could even put their own vernacular into writing. Their linguistic fidelity to their own language germinated after independence, and as a result of this, The Society For The Promotion Of The Iban Language was formed towards the end of 1966. The ultimate aim of this Society is to make Iban the official language of Sarawak.

1.3

Aim and Scope of Study

The aim of this thesis is to give a description of the grammar of Iban.

Although the theme of the thesis is purpo^rted to be that of grammar, a chapter on the phonology of the language is included for several reasons. Firstly, this particular chap-

ter serves to present the phonemic inventory and the phonological system of Iban, and this is considered useful as Iban has never been described before. Secondly, in the morphological description of the language, the allomorphic changes can easily be clarified by relating them to the phonological characteristics laid out in Chapter 2. Thirdly, the description of the intonation in this chapter, though brief, provides the basis for characterizing the various types of sentences. Lastly, the setting up of the segmental phonemes paves the way for a phonemic transcription of the examples given in the thesis.

1.4

Collection of Data

The research on Iban was first undertaken by the writer in March - April 1964, during which time materials were collected from the Third Division, specifically from Sibu, Kanowit and Mapai. In October - November 1966, another trip was made to Sarawak, and this time, the areas of study were in the First and Second Divisions, specifically in Kuching and Betong.

A tape-recorder was used to record spontaneous conversations between two or sometimes three individuals, as well as narrations by single individuals. In the home-base in Kuala Lumpur, checkings were rendered possible by the

availability of native speakers there.

The weekly newsletter Sarawak Kerang Saminggu, issued by the Sarawak Information Office in Kuching, and some Iban publications, most of which are folk and animal stories (cf. Section C of Bibliography) also form sources of material for this study. As the written tradition with Iban is relatively new, the homogeneity of the language, spoken and written, still prevails. Homogeneity can also be seen among the dialects which differ from each other only in certain phonetic features and lexical items.

1.5

Method of Description

Units are set up for the purpose of describing the grammar of Iban on the following scale of hierarchy:-

Sentence

Clause

Phrase

Word

Morpheme

The place each unit occupies on the scale is termed level. The term structure refers to the linear arrangement of units at various levels, such that a structure is a structure of a given unit. When referring to a particular structure, the term marked or unmarked is used. A structure is marked if it is characterized by the following factors which have various semantic characteristics:-

- (i) An intonation other than the declarative intonation (cf. 2.6).
- (ii) An inversion in word-order.
- (iii) An emphasis, which is conveyed by a heavy stress or an ~~emphasizing word~~.
- (iv) Negation.
- (v) The presence of an internal pause.

Otherwise, the structure is unmarked.

The place of occurrence of a particular unit in a structure is referred to as the function of that unit; for instance, the noun or the nominal phrase functions as NP in the unmarked sentence-structures NP - VP and NP - NP - (Adv). A unit, except the highest, which functions as part of another unit on a higher level is an element of that unit. For the purpose of clarity, terms like subject, predicate and object (direct and indirect) are used as labels for the various elements of a sentence-structure.

The units, except the highest, are divided into classes based on their functions in a structure. The bound morphemes are classified according to their functions in word-structure, the words according to their functions in the structures of the phrase and the sentence, and the clauses according to their functions in a sentence-structure. The classification of the words also take into account their morphological characteristics, as there exists a correlation between the morpholo-

gical characteristics of a word and its syntactic class. All the classes are divided into subclasses which can undergo further subclassification. The subclass verb of the verbal word-class can also undergo a cross-classification.

From the phrase level upwards, the classes are divided into types and subtypes. This division is based on the subclass-membership of a particular element of the unit and the possibility of certain operations such as substitution and the insertion of a word or a sequence of words. The division into types and subtypes is also applied at the phonological level in the treatment of diphthongs and vowel and consonant clusters.

Units at various levels are seen in terms of their simple and complex forms. A unit is said to be simple if it cannot be reduced any further while remaining with the same function on the same level in the scale of hierarchy. Otherwise, it is complex. Complexity denotes the application of recursive rules in various ways.

At the phonological level, the term complex is used in the treatment of vowel and consonant clusters which function as complex syllable nuclei (or peaks) and complex syllable onsets respectively.

Complexity at the level of the word denotes the co-occurrence of morpheme (bound or free or both) which compose

the complex words, as opposed to the simple words which consist of single roots (or free morphemes). In this connection, the term simple and complex are also applied to the types of word-nuclei, such that a word with a single root is said to consist of a simple nucleus, while that with more than one root is said to consist of a complex nucleus. Apart from the complex cardinals, complex nuclei in Iban comprise a maximum of two roots which represent total reduplication.

Co-occurrence also represents a type of complexity at the level of the phrase, and it can be illustrated by the complex auxiliary verbs, the double negatives and so on. In co-occurrence, two units of the same level and class can function together as a single unit and exercising this function, they are inseparable, either by a pause or a word. An exception to this rule is the discontinuous complex unit (cf. 4.37.3).

The type of complexity which results from the application of the recursive rules, embedding and conjoining, characterize the structures of the phrase, the clause and the sentence. Embedding signifies the functioning of a unit of a particular level as an element of another unit of the same or different level. The first instance can be illustrated by the embedding of a nominal phrase as an element of a larger nominal phrase, and the second by the embedding of a subordinate clause as an element of a complex

sentence or nominal phrase. In embedding, the term matrix is used to refer to the unit into which another unit is embedded. On the other hand, the term constituent refers to a unit which together with another unit forms a construction in a simple phrase, embedding or co-occurrence.

Conjoining is a recursive process by which units are connected together by a co-ordinating conjunction or parataxis. Units which are conjoined are termed conjuncts, and the conjuncts function together as a single unit of a particular class. Units which are paratactically conjoined can be optionally separated by the insertion of a co-ordinating conjunction or, as in the case of the co-ordinative complex adverb clause, a main clause (cf. 7.13.52). This possibility of the separation of the units serves to distinguish complex phrases formed by conjoining from those formed by co-occurrence. Conjoining and/or embedding can theoretically form units of infinite lengths, but in practice, the maximum number of recursion is usually two.

The terms free and bound are utilized in the description of the nature of the functioning of the morphemes. A morpheme is said to be free, if its occurrence does not presuppose the existence of another morpheme. Otherwise, it is a bound morpheme. Similar concepts are implicit at the level of the word in the division between full words and particles, and at the level of the clause between the main

and the subordinate clause

The affixation of bound morphemes and the process of reduplication are seen in terms of their class-maintaining or class-changing characteristics. A bound morpheme or a reduplication is class-maintaining if it does not change the class-membership of the ~~word~~ which undergoes affixation or reduplication. Otherwise, it is class-changing.

In this connection, the concepts derived and non-derived, as applied to words, are used. A derived word of a particular class is a word which acquires its class-membership by the class-changing affixation or reduplication. A non-derived member of a word-class retains the class-membership of its stem when it undergoes the class-maintaining affixation or reduplication.

The description of the language starts from the lowest level and works upwards. The only deviation from the scale of hierarchy set above is the treatment of the sentence (simple sentence) before the clause. This is due to the fact that the function of the clause is seen only in the context of a complex sentence, although the structure of the clause corresponds to that of a simple sentence. Hence, the clause is discussed in conjunction with the complex sentence.

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CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.0 Phonology deals with the description of sounds and their functions in a particular language. Functional units of sounds are termed phonemes.

A phoneme is a significant minimum sound-unit which is distinct from any other sound-unit. The phoneme consists of variants known as allophones. These variants are of two kinds: positional and free. The positional variants are phonetically similar sounds which are mutually exclusive as to the environments in which they occur. The free variants are phonetically different sounds which may occur in the same environment but do not contrast.

Phonemes are segmental and suprasegmental. The former comprise vowels and consonants, while the latter comprise stress, pitch and quantity which make up the intonation. The discussion on the intonation in this chapter is brief relating only to the way in which the intonation types characterize the ~~types~~ of sentences.

The segmental phonemes in Iban consist of 19 consonants (including 2 semi-vowels) and 6 vowels. These two groups, consonants and vowels, are discussed in their separate sections below.

2.1

The Consonants

The consonants are given in the following chart:-

		<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
<u>Plosive/Stop</u>	vl.	p	t		k	
	vd.	b	d		g	ʔ
<u>Nasal</u>	vd.	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
<u>Affricate</u>	vl.			tʃ		
	vd.			dʒ		
<u>Fricative</u>	vl.		s			h
<u>Lateral</u>	vd.		l			
<u>Rolled</u>	vd.		r			
<u>Semi-vowel</u>	vl.	w		j		

Consonants in Iban have the following common properties which are positionally allophonic:-

- (a) Their qualities, fronted or retracted, vary with the qualities of the vowels they occur with; hence, the quality of a consonant which occurs before a front vowel differs from that which occurs before a back vowel.
- (b) Final consonants are always unexploded.

Mention of these two features will not be repeated in the discussion that follows. The consonants, except /b/, /d/, /g/, /p/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, can function as onsets and codas of syllables. The six consonants mentioned above can only form onsets of syllables.

2.11 Plosives/Stops

As shown in the chart (cf. 2.1), the plosives or the stops are divided into four types based on their types of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, velar and glottal.

2.11.1 Bilabial Plosives/Stops

The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ can occur as a word-initial, word-medial and word-final.

Exx. (1) (i)	/pandʒaj/	= long.
(ii)	/pəsɪəʔ/	= to sprinkle.
(iii)	/pupʊəs/	= completed.
(iv)	/pʊŋgah/	= to unload.
(v)	/pampas/	= profit.
(vi)	/tʃʊkoəp/	= sufficient.
(vii)	/laŋʊp/	= to fold back.
(viii)	/ŋəlap/	= to go out (of lights); to fall asleep.

The voiced bilabial plosive /b/ can occur as a word-initial and a word-medial only.

- Exx. (2) (i) /badas/ = good.
 (ii) /bunuəh/ = to kill.
 (iii) /bini/ = wife.
 (iv) /laboəh/ = to fall.
 (v) /səkumbaŋ/ = while, during.
 (vi) /bəndaŋ/ = true, very.

/p/ and /b/ contrast in the following pairs:-

- Exx. (3) (i) /pansal/ = to force.
 /bansal/ = a shed.
 (ii) /ʔapus/ = finished.
 /ʔabus/ = ash.
 (iii) /bantoən/ = to weed.
 /pantoən/ = a song.

2.11.2 Alveolar Plosives/Stops

The phoneme /t/ can occur as a word-initial, word-medial and word-final. In the intervocalic position, it has a free variant in the retroflexive [ɖ] .

- Exx. (4) (i) /tətaʔ/ = to cut up.
 (ii) /tetas/ = to cut off.
 (iii) /mataʔ/ = eye.
 (iv) /mati/ = to die.

- (v) /gəruntu/ = to have a continual rumbling in the stomach.
- (vi) /gərit/ = to gnaw.
- (vii) /pəruət/ = stomach.

The phoneme /d/ cannot occur as the coda of a syllable and hence it cannot occur as a word-final (cf. 2.1).

- Exx. (5) (i) /diaʔ/ = there.
- (ii) /dəŋah/ = victim.
- (iii) /dakah/ = dirt.
- (iv) /dampi/ = near.
- (v) /dudi/ = following, after, behind.
- (vi) /dudoəʔ/ = to sit.

The following examples show a contrast between /t/ and /d/:-

- Exx. (6)(i) /tua/ = we two.
- /dua/ = two.
- (ii) /batas/ = a raised bed for a row of vegetables.
- /badas/ = good.
- (iii) /ti/ = who, which, that.
- /di/ = at, on, in.

2.11.3 Velar Plosives/Stops

The velar phoneme /k/ can occur as a word-initial, word-medial and word-final. In the intervocalic position, this phoneme has a free variant in the pharyngealized [k̠] .

Exx. (7) (i)	/kaki/	= foot.
(ii)	/kajap/	= shingles.
(iii)	/makaj/	= to eat.
(iv)	/kujuʔ/	= cheeks.
(v)	/kəsulin/	= flute.
(vi)	/dʒakoʔ/	= word, speech.
(vii)	/lalak/	= bald.
(viii)	/kibak/	= to flap the wings.
(ix)	/tambak/	= ridge.
(x)	/pandak/	= short.

In some cases, /k/ as a word-final occurs in free morphophonemic alternation with /ʔ/. Examples (ix) and (x) above have the following variants:-

Exx. (8) (i)	/tambaʔ/
(ii)	/pandaʔ/

Otherwise, /k/ contrasts with /ʔ/.

Exx. (9) (i)	/lalak/	= bald.
	/lalaʔ/	= oil.
(ii)	/kurak/	= spleen.
	/kuraʔ/	= to jingle.

- | | | |
|-------|----------|---------------------------------|
| (iii) | /kapak/ | = axe. |
| | /kapaʔ/ | = what for? |
| (iv) | /killum/ | = metal band on spear or sword. |
| | /ʔillum/ | = liquid of areca-nut. |
| (v) | /kajap/ | = shingles. |
| | /ʔajap/ | = dim, dark. |

The phoneme /g/ never occurs as a word-final (cf. 2.1).

A free variant in the form of the pharyngealized [g̤] occurs in the intervocalic position.

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| Exx. (10)(i) | /gaga/ | = happy. |
| (ii) | /bagi/ | = division. |
| (iii) | /taŋgoəp/ | = to snap at, to snatch. |
| (iv) | /gupoəŋ/ | = a large bunch of fruit. |
| (v) | /gilo-gilo/ | = to look this way and that. |
| (vi) | /gəliʔ/ | = to have an eerie feeling; amused. |
| (vii) | /gəlugin/ | = a disease. |

/g/ contrasts with /k/ in the following examples:-

- | | | |
|--------------|---------|--|
| Exx. (11)(i) | /bagih/ | = to exchange services. |
| | /bakiḥ/ | = friend, companion. |
| (ii) | /gəlam/ | = to press with finger-nail; a kind of tree. |
| | /kəlam/ | = a large bead; overcast. |

- | | | |
|-------|---------|--|
| (iii) | /geraj/ | = healthy, well. |
| | /kəraj/ | = clothing with charms for
protection from enemies. |

2.11.4 Glottal Stop

The glottal stop can occur in the initial, medial and final positions of a word.

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------|------------|---------------|
| Exx. (12) | (i) | /ʔaiʔ/ | = water. |
| | (ii) | /bəʔaiʔ/ | = watery. |
| | (iii) | /bəʔuloən/ | = to enslave. |
| | (iv) | /ʔindoʔ/ | = woman. |
| | (v) | /sidaʔ/ | = they. |
| | (vi) | /dʒaiʔ/ | = bad. |

As indicated in Exx. (8), the final /ʔ/ can, in some cases, freely alternate with /k/, but /ʔ/ in the above examples cannot. Words with the final /ʔ/ contrast with words with open syllables.

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------|----------|-------------------------|
| Exx. (13) | (i) | /ʔəŋka/ | = perhaps. |
| | | /ʔəŋkaʔ/ | = only. |
| | (ii) | /laba/ | = good omen. |
| | | /labaʔ/ | = preserved small fish. |
| | (iii) | /kura/ | = tortoise. |
| | | /kuraʔ/ | = to jingle. |

- | | | |
|------|----------|----------------------------------|
| (iv) | /gəmu/ | = fertile soil. |
| | /gəmuʔ/ | = fat (both noun and adjective). |
| (v) | /baru/ | = new, modern. |
| | /baruʔ/ | = a kind of tree. |
| (vi) | /bansu/ | = a kind of tree. |
| | /bansuʔ/ | = satiated. |

2.12

Nasals

The consonants /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ can occur in all the three positions concerned, while the consonant /ɲ/ occurs only in the initial and medial positions.

- Exx. (14) (i) /manan/ = magician, traditional doctor.
- | | | |
|--------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| (ii) | /magan/ | = all. |
| (iii) | /nama/ | = name; what? |
| (iv) | /paŋan/ | = friend. |
| (v) | /ʔaum/ | = meeting, conference. |
| (vi) | /gəlintum/ | = a black stain for preserving teeth. |
| (vii) | /gəliŋgam/ | = paint. |
| (viii) | /nərəndʒan/ | = to stand up (of hair). |
| (ix) | /ŋulap/ | = to rise (of fish). |
| (x) | /ŋuaj/ | = to live with spouse's parents. |

- | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----------------------|
| (xi) | /pampaw/ | = quantity. |
| (xii) | /pam-pam/ | = tasteless, insipid. |
| (xiii) | /paŋ/ | = red sky at night. |
| (xiv) | /məpadiʔ/ | = sibling. |

2.13

Affricates

The affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ cannot occur as word-finals (cf. 2.1).

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Exx. (15) (i) | /tʃiru/ | = clear, bright. |
| (ii) | /tʃəlap/ | = cold. |
| (iii) | /tʃatʃiən/ | = worm. |
| (iv) | /ʔəntatʃaw/ | = to stir. |
| (v) | /dʒəpaj/ | = to reach for. |
| (vi) | /dʒələj/ | = a kind of rattan. |
| (vii) | /badʒoəŋ/ | = paralysed. |
| (viii) | /ʔəŋkindʒur/ | = slime, slimy. |

These two affricates contrast in the following pairs:-

- | | | |
|---------------|----------|---|
| Exx. (16) (i) | /patʃak/ | = dry salted meat; to stuff
(the mouth). |
| | /padʒak/ | = to push in, to urge, to
oblige. |
| (ii) | /dʒap/ | = opposition. |
| | /tʃap/ | = stamp, print. |

- (iii) /tʃəlap-tʃəlap/ = very cold.
 /dʒəlap-dʒəlap/ = to burn fiercely.

2.14

Fricatives

The alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in all positions.

- Exx. (17) (i) /sapaʔ/ = twin.
 (ii) /sapar/ = segment of a fruit.
 (iii) /siah/ = to push aside.
 (iv) /sinuʔ/ = to feel pity.
 (v) /səligi/ = bamboo spear.
 (vi) /sulaj/ = bent, leaning.
 (vii) /pəsalah/ = sprained.
 (viii) /pansa/ = to pass by.
 (ix) /pədis/ = painful.
 (x) /bagas/ = diligent.

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs mainly as a word-final. Its occurrence in the intervocalic position is very limited, and in this position it can fluctuate freely with /ʔ/, as exemplified by the following pair:-

- Exx. (18) (i) /sahari toʔ/ = today, now.
 /saʔari toʔ/

/h/ as a word-initial occurs only in the dialect of the First Division. In this dialect, /h/ is a free variation of /r/ in the initial and medial positions.

- Exx. (19) (i) /rumah/ = house.
 /humah/
- (ii) /baru/ = new, modern.
 /bahu/
- (iii) /ʔuraŋ/ = person.
 /ʔuhaŋ/

Nevertheless, the examples below show that /h/ contrasts with /r/ in the final position.

- Exx. (20) (i) /bauh/ = long (of hair, nails).
 /baur/ = rod, long handle.
- (ii) /pand₃ah/ = to pour water on.
 /pand₃ar/ = a deposit; bamboo container for illipe wax.
- (iii) /siah/ = to push aside.
 /siar/ = to sweep up.

2.15

Lateral

The consonant /l/ occurs in all positions.

- Exx. (21) (i) /labi/ = the soft-shelled turtle.
- (ii) /lalat/ = a fly.
- (iii) /bilieʔ/ = room.
- (iv) /ŋəla/ = to relax.
- (v) /ŋigal/ = to bounce.

(vi) /gumpul/ = to gather, to pick.

2.16

Rolled

The rolled consonant /r/ occurs in all positions.

- Exx. (22)
- | | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| (i) | /rapas/ | = too short, short of. |
| (ii) | /rimpi?/ | = crushed, flattened. |
| (iii) | /ritit/ | = light footfalls. |
| (iv) | /rəpu?/ | = coarse sago. |
| (v) | /runtu/ | = to dash at. |
| (vi) | /pekar/ | = thick (of liquid). |
| (vii) | /salir/ | = to feed (a sick or help-
less person or animal). |

The phenomenon of the free fluctuation between /r/ and /h/ in the initial and medial positions in the dialect of the First Division has already been mentioned in 2.14. In the speech of some speakers of Iban of various localities, a few examples show that /r/ occurs in free morphophonemic alternation with /l/.

- Exx. (23)
- | | | |
|------|----------|----------------------------|
| (i) | /rambar/ | = numeral coefficient with |
| | /lambar/ | thin, flat objects. |
| (ii) | /rari/ | |
| | /lari/ | = to run. |

Otherwise, /r/ contrasts with /l/.

- Exx. (24) (i) /bulu/ = hair, coloration pattern.
 /buru/ = to drive away.
 (ii) /gari?/ = clothes.
 /gali?/ = to lie down.
 (iii) /rari/ = to run.
 /lali/ = to approach, to prowl
 around.

2.17

Semi-Vowels

Phonetically, the semi-vpvels /w/ and /j/ are glides which form the components of rising and falling diphthongs (cf. 2.4). Phonemically, they behave like consonants in forming the onsets and codas of syllables.

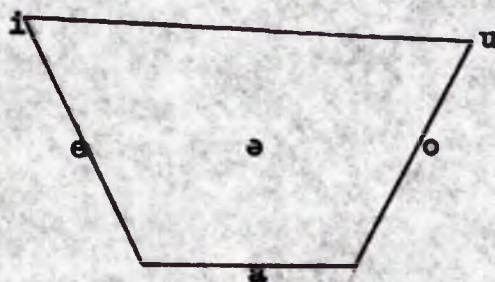
- Exx. (25) (i) /waŋ/ = money.
 (ii) /wik/ = pig, pork.
 (iii) /woŋ/ = waterfall.
 (iv) /gawaj/ = festival, ritual.
 (v) /mansaw/ = ripe.
 (vi) /ju?/ = shark.
 (vii) /gaju/ = long life.
 (viii) /majoəh/ = ~~many~~.
 ~~(ix)~~ /maluj/ = bruised.

- (x) /selulaj/ = to lean, to incline.
 (xi) /ʔukoj/ = dog.

2.2

The Vowels

The vowels are given in the vowel-figure below.



The vowels in Iban have the following properties in common:-

- (a) They do not occur as word-initials.
- (b) Their high and low qualities vary with their environments; for instance, /i/ in an open syllable is higher than /i/ in a closed syllable.
- (c) They are nasalized in the environments of preceding nasals; the nasalization of a vowel continues within the word until it is checked by a following consonant which is not a semi-vowel.

Characteristics (b) and (c) result in positional allophones.

Exx. (26) (i)	[nãã]	= name; what?
(ii)	[ŋẽmẽndarka]	= to allow.
(iii)	[pẽmãlĩ]	= a taboo.
(iv)	[mãwã]	= unsettled, wandering.
(v)	[mãjãw]	= cat.
(vi)	[pãwã]	= voice, mouth, life.
(vii)	[pãjã]	= to spill.
(viii)	[mẽnõã]	= country, locality, district.
(ix)	[nĩõp]	= to blow.

2.21

Front Vowels

In a closed syllable, /i/ can occur before all consonants which can form word-finals (cf. 2.1), excluding the semi-vowels /w/ and /j/.

Exx. (27) (i)	/ʔibur/	= shocked, distressed.
(ii)	/ʔigiʔ/	= numeral coefficient for certain inanimate objects.
(iii)	/səridi/	= to indulge, to spoil.
(iv)	/kəlip-kəlip/	= to twinkle.
(v)	/ləsit/	= to take out the kernel.
(vi)	/riŋin/	= otter.
(vii)	/limpaŋ/	= to go aside, to turn off.
(viii)	/ləŋiŋ/	= grease.
(ix)	/kərik/	= to grind the teeth.

- (x) /bilis/ = dried fish.
 (xi) /ʔulih/ = by.
 (xii) /tʃəŋgil-tʃəŋgil/ = to dangle.
 (xiii) /ləmbir/ = a kind of pod.

The vowel /e/ takes the allophone [ɛ] 'in two environments:-

- (a) When it occurs in a closed syllable; the only consonants which occur immediately after /e/ in closed syllables are /ʔ/ and /h/.
 (b) When it occurs as the first component of the vowel cluster /ea/; in this case, /ʔ/, /h/ and /ŋ/ can form codas of syllables.

In other environments, this phoneme occurs as [e] .

- Exx. (28) (i) /ŋare/ = naked, bare, exposed.
 (ii) /gəle/ = a vegetable.
 (iii) /deʔ/ = you (familiar).
 (iv) /ləleʔ/ = absent-minded.
 (v) /meh/ = an emphasizing word.
 (vi) /deh/ = an emphasizing word.
 (vii) /ʔakeh/ = stranger; a term of address.
 (viii) /kibeəŋ/ = a vegetable.
 (ix) /rumeəh/ = house.
 (x) /gəgeəʔ/ = to make.

Apart from its occurrence as a component of the vowel cluster /ea/, the vowel /e/, as seen from the above examples, occur only in monosyllabic words or in the final syllables of polysyllabic words. This vowel contrasts with /i/.

- Exx. (29) (i) /ɲare/ = naked, bare, exposed.
 /ɲari/ = to represent.
 (ii) /tambe/ = something used to cover
 a door or a window.
 /tambi/ = an Indian.
 (iii) /te/ = tea.
 /ti/ = who, which, that.
 (iv) /tareʔ/ = to tauten.
 /tariʔ/ = an antidote.

2.22

Back Vowels

The back vowel /u/ has a free variant in [u] , when it occurs in a final open syllable. In a closed syllable, this vowel can occur before any consonant which can form the coda of a syllable, excluding the semi-vowel /w/ (cf. 2.1).

- Exx. (30) (i) /laŋup/ = to fold back.
 (ii) /dʒərumut/ = numerous.
 (iii) /ʔəŋkujuk/ = to crumple.
 (iv) /butul/ = bottle.
 (v) /bunuh/ = to kill.

(vi)	/lumur/	= to anoint, to smear.
(vii)	/lulus/	= still-born.
(viii)	/ʔuntuəŋ/	= profit.
(ix)	/puŋgoŋ/	= waist.
(x)	/ŋəntimun/	= unripe (of fruit).
(xi)	/ŋəlu/	= giddy.
(xii)	/ŋaruʔ/	= to be suspicious.
(xiii)	/kumbaŋ/	= to make a complete turn (of ropes).
(xiv)	/pupus/	= completed.
(xv)	/maluj/	= bruised.

In most cases, the vowel /u/ in a closed final syllable of a polysyllabic word occurs in free morphophonemic alternation with /o/. This free morphophonemic alternation also occurs when /u/ and /o/ form the components of complex syllable nuclei in closed or open syllables (cf. 2.32.2 and 2.33). The following rule provides for this free alternation:-

$$XC1(V)u(V)(C2) \sim XC1(V)o(V)(C2)$$

Conditions

- (a) C1 is any consonant onset.
- (b) C2 is any consonant coda.
- (c) V is any vowel which together with /u/ or /o/ can form a vowel cluster.
- (d) The presence of C2 is obligatory in the absence of both the optional V's.

(e) X is any preceding syllable or sequence of syllables.

For exceptions to this rule, cf. 2.32.1.

- Exx. (31) (i) /pəbut/ = to mention.
/pəbot/
- (ii) /kutʃ up/ = to taper.
/kutʃ op/
- (iii) /kukuk/ = to crow (of cocks).
/kukok/
- (iv) /tand₃uʔ/ = an open platform in an
/tand₃oʔ/ Iban house.
- (v) /kumbun/ = to wrap up.
/kumbon/
- (vi) /luntʃum/ = a point.
/luntʃom/
- (vii) /suruh/ = to request, to command.
/suroh/
- (viii) /sulur/ = new-grown; to project.
/sɔlor/
- (ix) /mantul/ = to rebound.
/mantol/

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|--------------------|
| (x) | /ʔapus/
/ʔapos/ | = finished. |
| (xi) | /ʔuntuən/
/ʔuntoən/ | = profit. |
| (xii) | /siluj/
/siloj/ | = slough of snake. |

The half-open back vowel /ɔ/ does not occur in the following environments:-

- (a) In a closed syllable if the coda is /w/.
 (b) Immediately after /ʔ/.

- | | | |
|---------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Exx. (32) (i) | /noan/ | = you. |
| (ii) | /koʔgo/ | = a species of lizard. |
| (iii) | /koŋ/ | = tin-cup. |
| (iv) | /gəmbo/ | = puffed out. |
| (v) | /kəbo/ | = to tear away; buffalo. |

Illustrations of the occurrence of /o/ before consonant codas have already been given in Exx. (31).

The vowels /u/ and /ɔ/ contrast in the following pairs:-

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|---|
| Exx. (33)(i) | /pintu/
/pinto/ | = door.
= crab-trap. |
| (ii) | /ʔanduʔ/
/ʔandoʔ/ | = necklace.
= term of address for girls. |

- (iii) /kubu/ = fort, office.
 /kubo/ = the first durian fruit.

The vowel /a/ in a closed syllable can occur before any consonant which can form the coda of a syllable (cf. 2.1).

As a word-final, /a/ has a free variant in [ɒ] .

- Exx. (34) (i) /bərap/ = to embrace.
 (ii) /lampat/ = to intercept.
 (iii) /tʃ irak-tʃ irak/ = red.
 (iv) /raŋkaj/ = dry.
 (v) /randaw/ = conversation.
 (vi) /pajaʔ/ = swamp.
 (vii) /dəŋah/ = victim.
 (viii) /patʃ al/ = rascal.
 (ix) /sabar/ = to apologise.
 (x) /ka/ = to, towards.
 (xi) /bansa/ = race, class, type.

2.23

Central Vowel

The vowel /ə/ occurs mainly as a word-medial. As a word-final, it occurs only in example (i) below.

- Exx. (35) (i) /kə/ = who, which, that.
 (ii) /pən/ = an emphasizing word.
 (iii) /məpadiʔ/ = sibling.

- (iv) /bilieʔ/ = room.
 (v) /pərudʒi ʔati/ = sweetheart.
 (vi) /pəndiŋ/ = ear.

If this vowel occurs immediately after an initial /ʔ/, it is ^{often} ~~always~~ followed by a homorganic consonant cluster consisting of a nasal and an oral consonant in that order (cf. 2.5).

- Ex. (36) (i) /ʔəmpuruʔ/ = to collect together.
 (ii) /ʔəmparuʔ/ = a kind of snake.
 (iii) /ʔəmbap/ = damp.
 (iv) /ʔəmbajar/ = centipede.
 (v) /ʔəntəmunɪʔ/ = the afterbirth.
 (vi) /ʔəntəkaj/ = pumpkin.
 (vii) /ʔəndaʔ/ = no, not.
 (viii) /ʔəndaŋ/ = really, actually.
 (ix) /ʔəŋkəraw/ = very hungry.
 (x) /ʔəŋkərut/ = to curl up.
 (xi) /ʔəŋgaj/ = unwilling.
 (xii) /ʔəŋgi/ = thing belonging to.
 (xiii) /ʔəntʃama/ = to laugh off.
 (xiv) /ʔəntʃərik/ = shrill.
 (xv) /ʔəndʒuən/ = to shake down, to disturb.
 (xvi) /ʔəndʒiŋ/ = really, simply, absolutely.

- (xvii) /ʔənsanus/ = day before yesterday.
 (xviii) /ʔənsaja/ = pretext, opportunity.

2.3 Vowel Clusters

A vowel cluster is defined as a group of vowels occurring together as the complex nucleus of a syllable. In Iban, the vowel cluster consists of only two vowels, and this cluster is classified according to the quality of the vowel which forms its second component. As such, there are three types of vowel clusters in Iban:-

- (i) Fronting vowel cluster.
- (ii) Backing vowel cluster.
- (iii) Centering vowel cluster.

2.31 Fronting Vowel Clusters

The fronting vowel clusters consist of the following structure:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /a/ \\ /u/ \end{array} \right\} + /i/$$

These clusters occur in closed syllables only.

- Exx. (37) (i) /kail/ = fish-hook.
 (ii) /kain/ = cloth; the Iban skirt.
 (iii) /kair/ = to scratch, to scrape.
 (iv) /kaih/ = exclamation.

- (v) /rais-rais/ = to shout continuously.
 (vi) /d₃ait/ = to sew.
 (vii) /ʔaiʔ/ = water.
 (viii) /kəruin/ = a kind of tree yielding oil.
 (ix) /luik-luik/ = to slip down at the back (of skirt).
 (x) /suiʔ/ = to stick out.
 (xi) /kuil/ = a kind of ladle.
 (xii) /kain/ = to turn.

2.32

Backing Vowel Clusters

The backing vowel clusters are divided into two types based on the different types of back vowels that occur as their second components.

2.32.1

Backing Vowel Clusters: Type I

This type of backing vowel clusters consists of the following structure:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /ɪ/ \\ /e/ \\ /u/ \\ /o/ \end{array} \right\} + /a/$$

Exx. (38) (i)	/sədia/	= ready.
(ii)	/tʃiap/	= cheeping.
(iii)	/liar/	= wild, untamed.
(iv)	/nian/	= the late, deceased.
(v)	/kiak/	= squawk.
(vi)	/kiaw/	= mewling.
(vii)	/bias/	= drifting rain.
(viii)	/manean/	= magician, traditional doctor.
(ix)	/kədʒean/	= to push a boat off.
(x)	/rumeah/	= house.
(xi)	/bərua/	= a go-between.
(xii)	/səluaʔ/	= a mischievous spirit.
(xiii)	/kuaɟ/	= a translucent stone.
(xiv)	/ruat/	= heavy with fruit.
(xv)	/kuap/	= mould.
(xvi)	/kual-kual/	= momentarily suspended.
(xvii)	/suah/	= often.
(xviii)	/noan/	= you.
(xix)	/nənoa/	= country, territory, locality.

As seen from the above examples, these clusters occur in open as well as closed syllables. The cluster /ea/ is restricted in occurrence, and when it does occur, it can be freely substituted by /ua/, though the reverse process is not

permissible.

2.32.2

Backing Vowel Clusters: Type II

Type II of the backing vowel clusters consists of the following structure:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /i/ \\ /a/ \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} /u/ \\ /o/ \end{array} \right\}$$

Any vowel in the left-hand braces can occur with any vowel in the right-hand braces.

The clusters /iu/ and /io/ contrast in Exx. (39) (i) and (ii). In closed syllables, these two clusters occur in free morphophonemic alternation with each other. The cluster /au/ occurs in open as well as closed syllables, while the cluster /ao/ can occur in closed syllables only. ^{In a closed syllable,} /au/ and /ao/ can freely alternate with each other.

Exx. (39) (i)	/liu/	= to prowl around.
(ii)	/lio/	= in a pasty condition.
(iii)	/siu?/	= small earthenware pot.
(iv)	/ŋəriut/	= wrinkled, shrivelled.
(v)	/ŋəriu?/	= pretentious.
(vi)	/kiuk/	= squawk.
(vii)	/niop/	= to blow.
(viii)	/sioh/	= to spill.
(ix)	/sioŋ/	= blowpipe.

(x)	/ʔaum/	= meeting, conference.
(xi)	/laun/	= late.
(xii)	/kaus/	= to scrape.
(xiii)	/laut/	= Malay.
(xiv)	/gaok/	= libertine; (of animals) fierce.
(xv)	/taon/	= year.
(xvi)	/lau/	= blackened by smoke.
(xvii)	/bau/	= shoulder; smell.

2.33

Centering Vowel Clusters

These clusters occur in closed syllables only. They consist of the following structure:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} /i/ \\ /u/ \\ /ə/ \end{array} \right\} + /ə/$$

The phenomenon of the free morphophonemic alternation between /u/ and /o/ which is prevalent in certain environments (cf. 2.22 and 2.32.2) is also characteristics of the clusters /uə/ and /oə/, especially when these clusters occur in closed syllables only.

Exr. (40) (i)	/lilɪət/	= an edging, border.
(ii)	/kɪʃ/etent	= persistent.

(iii)	/pulɪər/	= to wipe.
(iv)	/kikɪəs/	= to scrape.
(v)	/kambɪən/	= goat.
(vi)	/manuəʔ/	= chicken.
(vii)	/lumɪət/	= fibre, string.
(viii)	/bubuər/	= rice or sago gruel.
(ix)	/tɪndəʔ/	= to sleep.
(x)	/boək/	= hair of the head.
(xi)	/tudʒəh/	= seven.

2.34

More Remarks on Vowel Clusters

The backing vowel cluster /ea/ and all the centering vowel clusters can fluctuate freely with simple vowels, as shown below:-

(i)	/ea/	~	/a/
(ii)	/ɪə/	~	/ɪ/
(iii)	/uə/	~	/u/
(iv)	/əə/	~	/ə/

2.4

Diphthongs

A diphthong is the combination of a vowel and a glide. Diphthongs in Iban are of two types: fronting and backing. This classification is based on the quality of the

glide which forms a component of a diphthong. A diphthong consisting of a vowel and a front glide is a fronting diphthong, while that consisting of a vowel and a back glide is a backing diphthong.

Phonemically, the glides of the diphthongs are the semi-vowels which form the onsets and codas of syllables (cf. 2.17). There does ^{not} seem to be any minimal pair which shows a contrast between a diphthong and a vowel cluster, and in order to be consistent with the phonemic functioning of the glide of the diphthong, the front and the back glides are transcribed as /j/ and /w/ respectively.

An ambiguity in syllable division might arise, if the diphthong were to be transcribed as two vowel symbols. If, for instance, the words /gawaj/, festival, ritual, and /gaju/, long life, were to be written as /gauai/ and /gaiu/, then there are two possibilities in the syllabification of each:-

- | | | |
|----------|------|----------|
| /gauai/: | (i) | /gau-ai/ |
| | (ii) | /ga-uai/ |
| /gaiu/: | (i) | /gai-u/ |
| | (ii) | /ga-iu/ |

To a native speaker, alternative (ii) of each example is more acceptable than alternative (i), and as vowels in Iban

cannot occur as word-initials (hence, syllable-initials), the adoption of /w/ and /j/ to signify the phonemic functioning of the glides of diphthongs is justified (cf. 2.2).

2.5 Consonant Clusters

A consonant cluster is a group of consonants occurring together. The components of the cluster do not necessarily belong to the same syllable.

Consonant clusters as discussed in this thesis are confined to those which occur in a word consisting of a single root. This then rules out the occurrences of sequences of consonants across morpheme boundaries.

The consonant clusters as specified above are characterized as $\tilde{C}C$, where \tilde{C} denotes a nasal consonant and C an oral consonant. (For an exception to this rule, cf. the end of this subsection). These two consonants are homorganic. C can either be a plosive, an affricate or the fricative /s/, as shown below:

$$\text{Nasal} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Plosive} \\ \text{Affricate} \\ /s/ \end{array} \right\}$$

These clusters occur initially and medially. In the initial positions of words, they are the weak forms of the structure $ʔ\tilde{C}C$ (cf. 2.23, Exx. (36)). As weak forms of $ʔ\tilde{C}C$, these clusters function as complex syllable onsets,

but as word-medials, they can be split so that the nasals form the codas of the first-occurring syllables, while their homorganic oral counterparts form the onsets of syllables that follow them. All these clusters contrast with simple oral consonants.

Exx. (41) (i)	/dindɪŋ/	= wall, partition.
	/didɪŋ/	= to beat.
(ii)	/ʔambuʔ/	= thing claimed.
	/ʔabuʔ/	= dust.
(iii)	/ʔampin/	= baby's napkin.
	/ʔapin/	= not yet.
(iv)	/bentoʔ/	= numeral coefficient for rings.
	/betoʔ/	= a kind of river-fish.
(v)	/tangaʔ/	= ladder.
	/tagaʔ/	= to prepare something for someone who is expected.
(vi)	/ʔiŋkat/	= tarsier.
	/ʔikat/	= bunch.
(vii)	/pand ₃ ar/	= a deposit.
	/pad ₃ ar/	= light of day.
(viii)	/pantʃak/	= to break wind.
	/patʃak/	= dry salted meat; to stuff (the mouth).

- (ix) /bansi/ = extra payment, allowance,
bonus.
/basi/ = numeral coefficient for
cloths.

In actual fact, the phonetic realizations of the clusters with the structure Nasal + Affricate are [ntʃ] and [ndʒ]. Phonologically, they are presented as /ntʃ/ and /ndʒ/, as /p/ cannot occur as the coda of a syllable (cf. 2.1), if the components of either cluster should be split to form the coda and the onset of two contiguous syllables.

A consonant cluster which is not a homorganic nasal-oral cluster and which does not occur across a morpheme boundary is only found in the example below:-

Exx. (42) (i) /koʔgo/ = a species of lizard.

2.6 Intonation

For the purpose of this thesis, intonation is regarded as comprising stress, pitch and vowel quantity. These three elements are not phonemic. The stress is considered as the primary intonation element, as a heavy stress is usually accompanied by a high pitch and a longer duration of the vowel which forms the nucleus of the stressed syllable.

Stress in Iban always falls on the final syllable of a word. Any word receiving emphasis, with or without an emphasizing word (cf. 4.37), is stressed. At the end of a sentence, the intonation forms a contour which is either falling or rising. These contours, which may be supplemented with stresses on certain parts of the sentences, determine the various intonation types, which in turn determine the various types of sentences (cf. Chapter 6). Intonation in Iban consists of three types:-

- (i) Declarative intonation (Dec-inton) with a falling terminal contour.
- (ii) Question intonation (Q-inton) with a rising terminal contour.
- (iii) Imperative-exclamative intonation (Im-Exc-inton) with a falling terminal contour and a heavy stress on:-
 - (a) the verb, in the case of the imperative sentence (Im-inton);
 - (b) the word which forms the exclamation, in the case of the exclamative sentence (Exc-inton).

A structure (phrase, clause or sentence) with a declarative intonation is said to be unmarked (cf. 1.5), and in

the transcription of the Iban examples, this intonation is not indicated by any symbol. On the other hand, a structure with the question intonation or the imperative-exclamative intonation is marked. The former is symbolized by the question mark (?), and the latter by the exclamation mark (!).

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CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY

3.0 Morphology is the study of the internal structure of the word. Elements which constitute the word are morphemes. A morpheme is defined as the minimal unit in grammar.

A morpheme can either be free or bound. A free morpheme is one which without the presence of another morpheme can constitute a full word (cf. 4.0 for the definition of a full word). On the other hand, a bound morpheme can occur only in the context of another morpheme, free or bound. The bound morpheme can either be a prefix, an infix or a suffix, all of which are termed affixes. In Iban, with the exception of one suffix (Suf), all the bound morphemes are prefixes (Pre).

A free morpheme consisting of a single morpheme to which a bound morpheme is attached is termed root (R), and the root forms the nucleus (Nuc) of the word. The nucleus can consist of more than one root, and this type of nucleus is referred to as complex nucleus, as opposed to the simple nucleus, which consists of a single root. Theoretically, the complex nucleus of a word can be formed from more than two roots, and these roots need not be lexically identical. In Iban, apart from the complex cardinals (cf. 4.23.11.1), complex nuclei of words seem to consist of a maximum of two roots which represent reduplication.

The term stem refers to forms which are open to affixation. The stem consists of:-

- (i) Nucleus, simple or complex.
- (ii) Nucleus plus one or more bound morphemes; in Iban, not more than two prefixes and a suffix can occur in a stem.

The discussion in this chapter is on the bound morphemes in Iban. These morphemes are classified into verbal and nominal morphemes on the basis of the class-membership of words in which these morphemes function.

The morphemes are presented with their allomorphs, which form their representational variations. The allomorphs are of two kinds: positional and free. A positional allomorph is defined as a phonological representation of a morpheme which is mutually exclusive with other phonological representations of the same morpheme. Positional allomorphs in Iban are conditioned phonologically, grammatically and lexically. A free allomorph is a variation whose occurrence is not constrained by any of the conditions above. This variation is also termed free alternant.

There are altogether eleven affixes in Iban, eight verbal and three nominal. The suffix belongs to the verbal class. One of the verbal prefixes and the suffix form a discontinuous morpheme. Words are also formed by reduplication.

partial and total. Partial reduplication is the repetition of the first syllable of a word and can be considered as a special form of prefixation. Total reduplication is the repetition of the root or the stem consisting of a prefix and a root. Reduplication is common to both verbals and nominals.

The structure of the Iban word is as follows:-

(Pre) + (Pre) + (Pre) + (R) + (Pre) + R + (Suf)

The optional R in the above rule denotes the repetition (total reduplication) of the obligatory R, and the third optional Pre is postulated to provide for certain reduplicated words in which the whole stem consisting of the structure Pre + R undergoes reduplication. Partial reduplication in the above structure is represented by Pre which immediately precedes the obligatory R.

Words with three prefixes are only those belonging to the nominal class, in which the first prefix is {se-}, the second is {pe-} and the third is Nasalization. The replacive Nasalization is classified as a prefix. As the suffix belongs to the verbal class, it is mutually exclusive with triple prefixation. In the case of the complex cardinal, more than a single occurrence of the optional R are allowed. Below are examples of words with their possible structures based on the structure given above.

Exx. (1)

R

- (i) /dataj/ = to come.
 (ii) /səbaŋ/ = a large drum.
 (iii) /ʔəŋgaw/ = and, with.

Exx. (2)

Pre + R

- (i) /niŋa/ = hears, listens to.
 (ii) /didiŋa/ = is heard, is listened to.
 R: /diŋa/ = to hear, to listen to.

Exx. (3)

Pre + Pre + R

- (i) /pənataj/ = arrival.
 R: cf. Exx. (1) (i).
 (ii) /səmandʒaj/ = all the length.
 R: /pandʒaj/ = long.

Exx. (4)

Pre + Pre + Pre + R

- (i) /səpəmərap/ = measure of girth.
 R: /bərap/ = to embrace.
 (ii) /səpənəmu/ = one opinion.
 R: /təmu/ = to know.

Exx. (5)

R + Suf

- (i) /pulajka/ = to return (something).
 R: /pulaj/ = to return.

(ii) /sabaʔka/ = to weep over (something).

R: /sabaʔ/ = to weep.

Exx. (6) Pre + R + Suf

(i) /dipulajka/ = is returned.

R: cf. Exx. (5) (i).

(ii) /bəkənənka/ = to discuss, to relate.

R: /kənən/ = to think of, to remember.

Exx. (7) Pre + Pre + R + Suf

(i) /dikəmanahka/ = is beautified.

R: /manah/ = beautiful.

(ii) /dipədʒakoʔka/ = is talked about.

R: /dʒakoʔ/ = speech, word.

Exx. (8) R + R

(i) /dʒampat-dʒampat/ = very fast.

R: /dʒampat/ = fast.

(ii) /pandʒoŋ-pandʒoŋ/ = to call or shout continuously.

R: /pandʒoŋ/ = to call or shout.

Exx. (9) Pre + R + R

(i) /dikuit-kuit/ = is kept waving or wagging.

R: /kuit/ = to wave, to wag.

- (ii) /bətampoən-tampoən/ = continuous.
 R: /tampoən/ = continuation.

Exx. (10) Pre + R + Pre + R

- (i) /siko?-siko?/ = one by one (of persons or animals).
 R: /?iko?/ = numeral coefficient for animate nouns.
- (ii) /mandʒəŋ-mandʒəŋ/ = calls or shouts continuously.
 R: cf. Exx. (8) (ii).

Exx. (11) Pre + Pre + R + Pre + R

This structure has a very restricted occurrence.

- (i) /səmandʒaj-mandʒaj/ = all the entire length.
 R: of. Exx. (3) (ii).
- (ii) /sənəka?-nəka?/ = all one's wishes.
 R: /dəka?/ = will.

Ex. (12) Pre + Pre + Pre + R + Pre + R

This structure is only found in the following word:-

- (i) /sepəmerat-mərat/ = in proportion to the gravity or importance.

Exx. (13) Pre + Pre + R + R + Suf

- (i) /dikəmanah-manahka/ = is continually
 beautified.

R: cf. Exx. (7) (i).

- (ii) /dipədʒakoʔ-dʒakoʔka/ = is continually talked
 about.

R: cf. Exx. (7) (ii).

Exx. (14) Pre + Pre + R + Pre + R + Suf

- (i) /ŋəməsaj-məsajka/ = keeps exaggerating.

R: /bəsaj/ = big.

- (ii) /ŋəmadās-madaska/ = keeps improving.

R: /badas/ = good.

The sources of material for this study does not seem to indicate the presence of stems which begin with semi-vowels.

3.1**The Verbal Morphemes**

Words containing these morphemes are verbals. The members of this class of morphemes are:-

- (i) Nasalization.
- (ii) {ʔən-}
- (iii) {bə-}
- (iv) {tə-}
- (v) {di-}

(vi) {sə-}

(vii) {kə - ka}

(viii) {-ka}

Prefixes (i), (ii), (iii), (vii) and (viii) are class-
 maintaining as well as class-changing^(cf. 1.5), while prefixes (iv), (v)
 and (vi) are class-maintaining only. Prefixes (i), (iii), (vii)
 and (viii), when affixed to the nucleus, can form stems for
 further affixation, while the others cannot. The auxiliary
 verbs and ~~some~~ non-derived verbs do not take any of these af-
 fixes. For some transitive verbs, some of these prefixes are
 optional (cf. 4.11).

3.11 Nasalization

As a class-maintaining morpheme, Nasalization (Nasal-
 liz) occurs with stems which are transitive verbs. With this
 function, Nasalization indicates that the verbs are active
^{Non-derived} verbs. [/]Intransitive verbs do not take this morpheme (cf. 4.11
 for the definitions of the transitive and the intransitive
 verbs).

Nasalization as a class-changing morpheme derives
 verbals from nominals. In this case, nasalization bears va-
 rious meanings (cf. 3.11.4).

The allomorphs of this morpheme are:-

- (i) /~/
- (ii) /ŋə-/
- (iii) /ø/

The first two allomorphs are overt, consisting of a replacive and an additive. The last one, the zero-allomorph, has a covert existence, as it signifies that a structural feature is absent from the context.

3.11.1 The Allomorph /~/

This allomorph is a replacive, since it replaces the first phoneme of the stem by a homorganic nasal. The phoneme that is replaced is either a plosive or a stop, an affricate or the fricative /s/. These phonemes are given below together with their replacives.

	<u>Stem Initial</u>	<u>Replacive</u>
<u>Plosive/Stop</u>	/p/, /b/	/m/
	/t/, /d/	/n/
	/k/, /g/	/ŋ/
	/ʔ/	/ŋ/
<u>Affricate</u>	/tʃ/, /dʒ/	/ɹ/
<u>Fricative</u>	/s/	/ɹ/

Exx. (15) (i)	/pədaʔ/	= to see.
	/mədaʔ/	= sees. ¹
(ii)	/pansal/	= to force.
	/mansal/	= forces.
(iii)	/bəriʔ/	= to give.
	/məriʔ/	= gives.
(iv)	/batak/	= to pull towards oneself.
	/matak/	= pulls towards oneself.
(v)	/tikiʔ/	= to climb.
	/nikiʔ/	= climbs.
(vi)	/təguʔ/	= to touch.
	/nəguʔ/	= touches.
(vii)	/dilat/	= to lick.
	/nilat/	= licks.
(viii)	/dədat/	= to beat.
	/nədat/	= beats.
(ix)	/kətaʔ/	= to harvest.
	/ŋətaʔ/	= harvests.
(x)	/kərohka/	= to stir up sediment.
	/ŋərohka/	= stirs up sediment.

1. As there is no category of tense or number in Iban, the English translation of the Iban verb can be in the past, present or future tense, singular or plural. Likewise, the English translation of the Iban noun can be singular or plural (cf. 1.2).

- (xi) /gad₃ika/ = to employ.
 /ŋad₃ika/ = employs.
- (xii) /gagaj/ = to chase.
 /ŋagaj/ = chases.
- (xiii) /ʔalap/ = to slow down.
 /ŋalap/ = slows down.
- (xiv) /ʔibas/ = to swing, to wave.
 /ŋibas/ = swings, waves.
- (xv) /siloəp/ = to insert.
 /piloəp/ = inserts.
- (xvi) /sampi/ = an invocation.
 /pampi/ = makes an invocation.
- (xvii) /tʃəlapka/ = to cool (something).
 /pəlapka/ = cools (something).
- (xviii) /tʃəme/ = paddy-bed.
 /pəme/ = sows in the paddy-bed.
- (xix) /d₃əmbi/ = to dry (something) in the
 sun.
 /pəmbi/ = dries (something) in the sun.
- (xx) /d₃agaŋ/ = to push with both hands.
 /pagaŋ/ = pushes with both hands.
- (xxi) /tan/ = to be able to bear.
 /nan/ = is able to bear.

(xxii) /d ₃ oŋ/	= to come for.
/poŋ/	= comes for.
(xxiii) /sah/ to g	= to give help.
/pah/	= gives help.

3.11.2

The Allomorph /ŋə-/

This allomorph is conditioned phonologically as well as lexically. The conditions of its occurrence are as follows:-

- (a) Before /l/ or /r/.
- (b) Before a native monosyllabic stem which begins with a nasal consonant. (Native monosyllabic stems which begin with oral consonants take the allomorph /~/ . Cf. Exx. (15) (xxi) - (xxiii)).
- (c) Before a non-native monosyllabic stem (cf. Exx. (16) (viii) - (x)).

Exx. (16) (i)	/laban/	= to oppose, to fight.
	/ŋəlaban/	= opposes, fights.
(ii)	/laŋgaʔ/	= to gulp down.
	/ŋəlaŋgaʔ/	= gulps down.
(iii)	/rəndam/	= to soak.
	/ŋərəndam/	= soaks.

(iv)	/rəntʃ ah/	= to push, to rush.
	/ŋərəntʃ ah/	= pushes, rushes.
(v)	/paʔ/	= to press down.
	/ŋəpaʔ/	= presses down.
(vi)	/put/	= to shake.
	/ŋəput/	= shakes.
(vii)	/ma/	= a load.
	/ŋəma/	= carries on the back.
(viii)	/loən/	= a loan.
	/ŋəloən/	= takes a loan.
(ix)	/tʃ ap/	= print.
	/ŋətʃ ap/	= prints.
(x)	/tʃ at/	= paint.
	/ŋətʃ at/	= paints.

3.11.3 The Allomorph /Ø/

This allomorph occurs only with native polysyllabic stems which begin with nasal consonants. It is set up on the basis of a comparison between transitive verbs given in Exx. (15) and Exx. (16) and those in Exx. (17) below. When the transitive verbs of the first two groups are passivized by the prefix {di-} (cf. 3.15), they do not occur in their nasalized forms. On the other hand, the transitive verbs given in Exx. (17) do not undergo any change in the phonological shape of their stems, be they active or passive.

- Exx. (17) (i) /napat/ = to do (something) several times while another person does it once.
- (ii) /niŋas/ = to hope for, to look for.
- (iii) /ŋitʃa/ = to treat unkindly.

3.11.4

The Meanings of Nasalization

Nasalization as a class-changing morpheme derives intransitive verbs from nouns. This type of Nasalization can have any of these meanings:-

- (i) Possession.
- (ii) An unspecified meaning.

The meaning "possession" borne by Nasalization is found only in the nasalized example below:-

- Ex. (18) (i) /tiriʔ/ = step (children, parents etc.).
- /niriʔ/ = has step (children, parents etc.).

Nasalization which does not bear a specific meaning occurs in the verbs in Exx. (19) below.

3.12

The Morpheme {ʔən-}

This morpheme is represented by the following allomorphs:-

- (i) /ʔən-/, which occurs before alveolar and palatal consonants.
- (ii) /ʔəm-/, which occurs before bilabial plosives.
- (iii) /ʔəŋ-/, which occurs before velar plosives.

The allomorph /ʔən-/ is taken to represent all the three allomorphs, as it has more environments than the other two.

The morpheme {ʔən-} does not occur with stems beginning with /ʔ/ or with stems which are reduplicated. It does not have a specific meaning and its function in a verb is to indicate the active voice. Verbs which begin with /ʔ/ or whose stems are reduplicated (by the process of whole reduplication) utilize Nasalization for the purpose of indicating the active voice. The majority of verbs with {ʔən-} are intransitive.

- Exx. (21)
- (i) /səpot/ = breath, life.
 - /ʔənsəpot/ = breathes.
 - (ii) /tʃəla/ = to open the eyes on waking up from sleep.
 - /ʔəntʃəla/ = opens the eyes on waking up from sleep.

- (iii) /tʃabar/ = to neutralize the effect of something.
 /ʔəntʃabar/ = neutralizes the effect of something.
- (iv) /tʃabaw/ = to cut, to mow.
 /ʔəntʃabaw/ = cuts, mows.
- (v) /tʃəkoʔ/ = to stretch out.
 /ʔəntʃəkoʔ/ = stretches out.
- (vi) /kalik-kalik/ = to dangle or swing continuously.
 /ʔəŋkalik/ = dangles or swings (once).
- (vii) /kidʒap-kidʒap/ = to flash continuously.
 /ʔəŋkidʒap/ = flashes (once).
- (viii) /kəbap-kəbap/ = to flap the wings continuously.
 /ʔəŋkəbap/ = flaps the wings (once).
- (ix) /pəkap/ = to cackle (of hen).
 /ʔəmpəkap/ = cackles (of hen).

The morpheme {ʔən-} contrasts with Nasalization in the following examples:-

- Exx. (22) (i) /səluər/ = to plunge horizontally.
 /pəluər/ = plunges horizontally.
 /ʔənsəluər/ = makes a dive.

3.13

The Morpheme {bə-}

Verbs with this morpheme can be transitive or intransitive. Stems for the prefixation of {bə-} consist of nuclei, simple or complex, and the words which function as nuclei can belong to the verbal or the nominal class. The allomorphs of this morpheme are as follows:-

- (i) /bə-/
- (ii) /bər-/
- (iii) /bəl-/
- (iv) /pə-/
- (v) /ba-/
- (vi) /b-/

Allomorphs (i) - (iv) are positional allomorphs. The first three of these positional allomorphs are lexically conditioned, while the fourth one is grammatically conditioned. Allomorphs (v) and (vi) are free alternants.

The allomorph /bə-/ is taken to represent all the six allomorphs based on the following factors:-

- (i) Its productivity.
- (ii) Its statistical dominance over other allomorphs.
- (iii) Its phonological structure which enters into a pattern with the phonological structures of other prefixes: {tə-},

{pə-}, {sə-} (both nominal and verbal)
and {kə-} (both nominal and verbal).

3.13.1

The Allomorphs /bə-/

This allomorph can precede any consonant which forms the initial consonant of a stem.

Exx. (24) (i)	/puntʃ a/	= colour.
	/bəpuntʃ a/	= coloured.
(ii)	/bəris/	= a drizzle.
	/bəbəris/	= to drizzle.
(iii)	/tambaʔ/	= ridge.
	/bətambaʔ/	= to have or make a ridge.
(iv)	/darah/	= blood.
	/bədarah/	= to bleed.
(v)	/kumbaj/	= nomenclature.
	/bəkumbaj/	= to have as nomenclature.
(vi)	/gilik/	= to move (something) from side to side.
	/bəgilik/	= to move, to be unsteady.
(vii)	/ʔuloən/	= slave.
	/bəʔuloən/	= to regard (someone) as slave.
(viii)	/ʔakiət/	= raft.
	/bəʔakiət/	= to have or make a raft.

(ix)	/sita/	= story.
	/bəsitə/	= to tell a story.
(x)	/mupi/	= sound.
	/bəmupi/	= to make a sound.
(xi)	/randaw/	= conversation.
	/bərandaw/	= to converse.
(xii)	/lalaj/	= to conceal.
	/bəlalaj/	= to be in hiding.
(xiii)	/tʃuan/	= mould, cake-tin.
	/bətʃuan/	= to have a mould or cake-tin.
(xiv)	/dʒap/	= opposition.
	/bədʒap/	= to dispute with each other.

3.13.2

The Allomorphs /bəɾ-/ and /bəɭ-/

These allomorphs are considered together, because they have identical environments and they occur in a very limited number of words. Although they seem to occur only with stems with initial /ʔ/ (in which case, /ʔ/ is ellipsed), it does not mean that they are phonologically conditioned. Their occurrences are determined by the lexical items to which they are prefixed. Sometimes, /bəɾ-/ and /bəɭ-/ interchange freely (cf. examples (vi) and (vii) below).

Exx. (25) (i)	/ʔasaj/	= feeling.
	/bəɾasaj/	= to feel.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| (ii) | /ʔanaʔ/ | = offspring. |
| | /bəranaʔ/ | = to give birth. |
| (iii) | /ʔatoər/ | = to arrange. |
| | /bəlatoər/ | = to line up. |
| (iv) | /ʔudʒan/ | = rain. |
| | /bərudʒan/ | = to be out in the rain. |
| (v) | /ʔimpuən/ | = to gather (people) into
a flock. |
| | /bərimpuən/ | = to be in a flock. |
| (vi) | /ʔaiʔ/ | = water. |
| | /bəraiʔ/ | = watery. |
| | /bəlaiʔ/ | |
| (vii) | /ʔantʃaw/ | = to spread out, to extend. |
| | /bərantʃaw/ | = to spread out, to extend. |
| | /bəlantʃaw/ | |

3.13.3

The Allomorph /pə-/

Intransitive verbs with {bə-} are made transitive by the suffixation of {-ka}. The allomorph /pə-/, which is grammatically conditioned, represents {bə-} in these transitive verbs in the following contexts:-

- (a) In the passive voice, i. e. when these verbs are passivized by the prefix {di-}.

(b) In an imperative sentence.

- Exx. (26) (i) /bədʒalaj/ = to walk.
 /bədʒalajka/ = to move (something), to drive.
 /dipədʒalajka/ = is moved, is driven.
 /pədʒalajka!/ = move (that)! Drive!
- (ii) /bərundiən/ = to discuss with.
 /bərundiənka/ = to discuss (something).
 /dipərundiənka/ = is discussed.
 /pərundiənka!/ = discuss (it)!
- (iii) /bəlandiʔ/ = to have skill or intelligence.
 /bəlandiʔka/ = to speak of (someone) with admiration.
 /dipəlandiʔka/ = is spoken of with admiration.
 /pəlandiʔka!/ = Do speak of (someone) with admiration!

3.13.4

The Allomorphs /bə-/ and /b-/

In some cases, the allomorph /bə-/ freely alternates with /ba-/ and /b-/. The second free alternant occurs when the stem begins with /ʔ/, and with this prefixation /ʔ/ is ellipsed. The first alternant occurs when the stem begins with any other consonant.

- Exx. (27) (i) /bəʔumaj/ = to have or work in the
/bumaj/ rice-field.
- (ii) /bəʔuliah/ = to get, to acquire.
/buliah/
- (iii) /bəʔisi/ = to have content or capacity.
/bisi/
- (iv) /batikiʔ/ = to visit one another.
/batikiʔ/
- (v) /bəkaŋaw/ = to have as nomenclature.
/bakaŋaw/

3.13.5

The Meanings of {bə-}

The prefix {bə-} signifies:-

- (i) Possession or "to make".
- (ii) Reciprocity.
- (iii) An unspecified meaning (cf. 3.11.4, where one of the meanings of Nasalization is also unspecified).

When it bears meaning (i), this prefix occurs only with single roots which are nominals. Most of the examples given in Exx. (24) and Exx. (25) illustrate the occurrence of this type of {bə-}. Verbs such as those given in Exx. (24)

(i), (ii), (iv), (ix) and (xi) and Exx. (25) (i) - (iv) are classified as bearing the meaning "to possess" or "to make", although these meanings may not be obvious from the translation.

Reciprocity is explicit if a transitive verb with {be-} is followed by /paŋan diri/, each other, one another. The prefix {be-} which bears meaning (i) above can also be classified as bearing meaning (ii), if the verb containing it is followed by /paŋam diri/ (cf. examples (iv) and (v) below).

- Exx. (28) (i) /bəʔimbuʔ paŋan diri/
= splash one another.
- (ii) /bəbunuəh paŋam diri/
= kill one another.
- (iii) /bəbərap paŋan diri/
= embrace each other.
- (iv) /bəmunsoəh paŋam diri/
= regard one another as enemies.
- (v) /bəgulaʃ paŋam diri/
have-social-group one another
= intermingle with one another.

Some of the verbs which denote reciprocity can be followed by the phrase /ʔəŋgaw/ + Nominal as an alternative to /paŋan diri/. In the context of /ʔəŋgaw/ + Nominal, these verbs are intransitive.

- Exx. (29) (i) /bəmunsoəh ʔəŋgaw sidaʔ/
 make-enemy with they
 = make enemies with them.
- (ii) /bəgulaʃ ʔəŋgaw noan/
 = intermingle with you.
- (iii) /bəbərap ʔəŋgaw ʔija/
 embrace with she
 = embraces her.
- (iv) /bətəmu ʔəŋgaw ʔija/
 meet with he
 = meets him.

The prefix {bə-} which does not convey a specific meaning occurs with stems which are verbs. This prefixation may or may not change the subclass of the verb. In some cases, {bə-} does not add any new meaning to the one already signified by the stem (cf. examples (iii) and (iv) below).

- Exx. (30) (i) /ʔadʒar/ = to teach.
 /bəladʒar/ = to learn.
- (ii) /ʔimpuən/ = to gather (people) into
 a flock.
 /bərimpuən/ = to be in a flock.
- (iii) /ʔuliəh/ = to get, to acquire.
 /buliəh/

- (iv) /ʔantʃaw/ = to spread out, to extend.
/berantʃaw/

3.14

The Morpheme {tə-}

The morpheme {tə-} has two free alternants: /tə-/ and /t-/. The latter freely replaces the former before /ʔ/. With /t-/, /ʔ/ is ellipsed. This morpheme is class-maintaining, but is not affixed to adjectives, which form a subclass of the intransitive verb. Stems for the prefixation of {tə-} are never reduplicated, and they consist of the structure R or {bə-} + R.

The prefix {tə-} signifies:-

- (i) Non-intention.
- (ii) Ability or possibility.

These two meanings can only be distinguished in the context of full sentences. The negative word /ʔəndaʔ/, /nadaʃ/ or /ʔukaj/ can occur before verbs with {tə-}, only if this prefix bears meaning (ii). It will be seen from Exx. (31) that not every occurrence of {tə-} can be interpreted with both the meanings given above.

- ~~Exx.~~ (31) (i)
- | | |
|----------|---------------------------|
| /ʔuliəh/ | - to acquire. |
| /tuliəh/ | - to acquire by accident; |
| | to be able to acquire. |

- (ii) /ʔindiʔ/ = to tread on.
 /təʔindiʔ/ = to tread on unintentionally; to be able to tread on.
- (iii) /pedaʔ/ = to see.
 /təpedaʔ/ = to notice; to be able to see.
- (iv) /pantop/ = to knock against.
 /təpantop/ = to stumble over.
- (v) /ŋətu/ = to stop.
 /təŋətu/ = to stop unintentionally.
- (vi) /rari/ = to run.
 /tərarɪ/ = to be able to run.

- (vii) /laboh/ = to fall.
 /telaboh/ = to fall accidentally.
- (viii) /bantu/ = to help.
 /təbantu/ = to be able to help.
- (ix) /labən/ = to oppose, to fight.
 /telabən/ = to be able to oppose,
 to be able to fight.
- (x) /lajar/ = to drift in the wind.
 /bəlar/ = to drift in the wind.
 /təbələr/ = is carried away by the
 wind (accidentally).
- (xi) /ləŋka/ = to let go.
 /bələŋka/ = to let go.

- (iv) /təbələjarka/ = (of the wind) to carry away (something) unintentionally; (of the wind) to be able to carry away (something).

Below are sentences which illustrate the use of {tə-} with its various meanings:-

- Exx. (33) (i) /ʔaku təpədaʔka ʔija/
= I accidentally saw him.
- (ii) /ʔaku ʔəndaʔ təpədaʔka paʔ/
I not able-to-see that
= I cannot possibly see that.
- (iii) /sidaʔ təbunuehka ʔija/
= They accidentally killed him.
- (iv) /ʔija təbunueh/
= He was accidentally killed.
- (v) /toʔ təlaboh/
= This accidentally fell.
- (vi) /ʔija təlabohka duku toʔ/
he accidentally-let-fall knife this
= He accidentally let this knife fall.
- (vii) /ʔija ʔəndaʔ təlabohka dan toʔ/
he not able-to-let-fall branch this
= He could not make this branch fall off.

3.15

The Morpheme {di-}

The stems for the prefixation of {di-} are transitive verbs which can consist of any of the following structures:-

- (i) Nuc + ({-ka})
- (ii) {kə-} + Nuc + {-ka}
- (iii) {bə-} + Nuc + {-ka}

The parentheses in (i) denote occurrences in certain cases only. Structure (i) minus {-ka} represents verbs which are transitive in their root-forms (cf. 3.11), while structure (i) plus {-ka} represents transitive verbs which are formed from intransitive verbs and the suffix {-ka} (cf. 3.18). Exx. (34) below illustrate passive verbs whose stems consist of structure (i) above, with or without {-ka}.

- Exx. (34)
- (i) /didiŋa/ = is heard, is listened to.
 - (ii) /dipeɣaj/ = is held.
 - (iii) /dipeɖaʔ/ = is seen.
 - (iv) /digagaj-gagaj/ = is continually chased.
 - (v) /dipulajka/ = is returned.
 - (vi) /didəraska/ = is made swift.
 - (vii) /diŋitʃa/ = is unkindly treated.

With structure (i), the allomorph /di-/ freely alternates with /d-/ when the stem begins with /ʔ/. With /d-/, /ʔ/ is ellipsed.

Exx. (35) (i)	/ʔapam/	= to weave.
	/diʔapam/	= is woven.
	/dapam/	
(ii)	/ʔəmpaʔ/	= to eat.
	/diʔəmpaʔ/	= is eaten.
	/dəmpaʔ/	
(iii)	/ʔintu/	= to look after.
	/diʔintu/	= is looked after.
	/dintu/	
(iv)	/ʔuluʔ/	= to lead, to guide.
	/diʔuluʔ/	= is led, is guided.
	/duluʔ/	

Examples of the prefixation of {di-} to stems consisting of structure (ii) (cf. 3.17) are as follows:-

Exx. (36) (i)	/dikəməboəkka/	= is made drunk.
(ii)	/dikədatajka/	= is brought.
(iii)	/dikəbəsaajka/	= is enlarged.

The occurrence of {di-} with stems consisting of structure (iii) are given in 3.13.3, Exx. (26).

3.16

The Morpheme {sə-}

This morpheme signifies "intensity". Its stems consist of roots which are adjectives. There are three free alter-

nants to this morpheme, and they are /sə-/, /sa-/ and /s-/. All the three members freely replace each other before /ʔ/; with /s-/, /ʔ/ is ellipsed. Before all the other consonants, only /sə-/ and /sa-/ can freely alternate with each other.

The allomorph /sə-/ is taken as basic for the following reasons:-

- (i) Its statistical dominance over the other two allomorphs.
- (ii) Its phonological structure, which enters into a pattern with the phonological structures of other prefixes: {bə-}, {tə-}, {pə-} and {kə-} (both verbal and nominal). (Cf. 3.13 for similar reasons which support the choice of /bə-/ as the basic allomorph of {bə-}).

Verbs with {sə-} are always preceded by their non-affixed counterparts, such that the whole phrase is a complex verbal phrase (cf. 5.13.12).

- Exx. (37) (i) /tingi/ = high, tall.
 /tingi sətingi/ = as high (or tall) as can be.
- (ii) /ʔingar/ = noisy.
 /ʔingar səʔingar/ = as noisy as can be.
- (iii) /ləmbut/ = soft, weak.

	/ləmbut sələmbut/	= as soft (or weak) as can be.
(iv)	/tʃ arut/	= confused.
	/tʃ arut sətʃ arut/	= as confused as can be.
(v)	/pandak/	= short.
	/pandak səpandak/	= as short as can be.
(vi)	/bəsaʃ/	= big.
	/bəsaʃ səbəsaʃ/	= as big as can be.

The above complex verbal phrases can be used in sentences such as the following:-

- Exx. (38) (i) /kajuʔ naʔ tiŋgi sətiŋgi/
= That tree is as tall as can be.
- (ii) /sidaʔ ʔiŋgar səʔiŋgar/
= They are as noisy as can be.

3.17

The Discontinuous Morpheme {kə - ka}

This morpheme has a causative meaning. Stems for the affixation of {kə - ka} are mostly intransitive verbs, both the intransitive verbs proper and the adjectives, but this morpheme seems to be more productive with the latter subclass. The only instance in which {kə - ka} proves to be class-changing is example (ix) below.

Exx. (39) (i)	/maboək/	= to be drunk.
	/kəməboəkka/	= to make (someone) drunk.
(ii)	/dataj/	= to come.
	/kədatajka/	= to bring, to cause to come.
(iii)	/manah/	= beautiful.
	/kəmanahka/	= to beautify.
(iv)	/pamaj/	= delicious.
	/kəpamajka/	= to make delicious.
(v)	/bəsaʃ/	✦ big.
	/kəbəsaʃka/	= to enlarge.
(vi)	/pandʒaʃ/	= long.
	/kəpandʒaʃka/	= to lengthen.
(vii)	/bəŋal/	= deaf.
	/kəbəŋalka/	= to deafen.
(viii)	/balat/	= serious.
	/kəbalatka/	= to intensify.
(ix)	/mataʔ/	= eye.
	/kəmataʔka/	= to watch.

All verbs with {kə - ka} can form stems for Nasalization (in the active voice) and the prefixation of {di-} (in the passive voice). In the former case, nasality extends over the first two syllables.

Exx. (40) (i)	/ŋəməboəkka/	= makes(someone) drunk.
(ii)	/ŋənatajka/	= brings, causes to come.

- (iii) /ŋəmanahka/ - beautifies.
 (iv) /ŋənamajka/ - makes delicious.
 (v) /ŋəməsajka/ - enlarges.

The affixation of {di-} to stems with {kə - ka} is illustrated by Exx. (36) in 3.15.

3.18 The Morpheme {-ka}

The morpheme {-ka} is class-maintaining as well as class-changing. This suffix is placed after the nucleus or after a stem formed by prefixing {bə-} or {tə-} to the nucleus. It also occurs as a constituent of the discontinuous morpheme {kə - ka} (cf. 3.17). Hence, verbs with {-ka} consist of the following structure:-

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \{bə-\} \\ \{tə-\} \\ \{kə-\} \end{array} \right) + \text{Nuc} + \{-ka\}$$

Condition

Nuc can be simple or complex.

All verbs formed according to this structure are transitive. In the active voice, verbs with the structures Nuc + {-ka} and {kə-} + Nuc + {-ka} are nasalized. All verbs with {-ka}, with the exception of those which also take the prefix {tə-}, can be passivized by {di-}. The phonological realization of {bə-} when preceded by {di-} is /pə-/ (cf. 3.13.3).

Semantically, the suffix {-ka} denotes:-

- (i) Causativity.
- (ii) The meaning "regard as" or "address as".
- (iii) An unspecified meaning (cf. 3.11.4 and 3.13.5, where unspecified meanings are also characteristics of Nasalization and {bə-}).

3.18.1

The Causative {-ka}

The morpheme {-ka} bears a causative meaning when it occurs in all the possible alternatives given in the structure in 3.18. In the structure {kə-} + Nuc + {-ka}, the causative meaning is borne by the whole of the discontinuous morpheme {kə-ka} (cf. 3.17). The causative {-ka} which is affixed to the nucleus or which forms a constituent of the discontinuous morpheme {kə - ka} is class-maintaining as well as class-changing, while its occurrence in the structures {bə-} + Nuc + {-ka} and {tə-} + Nuc + {-ka} is class-maintaining only. Below are examples of verbs with the structure Nuc + {-ka} in their active as well as passive voice.

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|------------------------|
| Exx. (41) (i) | /pulaj/ | = to return. |
| | /mulajka/ | = returns (something). |
| | /dipulajka/ | = is returned. |
| (ii) | /gali?/ | = to lie down. |

	/ŋaliʔka/	= lays down.
	/digaliʔka/	= is laid down.
(iii)	/kajaʔ/	= rich.
	/ŋajaʔka/	= enriches.
	/dikajaʔka/	= is enriched.
(iv)	/dani/	= to be awake.
	/nanika/	= wakes (someone) up.
	/didanika/	= is woken up.
(v)	/kəbal/	= invulnerable.
	/ŋəbalka/	= makes invulnerable.
	/dikəbalka/	= is made invulnerable.
(vi)	/tuŋaʔ/	= direction.
	/nuŋaʔka/	= turns in the direction of.
	/dituŋaʔka/	= is turned in the direction of.
(vii)	/tusu/	= milk, breast.
	/nusuka/	= breast-feeds.
	/ditusuka/	= is breast-fed.

The occurrences of the causative {-ka} in other contexts, as specified by the structure given in 3.18, are illustrated by Exx. (26), (32), (36), (39) and (40)

3.18.2 {-ka} with the Meaning "Regard as" or "Address as"

The morpheme {-ka} conveys the meaning "regard as" or "address as" when it is affixed to nouns which are either

- (viii) /ʔakiʔ/ = grandfather.
 /ʔakiʔka/ = to regard or address
 (someone) as grandfather.

The verbs in the above examples take Nasalization in the active voice and the prefix {di-} in the passive voice. Hence, the active and passive forms of Exx. (42) (i) - (iii) are Exx. (43) (i) - (iii).

- Exx. (43) (i) /ŋaŋgatka/, /diʔaŋgatka/
 (ii) /ŋalohka/, /diʔalohka/
 (iii) /ŋindajka/, /diʔindajka/

3.18.3 {-ka} with an Unspecified Meaning

The occurrence of {-ka} with an unspecified meaning can be divided into two types: distinctive and non-distinctive.

3.18.31 Distinctive Occurrence of {-ka} with an Unspecified Meaning

This type of {-ka} forms transitive from intransitive verbs.

- Exx. (44) (i) /sabaʔ/ = to weep.
 /sabaʔka/ = to weep over (something).
 (ii) /ʔaŋgaj/ = unwilling.
 /ʔaŋgajka/ = to refuse.

The transitive verbs in the above examples can be Nasalized or prefixed with {di-}. The verbs in Exx. (44) can be used in sentences such as the following:-

Exx. (45) (i) /ʔija ʔagi sabaʔ/

she still weep

= She is still weeping.

(ii) /ʔija ʔagi pabaʔka pəmaraj ʔanaʔ ʔija/

she still weep-over death offspring she

= She still weeps over her child's death.

(iii) /sidaʔ ʔəŋgaj/

they unwilling

= They are unwilling.

(iv) /sidaʔ ʔəŋgajka duit paʔ/

they refuse money that

= They refused the money.

3.18.32

Non-Distinctive Occurrence of {-ka} with
an Unspecified Meaning

Stems to which this type of {-ka} is suffixed consist of transitive verbs which occur in their root-forms. This suffixation does not bring any change in the grammatical function or the meaning of the verb concerned, such that the verb with {-ka} can freely replace its non-suffixed counterpart.

- Exr. (46) (i) /suaʔ/ = to hand over (something).
 /suaʔka/
- (ii) /tat/ = to bear, to submit.
 /tatka/
- (iii) /kujas/ = to tear off.
 /kujaska/
- (iv) /tarit/ = to pull.
 /taritka/
- (v) /rinduʔ/ = to love, to like.
 /rinduʔka/
- (vi) /ʔimbur/ = to scatter (something).
 /ʔimburka/

All these verbs take Nasalization in the active voice and the prefix {di-} in the passive voice.

3.2

The Nominal Morphemes

The bound morphemes which are classified as nominal morphemes are as follows:-

- (i) {pə-}
 (ii) {sə-}
 (iii) {kə-}

The first prefix is class-changing, the third is class-maintaining, while the second is class-maintaining as well as class-changing.

3.21 The Morpheme {pə-}

Stems for the prefixation of {pə-} are verbs with the structure Nasaliz + R, where R can be a transitive verb, an intransitive verb proper or an adjective. Nouns derived from the prefixation of {pə-} to the stems mentioned above can be human, concrete or abstract, depending on the verbal subclass the stem enters.

3.21.1 {pə-} + Nasaliz + Transitive Verb

Nouns with the structure {pə-} + Nasaliz + Transitive Verb are human, concrete and abstract. The human noun signifies the agent of action, while the concrete noun signifies the instrument ~~or~~ object of action.

Exx. (47) Human Nouns

- | | | |
|-------|-------------|---|
| (i) | /ʔinsap/ | = to smoke. |
| | /pəŋinsap/ | = smoker. |
| (ii) | /ʔimpuən/ | = to keep safe. |
| | /pəŋimpuən/ | = one who takes charge of
(something). |
| (iii) | /paup/ | = to help. |
| | /pəpaup/ | = helper. |

Exx. (48) Concrete Nouns

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|--|
| (i) | /ʔindiʔ/
/pəŋindiʔ/ | = to tread on.
= a mat used in treading sago. |
| (ii) | /baluət/
/pəmaluət/ | = to wrap, to bandage.
= anything used for wrapping or bandaging. |
| (iii) | /paluʔ/
/pəmaluʔ/ | = to beat.
= an instrument used for beating. |
| (iv) | /bubok/
/pəmbubok/ | = to pierce.
= an opener (for tin etc.) |
| (v) | /pakaj/
/pəmakaj/ | = to eat.
= food. |
| (vi) | /bisiʔ/
/pəmbisiʔ/ | = to possess.
= possession. |

Exx. (49) Abstract Nouns

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|--|
| (i) | /təmu/
/pənəmu/ | = to know.
= knowledge. |
| (ii) | /ʔadaŋ/
/pəŋadaŋ/ | = to expect.
= expectation. |
| (iii) | /kaŋaw/
/pəŋaŋaw/ | = to call, to shout.
= a call, a shout. |

- (iv) /diŋa/ = to hear.
 /pəniŋa/ = what one hears.

3.21.2 {pə-} + Nasaliz + Intransitive Verb Proper

Nouns with the structure {pə-} + Nasaliz + Intransitive Verb Proper are human, concrete and abstract. {pə-} is most productive in the derivation of abstract nouns. The human noun denotes the agent of action, and the concrete noun the place of action.

Exx. (50) Human Nouns

- (i) /pəkit/ = to compete.
 /pəməkit/ = competitor.
 (ii) /ŋəŋgap/ = to look ahead.
 /pəŋəŋgap/ = one who has forethought.

Exx. (51) Concrete Nouns

- (i) /tindoəʔ/ = to sleep.
 /pənindoəʔ/ = place for sleeping.
 (ii) /ʔiŋgap/ = to alight (of birds).
 /pəŋiŋgap/ = place where the bird alights.

Exx. (52) Abstract Nouns

- (i) /dataj/ = to come.
 /pənataj/ = arrival.

- | | | |
|-------|------------|---------------------|
| (ii) | /paraj/ | = to die, dead. |
| | /pəmaraj/ | = death. |
| (iii) | /ʔidoəp/ | = to live. |
| | /pəŋidoəp/ | = livelihood. |
| (iv) | /diaw/ | = to live, to stay. |
| | /pəndiaw/ | = life. |

3.21.3 {pə-} + Nasaliz + Adjective

The structure {pə-} + Nasaliz + Adjective derives abstract nouns, and is very productive.

- Exx. (53)
- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) | /riŋat/ | = angry. |
| | /pəŋəriŋat/ | = anger. |
| (ii) | /ləmbut/ | = weak, soft. |
| | /pəŋələmbut/ | = weakness, softness. |
| (iii) | /lansik/ | = sharp. |
| | /pəŋəlansik/ | = sharpness. |
| (iv) | /manah/ | = beautiful. |
| | /pəmanah/ | = beauty. |
| (v) | /pand ₃ aj/ | = long. |
| | /pəmand ₃ aj/ | = length. |

3.22 The Morpheme {se-}

This morpheme has three free alternants: /sə-/, /sa-/ and /s-/. All these alternants can replace each other freely

before /ʔ/. With /s-/, /ʔ/ is ellipsed. Only the first two alternants can occur before other consonants. The allomorph /sə-/ is taken as the basic allomorph because of its statistical dominance and its phonological structure which conforms with the phonological patterns of most of the prefixes in the language (cf. 3.16).

As a class-maintaining morpheme, {sə-} is placed before R which is a noun, or before a nominal stem with the structure {pə-} + Nasalized Stem (cf. 3.21), but as a class-changing morpheme, it is prefixed to a Nasalized Stem. (cf. 3.11). Each type of stem determines the meaning or meanings conveyed by {sə-} in a particular word.

3.22.1 {sə-} + R

The prefix {sə-} in the structure {sə-} + R means "one".

Exx. (54) (i)	/bilieʔ/	= room, family.
	/səbilieʔ/	= one room, one family.
(ii)	/piaʔ/	= section.
	/səpiaʔ/	= one section.
(iii)	/bənʔkah/	= portion.
	/səbənʔkah/	= one portion.
(iv)	/ʔikoʔ/	= numeral coefficient for animate nouns.

- | | | |
|-----|---------|---|
| | /sikoʔ/ | = one (person, animal). |
| (v) | /ʔigiʔ/ | = numeral coefficient for
certain inanimate nouns. |
| | /sigiʔ/ | = one (fruit, egg etc.). |

3.22.2

{sə-} + {pə-} + Nasalized Stem

The Nasalized Stem in this structure is one whose nucleus is a transitive verb or an intransitive verb proper (cf. 3.21.1 and 3.21.2). Nouns with the above structure are the only instances of words in Iban which have three prefixes (cf. 3.0). The prefix {sə-} in this context bears the meaning "distance", "quantity" or "one", and it is more productive with the first meaning than with the latter two.

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|--|
| Exx. (55) (i) | /pəpəpaj/ | = arm's reach. |
| | /səpəpəpaj/ | = the distance within an
arm's reach. |
| (ii) | /pəmərap/ | = an embrace. |
| | /səpəmərap/ | = measure of girth. |
| (iii) | /pənɪŋa/ | = what one hears. |
| | /səpənɪŋa/ | = the distance within earshot. |
| (iv) | /pəŋaŋaw/ | = a call, a shout. |
| | /səpəŋaŋaw/ | = the distance within earshot. |
| (v) | /pəpan/ | = what is carried on the
shoulder. |

- /səpəpan/ = as much as can be carried
on the shoulder.
- (vi) /pənəmu/ = knowledge.
- /səpənəmu/ = one opinion; as much as
one knows.

3.22.3 {sə-} + Nasalized Stem

The structure {sə-} + Nasalized Stem is not productive. The prefix {sə-} in this structure is class-changing and it bears the meaning "all". The Nasalized Stem can be reduplicated.

- Exx. (56) (i) /pand₃aj/ = long.
- /səmand₃aj/ = the entire length.
- /səmand₃aj-mand₃aj/ = all the entire length.
- (ii) /dəkaʔ/ = will.
- /sənəkaʔ/
- /sənəkaʔ-nəkaʔ/ = all that one wishes for.

3.23 The Morpheme {kə-}

This morpheme occurs only with numerals. With the numeral /satu/, one, the form resulting from the prefixation of {kə-} is an ordinal, but with any other numeral, the resultant form can either be an ordinal or a cardinal, depending on

the position in which this form occurs in relation to another nominal. Before a nominal, it is a cardinal, but after it, it is an ordinal. As a cardinal prefix, {kə-} bears the meaning "all".

Exx. (57) (i)	/satu/	= one.
	/kəsatu/	= first.
(ii)	/dua/	= two.
	/kədua ?ika? ?uraŋ/	
	both Coef persons	= both persons.
	/?uraŋ kədua/	= second person.
(iii)	/tiga/	= three.
	/ketiga buah rumah/	
	all-the-three Coef houses	= all the three houses.
	/rumah ketiga/	= third house.

3.3

Reduplication

Reduplication is class-maintaining as well as class-changing. It can be partial or total, and is classified as verbal or nominal. What is meant by a verbal or a nominal reduplication is the process of reduplication, partial or total, which results in a verbal or a nominal respectively.

The effects of reduplication on the meanings of words are as follows:-

- (i) A zero-effect, which entails a free alternation between the reduplicated word

and its non-reduplicated counterpart
(cf. Exx. (58) and Exx. (59) (i) - (iii)).

- (ii) A total change, such that the meaning of the reduplicated word is unrelated (cf. Exx. (60) (ix) - (xi)) or antonymous (cf. Exx. (60) (xii) and Exx. (62) (i)) to that of its non-reduplicated counterpart.
- (iii) A partial change, which implies that the basic meaning remains, but is supplemented with various connotations for the different classes of words and their subclasses. This type of effect is illustrated by most of the examples given in this section.

3.31

Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication is not productive. It is a special case of prefixation in which the first syllable of the root is repeated. The structure of the partially reduplicated word is then Pre + R, where Pre represents the repeating syllable.

For the purpose of clarifying the process of this type of reduplication, the phonological structure of the partially

reduplicated word is set up as S1 + S2 +X, where S1 is the repeating syllable, S2 the repeated syllable, and X stands for any other syllable or syllables. If the syllable-nucleus of S2 is /i/, this vowel is repeated in S1. Otherwise, the nucleus of S1 is always /ə/, even though that of S2 has another quality, back or front. There are a few exceptions to this rule, where /a/ of S2 is repeated in S1, but this exceptional occurrence of /a/ can be freely substituted by /ə/ (cf. Exx. (59) (iv) and Exx. (66) (v)).

3.31.1 Verbal Partial Reduplication

Verbal partial reduplication is found to occur only in two examples, and in both cases, the reduplication is class-maintaining. It does not seem to add any new meaning to the word, and its function in example (i) below is similar to that of Nasalization, which indicates the active voice (cf. 3.11).

- | | | |
|---------------|------------|------------------------|
| Exx. (58) (i) | /ləŋaw/ | = to long for. |
| | /lələŋaw/ | = longs for. |
| (ii) | /ləndu?/ | = handsome, beautiful. |
| | /lələndu?/ | |

3.31.2 Nominal Partial Reduplication

Nominal partial reduplication is class-maintaining as well as class-changing. The class-maintaining reduplication

can have a zero-meaning (cf. 3.3) or the meaning "likeness", which is relatable to the meaning of the non-reduplicated form, (cf. example (iv) below). The class-changing type denotes the agent or the substance, both of which are relatable to the meanings of the roots. This latter type is illustrated by examples (v) - (vii) which also indicate that partial reduplication can have a function equivalent to that of the nominal prefix {pə-} (cf. 3.21).

- Exx. (59) (i) /d₃aboəŋ/ = a tuft of hair.
 /d₃əd₃aboəŋ/
- (ii) /d₃ampuəʔ/ = a kind of spinach.
 /d₃əd₃ampuəʔ/
- (iii) /supit/ = a bag made of nipah leaves.
 /səsupit/
- (iv) /laki/ = husband.
 /ləlaki/
 /lalaki/ = male.
- (v) /lajaŋ/ = to hover, to skim.
 /ləlajaŋ/ = swallows, swift.
- (vi) /d₃aga/ = to be on guard.
 /d₃əd₃aga/ = policeman.
- (vii) /mit/ = small.
 /mimit/ = a little bit.

3.32 Total Reduplication

Total reduplication consists of the repetition of:-

- (i) R
- (ii) Pre + R

3.32.1 Verbal Total Reduplication

Verbal total reduplication is divided into two main types based on its class-maintaining and class-changing characteristics.

3.32.11 Verbal Total Reduplication: Type I

This type of verbal total reduplication is class-maintaining. It is divided into two ^{sub-}types based on:-

- (i) The subclass-membership of R.
- (ii) The meaning conveyed by reduplication.

In one subtype, R is a transitive verb or an intransitive verb proper, while in the other it is an adjective.

3.32.11.1 Total Reduplication of Transitive Verbs and Intransitive Verbs Proper

Reduplication of transitive verbs and intransitive verbs proper operates on R as well as Pre + R, where Pre is filled by Nasalization (cf. example (v) below). The effect

of this type of reduplication on the meaning of the word is a partial change (cf. 3.3). As a result, ~~total~~ reduplication of the transitive verb or the intransitive verb proper bears the meaning "continuity" or "likeness" of action relatable to the meaning of the root. Exceptions are examples (ix) - (xii), which indicate that reduplication in the context under discussion can also engender a total change in the meaning of a word (cf. 3.3).

- Exx.(60) (i) /kəbut/ = to move, to stir (something).
 /kəbut-kəbut/ = to move, to stir (intransitive).
 (ii) /kətʃit/ = to jump.
 /kətʃit-kətʃit/ = to leap.
 (iii) /katʃaw/ = disturbed, troubled.
 /katʃaw-katʃaw/ = moved, moving.
 (iv) /kiduʔ/ = to move, to wriggle.
 /kiduʔ-kiduʔ/ = to move as a snake does.
 (v) /pandʒoŋ/ = to shout, to call.
 /mandʒoŋ-mandʒoŋ/ = keeps on shouting or calling.
 (vi) /dikuit/ = is waved, is wagged.
 /dikuit-kuit/ = is kept waving or wagging.
 (vii) /bətampon/ = connected.
 /bətampon-tampon/ = to be in a series.

- (viii) /bədʒalaj/ = to walk.
 /bədʒalaj-dʒalaj/ = to walk on and on.
- (ix) /rakah/ = spreading (of trees).
 /rakah-rakah/ = roaring (of laughter).
- (x) /təraj/ = to belch.
 /təraj-təraj/ = to be in high spirits.
- (xi) /məkat/ = small.
 /məkat-məkat/ = beautiful.
- (xii) /gariŋ/ = to roll.
 /gariŋ-gariŋ/ = to lie still.

3.32.11.2

Total Reduplication of Adjectives

Total reduplication of adjectives operates on R, and it bears the meaning "intensity".

- Exx. (61) (i) /manah/ = beautiful.
 /manah-manah/ = very beautiful.
- (ii) /landaj/ = gentle.
 /landaj-landaj/ = very gentle.
- (iii) /mit/ = small.
 /mit-mit/ = very small.
- (iv) /lantaŋ/ = happy, peaceful.
 /lantaŋ-lantaŋ/ = very happy, very peaceful.
- (v) /bəsaʒ/ = big.
 /bəsaʒ-bəsaʒ/ = very big.

3.32.12

Verbal Total Reduplication: Type II

This type of verbal total reduplication is class-changing. It mainly derives verbs from nouns, and in this context, it denotes an action which is relatable to the meaning of R. The only example of the derivation of a verb from a function word by reduplication is (i) below, where the meaning of the reduplicated form seems to be antonymous to that of its non-reduplicated counterpart.

- Exx. (62) (i) /pam/ = an exclamation of pleasure.
 /pam-pam/ = tasteless, insipid.
 (ii) /tʃit/ = mouse.
 /tʃit-tʃit/ = to squeak.
 (iii) /ləgit/ = the highest part of a tree.
 /ləgit-ləgit/ = to tower over.
 (iv) /kid₃ap/ = a flash, a sparkle.
 /kid₃ap-kid₃ap/ = to flash, to sparkle.

3.32.2

Nominal Total Reduplication

Nominal total reduplication is class-maintaining as well as class-changing, and it consists of the repetition of R or Pre + R, where Pre is filled by the nominal prefix {sə-} (cf. 3.22.1). This type of reduplication is divided into three types based on:-

- (i) The structure of the reduplicated word.
- (ii) The meaning conveyed by reduplication in each structure.

3.32.21 Nominal Total Reduplication: Type I

This type of nominal total reduplication is not productive. It operates on R and is class-maintaining as well as class-changing. It bears the meaning "likeness".

- Exx. (63) (i) /ʔaru/ = to have much sap.
 /ʔaru-ʔaru/ = glutinous rice.
- (ii) /kuda/ = horse.
 /kuda-kuda/ = trestles forming a kind of carpenter's bench.

3.32.22 Nominal Total Reduplication: Type II

In this type, reduplication operates only on R, but the reduplicated form is prefixed with {se-} (cf. 3.22.1). This type of reduplication is class-maintaining and bears the meaning "duration".

- Exx. (64) (i) /malam/ = night.
 /səmalam-malam/ = the whole night long.
- (ii) /ʔari/ = day.
 /sari-ʔari/ = the whole day long.
- (iii) /ləmaj/ = evening.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------|
| | /sələmaj-ləmaj/ | = all evening. |
| (iv) | /rantu/ | = way, road. |
| | /sərantu-rantu/ | = all the way. |

This type of reduplication with a temporal reference (examples (i) - (iii)) is more productive than the one with a spatial reference.

3.32.23 Nominal Total Reduplication

In this type, the whole of the structure Pre + R is reduplicated, and Pre is filled by {sə-} (cf. 3.22.1). It is class-maintaining and denotes "enumeration".

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Exx. (65) (i) | /sikoʔ/ | = one (person, animal). |
| | /sikoʔ-sikoʔ/ | = one by one (person, animal). |
| (ii) | /səpiaʔ/ | = one section. |
| | /səpiaʔ-səpiaʔ/ | = section by section. |
| (iii) | /səbəŋkah/ | = one portion. |
| | /səbəŋkah-səbəŋkah/ | = portion by portion. |
| (iv) | /səbilibʔ/ | = one family. |
| | /səbilibʔ-səbilibʔ/ | = family by family. |

3.33 More Remarks on Reduplication

There are instances of reduplication, partial and total, which do not have corresponding root-forms.

- Exx. (66) (i) /ləladʒaŋ/ = single (in songs).
 (ii) /gəgudi/ = kite.
 (iii) /dʒədʒage/ = a kind of water insect.
 (iv) /kəkambu/ = a tassel on sword-belt.
 (v) /ləlabu/ = piston on Dayak bellows.
 /lalabu/
 (vi) /raŋap-raŋap/ = open-mouthed.
 (vii) /ranaŋ-ranaŋ/ = corpulent.
 (viii) /gətok-gətok/ = to nag.
 (ix) /tʃagaj-tʃagaj/ = to stream out.
 (x) /bətik-bətik/ = to stare.

Some examples indicate a free alternation between partial and total reduplication.

- Exx. (67) (i) /gəgiaw/ = tall and slender.
 /giaw-giaw/
 (ii) /gəgətak/ = to shake, to sway.
 /gətak-gətak/
 (iii) /dʒədʒəgo/ = to wander aimlessly.
 /dʒəgo-dʒəgo/
 (iv) /gəgəndʒo/ = to wander about.
 /gəndʒo-gəndʒo/
 (v) /gəgənaŋ/ = to be clear of obstruction.
 /gənaŋ-gənaŋ/

- (vi) /gəgənd₃at/ = to run awkwardly
 /gənd₃at-gənd₃at/ (of young deer).
- (vii) /tʃətʃ aməŋ/ = to ^{hesitate} be scruple to.
 /tʃ aməŋ-tʃ aməŋ/
- (viii) /lələnduʔ/ = handsome, beautiful.
 /lənduʔ-lənduʔ/

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CHAPTER 4

WORD-CLASSES

4.0 Words can be classified into their various classes on the basis of their internal compositions or their distributions or both. By internal composition is meant the relationship between the elements (i. e. the morphemes) that constitute the word. The distribution of the word is defined as the relationship between the word as a member of a particular class with other words as members of other classes in the structure of a phrase or a sentence. The two criteria mentioned above are known as the morphological and the syntactical criteria respectively.

A morphological criterion does not fully define the concept "word-class", as its application merely results in paradigmatic sets. Nothing else pertaining to the structural behaviour of the words concerned is explicable from such a set. As Iban has a very small number of bound morphemes, three-fifths of which are class-changing and where some morphemes, for instance the morphemes Nasalization and {ʔən-}, prove to be optional ^{in certain} usages (cf. 4.11), this criterion alone is far from satisfactory. It is more plausible in this sort of analysis to take into account the identical syntactic function that words exhibit in a structure in order that they

can be considered as belonging to the same class. In the treatment of word-classes in Iban, this latter criterion is taken as the basis of analysis, but the morphological criterion is not dispensed with altogether. This is due to the fact that there is a correlation between the morphological structure of a word and its syntactic class, in the sense that a word with a particular morpheme class enters a particular syntactic class.

There are three major word-classes in Iban. They are verbals, nominals and function words. Each of these classes can be divided into subclasses which can undergo further subclassification. Certain subclasses of the verbals can also undergo a cross-classification. The syntactical classification of these words are based on three dimensions:-

- (i) The positions they occupy in a given unmarked structure (cf. 1.5).
- (ii) Their co-occurrence with other words.
- (iii) Their substitutabilities.¹

Nominals and verbals are full words, while the function words can either be full words or particles. A full word, as used in this thesis, is defined as the minimal form of a

1. R. H. Robins, General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey (Longmans, London, 1964), p. 224.

phrase (cf. Chapter 5), and it can occur by itself as an element of a sentence-structure or as a sentence. A particle is a word which presupposes the occurrence of a full word in order to function in a phrase or a sentence.

Full words can either be simple or complex. A simple word is a word occurring in its root-form (R), while a complex word consists of an obligatory R which is either affixed or reduplicated or both. For the structure of the Iban word, simple or complex, refer to 3.0.

4.1 Verbals

The term verbal (Vb) stands for the auxiliary verb (Aux), the verb (V), or the two combined (Aux + V). The verbal occurs at VP (verbal phrase) in the unmarked structure NP - VP or in any marked structure where VP is an element (cf. Chapter 6). Aux or V can stand as the minimal form of VP. Auxiliary verbs are invariable as they do not enter any set of paradigms, while the verbs are variable.

4.11 Verbs

The syntactic class of some verbs correlates with their morphological class in the sense that verbs with the verbal

affixes occur at VP in a sentence-structure. Conversely, there are verbs which occur at VP but which do not take any of the verbal affixes. Such verbs are the non-derived intransitive verbs which occur in their root-forms (cf. 4.11.2).

In terms of the composition of VP which can be branched out into (Aux) + V + (NP) + (Adv) (cf. 5.12), verbs are classified into those which can take a following NP in an unmarked structure and those which cannot. The first subclass is transitive, while the second is intransitive. The bracketed NP in the unmarked structure above is termed object. In the unmarked sentence-structures NP - VP and NP - NP - (Adv), the leftmost NP is the subject of the sentence, while the VP or the NP - (Adv) that follows it is the predicate.

4.11.1

Transitive Verbs

The transitive verbs (V_{tr}) are subclassified into the transitive verbs proper (V_t) and the middle verbs (V_{mid}). The first subclass can undergo passivization, while the second cannot.

4.11.11

Transitive Verbs Proper

The transitive verbs proper (V_t) are divided into six subclasses based on:-

- (i) The transitivity ~~and~~ the non-transitivity of their root-forms.
- (ii) The optional or obligatory presence of their objects.
- (iii) The types of objects which they take: single or double.

The first criterion divides V_t into the primary and the secondary V_t ; hence, $V_{t\text{-prim}}$ and $V_{t\text{-sec}}$ respectively. The second criterion entails the subclassification of V_t into $V_{t\text{-a}}$ and $V_{t\text{-b}}$. The former can occur in the absence of an object, while the latter cannot. The application of criterion (iii) results in the division of V_t into $V_{t\text{-so}}$, which takes a single object only, and $V_{t\text{-do}}$, which can take a single as well as a double object. These three pairs form a cross-classification rather than a subclassification of each other (cf. 4.13, Diagram (2)).

4.11.11.1

Primary and Secondary Transitive Verbs Proper

The primary V_t consists of the non-derived V_t , while the secondary V_t consists of the derived V_t . In the active

voice, both the subclasses take Nasalization or {ʔən-}, but with the primary V_t , these two prefixes are optional, as shown in Exx. (1) below.

Exx. (1)	(i)	/buat/	= holds (a load).
		/muat/	
	(ii)	/pədaʔ/	= sees.
		/mədaʔ/	
	(iii)	/diŋa/	= hears, listens to.
		/niŋa/	
	(iv)	/tikiʔ/	= climbs.
		/nikiʔ/	
	(v)	/dʒəpuət/	= takes a pinch of.
		/nəpuət/	
	(vi)	/ʔinsap/	= smokes.
		/ŋinsap/	
	(vii)	/tʃulit/	
		/pulit/	= takes up (food) on finger.
		/ʔəntʃulit/	
	(viii)	/tʃəlaŋ/	
		/nəlaŋ/	= opens the eyes (in water).
		/ʔəntʃəlaŋ/	

In the passive voice, the primary V_t takes the prefix {di-} (cf. 3.15). The presence of {-ka} is optional in certain verbs which are classified as primary V_t (cf. 3.18.32).

The structure of the primary V_t is formulated as follows:-

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Nasaliz} \\ \{ ?\text{ən-} \} \\ \{ \text{di-} \} \end{array} \right) + (R) + (\text{Nasaliz}) + R + (\{-ka\})$$

Conditions

- (a) The presence of the first Nasaliz is required by that of the second Nasaliz.
- (b) $\{ ?\text{ən-} \}$ and $\{ \text{di-} \}$ are mutually exclusive with the second Nasaliz.
- (c) $\{ ?\text{ən-} \}$ is mutually exclusive with the optional R (cf. 3.12).

The secondary V_t can be formed from an intransitive verb or a nominal. The intransitive verbs which undergo transitivity are those with the structure R or $\{ \text{bə-} \} + R$. Those intransitive verbs with the structure R can be made transitive by $\{-ka\}$ (cf. 3.18.1, Exx. (41) (i) - (v)) or $\{ \text{kə} - \text{ka} \}$ (cf. 3.17, Exx. (39)). On the other hand, the intransitive verbs with the structure $\{ \text{bə-} \} + R$ can only be made transitive by $\{-ka\}$ (cf. 3.13.3, Exx. (26)). Transitive verbs are derived from nominals by $\{-ka\}$ (cf. 3.18.1, Exx. (41) (vi) - (vii) and 3.18.2, Exx. (42)). In the passive voice, all verbs which are classified as the secondary V_t can take the verbal prefix $\{ \text{di-} \}$ (cf. 3.15), while in the active voice, only

those with the prefix {bə-} cannot be Nasalized.

The structure of the secondary V_t is summarized as follows:-

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Nasaliz} \\ \{di-\} \end{array} \right) + \left(\begin{array}{c} \{kə-\} \\ \{bə-\} \end{array} \right) + (R) + (\text{Nasaliz}) + R + \{-ka\}$$

Conditions

- (a) The presence of the first Nasaliz is required by that of the second Nasaliz.
- (b) The second Nasaliz is mutually exclusive with {di-}, {kə-} and {bə-}.

4.11.11.2 Transitive Verbs Proper with Optional/Obligatory Presence of Objects

The subclasses in question are V_{t-a} and V_{t-b} (cf. 4.11.11).

Most verbs of the secondary V_t are V_{t-b} . Below are examples of V_{t-a} and V_{t-b} .

Exx. (2)

V_{t-a}

- | | | |
|--------|----------|----------------------|
| (i) | /mədaʔ/ | = sees. |
| (ii) | /ŋukir/ | = carves. |
| (iii) | /ʔiŋat/ | = remembers. |
| (iv) | /ŋiroəp/ | = drinks. |
| (v) | /makaj/ | = eats. |
| (vi) | /niŋa/ | = hears, listens to. |
| (vii) | /nəmu/ | = knows. |
| (viii) | /ŋapam/ | = weaves. |
| (ix) | /ŋasuʔ/ | = hunts. |
| (x) | /mutuəŋ/ | = taps (rubber). |

Exx. (3)

V_{t-b}

- | | | |
|-------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| (i) | /ʔimbur/ | = scatters (something). |
| (ii) | /kəɾəmbaj/ | = spreads (something). |
| (iii) | /ʔikaʔka/ | = loves deeply. |
| (iv) | /ŋakaʔka/ | = regards (someone) as elder sibling. |
| (v) | /ŋəmanahka/ | = beautifies. |

- (vi) /madahka/ = informs.
 (vii) /bəkirumka/ = sends (through someone
 or the post).
 (viii) /puaʔka/ = hands over.
 (ix) /piburka/ = serves (food or someone).

4.11.11.3 Transitive Verbs Proper with Single/Double Objects

The subclasses discussed in this subsection are V_{t-so} and V_{t-do} (cf. 4.11.11). V_{t-so} takes a single object only, while V_{t-do} can take a single as well as a double object. A double object consists of an indirect and a direct object which occur in that order in an unmarked structure. With V_{t-so} , a single object is always a direct object, but with V_{t-do} , it can be a direct or an indirect object (cf. Exx. (6)). For the purpose of this study, the direct and the indirect objects are symbolized as NP2 and NP3 respectively, while the subject is symbolized as NP1. The occurrences of these objects in a sentence-structure are illustrated by the following examples:-

- Exx. (4) (i) /ʔija ʔudah pumaj ʔasi ʔija/
 NP1 Aux V NP2
 she already cooked rice she
 = She has already cooked her rice.

(ii) /noan ʔapin tau məriʔ ʔija duit/

NP1 Aux Aux V NP3 NP2

you not-yet can give she money

= You cannot give her money yet.

NP2 and NP3 differ in the fact that NP3 can occur in the prepositional phrase /ŋagaj/ + NP3, where /ŋagaj/, to, is a preposition. NP2 cannot function in a ~~context~~ parallel to the phrase above. Hence, sentence (ii) in Exx. (4) corresponds to the following:-

Exx. (5) (i) /noan ʔapin tau məriʔ duit ŋagaj ʔija/

NP1 Aux Aux V NP2 Prep NP3

= You cannot give money to her yet.

The verb /məriʔ/ in the sentence above is a V_{t-do} and so are the verbs in Exx. (3) (vi) - (ix). V_{t-so} is illustrated by Exx. (2).

A V_{t-so} can be a primary V_{t-so} (cf. Exx. (2)) or a secondary V_{t-so} (cf. Exx. (3) (iii) - (v)). The primary V_{t-so} can be a V_{t-a} (cf. Exx. (2)) or a V_{t-b} (cf. Exx. (3) (i) and (ii)). The primary V_{t-do} is exemplified only by /məriʔ/, gives, which is a V_{t-a} , while the secondary V_{t-do} is classified as V_{t-b} , as it ~~must~~ occur with at least one object, direct ~~or~~ or indirect (cf. Exx. (3) (vi) - (ix)). A single object in the context of V_{t-do} is always an indirect object if it is represented by an animate noun.

- Ex. (6) (i) /ʔija madahka naʔ/
 = She told that (to someone)
- (ii) /ʔija madahka ʔaku/
 = She told me (about that).
- (iii) /sidaʔ piburka pənanan/
 = They served cakes.
- (iv) /sidaʔ piburka kitaj/
 = They served us (with cakes).

Compare sentence (ii) of the above with the following:-

- Ex. (7) (i) /ʔija madahka pasal ʔaku/
 she told affair I
 = She told about me (to other people).

4.11.12

Middle Verbs

The middle verbs (V_{mid}) are transitive verbs which cannot be passivized. These verbs fall into four subclasses based on:-

- (i) The transitivity and the non-transitivity of their root-forms.
- (ii) The obligatory and optional presence of their objects.

The first criterion divides the verbs into primary and secondary middle verbs; hence, $V_{mid-prim}$ and $V_{mid-sec}$

respectively. The second criterion results in the subclassification of the verbs into $V_{\text{mid-a}}$ and $V_{\text{mid-b}}$. The former can occur in the absence of its object, while the latter cannot. The two pairs form a cross-classification of each other (cf. 4.11.11).

4.11.12.1 Primary and Secondary Middle Verbs

The primary middle verbs are those which occur in their root-forms and are few in number.

- Exx. (8)
- | | | |
|-------|----------|------------------------|
| (i) | /bisiʔ/ | = to have, to possess. |
| (ii) | /ʔəmpu/ | = to have, to possess. |
| (iii) | /dʒadiʔ/ | = to marry. |
| (iv) | /padi/ | = to become. |

The secondary middle verbs consist of the structures {bə-} + R and {tə-} + R + {-ka}. In the first-mentioned structure, R can be a transitive verb proper (cf. examples (i) and (ii) below) or a noun (cf. examples (iii) - (vii) below). In the second structure, R can be a transitive verb proper (cf. examples (viii) and (ix)) or an intransitive verb proper (cf. examples (x) and (xi)).

- Exx. (9)
- | | | |
|-------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| (i) | /bərantʃaw/ | = to spread (something). |
| (ii) | /bərumpan/ | = to undo, to take down. |
| (iii) | /bəlauʔ/ | = to have as food eaten
with rice. |

- | | | |
|--------|-------------|--|
| (iv) | /bumaj/ | = to have or work on a rice-field. |
| (v) | /bəpaŋan/ | = to have as a friend. |
| (vi) | /bəgulaŋ/ | = to have as a social group, to intermingle. |
| (vii) | /bəmunsoh/ | = to have or regard as an enemy. |
| (viii) | /təpədaʔka/ | = to see unintentionally; to be able to see. |
| (ix) | /tətikalka/ | = to send back unintentionally; to be able to send back. |
| (x) | /təlabohka/ | = to let fall unintentionally; to be able to let fall. |
| (xi) | /tərarika/ | = to be able to run away with (something or someone). |

As its object, example (iv) can only take the noun /padi/, rice. The only phrase which can form the object for each of the verbs in examples (v) - (vii) is /paŋan diri/, each other, one another (cf. 3.13.5, Exx. (28)). All the other verbs in Exx. (9) above can take as their objects any nominals which collocate with them.

The structure of the middle verb is formulated as follows:-

$$\left(\begin{Bmatrix} \{b\bar{a}-\} \\ \{t\bar{a}-\} \end{Bmatrix} \right) + R + (\{-ka\})$$

Condition

\{-ka\} does not occur with \{b\bar{a}-\}.

4.11.12.2

Middle Verbs with Optional/Obligatory

Presence of Objects

The subclasses discussed in this subsection are V_{mid-a} and V_{mid-b} (cf. 4.11.12). Of the primary middle verbs in Exx. (8), examples (i) - (iii) are classified as V_{mid-a} , while example (iv) is a V_{mid-b} . The secondary middle verbs in Exx. (9) (iii) and (iv) can occur without their objects unconditionally, while those in examples (v) - (vii) can occur in the absence of their objects only if they are followed by the phrase /ʔəŋgaw/ + Nominal (cf. 3.13.5, Exx. (29)). All the other verbs in Exx. (9) (i. e. examples (i) - (ii) and (viii) - (xi)) can never occur without their objects.

4.11.2

Intransitive Verbs

The intransitive verbs (V_{in}) have three characteristics in common:-

- (i) They do not take objects.
- (ii) They cannot be passivized.
- (iii) They can change their subclass to become transitive verbs with the affixation of

{ke - ka} or {-ka} (cf. 4.11.11.1 and 4.11.12.1, Exx. (9) (x) and (xi)).

The intransitive verbs are divided into two subclasses: the intransitive verbs proper (V_i) and the adjectives (V_{adj}). This subdivision is based on the morphological and the syntactical characteristics of these two subclasses.

4.11.21 Intransitive Verbs Proper

This subclass can occur in its root-form, which may be reduplicated, or in a complex form with Nasalization, {bə-}, {tə-} or {ʔən-}. With {tə-} or {ʔən-}, the root cannot be reduplicated. The summary of the structure of V_i is as follows:-

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Nasaliz} \\ \{bə-\} \\ \{tə-\} \\ \{ʔən-\} \end{array} \right) + (R) + R$$

Condition

{tə-} and {ʔən-} are mutually exclusive with the optional R.

- Exx. (10) (i) /paraj/ = to die.
 (ii) /səkiʔ-səkiʔ/ = to whimper.
 (iii) /ŋigaw/ = to walk in sleep.
 (iv) /ŋidul/ = to have adenoids.

- (v) /bəlaʃar/ = to drift in the wind.
 (vi) /bətampon-tampon/ = to be in a series.
 (vii) /bətəlaʃ-təlaʃ/ = to whisper continuously.
 (viii) /tətindoəʔ/ = to sleep unintentionally.
 (ix) /tədʒələŋaʔ/ = to be broken at the hinges by accident.
 (x) /ʔənsəpot/ = to breathe.
 (xi) /ʔəntʃaʃ/ = to cry (of the sambhur).

4.11.22

Adjectives

The adjectives (V_{adj}) are characterized by the following properties which distinguish them from V_1 :-

- (i) Their construction with the verbal prefix {sə-} (cf. 3.16).
 (ii) The meaning of their reduplication (cf. 3.32.11.2).
 (iii) Their function in the comparative degree of comparison.
 (iv) The function of some adjectives as the adverbs of manner or as parts of the adverb phrases of manner.

Features (i) and (ii) will not be dealt with any more in this subsection, but features (iii) and (iv) will be discussed in 4.11.22.1 and 4.11.22.2 respectively.

The structure of V_{adj} is as follows:-

$(\{sə-\}) + (R) + R$

Condition

$\{sə-\}$ is mutually exclusive with the optional R.

4.11.22.1

Degrees of Comparison

There are three degrees of comparison: positive, comparative and superlative. The positive degree is expressed by V_{adj} which occurs in its root-form, while the comparative and the superlative degrees are expressed by certain function words which occur with V_{adj} . These degrees of comparison are shown below:-

- (i) Positive: V_{adj}
- (ii) Comparative: $V_{adj} + /ʔagi/$
- (iii) Superlative: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /pəmaduʔ/ \\ /kəlalu/ \end{array} \right\} + V_{adj}$

- Exx. (11) (i) $/gaga/$ = happy.
 $/gaga ʔagi/$ = happier.
 $/pəmaduʔ ʔagi/$ = happiest.
- (ii) $/tʃəlap/$ = cold, cool.
 $/tʃəlap ʔagi/$ = colder, cooler.
 $/kəlalu tʃəlap/$ = coldest, coolest.

- (iii) /raŋkaj/ = dry.
 /raŋkaj ʔagi/ = drier.
 /pəmaduʔ raŋkaj/ = driest.
- (iv) /tʃiru/ = bright.
 /tʃiru ʔagi/ = brighter.
 /kəlalu tʃiru/ = brightest.
- (v) /ransi/ = proud.
 /ransi ʔagi/ = prouder.
 /pəmaduʔ ransi/ = proudest.

The construction with /ʔagi/ is exclusively an adjectival characteristics, as /ʔagi/ cannot occur with any other subclass of V. On the other hand, the construction with /pəmaduʔ/ or /kəlalu/ is characteristics of all the subclasses of V. Below are examples of the construction of /pəmaduʔ/ or /kəlalu/ with the subclasses of V other than V_{adj}.

- Exx. (12) (i) /gawaʔ/ = to work.
 /kəlaŋu gawaʔ/ = to work too hard.
- (ii) /bəgulaʔ/ = to intermingle.
 /pəmaduʔ bəgulaʔ/ = to intermingle too much.
- (iii) /ŋəməranika (diri)/ = to embolden (oneself)
 /kəlalu ŋəməranika
 (diri)/ = to embolden (oneself) to
 the extreme.
- (iv) /bəɖʒalaʔ/ = to walk.
 /pəmaduʔ bəɖʒalaʔ/ = likes to walk or go visiting.

4.11.22.2 Manner Adjectives and Descriptive Adjectives

Not all adjectives can occur as the adverbs of manner or as parts of the adverb phrases of manner. Those which can have these functions are classified as the manner adjectives (V_{adj-m}), while those which cannot are classified as descriptive adjectives (V_{adj-d}). The latter subclass consists of adjectives which describe the shape, size, colour and certain qualities of nouns.

As an adverb of manner or part of the adverb phrase of manner, V_{adj-m} can occur in any of these forms:-

- (i) In direct relationship with a preceding verb (V_t or V_i).
- (ii) As part of the prepositional phrase with the structure /ʔəŋgaw/ + V_{adj-m} , where /ʔəŋgaw/ is a preposition with the meaning with.

- Exx. (13) (i) /bədʒalaj ləŋkas/
 walks quick = walks quickly.
- (ii) /rari dʒampat-dʒampat/
 runs fast fast = runs very fast.
- (iii) /gawaʔ ʔəŋgaw manah/
 works with beautiful = works beautifully.

More examples of V_{adj-m} are given in Exx. (14), while Exx. (15) illustrate V_{adj-d} .

Exx. (14) (二) V_{adj-m}

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------------------|
| (i) | /landaj/ | = gentle. |
| (ii) | /lantaŋ/ | = happy, peaceful. |
| (iii) | /tʃakah/ | = active. |
| (iv) | /maŋah/ | = fierce, cruel. |
| (v) | /rəndʒaŋ/ | = steep. |

Exx. (15) V_{adj-d}

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| (i) | /pagaʔ/ | = short and stout. |
| (ii) | /landʒut/ | = long (of things hanging). |
| (iii) | /mandap/ | = deaf. |
| (iv) | /tʃalaʔ/ | = light red. |
| (v) | /buət/ | = rotten. |

4.12

Auxiliary Verbs

The auxiliary verbs are characterized as follows:-

- (i) They form a closed group and can be exhaustively listed.
- (ii) They never take any of the verbal affixes; hence, they never change their subclass.
- (iii) They do not take objects.

In the class-changing process, only two of these verbs are involved. They are the modal verbs /dəkaʔ/, will, and /tau/, can, may. The first verb can take the nominal prefixes {pə-}

and {sə-} (cf. 3.22.3), while the second can only take {pə-} (cf. 3.21). These prefixations provide the only instances in which the auxiliary verbs are Nasalized. Nouns derived by these prefixations are abstract.

- Exx. (16) (i) /senəkaʔ/ = all that one wishes for (cf. 3.22.3, Exx. (56) (ii)).
- (ii) /pənəkaʔ/ = wish, desire.
- (iii) /pənau/ = ability.

4.12.1

Aspect and Modal Verbs

The auxiliary verbs are subclassified into the aspect and the modal verbs in terms of their distribution in relation to one another. An aspect verb can occur before a modal verb but not vice versa.

The aspect verbs are as follows:-

- (i) /ʔudah/ = already.
- (ii) /bedaw/ = not yet, still.
- (iii) /ʔapin/ = not yet.
- (iv) /ʔagi/ = still.
- (v) /kalaʔ/ = ever.

The modal verbs are as follows:-

- (i) /dəkaʔ/ = will.
- (ii) /tau/ = can, may.
- (iii) /ʔuliəh/ = can, may.
- (iv) /məsti/ = must.

4.12.2

Simple and Complex Auxiliary Verbs

A simple auxiliary verb is characterized as follows:-

- (i) It is a minimal form of VP (cf. 4.1).
- (ii) It precedes V in a simple VP which is non-minimal and unmarked (cf. 5.12).
- (iii) It functions by itself as VP in the sentence-structure NP - VP where V of VP is ellipsed (cf. examples (iii) and (iv) below).

- Exx. (17) (i) /ʔija ʔudah makaj/
 he already eat
 = He has already eaten.
- (ii) /kami dəkaʔ dataj/
 = We will come.
- (iii) /ʔaku tau/
 = I can.
- (iv) /noan məsti/
 = You must.

On the other hand, an auxiliary verb of one subclass can co-occur with another auxiliary verb of the same or different subclass. This co-occurrence results in a complex auxiliary verb. A complex auxiliary verb shares characteristics (ii) and (iii) of the simple auxiliary verb, but it differs from the latter in the fact that it represents a minimal form of the

complex VP (cf. 5.13). The complex auxiliary verbs are divided into three types based on the distributions of the subclasses.

4.12.21

Complex Auxiliary Verbs: Type I

This type consists of the structure Aspect + Aspect, and it is divided into four subtypes.

Subtype I

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ʔudah/ \\ /bədaw/ \\ /ʔapin/ \end{array} \right\} + /kalaʔ/$$

Any member in the braces can occur with /kalaʔ/.

In this subtype, /bədaw/ means not yet.

Exx. (18) (i) /ʔaku ʔudah kalaʔ mēdaʔ ʔija/

I already ever see he

= I have already seen him (some/time ago).

(ii) /ʔaku bədaw (or ʔapin) kalaʔ makaj naʔ/

I not-yet ever eat that

= I have never eaten it.

Subtype II

$$/ʔagi/ + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /bədaw/ \\ /ʔapin/ \end{array} \right\}$$

/ʔagi/ can occur with either member in the braces.

/bədaw/ here means not yet.

Exx. (19) (i) /kami ʔagi bədaw makaj/

we still not-yet eat

= We still have not eaten yet.

(ii) /ʔaku ʔagi ʔapin nəmuaɟka ʔija/

I still not-yet visit she

= I still have not visited her yet.

Subtype III

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /bədaw/ \\ /ʔapin/ \end{array} \right\} + /ʔagi/$$

Either member in the braces can occur with /ʔagi/.

/bədaw/ in this context means not yet. This subtype occurs in free variation with Subtype II.

Exx. (20) (i) /kami bədaw ʔagi makaj/

(ii) /ʔaku ʔapin ʔagi nəmuaɟka ʔija/

Subtype IV

$$/kalaʔ/ + /ʔudah/$$

This subtype occurs in free variation with Subtype I where the first constituent of the complex auxiliary verb is /ʔudah/. Hence, Exx. (18) (i) corresponds to the following sentence:-

Ex. (21) (i) /ʔaku kalaʔ ʔudah madaʔ ʔija/

4.12.22

Complex Auxiliary Verbs: Type II

The structure of this type is Aspect + Modal as given below:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /b\acute{e}daw/ \\ /ʔapin/ \\ /ʔagi/ \\ /ʔudah/ \\ /kalaʔ/ \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /m\acute{e}sti/ \\ /d\acute{e}kaʔ/ \\ /tau/ \\ /ʔulieh/ \end{array} \right\}$$

Any member in the left-hand braces can occur with any member in the right-hand braces. In this type, /b\acute{e}daw/ can bear the meaning not yet or still.

Exx. (22) (i) /kitaj b\acute{e}daw (or ʔapin) m\acute{e}sti ɲajaw/

we not-yet must go-to-war

= We do not have to go to war yet.

(ii) /ʔija ʔagi (or b\acute{e}daw) d\acute{e}kaʔ bemalam ditoʔ/

he still will spend-the-night here

= He still wants to spend the night here.

(iii) /noan ʔagi (or b\acute{e}daw) tau (or ʔulieh) dataj/

you still can come

= You can still come.

(iv) /ʔija ʔudah ʔulieh (or tau) pulaj diatoʔ/

he already can return now

= He can return now.

(v) /sida? ʔudah dəka? pansut/
they already will come-out

= They were ready to come out.

(vi) /ʔija ʔapin (or bədaw) dəka? makaj/
she not-yet will eat

= She does not want to eat yet.

(vii) /ʔija kala? dəka? ɳabas mənoa toʔ/
he ever will visit country this

= He had already (~~some~~time ago) wanted to
visit this country.

(viii) /toʔ ʔudah məsti/
this already must

= This should have been (done).

(ix) /paʔ ʔapin tau/
that not-yet can

= That cannot yet be (done).

4.12.23

Complex Auxiliary Verbs: Type III

This type consists of the structure Modal + Modal,
and it falls into two subtypes.

Subtype I

$$/d\acute{e}ka\text{?}/ + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /tau/ \\ /ʔuli\acute{e}h/ \end{array} \right\}$$

- Ex. (23) (i) /kitaj d\acute{e}ka\text{?} tau (or ʔuli\acute{e}h) ɳ\acute{e}r\acute{e}d\textsubscript{3}a pa\text{?}/
 we will can work-on that
 = We will be able to work on that.

Subtype II

$$/m\acute{e}sti/ + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /tau/ \\ /ʔuli\acute{e}h/ \\ /d\acute{e}ka\text{?}/ \end{array} \right\}$$

- Exx. (24) (i) /noan m\acute{e}sti tau (or ʔuli\acute{e}h) ɳ\acute{e}tuka pa\text{?}/
 you must can stop that
 = You must be able to stop it.
- (ii) /noan m\acute{e}sti d\acute{e}ka\text{?}/
 you must will
 = (free translation): It is compulsory
 that you agree to do (it).

4.13

Summary of the Subclassification of the Verbals

Diagram (1) below represents the summary of the subclassification of the major word-class, verbal. This is a case of further subclassification in which a pair of subclasses are dependent on a single subclass on a higher node which

forms the matrix. Diagrams (2) and (3) represent the cross-classifications of V_t and V_{mid} in which the subclasses are independent of each other.

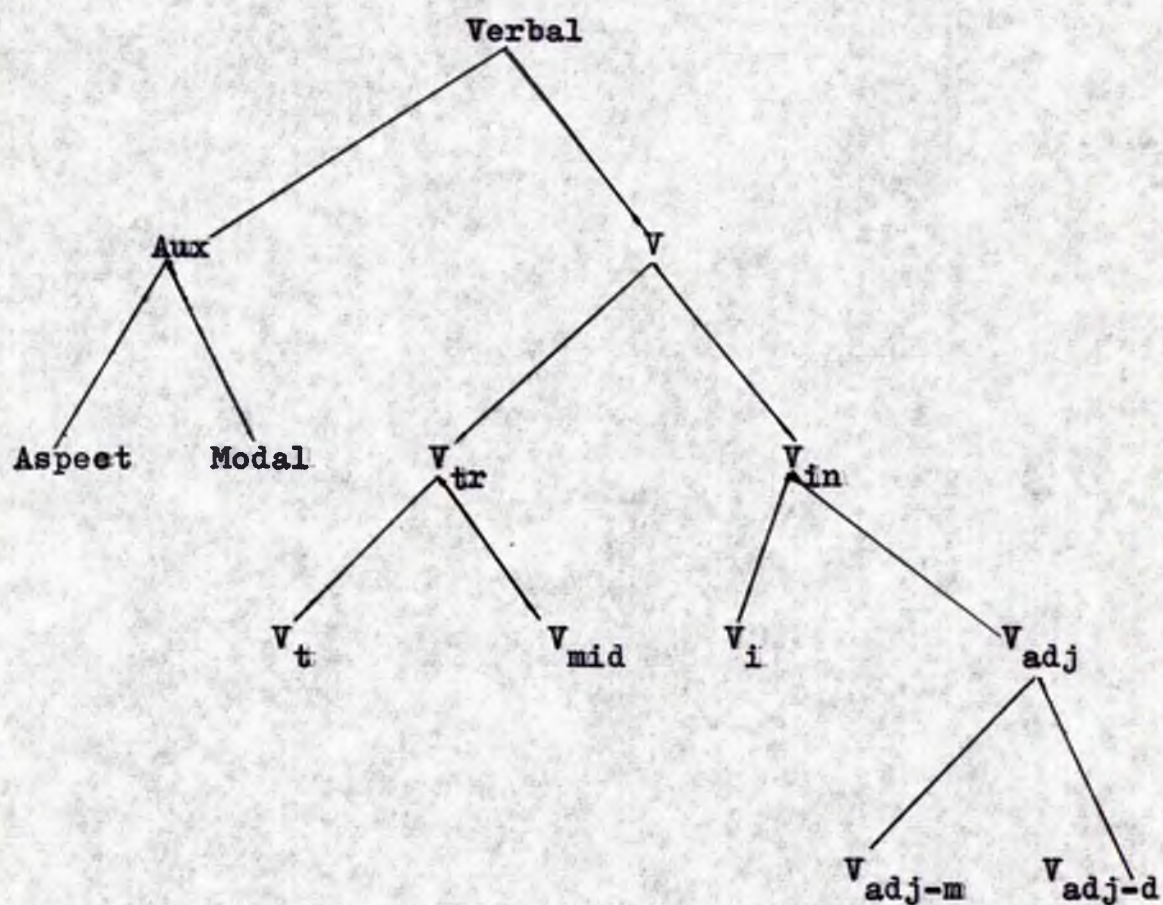
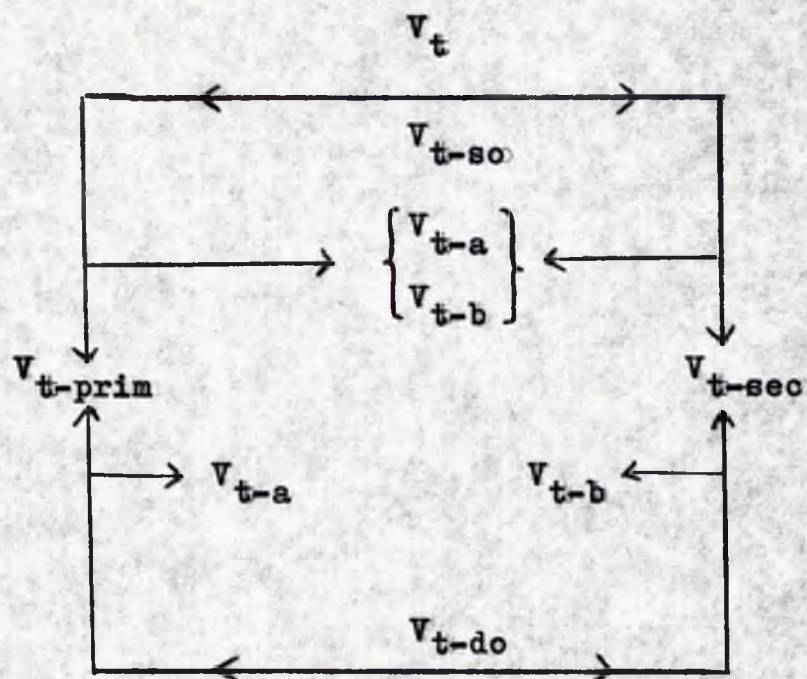
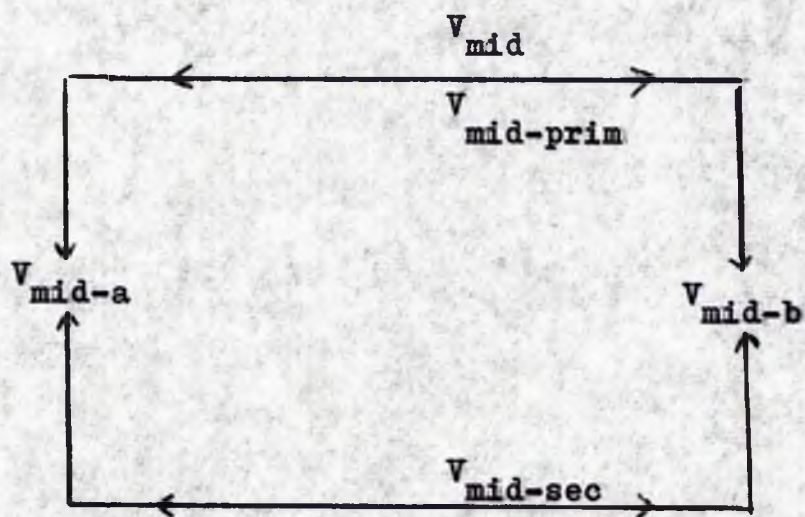


Diagram (1)

Diagram (2)Diagram (3)

4.2

Nominals

A nominal is a word which can occur as the minimal form of the nominal phrase (NP) (cf. 5.2). It can be a noun (N), a pronoun (Pro) or a numeral (Num). Nouns, and, to a certain extent, numerals are variable, as they can occur in paradigmatic sets, while the pronouns are invariable.

4.21

Nouns

Words classified as nouns can be identified by their morphological structure as well as their functions in unmarked phrase- or sentence-structures.

Nouns in Iban can have any of the following structures:-

- (i) (R) + R
- (ii) {pə-} + Nasaliz + R (cf. 3.21)
- (iii) {sə-} + {pə-} + Nasaliz + R (cf. 3.22.2)
- (iv) {sə-} + (Nasaliz) + (R) + Nasaliz + R
(cf. 3.22.3)
- (v) ({sə-}) + (R) + {sə-} + R
(cf. 3.22.1, 3.32.22 and 3.32.23)

The five structures above are summarized as follows:-

$$(\{sə-\}) + (\{pə-\}) + (Nasaliz) + (R) + \left(\begin{array}{c} \{sə-\} \\ Nasaliz \end{array} \right) + R$$

Conditions

{pə-} is mutually exclusive with:-

- (a) The second {se-}.
- (b) The first Nasaliz.
- (c) The optional R.

For exceptions to conditions (b) and (c), refer to 3.0, Ex. (12).

The characteristics of a noun in an unmarked structure of a phrase are as follows:-

- (i) It can occur as a minimal form of a nominal phrase (cf. 4.2).
- (ii) It can function as the head of a non-minimal nominal phrase which is endocentric (cf. 5.22).
- (iii) It can be constructed with a preposition to form a prepositional phrase (cf. 5.31).
- (iv) It can be followed by the demonstrative pronoun /to?/, this, or /pa?/, that, which limits further expansion.

A noun always occurs at NP in the unmarked sentence-structures NP - VP and NP - NP - (Adv) or in any marked sentence-structure where NP forms an element.

The nouns are divided into the following subclasses:

Proper, Common, Animate, Inanimate, Human, Non-human, Concrete, Abstract, Count and Mass. This subclassification is based on the inherent features of the nouns which may or may not permit these nouns to form constructions with other words of the same or different class or subclass.

4.21.1

Proper and Common Nouns

The proper and the common nouns can occur in identical positions in a sentence-structure. Each of these subclasses can be followed by the demonstrative pronoun /to?/, this, or /pa?/, that.

The difference between the proper and the common nouns is seen in endocentric nominal phrases (cf. 5.2), in which the heads of the phrases are common nouns for almost all types and subtypes. Only three subtypes admit proper nouns as heads. One is Type II of the attributive nominal phrase, in which the modifier is a relative clause (cf. 5.22.32). The other two are Types III and VIII of the noun phrase (cf. 5.22.23 and 5.22.28). Type VIII is the genitive phrase, but the occurrence of the proper noun as head of this type of phrase is rare (cf. 5.22.28).

The proper nouns refer to the names of persons, god, deities and spirits (all of which are classified as human nouns) as well as the names of places. All other nouns are common nouns.

4.21.2

Animate and Inanimate Nouns

The subclassification of nouns into animate and inanimate nouns are based on:-

- (i) Collocable Verbs.
- (ii) The system of personal pronouns.
- (iii) The choice of coefficients.

4.21.21

Collocable Verbs

All animate nouns can function as the subjects of sentences whose verbs are dynamic verbs. Only some inanimate nouns can have this function. Such inanimate nouns are /ʔaiʔ/ water, (which collocates with Exx. (25) (iii) - (v)), /ʔudʒan/ rain, (which collocates with Exx. (25) (i) and (vi)) and /ʔəntukar/ motor car, (which can be constructed with all the verbs in Exx. (25)). Static verbs which are relatable to life, living and death and which describe feelings can only occur in sentences whose subjects are animate nouns. Static verbs, unlike dynamic verbs, cannot occur with the direction adverbs or adverb phrases. (cf. 4.33.3 and 5.31.3).

Exx. (25)

Dynamic Verbs

- | | | |
|-------|----------|---------------|
| (i) | /turuən/ | = to go down. |
| (ii) | /tikiʔ/ | = to climb. |
| (iii) | /tamaʔ/ | = to enter. |

- | | | |
|--------|-----------|--------------------------|
| (iv) | /pansuət/ | = to go out. |
| (v) | /mansaŋ/ | = to go out, to advance. |
| (vi) | /dataj/ | = to come. |
| (vii) | /pulaŋ/ | = to go back. |
| (viii) | /rari/ | = to run. |

Exx. (26) Static Verbs Relatable to Life, Living
and Death

- | | | |
|--------|------------|------------------|
| (i) | /ʔidoəp/ | = to live. |
| (ii) | /ʔənsəpət/ | = to breathe. |
| (iii) | /bəranaʔ/ | = to give birth. |
| (iv) | /ʔəmpaʔ/ | = to eat. |
| (v) | /diaw/ | = to inhabit. |
| (vi) | /tindoəʔ/ | = to sleep. |
| (vii) | /ʔiroəp/ | = to drink. |
| (viii) | /paraŋ/ | = to die. |

Exx. (27) Static Verbs Which Describe Feelings

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|---------------------|
| (i) | /lantaŋ/ | = happy. |
| (ii) | /tusah/ | = sad. |
| (iii) | /lələŋaw/ | = to long for. |
| (iv) | /ʔikaʔka/ | = to love deeply. |
| (v) | /rinduʔ/ | = to love, to like. |
| (vi) | /sinuʔ/ | = to feel pity. |
| (vii) | /bəntʃi/ | = to abhor. |

Some verbs only take animate nouns as their objects.

- Exx. (28) (i) /takuətka/ = to frighten (a person or an animal).
- (ii) /riŋatka/ = to anger.
- (iii) /ʔansaʔ/ = to urge.
- (iv) /ʔasoəh/ = to request, to command.
- (v) /tupiʔ/ = to rear (animals).

The verbs in Exx. (28) (i), (ii) and (v) are used in the following sentences:-

- Exx. (29) (i) /ʔanaŋ nakuətka ʔanəmbiaʔ paʔ !/
 don't frighten child that
 = Don't frighten that child!
- (ii) /ʔuraŋ paʔ ŋəriŋatka ʔapaj/
 person that angered father
 = That person angered (my) father.
- (iii) /kami nupiʔ manuəʔ/
 = We rear chickens.

4.21.22

System of Personal Pronouns

The system of personal pronouns refer to animate nouns only. The first, second and third person categories refer to human nouns, while only the second and third person categories can refer to non-human nouns. The first person cate-

gory is used with non-human nouns in animal stories only. The personal pronouns can refer to inanimate nouns , only when these nouns are personified.

4.21.23 Choice of Coefficients

Among the many numeral coefficients in the language, only/?iko?/ refers to animate nouns. All the rest refer to inanimate nouns.

4.21.3 Human and Non-human Nouns

Animate nouns can be divided into human and non-human nouns. Human nouns refer to human beings, god, deities and spirits (cf. 4.21.1), while the non-human nouns refer to animals. The subclassification of the animate nouns into human and non-human nouns is based on:-

- (i) Collocable verbs.
- (ii) The system of personal pronouns.
- (iii) The choice of prepositions.

4.21.31 Collocable Verbs

Verbs which only take human nouns as their subjects as well as their objects are those given in 3.18.2, Exx. (42). The following sentences are constructed with some of these verbs:-

- Exx. (30) (i) /lalaki na? ɲaŋgatka ʔadi ʔaku/
 a man that address-as-ʔaŋgat younger-sibling I
 = That man addressed my younger sibling as
 /ʔaŋgat/.
- (ii) /ʔanəmbia? na? ɲakiʔka ʔapaj ʔaku/
 child that address-as-grandfather father I
 = That child addressed my father as grandfather.
- (iii) /guru to? ɲindaɟka ʔindo? pa?/
 teacher this regard-as-mother woman that
 = This teacher regarded that woman as a mother.

4.21.32 System of Personal Pronouns

This has been discussed in 4.21.22.

4.21.33 Choice of Prepositions

The locative preposition /di/, at, in, on, and the direction preposition /ka/, to, towards, cannot occur with human nouns. All the other locative and direction prepositions can occur with human as well as non-human nouns (cf. 4.34.2 and 4.34.3). With human nouns, instead of /di/ and /ka/, /ba/ and /ɲagaj/ or /soh/ are used.

- Exx. (31) (i) /tad₃aw na? bisi? di ruaj/
 = The jar is on the verandah.
- (ii) /tad₃aw na? bisi? ba pəŋulu?/

= The jar is with the chief.

(iii) /ʔija rari ka laŋkaw naʔ/

= He ran to the hut.

(iv) /ʔija rari ŋagaj (or soh) ʔiniʔ ʔija/

= He ran to his grandmother.

4.21.4

Concrete and Abstract Nouns

Inanimate nouns are subclassified into concrete and abstract nouns. Concrete nouns occur after the numeral phrase consisting of the structure Cardinal + N, where N stands for:-

(i) A coefficient, which is obligatory with most nouns which are countable, concrete or abstract.

(ii) A noun which is not a coefficient but which is used with a concrete mass noun.

A concrete noun cannot occur directly after a cardinal, but it can occur in direct relationship with a quantifier (cf. 4.23.2), as coefficients are not used with quantifiers.

Exceptions to this rule are the quantifiers /tiap-tiap/, every, each, and /majoəh/, many, where coefficients are optional.

Exx. (32)

Countable Concrete Nouns in Numeral Phrases

(i) /tiga buah pintu/

= three Coef doors.

(ii) /pat ʔigiʔ buah/

= four Coef fruits.

- (iii) /lima ləbuan bubu/
= five Coef fish-traps.
- (iv) /nam limpir papan/
= six Coef planks.
- (v) /tud₃oəh siŋkap tʃapa?/
= seven Coef plates.
- (vi) /lapan batan ʔinsap/
= eight Coef cigarettes.
- (vii) /səmbilan putʃuə? tubu?/
= nine Coef bamboo-shoots.
- (viii) /səpuloəh pia? d₃ari?/
= ten Coef hands.
- (ix) /səbəlas bilah pədan/
= eleven Coef swords.
- (x) /majoəh kaju? puən/
= many Coef trees.
- (xi) /tiap-tiap bənto? tintʃiən/
= every Coef ring.

Exx. (33) Concrete Mass Nouns in Numeral Phrases

- (i) /dua-bəlas titiə? ʔai?/
= twelve drops (of) water.
- (ii) /dua-puloəh ləka? padi/
= twenty grains (of) rice.

- (iii) /tiga-puloeh tʃawan mɪpaʔ/
= thirty cups oil.
- (iv) /satu sətəŋah tail dagiən/
= one and a half tahils meat.
(1 tahl = $1\frac{1}{3}$ oz.)
- (v) /səkədaʔ piŋgaj ʔasi/
= some plates (of) cooked rice.
- (vi) /majoeh tʃapaʔ bəras/
= many baskets (of) husked rice.

Coefficients are obligatory with some countable ^{abstract} nouns but not with others. The countable abstract nouns which do not require the presence of coefficients can occur directly after a cardinal or a quantifier. The abstract mass nouns can occur only with quantifiers. The only coefficient which can occur with abstract nouns is /ləkaʔ/.

Exx. (34) Countable Abstract Nouns in Numeral Phrases

- (i) /dua ləkaʔ saut/
= two Coef answers.
- (ii) /tiga ləkaʔ tapa/
= three Coef questions.
- (iii) /lima minggu/
= five weeks.
- (iv) /pat-puloeh bulan/
= forty months.

- (v) /səribu taun/
= a thousand years.
- (vi) /tiap-tiap ləka? saut/
= every Coef answer.
- (vii) /majoeəh kali/
= many times.

Exx. (35) Abstract Mass Nouns in Numeral Phrases

- (i) /mimit pəmanah/
= a little bit of goodness.
- (ii) /səmoə pəmansəŋ/
= all (the) progress.
- (iii) /səkədə? pəŋəlantaŋ/
= some happiness.

4.21.5 Count and Mass Nouns

Concrete and abstract nouns can both be subclassified into count and mass nouns. The subclasses count and mass can occur after a numeral phrase with the structure Num + N, where Num represents a cardinal or a quantifier, and N is a coefficient only when the structure above forms a construction with a countable concrete or abstract noun. For a detailed discussion on the count and the mass nouns, refer to 4.21.4.

4.22

Pronouns

The pronouns in Iban are subclassified into the personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. The pronoun is classified as a nominal on the following bases:-

- (i) Its occurrence as a minimal form of NP (cf. 4.2).
- (ii) Its occurrence ~~in~~ a prepositional phrase (cf. 4.21).
- (iii) Its substitutability with N.
- (iv) Its ^cfunction at NP in the unmarked sentence-structures NP - VP and NP - NP - (Adv) or in any marked sentence-structure where NP is an element (cf. 4.21).

4.22.1

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns (~~Pro~~_p) involve three categories of persons depending on whether they refer to the speakers, the addressees or the persons or animals spoken about. They are the first, second and third person categories respectively. All these categories can substitute for human nouns, but the second and third person categories can substitute for non-human nouns as well (cf. 4.21.22). The three categories above occur in their singular, dual and plural forms.

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>1st.</u>	/ʔaku/	/tua/ /kami sə- duaj/	/kami/ (exclusive of 2nd. person) /kitaj/ (inclusive of 2nd. person)
<u>2nd.</u>	/deʔ/ /noan/	/deʔ sədnaj/ /noan sə- duaj/	/kitaʔ/
<u>3rd.</u>	/ʔija/ /ja/	/səduaj/	/sidaʔ/ /sidaʔja/ /bala sidaʔ/

The second person pronoun /deʔ/ is used in informal situations among intimate friends, or by people superior in age, rank or family relationship to those below them. The pronoun /noan/ is used in situations other than those mentioned above.

Like the human nouns, the personal pronouns cannot occur with the prepositions /di/ and /ka/ (cf. 4.21.33). They can substitute for human and non-human (in the case of the second and the third person categories only) nouns (cf. 4.21.22), and occur at any NP in a sentence-structure. When Pro_p occurs as the predicate of the equational sentence with the structure NP - NP, the presence of a pause is obligatory between the two

NP's (cf. example (iii) below) and the structure is said to be marked (cf. 1.5).

Exx. (36) (i) /ʔaku mēdaʔ sidaʔ/

NP1 V NP2

= I saw them.

(ii) /kitaj bansa ʔiban/

NP NP

= we race Iban

= We are Ibans.

(iii) /guru ʔiʔa/

NP NP

teacher, he

= He is a teacher.

Like all nouns, the personal pronouns can be followed by the demonstrative pronoun /toʔ/, this, or /paʔ/, that.

Exx. (37) (i) /ʔaku toʔ/ = I.

(ii) /noan paʔ/ = you (sing).

(iii) /kitaʔ toʔ/ = you (pl).

The first person pronouns, singular, dual and plural, never occur with /paʔ/ in a nominal phrase.

4.22.2

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns (Pro_d) are /toʔ/, this, and

/pa?/, that. In a nominal phrase, Pro_d forms the delimiting factor which restricts further expansion (cf. Exx. (38) (i) and (ii)). It can substitute for any N or Pro_p , and it can occur at any NP in a sentence-structure. Like Pro_p , Pro_d can function as the predicate of the equational sentence with the structure NP - NP, only if the structure is marked by a pause which separates the subject from the predicate (cf. Exx. (38)(v)).

Exx. (38) (i) /bunaj mirah pa?/

flower red that

= That red flower.

(ii) /rumah ?apaj paʔan ?aku to?/

house father friend I this

= This house of the father of my friend.

(iii) /?aku nəmu pa?/

NP1 V NP2

= I know that.

(iv) /pa? pəŋulu?/

NP NP

that chief

= That is the chief.

(v) /pələndo? / pa?/

NP , NP

mousedeer, that

= That's a mousedeer.

4.22.3

Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns (Pro_Q) form a subclass of nominals which function in interrogative sentences (cf. 6.2). Certain interrogative pronouns substitute for certain nouns only. The interrogative pronoun /bərapa/, how much, how many, can substitute for a number. Below are the interrogative pronouns and their substitutes:-

	<u>Pro_Q</u>		<u>Substitute</u>
(i)	/sapa/	= who.	Human noun.
(ii)	/nama/	= what .	Any noun except a human noun.
(iii)	/ʔapa/	= what.	Any noun except a human noun.
(iv)	/ni/	= which.	Any noun.
(v)	/bərapa/	= how much, how many.	Number.

The Pro_Q /bərapa/ can substitute for a number, because it shares certain characteristics with the latter (cf. 4.23.11.1). These characteristics are:-

- (i) Its occurrence with a numeral coefficient.
- (ii) It can be prefixed with {kə-} to form

an ordinal.

In the construction of the prepositional phrase, *Pro*_Q does not occur with /di/ or /ka/. (It is most probable that the etymologies of /dini/, where, and /kini/, whither, are /di ni/ and /ka ni/ respectively).

Exx. (39) (i) /sapa makaj pa??/

NP1 V NP2

= Who ate ~~that~~?

(ii) /nama pəmali pa??/

NP NP

what taboo that?

= What is the taboo?

(iii) /pa? ?apa?/

NP NP

that what?

= What is that?

(iv) /ni digaga? ?ija?/

NP2 V NP1

which Pas+make she?

= Which one was made by her?

(v) /bərapa ?iko? guru?/

NP NP

how-many Coef teachers?

= How many are teachers?

4.23 Numerals

The numerals are subclassified into numbers (Numb) and quantifiers (Quant). The former subclass can form stems for ordinals, while the latter cannot.

4.23.1 Numbers

The numbers are divided into cardinals (Card) and ordinals (Ord). The place of a cardinal in a numeral phrase is before or after the head, while that of an ordinal is always after the head.

4.23.11 Cardinals

The cardinals precede or follow the head-nouns they modify. In the construction with some head-nouns, the cardinal must be directly followed by another noun which is not necessarily a coefficient, while with other head-nouns, this condition is not required (cf. 4.21.4 and 4.21.5). The cardinal with this particular noun can occur before or after the head-noun, while a cardinal which is not followed by this noun only occurs before the head-noun. Cardinals and cardinal phrases occurring before head-nouns are given in Exx. (32) (i) - (ix), (33) (i) - (iv) and (34) (i) - (v). Below are examples of cardinals and

cardinal phrases which occur after phrase-heads which can be represented by nouns or personal pronouns.

- Exx. (40) (i) /ʔasi səpiŋgaj/
 rice a plate = a plate of rice.
- (ii) /duit lima ringiet/
 money five dollars = five dollars of money.
- (iii) /pədaŋ səbilah/
 sword a Coef = a sword.
- (iv) /ʔindeʔ tiga ʔikoʔ/
 woman three Coef = three women.
- (v) /sidaʔ tudʒoəh/
 they seven = the seven of them.
- (vi) /kami dua/
 we two = the two of us.

The cardinal /satu/, one, occurs in this form only in counting or in a phrase which refers to a fraction (cf. Exx. (33) (iv)). The nominal prefix {sə-} is used instead of /satu/ in a construction with a following noun or with another cardinal (cf. 3.22).

In prepositional phrases, the cardinals can occur with the direction prepositions /ŋagaj/, to, towards; /soh/, to, towards; and /ʔari/, from.

- Exx. (41) (i) /ŋagaj lima/ = up to five.
- (ii) /soh nam/ = up to six.

(iii) /ʔari tud₃oəh/ = from seven.

A cardinal or a cardinal phrase can occur at NP in the unmarked structure NP - VP. It cannot function as the predicate of the sentence with the structure NP - NP - (Adv), but it can function as the subject in this particular structure, only if this structure is marked by a pause which separates the subject from the predicate, as illustrated by example (iii) below. Unmarked, this example represents a numeral (cardinal) phrase.

Exx. (42) (i) /tiga ʔikoʔ dataj/

NP VP

= Three came.

(ii) /pat təlaboh/

NP VP

= Four fell off.

(iii) /lima ʔikoʔ # guru/

NP NP

= Five are teachers.

4.23.11.1 Simple and Complex Cardinals

Cardinals from one to nine are simple cardinals, as they consist of single roots. The rest are complex cardinals, consisting of two morphemes both of which indicate numbers.

One of these morphemes can be represented by the nominal prefix {sə-} (cf. 3.22). Below are examples of the complex cardinals:-

- Exx. (43) (i) /səpuloəh/
 one-ten = ten.
- (ii) /dua-puloəh/
 two-ten = twenty.
- (iii) /səbəlas/
 one-teen = eleven.
- (iv) /dua-bəlas/
 two-teen = twelve.
- (v) /səratuṣ/
 = one hundred.
- (vi) /səribu/
 = one thousand.
- (vii) /sədʒuta/
 = one million.
- (viii) /dua-puloəh-dua/
 = twenty-two.
- (ix) /dua-ratus-dua-puloəh-dua/
 = two hundred and twenty-two.
- (x) /səribu-səmbilan-ratus-dua-puloəh-dua/
 = one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

A cardinal, simple or complex, can take the nominal prefix {kə-} which bears the meaning all (cf. 3.23). With {kə-}, the stem can be reduplicated. In this case, reduplication operates on R or {sə-} + R (cf. 3.32.23). If the complex cardinal consists of more than one R, only the first R is reduplicated (cf. examples (iv) and (v) below).

Exx. (44) (i) /tiga/

= three.

/kətiga ?iko? ?uraŋ/, or

/kətiga-tiga ?iko? ?uraŋ/

= all the three people.

(ii) /səpuloəh/

= ten.

/kəsəpuloəh ?ari/, or

/kəsəpuloəh-səpuloəh ?ari/

= all the ten days.

(iii) /səratu/

= hundred.

/kəsəratu ?iti? buəp/, or

/kəsəratu-səratu ?iti? buəp/

= all the hundred books.

(iv) /lima-bəlas/

= fifteen.

/kəlima-bəlas ləka? paði/, or

/kəlima-lima-bəlas ləka? paði/

= all the fifteen grains of rice.

(v) /pat-puloəh/

= forty.

/kəpat-puloəh ləka? ?ənsəra/, or

/kəpat-pat-puloəh ləka? ?ənsəra/

= all the forty fables.

Any cardinal can form the stem for an ordinal (cf. 4.23.12). The interrogative pronoun /bərapa/, how many, how much, shares the features which characterize the cardinals (cf. 4.22.3), except that it cannot be reduplicated or prefixed with {kə-} which means all.

The structure of the cardinal is formulated as follows:-

$((\{kə-\}) + (\{sə-\}) + (R) + (\{sə-\}) + (R) + \dots R$

The dots indicate that the number of occurrence of the optional R is indefinite.

4.23.12 Ordinals

The ordinal consists of the structure {kə-} + R, where R is a cardinal or the Pro_Q /bərapa/, how many, how much. It differs from the cardinal in three respects:-

- (i) It occurs only after the noun it modifies.
- (ii) It does not occur with a coefficient.
- (iii) It requires at least the presence of a preceding noun or the preceding relative conjunction /ti/, who, which, that, in order to function as an element of a sentence-structure.

- Ex. (45) (i) /ʔanəmbiaʔ kətiga/ = the third child.
- (ii) /ʔari kəberapa/
day how-manyth? = which day?
- (iii) /ti kədua/ = the second.

- (iv) /ti kəberapa?/ = the how-manyth?
 (v) /taun ti kəsəbəlas/ = the eleventh year.
 (vi) /d₃ələ? ti kəberapa?/ = the how-manyth animal?

4.23.2

Quantifiers

The quantifiers in Iban are as follows:-

- (i) /səmoa/ = all.
 (ii) /mit/, /mimit/ = few, a little bit.
 (iii) /munɡa? mit/ = few.
 (iv) /məŋɡal/ = few.
 (v) /səkəda?/ = some.
 (vi) /bala/ = many (in a group).
 (vii) /nintien/ = every, each.
 (viii) /tiap-tiap/ = every, each.
 (ix) /majəh/ = many.

Coefficients do not occur with quantifiers (i) - (vii), but they are optional with the last two quantifiers (cf. 4.21.4). Quantifier (i) can precede or follow the noun it modifies, while the others can only precede the nouns. Quantifier (i) can take the cardinal prefix {kə-}, which bears the meaning all, for emphasis. For examples of the occurrences of quantifiers in numeral phrases, refer to Exx. (32) (x) and (xi), (33) (v) and (vi), (34) (vi) and (vii), and (35) (i) - (iii).

4.23.3

Coefficients

Coefficients (Coef) are certain nouns which obligatorily follow cardinals when they form constructions with certain other nouns which are countable, concrete or abstract (cf. 4.21.4). In non-numeral phrases, the nouns which form the coefficients have meanings of their own. Nevertheless, there are some words which function only as coefficients (cf. example (vi) - (ix) below).

Exx. (46) is not an exhaustive list. More examples of coefficients are given in 4.21.4, Exx. (32). Animate nouns can only take coefficient (i) in Exx. (46) (cf. 4.21.23), while abstract nouns share coefficient (v) with certain inanimate nouns (cf. 4.21.4, Exx. (34)). All other coefficients in the language are used with inanimate nouns.

Most of the coefficients are semantically marked in the sense that they occur with nouns which have certain specific features such as animateness, roundness, flatness, thinness and so on. Coefficient (iv) and (vii) below can be regarded as unmarked, as they can be used with any inanimate nouns, when the speaker is uncertain of his choice of coefficients.

- | | | |
|---------------|----------|---|
| Exx. (46) (i) | /ʔikoʔ/ | = tail; coefficient with animate nouns. |
| (ii) | /lambar/ | = piece; coefficient with hairs, fingers, toes, tunics, mats etc. |

- | | | |
|--------|----------|--|
| (iii) | /kaju?/ | = wood, tree; coefficient with names of trees. |
| (iv) | /buah/ | = fruit; coefficient with buildings, boats and cars. |
| (v) | /ləka?/ | = grain; coefficient with nuts, small fruits, eyes and abstract nouns. |
| (vi) | /ʔigiʔ/ | = coefficient with round things such as eggs and fruits. |
| (vii) | /ʔitiʔ/ | = coefficient with rooms, tables, flowers, letters etc. |
| (viii) | /siŋkap/ | = coefficient with plates, cups, shingles and cakes. |
| (ix) | /ləbuan/ | = coefficient with cloths, mats, blankets, fish-traps etc. |

4.24 Summary of the Subclassification of the Nominals

Diagram (4) below represents the summary of the subclassification of the major class nominal, and Diagram (5) that of the subclass of noun.

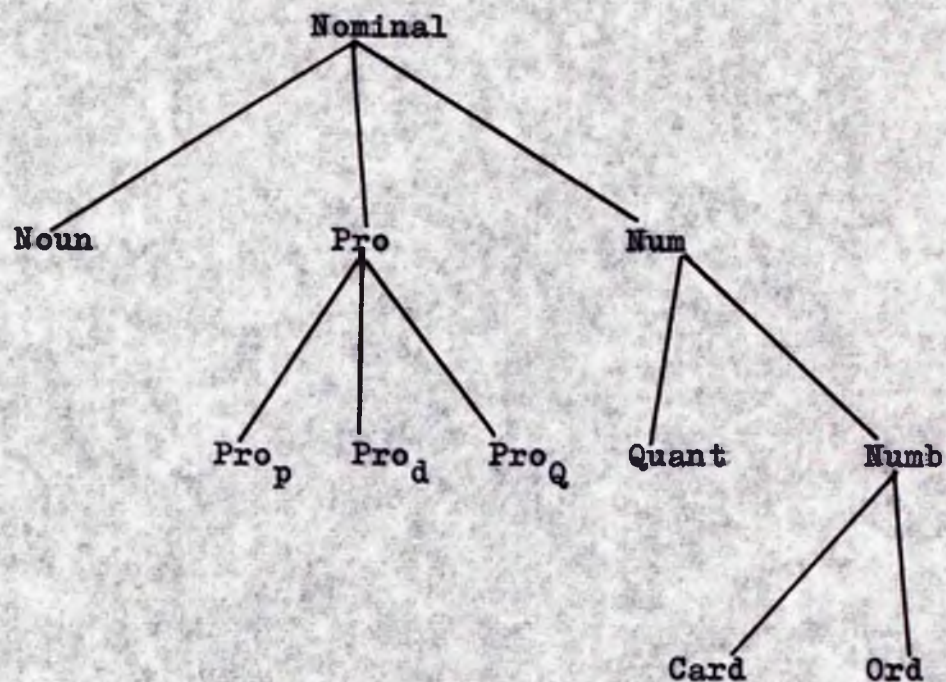
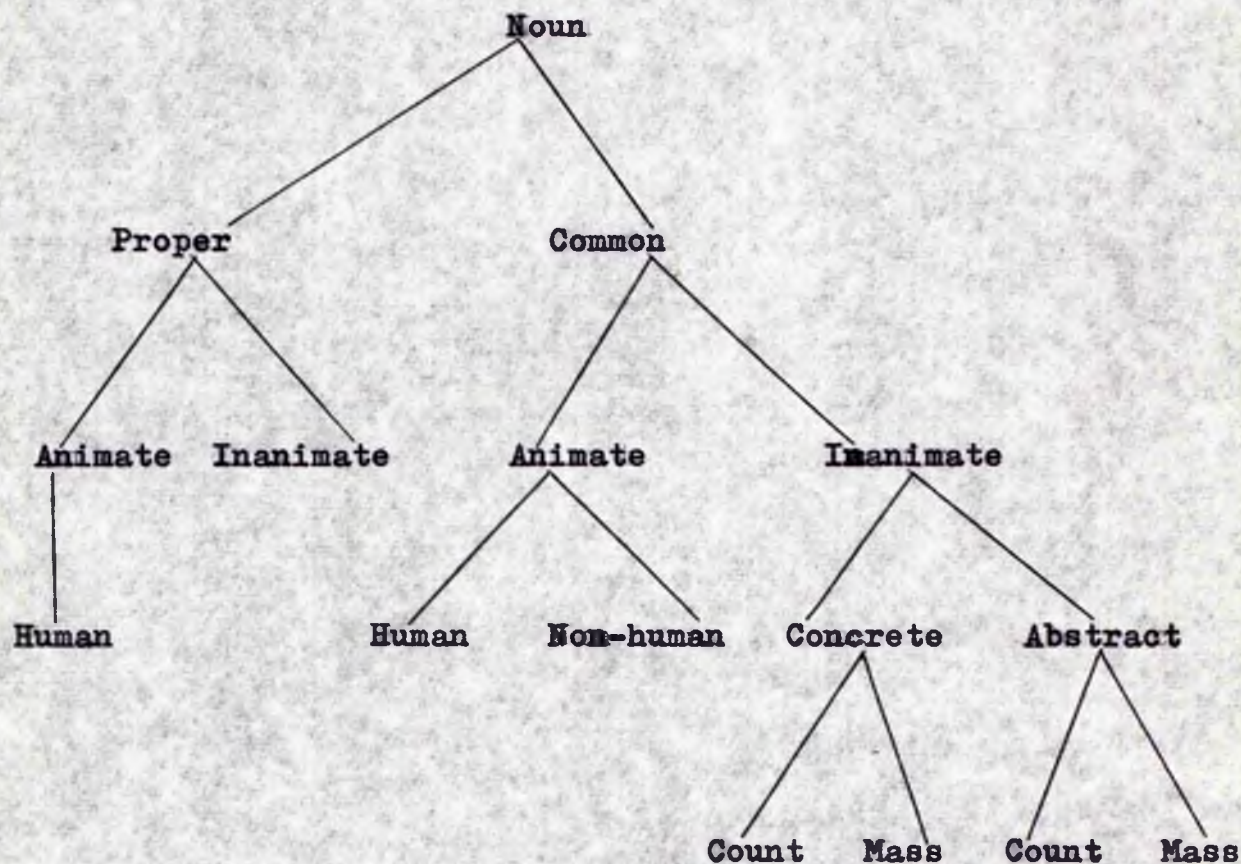


Diagram (4)

Diagram (5)

4.3

Function Words

The function words are those which cannot be included in the two groups, verbals and nominals. They differ from these two groups in the sense that they are not morphologically characterized. The function words can be full words or particles (cf. 4.0). The subclassification below is based

on the various functions of these words in the structure of a phrase, clause or sentence.

4.31 Question Words

The question words (Q-words) are those which occur in interrogative sentences. They are subclassified into Q_{tv} - words and Q_{wh} - words, based on the types of answers they elicit. The former requires a truth-value answer, while the latter does not.

4.31.1 Q_{tv} - words

The Q_{tv} - words are particles, and they are:-

- (i) /kati/ = is it?
- (ii) /kada/

4.31.2 Q_{wh} - words

The Q_{wh} - words are full words. They consist of the following structures:-

- (i) A single function word.
- (ii) Function word + Function word.
- (iii) Function word + Pro_Q

The following are the Q_{wh} - words:-

- (i) /kəməja ?/ = when?
- (ii) /lapa??/ = why?
- (iii) /kati ko?/ = how?
- (iv) /kapa??/ = ~~what~~ for?
- (v) /bəkəni?/ = how?
- (vi) /dini?/ = where?
- (vii) /kini?/ = whither?
- (viii) /?ari ni?/ = whence?

Structure (i) of the above is illustrated by the Q_{wh} - words (i) and (ii), and structure (ii) by the Q_{wh} - word (iii), where /kati/ is a Q_{tv} - word and /ko/ a quotative word (cf. 4.38). The Q_{wh} - words (iv) - (viii) are formed according to structure (iii).

The Q_{wh} - word /kapa?/ is derived from /ka/ + /?apa/, where /ka/, for, is the benefactive preposition (cf. 4.34.4), and /?apa/, what, a Pro_Q . In the process of this derivation, /?/ of /?apa/ is ellipsed, and this elision is compensated by the placing of a final /?/ to /kapa?/.

The Q_{wh} - words (v) - (viii) are derived by placing the Pro_Q /ni/, which, after each of the following prepositions:-

- (i) /baka/, like (an equative preposition, cf. 4.34.5).

- (ii) /di/, at, in, on (a locative preposition).
- (iii) /ka/, to, towards (a direction preposition).
- (iv) /ʔari/, from (a direction preposition).

/bəkəni/ is related to /baka/, but there is a difference in the qualities of the vowels of the first two vowels of the former compared to those of the latter. So is the case with /kini/ and /ka/.

4.32 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are particles, which occur in simple or complex forms, which connect phrases and clauses. The conjunctions can engender two types of conjoining, subordinative and co-ordinative, and on this basis, these conjunctions are divided into two subclasses, the subordinating and the co-ordinating conjunctions.

4.32.1 Subordinating Conjunctions

The subordinating conjunctions are those which join subordinate clauses to main clauses. These conjunctions are divided into subclasses based on the subclass-memberships of

clauses in which they function. (cf. Chapter 7).

4.32.11 Relative Conjunctions

The relative conjunction joins the relative (adjective) clause to the main clause. The following relative conjunctions occur in free variation with each other:-

- (i) /ti/ = who, which, that.
- (ii) /kə/

4.32.12 Object Conjunction

The object conjunction is:-

- (i) /səkalika/ = whether.

This conjunction replaces a Q_{tv} -word in an object clause (cf. 7.12).

4.32.13 Temporal Conjunctions

The temporal conjunctions are those which occur in temporal (adverb) clauses (cf. 7.13.11). These conjunctions are as follows:-

- (i) /ləboh/ = when.
- (ii) /bənoŋ/ = when, during.
- (iii) /səkumbaŋ/ = while, when.
- (iv) /kəpaw ʔari/ = since.

(v) /səbədaw/ = before.

(vi) /ʔudah/ = after.

Conjunction (vi) above is homophonous with the aspect verb /ʔudah/, already (cf. 4.12.1). The etymology of /səbədaw/ can be said to be {sə-} + /bədaw/, where {sə-} is a verbal prefix (which in the present stage of the history of the language is only affixed to adjectives, cf. 3.16) and /bədaw/, not yet, is an aspect verb (cf. 4.12.1). /kəpaw ʔari/ is a complex conjunction consisting of the particle /kəpaw/ and the direction preposition /ʔari/, from.

4.32.14 Reason Conjunctions

The reason conjunctions occur in reason clauses (cf. 7.13.2). The reason clauses can answer questions with the Q_{wh}- words /lapaʔ/, why, and /kapaʔ/, what for. Certain subordinative complex verbal phrases are formed by the embedding of reason clauses introduced by certain reason conjunctions and not by others (cf. 5.13.14.2 and 5.13.14.5). On this basis and on the basis of their meanings, the reason conjunctions are divided into the reason conjunctions proper and the purpose conjunctions.

4.32.14.1 Reason Conjunctions Proper

The reason conjunctions proper are as follows:-

- (i) /laban/
- (ii) /kəbuah/ = because.
- (iii) /kətəgal/

Conjunction (ii) is homophonous with the abstract noun /kəbuah/, reason, while conjunction (iii) is formed by combining the relative conjunction /kə/ and the abstract noun /təgal/, reason.

4.32.14.2 Purpose Conjunctions

The purpose conjunctions are as follows:-

- (i) /ŋambika/
- (ii) /ʔawaʔka/ = in order that.

4.32.15 Condition Conjunctions

The condition conjunctions occur in condition clauses (cf. 7.13³). These conjunctions are as follows:-

- (i) /ʔənti/
- (ii) /səmeaʔ/ = if, supposing.

The weak form of /ʔənti/ is /ti/.

4.32.16 Concession Conjunctions

The concession conjunctions introduce concession clauses (cf. 7.13.4). These conjunctions are as follows:-

- (i) /tad₃aʔ/ = although.
- (ii) /tad₃aʔ pen/

/pen/ in the second conjunction is an emphasizing word (cf. 4.37.2).

4.32.2 Co-ordinating Conjunctions

Co-ordinating conjunctions are those which connect units together such that none of the units is an element of another. Conjunctions (i) - (v) below can conjoin phrases, while conjunctions (iv) - (vi) can conjoin clauses.

- (i) /ʔəŋgaw/ = and.
- (ii) /səreʔa (ʔəŋgaw)/ = as well as.
- (iii) /səduaj/ = together with.
- (iv) /(baika) ... tauka/ = (either) ... or.
- (v) /taŋ/ = but.
- (vi) /laluʔ/ = and.

4.33 Adverbs

Adverbs are function (full) words which occur at Adv in the unmarked structures NP - VP (where Adv forms a component

of VP, cf. 4.11) and NP - NP - (Adv). These adverbs are divided into several subclasses as given below.

4.33.1 Temporal Adverbs

The temporal adverbs can answer the Q_{wh} - word /kəməja/, when. They are as follows:-

- (i) /suba?/ = formerly.
- (ii) /məpa?/ = formerly.
- (iii) /diato?/ = now.
- (iv) /ʔila?/ = presently, later on.

4.33.2 Locative Adverbs

The locative adverbs are those which can answer the Q_{wh} - word /dini/, where. These adverbs are as follows:-

- (i) /dito?/ = here.
- (ii) /dia?/ = there.
- (iii) /pin/ = there.
- (iv) /pun/ = over there.

/dito?/ is a complex word derived from the combination of the locative preposition /di/ and the Pro_d /to?/, this.

4.33.3 Direction Adverbs

This subclass of adverbs can occur with dynamic verbs (cf. 4.21.21). The direction adverbs which are represented by function words can form the answers to the Q_{wh} -word /kini/, whither. (The answers to the Q_{wh} -word /?ari ni/, whence, only occur in the form of prepositional phrases. Cf. 5.31.3). The following are direction adverbs which are function words:-

- (i) /kito?/ = hither.
- (ii) /kia?/ = thither.
- (iii) /kin/ = thither.

/kito?/ is a complex word which is derived from /ka/ + /to?/, where /ka/, to, towards, is a direction preposition and /to?/ a Pro_d (cf. 4.33.2 for the parallel formation of /dito?/). In the derivation of /kito?/, the vowel of /ka/ changes its quality from that of a back vowel to that of a front vowel (cf. 4.31.2 where the formation of /kini/ undergoes a similar process). The direction adverb /kia?/ and the locative adverb /dia?/ are simple adverbs, but the distinction between them is relatable to the distinction existing between the direction preposition /ka/ and the locative preposition /di/.

4.33.4

Restrictive Adverbs

The restrictive adverbs are as follows:-

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-----------------|
| (i) | /ʔad ₃ a/ | = only. |
| (ii) | /ʔəŋkaʔ/ | = only. |
| (iii) | /səmina/ | = only. |
| (iv) | /ŋapa/ | = merely, just. |

4.33.5

Frequency Adverbs

The frequency adverbs are as follows:-

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (i) | /suah/ | = often. |
| (ii) | /səmpaj/ | = always. |
| (iii) | /səkəlin/ | = sometimes. |
| (iv) | /ʔama ... ʔama/ | = sometimes ... some-
times. |
| (v) | /d ₃ araŋ/ | = seldom. |

A frequency adverb can be substituted by a numeral phrase with the structure Num + N, where Num can stand for a cardinal or a quantifier and N is always filled by the abstract noun /kali/, time (of. 4.21.4, Exx. (34) (vii)).

4.33.6

Affirmative Adverbs

The affirmative adverbs are as follows:-

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|
| (i) | /pəmataʔ/ | = certainly, definitely. |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------|

- Exx. (47) (i) /kəriəŋ ʔamat/ - very strong.
 (ii) /mirah ʔamaj/ - bright red.
 (iii) /radʒa bəndar/ - very rich.
 (iv) /balat ləŋkas/ - very quick.
 (v) /bədʒalaj ʔamat/ - likes to walk or go
 visiting.
 (vi) /bəgawaʔ ʔamaj/ - works very hard.
 (vii) /makaj bəndar/ - really eats.
 (viii) /balat lələŋaw/ - really longs for.

Examples (i) - (iv), which are constructed with V_{adj} , can be substituted by the reduplication of V_{adj} (cf. 3.32.11.2).

4.33.9 Anaphoric Adverbs

An anaphoric adverb is ^{an}adverb whose meaning is referable to a preceding sentence which is uttered by the same or by a different speaker. An adverb of this subclass usually occurs at the beginning of a sentence, but its place is variable within a sentence. Wherever it occurs, it is separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause or two pauses. These adverbs are as follows:-

- (i) /piaʔ/
 (ii) /kəbaʔ/ - thus.
 (iii) /kəmaʔ/
 (iv) /kəmah/

- (v) /pəŋka/ = perhaps.
 (vi) /ʔəŋka/
 (vii) /laluʔ/
 (viii) /padiʔ/ = then, so.
 (ix) /ʔalaj/
 (x) /paʔalaj/ = therefore.
 (xi) /ʔauʔ/ = yes.

Adverb (x) is a complex word formed by combining the Pro_d /paʔ/, that, and the anaphoric adverb (ix), /ʔalaj/. In this combination, /ʔ/ of /paʔ/ is ellipsed.

Adverb (vii) is homophonous with the co-ordinating conjunction /laluʔ/, and, but the two differ in the following respects:-

- (i) Mobility.
 (ii) The presence of a pause.

The anaphoric /laluʔ/ is mobile within a single clause or sentence, while the co-ordinating /laluʔ/ occurs only between the clauses it conjoins. For the anaphoric /laluʔ/, one or two pauses are obligatory for the purpose of separating it from the rest of the sentence. On the other hand, a pause is obligatory between a preceding clause and the co-ordinating /laluʔ/, but optional between this conjunction and the clause which follows it (cf. 7.21.1). Both the

anaphoric and the co-ordinating /lalu?/ are homophonous with the intransitive verb /lalu?/, to pass by.

4.34 Prepositions

The Prepositions are particles which precede full words in prepositional phrases. In terms of their various structures, the prepositions in Iban are divided into simple and complex prepositions. A simple preposition consists of a single particle, while a complex preposition consists of:-

- (i) Particle + Particle
- (ii) V + Particle

Structure (i) characterizes the complex locative and direction prepositions (cf. 4.34.22 and 4.34.32), while structure (ii) is exemplified by temporal preposition (ii) (cf. 4.34.1). All the prepositions in the language precede NP to form prepositional phrases. An exception is the manner preposition /ʔəŋgaw/, with, which precedes V_{adj-m} to form the adverb (prepositional) phrase of manner (cf. 4.34.7).

4.34.1 Temporal Prepositions

The temporal prepositions are as follows:-

- (i) /kəna?/ = on.
- (ii) /dataj ka/ = until.

These prepositions occur in prepositional phrases which function as temporal adverbs. The second preposition is a complex preposition characterized by structure (ii) mentioned in 4.34. The first component of this preposition is a V_1 which bears the meaning to come, while the second component is the direction preposition /ka/, to, towards. Strictly speaking, /dataj ka/ denotes duration, but since it occurs only with nouns which refer to time, it is classified as temporal.

4.34.2 Locative Prepositions

The locative prepositions can be simple or complex. They occur in prepositional phrases which function as locative adverbs (cf. 5.31.2).

4.34.21 Simple Locative Prepositions

The simple locative prepositions are as follows:-

- | | | |
|-------|---------|-----------------|
| (i) | /ba/ | = at, on, in. |
| (ii) | /di/ | |
| (iii) | /dalam/ | = in. |
| (iv) | /?atas/ | = on. |
| (v) | /bawah/ | = under, below. |

Preposition (ii) cannot occur with human nouns (cf. 4.21.33). The rest can form constructions with human as well as non-human nouns.

4.34.22

Complex Locative Prepositions

The complex locative prepositions are formed by placing /ba/ or /di/ before any of the other simple locative prepositions, as shown below:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ba/ \\ /di/ \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /dalam/ \\ /?atas/ \\ /baroh/ \end{array} \right\}$$

The combination of /di/ and /?atas/ results in /datas/ instead of /di ?atas/. In the process of this combination, the vowel of /di/ and /?/ of /?atas/ are ellipsed (cf. 3.15 Exx. (35), where a similar process takes place in the optional formation of passive verbs which have /?/ as the initial consonant of their stems). The meanings of the complex prepositions formed according to the above rule are equivalent to the meanings of their second components, i. e. the prepositions in the right-hand braces.

4.34.3

Direction Prepositions

The direction prepositions are those which occur in prepositional phrases which function as direction adverbs (cf. 5.31.3). These prepositions are divided into simple direction prepositions and complex direction prepositions.

4.34.31

Simple Direction Prepositions

The following are the simple direction prepositions in Iban:-

- (i) /ŋagaj/
- (ii) /soh/ = to, towards.
- (iii) /ka/
- (iv) /ʔari/ = from.
- (v) /nakaʔ/ = (going) as far as.

Preposition (iii) cannot occur with human nouns (cf. 4.21.33). All the rest can occur with human as well as non-human nouns.

4.34.32

Complex Direction Prepositions

The complex direction prepositions are formed by preposing /ka/ or /ʔari/ to the locative prepositions /dalam/, /ʔatas/ and /baroh/.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ka/ \\ /ʔari/ \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /dalam/ \\ /ʔatas/ \\ /baroh/ \end{array} \right\}$$

When /ka/ is preposed to /ʔatas/, the resultant form is /katas/ instead of /ka ʔatas/. This form is indicative of the process of elision which operates on the vowel of the

first component and /ʔ/ of the second component (cf. 4.34.22 for the parallel formation of /datas/).

The above rule results in the following complex direction prepositions:-

- | | | |
|-------|--------------|------------------|
| (i) | /ka dalam/ | = into. |
| (ii) | /katas/ | = onto. |
| (iii) | /ka baroh/ | = (going) under. |
| (iv) | /ʔari dalam/ | = from inside. |
| (v) | /ʔari ʔatas/ | = from above. |
| (vi) | /ʔari baroh/ | = from under. |

4.34.4 Benefactive Preposition

The benefactive preposition is:-

- | | | |
|-----|------|--------|
| (i) | /ka/ | = for. |
|-----|------|--------|

The prepositional phrase in which this preposition occurs functions as the benefactive adverb (cf. 5.31.4). This preposition is homophonous with the direction /ka/, but the two differ in three respects:-

- (i) The subclass-memberships of the nouns with which they are constructed.
- (ii) The choice of verbs with which the prepositional (adverb) phrases introduced by them occur.

(iii) Their substitutability.

The direction /ka/ cannot be constructed with a human noun, while the benefactive /ka/ can form constructions with all nouns. The prepositional (adverb) phrases introduced by the benefactive /ka/ can occur with all verbs, but those introduced by the direction /ka/ can only occur with dynamic verbs (cf. 4.21.21). From the point of view of their substitutability, the direction /ka/ can be substituted by /ŋagaj/ or /soh/ (cf. 4.34.31), but with the benefactive /ka/, there is no possibility of such a substitution.

4.34.5 Equative Preposition

The following is the equative preposition:-

- (i) /baka/ = like.

This preposition occurs with a nominal or a nominal phrase to form a prepositional phrase which functions as the equative adverb. (cf. 5.31.5).

4.34.6 Instrumental Preposition

The instrumental preposition is as follows:-

- (i) /ŋənaʔ/ = by, with.

This preposition occurs in a prepositional phrase which functions as an instrumental adverb (cf. 5.31.6). The

preposition /ŋənaʔ/ is homophonous with the verb /ŋənaʔ/, uses, which is the Nasalized form of /kənaʔ/, to use .

4.34.7 Manner Preposition

The manner preposition is:-

- (i) /ʔəŋgaw/ = with.

This preposition precedes V_{adj-m} in a prepositional phrase which functions as the adverb of manner (cf. 4.11.22.2). It is homophonous with the co-ordinating conjunction /ʔəŋgaw/ (cf. 4.32.2).

4.34.8 Agentive Preposition

The agentive preposition is:-

- (i) /ʔulish/ = by.

This preposition optionally occurs before the subject (NP1) in a passive sentence.

4.35 Negative Words

The negative words (Neg) are full words, and they are divided into two subclasses based on the types of sentences in which they occur. One subclass consists of the imperative negation, and the other the non-imperative negation.

4.35.1

Imperative Negation

This subclass occurs in an imperative sentence (imperative proper, optative or propositive, cf. 6.3). As such, it negates V only. The imperative negation is represented by /ʔanaŋ/, don't.

Exx. (48) (i) /ʔanaŋ dataj!/
 = Don't come!

(ii) /ʔanaŋ pədis meh ~~ʔ~~ paʔ!/
 = (I hope) it's not painful.

(iii) /ʔaram ʔanaŋ bəgawaʔ!/
 = Let's not work.

4.35.2

Non-imperative Negation

The non-imperative negation occurs in non-imperative sentences, the declarative and the interrogative sentences. Negative words which comprise this subclass are given below together with their weak forms.

(i) /ʔəndaʔ/, /ndaʔ/

(ii) /nadaʔ/, /ʔadaʔ/

(iii) /ʔukaj/, /kaj/

The first two sets cannot occur with nominals, but

they can occur with verbals and adverbs. The third set can occur with verbals, nominals and adverbs. Among the anaphoric adverbs, only those bearing the meaning thus can occur with Neg (cf. 4.33.9).

Exx. (49) Neg + Verbal

- | | | |
|--------|------------------|-------------------|
| (i) | /ʔəndaʔ bəsaj/ | |
| | not big | = is not big. |
| (ii) | /ʔəndaʔ tamaʔ/ | |
| | not enter | = did not enter. |
| (iii) | /ʔəndaʔ dəkaʔ/ | |
| | not will | = will not. |
| (iv) | /nadaʔ tʃiru/ | |
| | not bright | = is not bright. |
| (v) | /nadaʔ bələndaʔ/ | |
| | not run | = did not run. |
| (vi) | /nadaʔ kalaʔ/ | |
| | not ever | = never. |
| (vii) | /ʔukaj lantaʔ/ | |
| | not happy | = is not happy. |
| (viii) | /ʔukaj laboh/ | |
| | not fall | = did not fall. |
| (ix) | /ʔukaj ʔapin/ | |
| | not not-yet | = still, already. |

Exx. (50)	<u>Neg + Adverb</u>	
(i)	/ʔəndaʔ diatoʔ/	= not now.
(ii)	/ʔəndaʔ piaʔ/	= not like that.
(iii)	/nadaʔ suah/	= not often.
(iv)	/ʔukaj ditoʔ/	= not here.

Exx. (51)	<u>/ʔukaj/ + Nominal</u>	
(i)	/ʔukaj lələki/	= not a male.
(ii)	/ʔukaj paʔ/	= not that.
(iii)	/ʔukaj satu/	= not one.
(iv)	/ʔukaj ʔija/	= not him.

Each of the phrases in Exx. (51) can only function as the predicate of a sentence.

Exx. (51a)	(i)	/ʔuraŋ paʔ ʔukaj lələki/	
		= That person is not a male.	
	(ii)	/badʒi ʔaku ʔukaj paʔ/	
		= My wedge is not that (one).	

4.35.3 The Double Role of /nadaʔ/

Besides negating words and phrases, the negative words /nadaʔ/ can function as V in a sentence-structure, on condition it is immediately followed by a nominal which functions as its object.

Exx. (52)	(i)	/ʔija nadaʔ ʔanaʔ/	
		she not-have offspring	
		= She does not have any child.	

- (ii) /ʔaku nadaʒ duit/
 I not-have money
 = I do not have any money.

4.35.4 Double Negatives

The co-occurrence of two negatives results in an emphatic positive.

- Exx. (53) (i) /ʔendaʔ tau ʔendaʔ/
 not can not = must.
 (ii) /ʔanaŋ ʔendaʔ!/
 don't not! = (You) must.

4.36 Propositive Word

The propositive word, which is a full word, is used in a propositive sentence and is given below together with its weak form.

- (i) /ʔaram/, /ʔam/ = let's.

For an example of the use of this word in a sentence, refer to Exx. (48) (iii).

4.37 Emphasizing Words

The emphasizing words are particles which emphasize full words of the major classes which precede or follow them. These words are divided into two subclasses on the basis of their distribution.

4.37.1

Emphasizing Words: Subclass I

The emphasizing words which comprise this subclass are:-

- (i) /tak/
- (ii) /ga?/
- (iii) /meh/
- (iv) /deh/
- (v) /lah/

These words occur with the various subclasses of the major classes. Emphasizing word (i) precedes the word it emphasizes, while the other four follow the words they emphasize. These emphasizing words can interchange freely with one another, but some are predominant in certain types of sentences only.

/tak/ emphasizes verbals, nominals and the negative words.

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Exx. (54) (i) | /tak mantʃal/ | = IS naughty. |
| (ii) | /tak ʔəndaʔ bəsebuən/ | = is NOT cloudy. |
| (iii) | /tak buliəh/ | = DID get it. |
| (iv) | /tak nadaj pambar/ | = is NOT shattered. |
| (v) | /tak ʔapaj/ | = (It's) FATHER. |
| (vi) | /tak ʔukaj ʔija/ | = (It's) NOT him. |

The emphasizing word /ga?/ occurs after verbals, nominals, adverbs and the negative words.

- Exx. (55)
- | | | |
|--------|--------------|------------------------|
| (i) | /manah ga?/ | = IS beautiful. |
| (ii) | /dataj ga?/ | = DID come. |
| (iii) | /bisi? ga?/ | = DID have, DID exist. |
| (iv) | /dəka? ga?/ | = WILL. |
| (v) | /ʔija ga?/ | = HE. |
| (vi) | /majəh ga?/ | = MANY. |
| (vii) | /ʔau? ga?/ | = yes indeed. |
| (viii) | /pia? ga?/ | = THUS. |
| (ix) | /ʔənda? ga?/ | = NO. |

Although /meh/ can emphasize any subclass of the major word-classes, its occurrence is predominant in imperative sentences.

Exx. (56) /meh/ in an Imperative Context

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| (i) | /dataj meh! / | = Do come! |
| (ii) | /ʔaram begawa? meh! / | = Let's WORK. |
| (iii) | /landi? meh! // ʔija/ | = (I hope) he IS clever. |

Exx. (57) /meh/ in a Non-imperative Context

- | | | |
|------|------------|-------------|
| (i) | /tau meh/ | = CAN. |
| (ii) | /nəmu meh/ | = DID know. |

- (iii) /landi? meh/ = IS clever.
 (iv) /?ija meh/ = HE.
 (v) /təmuaj meh/ = (a) GUEST.
 (vi) /?au? meh/ = yes indeed.
 (vii) /nada? meh/ = NO.

Exx. (56) (iii) and Exx. (57) (iii) differ in two respects:-

- (i) Intonation (cf. 2.6).
 (ii) The positions of their subjects; the subject of the former is placed after V + /meh/, while that of the latter is before V.

The particle /deh/ can emphasize all the subclasses of the major word-classes, but its occurrence is predominant in the interrogative and exclamative sentences. It does not occur in an imperative sentence.

Exx. (58) /deh/ in an Interrogative Context

- (i) /kaju? nama to? deh?/
 tree what this Emph?
 = What tree is this?
 (ii) /sapa səduaj to? deh?/
 who both these Emph?
 = Who are these two?

Exx. (59) /deh/ in an Exclamative Context

- (i) /lad₃u deh!/
 = How fast!
- (ii) /ɲamaj deh!/
 = How delicious!

Exx. (60) /deh/ in a Declarative Context

- (i) /dia? deh rad₃a tandə? buliəh pənu₃sah/
 there Emph king horn got trouble
 = It was THERE that King Horn got his trouble.
- (ii) /kami lantaŋ deh/
 = We ARE happy.

The particle /lah/ can emphasize any word which precedes it in any sentence. As this particle is not very much used and its usage is confined to those Ibans who have for a long time intermingled with the Malays, it is suspected that this emphasizing word is a loan from the Malay /lah/.

- Exx. (61)** (i) /dataj lah!/
 = DO come!
- (ii) /noan lah/
 = YOU.
- (iii) /nada₃j lah/
 = NO.

4.37.2 Emphasizing Words: Subclass II

This subclass consists of the particle /pən/. It occurs only with V and this excludes V_{adj}. The emphasis conveyed by /pən/ represents an emphasis on response or on the

commencement of an action.

Exx. (62) (i) /ʔija mandʒoəŋ ʔaku pən paut/

= He shouted. I answered.

(ii) /ʔija mukaʔ pintu ʔaku pən tamaʔ/

= He opened the door. I entered.

(iii) /ʔari pau tawas ʔaku pən tədani/

= The day became bright. I woke up.

(iv) /tuboəh ja ʔəndaʔ gəraj ʔija pən tamaʔ tindoʔ/

body he not healthy. he Emph enter sleep

= He was not feeling well. He went in to sleep.

4.37.3

Complex Emphasizing Words

The emphasizing words discussed in 4.37.1 and 4.37.2 are simple emphasizing words. Complex emphasizing words are formed by the co-occurrence of two simple emphasizing words, and these complex words are as follows:-

(i) /pən ... gaʔ/

(ii) /gaʔ meh/

Complex emphasizing word (i) is discontinuous as the constituents are separated by V, and this complex word occurs in a declarative sentence only. On the other hand, complex emphasizing word (ii) can only occur in an imperative sentence.

- Exx. (63) (i) /ʔija pən dataj ga?/
 = He DID come.
- (ii) /dʒawiŋ pən bədʒalaj ga?/
 = Jawing DID walk on.
- (iii) /bədʒako? ga? meh!/
 = DO speak!
- (iv) /tama? ga? meh!/
 = DO come in!

4.38

Quotative Word

The quotative word /ko/ is a particle. It is always followed by a nominal phrase or a full sentence with the structure NP - VP. /ko/ plus the unit which follows it can precede or follow a direct speech, ~~and~~ is separated from the latter by a pause. This particle never occurs after a nominal which functions as the subject. It is possible that this particle is historically related to /dʒako?/, word, speech, which also forms the stem for the verb /bədʒako?/, to speak.

- Exx. (64) (i) /paja ni pa?? ~~ʔ~~ ko bunta?/
 swamp which that?, Quot grasshopper
 = "Which swamp is that?" asked the grasshopper.
- (ii) /ʔaku ta? nadaɟ pənusah ~~ʔ~~ ko pamok/
 I this not-have trouble, Quot mosquito.
 = "I do not have any trouble", said the mosquito.

- (iii) /ʔapi deh nau padam ~~ʔ~~ piaʔ ko ʔakɪ bədʒakoʔ/
 fire Emph became extinguished, thus Quot
 grandfather speak
 = "The fire has gone out", thus said the
 grandfather.
- (iv) /munsoh tɔʔ ~~ʔ~~ piaʔ ko ʔija ŋaŋaw/
 enemy this, thus Quot he called-out
 = "This is an enemy", thus called he out.
- (v) /ko ʔija ~~ʔ~~ mənɔa noan ʔapin tɛgap/
 Quot he , country you not-yet strong
 = Said he, "Your country is not yet strong".

4.39

Interjections

Interjections are full words. They can occur as full (minor) sentences in the sense that they can be uttered with the intonation which characterizes the exclamative sentences (cf. 2.6), and they are independent of other sentences. As the interjections occur as sentences, the discussion on them is reserved for Chapter 6.

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CHAPTER 5

PHRASES

5.0 The phrase is the unit which in the scale of hierarchy occupies the level above the word and below the clause. According to its function as an element of a sentence-structure, the phrase (as the term is used in this thesis) can consist of a full word, a sequence of full words, a sequence of a particle and a full word (or words), or a clause.

5.01 Endocentric and Exocentric Phrases

In terms of its distribution in relation to the distribution of its immediate constituents, a phrase can be classified as endocentric or exocentric.

An endocentric phrase is a phrase in which at least one of its immediate constituents has a distribution similar to that of the whole phrase. This constituent is the head (H) of the phrase, while the others are modifiers (M).

A phrase is exocentric if its distribution is not similar to that of any of its immediate constituents, such that this phrase neither has a head nor a modifier.

5.02

Simple and Complex Phrases

A phrase is simple if it cannot be reduced any further while remaining with the same function on the same level in the scale of hierarchy.

An endocentric phrase is simple if it consists of:-

- (i) A single full word which is always H.
- (ii) A sequence of words in which one must be the obligatory H.

The endocentric phrase type (i) is the minimal endocentric phrase, while that belonging to type (ii) can be a non-extended or an extended simple phrase. The non-extended simple phrase consists of a single H and a single M, while the extended simple phrase consists of a single H and more than one M. Henceforth, the term simple phrase, unless modified, will refer to the non-extended simple phrase only.

A simple exocentric phrase can consist of a single full word or a sequence of words. Both types are minimal exocentric phrases.

A complex phrase represents the combination of simple phrases. This combination is resultant from three processes (cf. 1.5):-

- (i) Co-occurrence.
- (ii) Embedding.
- (iii) Conjoining.

The first process denotes the co-occurrence of simple phrases of the same class which together function as an element of a sentence-structure. This process can be exemplified by the formation of the complex auxiliary verbs (cf. 4.12.2) and the double negatives (cf. 4.35.4).

Embedding operates on phrases such that a phrase functions as an element of another phrase, and the latter can in turn function as an element of a larger phrase and so on. Complex phrases formed by embedding also include the type of phrases in which a subordinate clause functions as M.

Conjoining of phrases means connecting together two or more simple phrases such that none of these phrases functions as an element of another. There are two methods of conjoining:-

- (i) By utilizing the co-ordinating conjunctions.
- (ii) By placing two or more phrases together in paratactic position.

Method (ii) can optionally make use of a co-ordinating conjunction, and this characteristic serves to differentiate complex phrases formed by parataxis from those formed by co-occurrence. The co-ordinating conjunctions which operate in complex phrases are:-

- (i) /ʔəŋgaw/ = and.
- (ii) /(baika) ... tauka/ = (either) ... or.
- (iii) /səreṭa (ʔəŋgaw)/ = as well as.
- (iv) /səduaj/ = together with.
- (v) /taŋ/ = but.

Conjunction (iv) cannot conjoin verbals and adverbs, while conjunction (v) cannot conjoin nominals except only when the nominals function as the predicates of the sentences with the structure NP - NP - (Adv). All the other conjunctions given above can conjoin nominals, verbals and adverbs.

Conjunctions (i) and (ii) permit the iteration of the conjuncts indefinitely, but usually a maximum of two iterations is found to occur. With iteration, the conjunction is obligatory between the penultimate and the ultimate conjuncts; the optional conjunction can be replaced by a pause. The conjoining by conjunction (ii) optionally places /baika/ before the first-occurring conjunct. (Cf. 1.5 for the definition of a conjunct).

Although in theory recursion by conjoining and/or embedding can have an indefinite length, in practice usually a maximum of two recursions is found to occur. Complex phrases formed by conjoining are termed co-ordinative complex phrases, while those formed by embedding are termed subordinative complex phrases.

5.03

Phrasal Classes

Phrasal classes correspond to word-classes. Phrases are classified as verbal, nominal or adverbial based on their functions in the unmarked sentence-structures NP - VP and NP - NP - (Adv). A verbal phrase functions at VP, a nominal phrase at NP and an adverb phrase at Adv. The adverb phrase in the structure NP - VP forms an optional component of VP (cf. 4.11).

5.04

Phrasal Types and Subtypes

Phrases belonging to the same class are divided into types based on their structures. These types are in turn divided into subtypes based on:-

- (i) The subclass-membership of a particular word which forms a constituent of a particular phrase.
- (ii) The possibility of certain operations, such as the insertion of a single word or a sequence of words, and substitution.

The term substitution as used in (ii) above means:-

- (i) The substitution of a word by another word, a phrase or a subordinate clause.
- (ii) Permutation.

5.1

Verbal Phrases

A verbal phrase (VP) can either be exocentric or endocentric. The minimal form of VP is a simple Aux, V or a simple exocentric VP.

5.11

Simple Exocentric VP

A verbal phrase is exocentric if it is represented by a structure which is non-verbal. Simple exocentric verbal phrases are divided into two types on the basis of their different structures.

5.11.1

Simple Exocentric VP: Type I

This type of simple exocentric VP is characterized as follows:-

{sə-} + N

Conditions

- (a) {sə-} is the nominal prefix with the meaning One (cf. 3.22.1 and 3.22.2).
- (b) N consists of R or {pə-} + Nasalized Stem (cf. 3.21).

The structure above is actually a nominal structure, but it can function as VP in the unmarked structure NP - VP.

Examples (i) and (ii) below can function as VP as well as NP, but the rest of the examples can only function as VP.

- Exx. (1) (i) /səgəmpoŋ/ = one community; to live in the same community.
- (ii) /sətaŋkaj/ = one cluster or bunch; to come from the same cluster or bunch.
- (iii) /sədʒalaj/ = to have the same direction or purpose.
- (iv) /sərumah/ = to live in the same house.
- (v) /səmənoa/ = to live in the same country or locality.
- (vi) /səgulaj/ = to be in the same social group.
- (vii) /səpənuaʔ/ = to have the same direction or purpose.

Exx. (1) (i) and (ii) are used in the following sentences:-

- Exx. (2) (i) /bisiʔ səgəmpoŋ ʔiban ditoʔ/
- = There is a community of Ibans here.
- (ii) /kami səgəmpoŋ ʔəŋgaw sidaʔ/
- = We live in the same community as them.
- (iii) /ʔaku ŋambiʔ sətaŋkaj/
- = I took a bunch.
- (iv) /kitaj sətaŋkaj ʔəŋgaw laut/
- = We belong to the same cluster as the Malays.

(viii) /balat pəmədis/

very pain = very painful.

All the examples above can occur at VP in the ~~fun-~~marked structure NP - VP.

5.12 Simple Endocentric VP

The minimal endocentric VP is a simple Aux or V. The non-minimal endocentric VP consists of the obligatory H and one or more M. H consists of the obligatory nucleus, which is always V, and an optional non-nucleus, which is always Aux. M consists of NP, Adv or both (in the case of the extended simple VP).

The structure of the simple endocentric VP can be summarized as follows:-

<u>(Non-Nuc) + Nuc + (NP) + (Adv)</u>	
H	M

The discussion in this section is on the non-minimal simple endocentric verbal phrases only. These phrases fall into two main types as discussed in 5.12.1 and 5.12.2.

5.12.1 Simple Endocentric VP: Type I

The structure of this type is as follows:-

H + (NP) + (Adv)

Conditions

- (a) The variability of the position of Adv depends on the subtype the phrase enters.
- (b) NP is an object, single or double, in an unmarked structure (cf. Subtype I).
- (c) NP is not an object in a marked structure (cf. Subtypes II and III).

This type is divided into three subtypes. Subtypes II and III are said to consist of marked structures as each is characterized by an emphasis on H.

5.12.11

Subtype I

The nucleus of this subtype can belong to any subclass of V (cf. 4.11). This subtype also includes verbal phrases which incorporate reflexive objects, and the reflexive object is represented by /diri/, self. The NP in this subtype is an object, single or double (cf. 5.12.1, condition (b)), and its presence is obligatory or optional as specified by the subclass of V which forms the nucleus.

Exx. (4) (Aux) + V_t + NP2 + (Adv)

- (i) /dəkaʔ makaj ʔasi toʔ/
 = will eat this rice.

(ii) /suah ɲerɪŋatka ʔaku/

= often angers me.

(iii) /nəmuajka ʔaku ditoʔ/

= visits me here.

(iv) /mulajka diri/

returns self

= goes back.

(v) /ɲidoəpka diri/

make-live self

= supports oneself.

Exx. (5) (Aux) + V_t + NP3 + NP2 + (Adv)

(i) /ʔapin məriʔ ʔaku duit/

not-yet give I money

= has not given me money yet.

(ii) /ɲuaʔka ʔaku tadʒaw ɲaʔ/

hand-over I jar that

= handed over that jar to me.

Exx. (6) (Aux) + V_{mid} + NP2 + (Adv)

(i) /ɲadi guru/

= becomes (a) teacher.

(ii) /bəkaɲaw duat/

have-name Duat

= is called Duat.

- (iii) /bəbini ʔindoʔ təʔ/
 have-wife woman this
 = is married to this woman.
- (iv) /bəlanʔ buntaʔ/
 have-as-food-eaten-with-rice grasshopper
 = have grasshopper as food eaten with rice.

Exx. (7) (Aux) + V_i + (Adv)

- (i) /ʔudah dataj ʔənsanus/
 already come day-before-yesterday
 = had already come day before yesterday.
- (ii) /tumboh galaʔ/
 grow luxuriant
 = grows luxuriantly.
- (iii) /bədʒalaj nakaʔ suŋaj naʔ/
 walk as-far-as river that
 = walked as far as that river.

There is a restricted list of verbal phrases which belong to this type, but which differs from the other examples given above, particularly Exx. (4) and (7), in the following respects:—

- (i) V which forms the nucleus is V_i or V_{t-a}.
- (ii) Adv is a temporal adverb represented by a noun which denotes the time of day,

morning, midday, evening or night.

(iii) The position of Adv is always after the nucleus and is invariable.

(iv) The object never occurs even if the nucleus is V_{t-a} .

These phrases are as follows:-

- Exx. (8) (i) /makaj pagi/
eat morning = to have breakfast.
- (ii) /makaj ləmaj/
eat evening = to have dinner.
- (iii) /pulaj ləmaj/
return evening = to return in the evening.
- (iv) /mandi tənəh ʔari/
bathe midday = to take a midday bath.

To convey the meaning to have lunch, the verb /məraraw/ is used instead of a verbal phrase parallel to those given in Exx. (8). This verb is derived from /pəraraw/, midday meal.

For examples of verbal phrases with the structures V + Adv of Comparison and V + Intensive Adv, refer to 4.11.22.1 Exx. (11) and (12), and 4.33.8 Exx. (47). In the former case, the position of Adv varies according to the degree of comparison it represents. In the latter case, the lexical item which

represents Adv determines the position of Adv, before or after V.

5. 12.12 Subtype II

The structure of this subtype is marked (cf. 5.12.1). The nucleus is V_{adj}, and the presence of a following noun, which is not an object, is obligatory. Nouns occurring in this position usually indicate the various parts of the human body, but there are also examples in which these nouns are abstract nouns (cf. examples (xvi) and (xvii) below).

- Exx. (9) (i) /kəriŋ ʔati/
 strong heart = strong at heart.
- (ii) /bəsaʝ ʔati/
 big heart = proud of.
- (iii) /tusah ʔati/
 sad heart = sad.
- (iv) /ʔalit ʔati/
 puzzled heart = puzzled.
- (v) /badas ʔati/
 good heart = good-hearted, kind.
- (vi) /ʔiraw ʔati/
 anxious heart = anxious.
- (vii) /lurus ʔati/
 straight heart = honest.

- (viii) /manah gamal/
 beautiful appearance = beautiful of face.
- (ix) /sigat gamal/
 handsome appearance = handsome of face.
- (x) /gangap gamal/
 firm appearance = strong (of person).
- (xi) /silam moa/
 sombre face = sombre of face.
- (xii) /pandak tuboeh/
 short body = short of body.
- (xiii) /pandaj kaki/
 long foot = long of feet (or legs).
- (xiv) /d₃ai? d₃ari/
 bad hand = is given to pilfering.
- (xv) /gant₃il d₃ari/
 quick hand = is given to pilfering.
- (xvi) /d₃auh malam/
 far night = late at night.
- (xvii) /besaj guna/
 big use = useful.

The phrases above can occur with the adverbs of comparison and the intensive adverbs (cf. 4.33.7 and 4.33.8). The intensive adverb /balat/ and the superlative adverbs are always placed before the phrase, while the comparative and the other intensive adverbs are placed between the constituents.

- Exx. (10) (i) /pəmadu? kəriəŋ ?ati/ = most strong at heart.
 (ii) /kəlalu bəsaj ?ati/ = most proud of.
 (iii) /tusah ?agi ?ati/ = sadder.
 (iv) /?alit ?amat ?ati/ = very puzzled.
 (v) /badas ?amaj ?ati/ = very kind.
 (vi) /?iraw bendar ?ati/ = very anxious.
 (vii) /balat lurus ?ati/ = very honest.

When emphasized, the phrases in Exx. (9) seem to occur only with the emphasizing word /ga?/ which is placed between the constituents.

- Exx. (11) (i) /manah ga? gamal/ = IS beautiful of face.
 (ii) /sigat ga? gamal/ = IS handsome of face.

5.12.13

Subtype III

The structure of this subtype is marked (cf. 5.12.1) and its nucleus is V_1 . The NP which follows the nucleus can belong to any subclass of N except the proper noun. This

noun corresponds to the subject in the unmarked structure
NP - VP.

Subtype III differs from Subtype II in the following respects:-

- (i) Its non-occurrence with the adverbs of comparison and the intensive adverbs.
- (ii) The inseparability of its constituents.

Exx. (12) (i)	/ʔapus səpot/		
	finished breath	=	dead.
(ii)	/patah pah/		
	break thigh	=	has a broken thigh.
(iii)	/dataj d ₃ ari/		
	come hand	=	commits a murder.
(iv)	/mati ʔurat/		
	die vein	=	has a stroke.
(v)	/mati ʔati/		
	die heart	=	is overcome.
(vi)	/bad ₃ oəŋ kaki/		
	paralysed foot	=	has a paralysed foot (or leg).
(vii)	/paraj ʔambaj/		
	die sweetheart	=	has a dead sweetheart.
(viii)	/mati laki/		
	die husband	=	is widowed.

- (ix) /salah pəŋawa?/
 wrong affair - commits a crime.

5.12.2

Simple Endocentric VP: Type II

This type is characterized by the following structure:-

H + (/ʔəŋgaw/) + NP + (Adv)

Conditions

- (a) In the presence of /ʔəŋgaw/, H is V_1 and NP can stand for any nominal or nominal phrase.
- (b) In the absence of /ʔəŋgaw/, H is V_{mid} and NP is represented only by the reciprocal object /paŋan diri/, each other, one another.

Phrases formed according to the above structure denote reciprocity. For examples of these phrases in the absence or presence of /ʔəŋgaw/, refer to 3.13.5, Exx. (28) and (29).

5.13

Complex Verbal Phrases

The minimal form of a complex verbal phrase is either a complex Aux or V + V. The complex Aux has been discussed in

4.12.2 and will not be discussed any more in this section.

Other complex verbal phrases will be discussed in their respective subsections based on their types of recursions, embedding and conjoining (cf. 5.02).

5.13.1

Subordinative Complex VP

The subordinative complex VP is formed by embedding. It consists of only two occurrences of V, where the second V is subordinate to the first. This fact is justified by the occurrence of the second V in most of the types as an elliptical form of a subordinate clause or a prepositional phrase (cf. 7.1 for the definition of subordinate clause). Exceptions are Types II and III and Subtype III of Type IV. In these cases, the occurrence of the second V is not relatable to any other phrase or clause.

The subordinative complex verbal phrases are divided into four types, and most of these types consist of several subtypes (cf. 5.04 for the factors which motivate the division of phrases into types and subtypes).

- (i) The subject of the second constituent
(cf. Exx. (14) (i) and (ii)).
- (ii) The subject of both the constituents or of
the whole phrase (cf. Exx. (14) (iii)).

The sentences below illustrate the embedding of ad-verb clauses (cf. 7.13) in which the subordinating conjunctions are optional.

- Exx. (14) (i) /manah (ʔənti) ʔija dataj/
good (if) he came
= It would be nice if he came.
- (ii) /pamaj (ʔənti) kitaj pumaj ʔikan paʔ/
nice (if) we cooked fish that
= It would be nice if we cooked that fish.
- (iii) /takut (ləboh) ʔaku niŋa paʔ/
afraid (when) I heard that
= I became frightened when I heard it.

The constituents of each of Exx. (13) (iv) - (vi) can be separated by the benefactive preposition /ka/, for.

- Exx. (14a)(i) /bərani ka bədʒakoʔ/ = brave to speak.
- (ii) /ʔəŋgaj ka makaj ʔasi/ = unwilling to eat rice.
- (iii) /bəreŋkah ka bədʒual/ = begins to sell.

5.13.11.2

Subtype II

In this subtype, V_{in} which forms the first constituent includes V_{adj} (cf. Exx. (15) (i) and (ii)) as well as V_1 (cf. Exx. (15) (iii) and (iv)). The second constituent is a passive verb.

- Exx. (15) (i) /pamaj disumaj/
 delicious Pas+cook
 = delicious to cook (= delicious if cooked).
- (ii) /manah disimpan/
 good Pas+keep
 = good if kept.
- (iii) /ʔəŋgaj dituloəŋ/
 unwilling Pas+help
 = unwilling to be helped.
- (iv) /bəreŋkah dikətaŋ/
 begins Pas+harvest
 = begins to be harvested.

The first V forms the matrix into which the second V is embedded. A nominal which is inserted between the constituents can function as the subject of the first constituent (hence, the subject of the whole phrase) as well as the object of the second constituent.

- Exx. (16) (i) /pamaj toʔ disumaj/
 = This is delicious if it is cooked.

- (ii) /manah tuak pa? disimpan/
= The wine is good if it is kept.
- (iii) /ʔəŋgaj ʔija ʔa dituloəŋ/
= He refuses to be helped.
- (iv) /bəreŋkah padi pa? dikətaʔ/
(free translation): The work of harvesting
the rice has begun.

5.13.11.3 Subtype III

The first constituent of this subtype is V_{adj-m} , while the second constituent can belong to any subclass of V other than V_{adj} .

- Exx. (17) (i) /pantas ŋapam/
fast weave = fast in weaving.
- (ii) /landi? bədʒako?/
intelligent speak = good at speaking.
- (iii) /dʒəmpat bələnda?/
fast run = fast in running.
- (iv) /bagas bələdʒar/
diligent study = diligent in studying.

The constituent of this subtype can be permuted, and in this construction, the manner preposition /ʔəŋgaw/, with, can be placed between them, such that the second constituent

of the permuted phrase is now a prepositional phrase which functions as the adverb of manner (cf. 4.11.22.2).

Exx. (18) (i) /ŋapam ʔəŋgaw pantas/

weaves with fast = weaves fast.

(ii) /bəd₃akoʔ ʔəŋgaw landiʔ/

speaks with intelligent = speaks intelligently.

(iii) /bəlandaʔ ʔəŋgaw d₃ampat/

runs with fast = runs fast.

(iv) /bəlad₃ar ʔəŋgaw bagas/

studies with diligent = studies diligently.

5.13.12

Subordinative Complex VP: Type II

This type is productive. It is characterized by the following structure:-

$V_{adj} + V_{adj}$

Condition

The second V_{adj} consists of the structure {sə-} + R, where R is the repetition of the first constituent of the phrase.

Subordinative complex phrases belonging to this type are given in 3.16, Exx. (37).

5.13.13

Subordinative Complex VP: Type III

The structure of this type is:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} V_f \\ V_{mid} \end{array} \right\} + V_{adj}$$

The first constituent can only be filled by a restricted set of lexical items. Otherwise, this structure is productive. Example (v) below is the only example where the first constituent is a V_{mid} .

- Exx. (19) (i) /bəbali putʃat/ = turns pale.
 (ii) /bəbali mirah/ = turns red.
 (iii) /bərasaj lantaŋ/ = feels happy.
 (iv) /mansaŋ bəsaj/
 progresses big = becomes big.
 (v) /padi səranta/ = becomes poor.

5.13.14

Subordinative Complex VP: Type IV

This type consists of the structure:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} V_{t-a} \\ V_{mid-a} \\ V_i \end{array} \right\} + V$$

The subclass of V which forms the second constituent

is determined by the subtype it enters, and in some subtypes, this constituent is substitutable by a prepositional phrase or a subordinate clause. $V_{\text{mid-a}}$ as the first constituent occurs only in Subtype V, Exx. (28) (v). This type is divided into five subtypes which, apart from Subtype V, are productive.

5.13.14.1 Subtype I

The first V of this subtype is $V_{\text{t-a}}$, while the second V excludes V_{adj} . $V_{\text{t-a}}$ can be active or passive, and it belongs to a restricted set of verbs.

Exx. (20) (i) /diʔansaʔ bəʔupiʔ/

Pas+urge rear-animal = is urged to rear animals.

(ii) /dibaiʔ pulaj/

Pas+bring return = is taken home.

(iii) /ŋansaʔ dataj/

urges come = urges to come.

(iv) /puroəh bəʔulaj/

orders intermingle = orders to intermingle

(v) /minta naup/

requests help = requests to help.

- (vi) /tuloən gawa?/
helps work = helps to work.
- (vii) /məri? makaj/
gives eat = feeds.

The verbal phrases above can occur with single objects, and this fact is explicit in a passive sentence. Exx. (21) below illustrate the occurrences of Exx. (20) (i) and (ii) in passive sentences.

- Exx. (21) (i) /kami di?ansa? bətu?i?/
= We were urged to rear animals.
- (ii) /sida? diba? pulaj/
= They were taken home.

On the other hand, the two constituents of this sub-type refer to different subjects. This can be seen when a nominal is inserted between the constituents of each of the phrases in Exx. (20) (iii) - (vii), where the first constituent is an active verb. This nominal plus the second constituent which follows it forms the object clause, which functions as the object of the first constituent (cf. 7.12 for a discussion on object clauses).

- Exx. (22) (i) /ŋansa? kami dataj/
urges we come = urges us to come.
- (ii) /puroəh kami bəgulaʃ/
orders we intermingle = orders us to inter-
mingle.

- (iii) /minta noan paup/
requests you help = requests you to help.
- (iv) /tuloən sida? bəgawa?/
helps they work = helps them to work.
- (v) /məri? manuə? makaj/
gives chicken eat = feeds the chicken.

5.13.14.2

Subtype II

In this subtype, the first constituent is a dynamic verb which can belong to subclass V_i or V_{t-a} (cf. 4.21.21, Exx. (25)). V_i occurs in examples (i) - (iv) below, and V_{t-a} in examples (v) and (vi). The second constituent excludes V_{adj} .

- Exx. (23) (i) /turuən bəgiga?/
descend search = goes in search of
(food, i. e. fishing
or hunting).
- (ii) /dataj mantoən/
come weed = comes to weed.
- (iii) /ʔaŋkat ŋajaw/
depart make-war = goes to war.
- (iv) /pansut bəkindu?/
go-out warm-oneself = goes out to warm one-
self.

- (v) /tama? ɲiroep/
 enter drink = comes in to drink.
- (vi) /niki? tindoə?/
 climb sleep = goes up to sleep.

The second constituent of this type of phrase is substitutable by an adverb clause of purpose, which is introduced by the purpose conjunction /ɲambika/ or /ʔawaʔka/ (cf. 4.32.14.2). Hence, Exx. (23) correspond to Exx. (24), where the purpose clauses occur without their subjects.

- Exx. (24) (i) /turuən ɲambika bəgiga?/
 (ii) /dataj ɲambika mantoən/
 (iii) /ʔaŋkat ɲambika ɲajaw/
 (iv) /pansut ʔawaʔka bəkindu?/
 (v) /tama? ʔawaʔka ɲiroep/
 (vi) /niki? ʔawaʔka tindoə?/

5.13.14.3 Subtype III

In this subtype, the first constituent is V_{t-a} , and its position can be filled by a restricted set of lexical items. The second constituent excludes V_{adj} .

- Exx. (25) (i) /nəmu ŋasu/
 know hunt = knows hunting.
- (ii) /nəmu bægigaʔ/
 know search = knows hunting or fishing.
- (iii) /gawaʔ mutuəŋ/
 work-on tap-rubber = taps rubber (as an occupation).
- (iv) /məlaʔ makaj/
 prepare eat = prepares a meal.

5.13.14.4 Subtype IV

The first constituent is a dynamic V_i (cf. 4.21.21, Exx. (25)), and it consists of a very restricted set of verbs. The second constituent excludes V_{adj} .

- Exx. (26) (i) /pulaj bumaj/
 return work-in-the-rice-field
 = returns from working in the rice-field.
- (ii) /pulaj ŋabas/
 return visit
 = returns from visiting.
- (iii) /dani tindəəʔ/
 awake sleep
 = wakes up from sleep.

The direction preposition /ʔari/, from, can be inserted between the constituents, such that the second constituent of the phrase is now a prepositional phrase which functions as a direction adverb, and the V in this phrase is an exocentric NP (cf. 4.34). Hence, Exx. (26) correspond to Exx. (27).

- Exx. (27) (i) /pulaj ʔari bumaj/
 (ii) /pulaj ʔari ɲabas/
 (iii) /dani ʔari tindoeʔ/

A verbal phrase which bears the meaning to return to ... or to wake up to ... (as opposed to the meaning to return from ... or to wake up from) belongs to Subtype II of this Type (cf. 5.13.14.2). The possible meanings of a phrase whose first constituent is /pulaj/ or /dani/ can then be differentiated by substitutional procedures as illustrated by Exx. (24) and Exx. (27). A further note may be added that more often than not, such a verbal phrase is more likely to enter Subtype IV rather than Subtype II, and this can be justified by the fact that no direction preposition other than /ʔari/ can occur between the constituents.

5.13.14.5

Subtype V

This subtype is not very productive. The first

constituent can be a V_i or a V_{mid-a} , and it belongs to a very restricted set of verbs. The second constituent can consist of any subclass of V . Apart from example (vi), all the examples in Exx. (28) indicate that the constituents refer to the same subject. The only example where V_{mid-a} occurs as the first constituent is example (v).

Exx. (28) (i) /paraj ləmas/

die drowned = dies of drowning.

(ii) /para; bəra:nə?/

die give-birth = dies of childbirth.

(iii) /paraj bunuəh/

die kill - is killed.

(iv) /paraj tuaj/

die old - dies of old age.

(v) /d₃adi? matəŋ/

marry disobedient. = marries against pa-
rents' wishes.

(vi) /tingal paraj/

remain die = is left behind because
 of death (of someone
 else).

The second constituent can be substituted by a reason clause proper introduced by the reason conjunction proper, /laban/, /kətegəl/ or kəbuah/ (cf. 4.32.14.1). This substi-

tution is illustrated by Exx. (29), where the reason clauses proper occur without their subjects.

- Exx. (29) (i) /paraj laban ləmas/
 (ii) /paraj laban bərana?/
 (iii) /paraj kətəgal dibunuəh/
 (iv) /paraj kətəgal tuaj/
 (v) /dʒadi? kəbuah matəŋ/
 (vi) /tiŋgal kəbuah paraj/

5.13.2

Co-ordinative Complex VP

A co-ordinative complex verbal phrase can be constructed by the operation of the co-ordinating conjunction or parataxis on simple verbal phrases (cf. 5.02). On this basis, co-ordinative complex verbal phrases are divided into two principal types: those formed by conjunctions and those formed by parataxis.

5.13.21

Co-ordinative Complex VP Formed by Conjunctions

The conjunctions which can connect simple verbal phrases are those given in 5.02, with the exception of /səduaj/. Verbal phrases thus conjoined are divided into three types based on the different characteristics of the conjunctions concerned (cf. 5.02).

5.13.21.1 Type I

This type consists of the conjoining of VP by /ʔəŋgaw/, and, and /(baika) ... tauka/, (either) ... or (cf. 5.02 for the characteristics of these conjunctions). In the conjoining by the last-mentioned conjunction, /baika/ is optionally placed before the first conjunct.

- Exx. (30) (i) /bəgigaʔka dʒəloʔ ʔʔ bərikan ʔʔʔəŋgaw ɲumpit
buroəŋ/
search-for-animal, go-fishing and shoot-with-
blowpipe bird
= hunting, fishing and bird-shooting.
- (ii) /bumaj padi ʔəŋgaw mutuəŋ getah/
= cultivates rice and taps rubber.
- (iii) /ɲumaj ʔəŋgaw makaj ʔikan ɲaʔ/
= cooked and ate that fish.
- (iv) /mansaw tauka bəkilat/
= red or shining.
- (v) /kəriəŋ ʔʔ sigat tauka bagas/
strong, handsome or industrious.
- (vi) /baika tindoeʔ ʔʔ makaj tauka ɲiroəp/
= either sleep, eat or drink.
- (vii) /baika burak tauka tʃəlum/
= either white or black.

5.13.21.2 Type II

The conjunction which operates in this type of phrase is /səreta (ʔəŋgaw)/, as well as, where /ʔəŋgaw/ is optional. This conjunction does not permit iteration.

- Exx. (31) (i) /tamaʔ səreta (ʔəŋgaw) dudoəʔ/
 = came in and sat down.
- (ii) /nəmuaʝka kami səreta (ʔəŋgaw) bəmalam ditoʔ/
 = visited us as well as spent the night here.
- (iii) /niŋa səreta (ʔəŋgaw) mēdaʔ ʔiʝa/
 = heard as well as saw him.
- (iv) /manah səreta (ʔəŋgaw) landiʔ/
 = beautiful as well as intelligent.

5.13.21.3 Type III

The conjunction which is used in constructing complex verbal phrases classified as Type III is /taŋ/, but. It ~~does~~ not permit iteration.

- Exx. (32) (i) /səraŋta taŋ landiʔ/
 = poor but intelligent.
- (ii) /manah taŋ dʒaiʔ ʔatiʔ/
 = beautiful but evil-hearted.
- (iii) /mēdaʔ taŋ nadaʝ ŋelalaʔ/
 = saw (her) but did not recognize (her).

(iv) /laboh taŋ ʔəndaʔ pədis/

= fell down but was not in pain.

5.13.22

Co-ordinative Complex VP Formed by Parataxis

Complex verbal phrases formed by parataxis are divided into two types. In both the types, only two occurrences of VP are allowed.

5.13.22.1

Type I

This type consists of:-

(i) Minimal VP + Minimal VP

(ii) ~~Non~~-minimal Simple VP + ~~Non~~-minimal Simple VP

The conditions for the conjoining of the minimal VP are as follows:-

(i) In terms of their endocentricityⁿ and exocentricity, both conjuncts must belong to the same type.

(ii) The endocentric conjuncts must belong to the same subclass of V.

(iii) The exocentric conjuncts must belong to the same type of exocentric phrase.

With regards to (iii) above, only Type I of the exocentric VP seems to occur in this type of conjoining (cf.

5.11.1). In Exx. (33) below, the first three phrases illustrate the conjoining of the endocentric minimal VP, while the last three illustrate the conjoining of the exocentric minimal VP.

Exx. (33) (i) /terəbaj ləsap/

fly disappear

= flies off.

(ii) /bəlanda? rari/

run run

= runs headlong.

(iii) /bəlaki bəbini/

have-husband have-wife

= settle down in matrimony.

(iv) /səgulaʃ sədʒalaʃ/

have-same-social-group have-same-road

= have the same type and way of life.

(v) /saum sətəŋkaj/

have-one-share have-one-cluster

= come from the same stock.

(vi) /sati sədʒako?/

have-one-heart have-one-speech

= are in harmony.

The conjoining of the non-minimal VP must meet with the following conditions:-

- (i) The conjuncts must belong to the same subtype.
- (ii) One lexical item of one conjunct must be repeated in the other.

- Exx. (34) (i) /dəka? ritʃah dəka? rami/
 will-be noisy will-be festive
 = want to be noisy and festive.
- (ii) /ʔapin məda? ʔapin rindu?/
 not-yet see not-yet love
 (free translation): One does not love (something or someone) because one has not seen (it or her).
- (iii) /mati ʔana? mati laki/
 die offspring die husband
 = has lost a child and a husband by death.
- (iv) /manah gamal manah ʔati/
 beautiful face beautiful heart
 = beautiful of face and good of heart.

5.13.22.2 Type II

This type is characterized by the structure $V_{adj} + V_{adj}$,

where one V_{adj} is the synonym or the antonym of the other. It is only with this condition that the absence of a conjunction between two occurrences of V_{adj} is allowed.

Synonyms which are paratactically placed signify intensity as shown in the following examples:-

- Exx. (35) (i) /lutʃaʔ lupaw/
 muddy muddy = very muddy.
- (ii) /tʃapoh riɔh/
 noisy noisy = very noisy.
- (iii) /gaga ria/
 happy happy = very happy.
- (iv) /kunsi ransi/
 exhausted exhausted = very exhausted (of
 (of land) (of land) land).

The conjoining of antonyms by parataxis corresponds to the type of conjoining by /ʔəŋgaw/, and, or /(baika) ... tauka/, (either) ... or .

- Exx. (36) (i) /tuaʃ biaʔ/
 = old (and/or) young.
- (ii) /badas dʒaiʔ/
 = good (and/or) bad.
- (iii) /tʃelap ʔaŋat/
 = cold (and/or) hot.
- (iv) /lantaŋ tusah/

- = happy (and/or) sad.
- (v) /bəndar salah/
right (and/or) wrong.
- (vi) /kəriən ləpi?/
= strong (and/or) weak.

The first examples of Exx. (35) and (36) are used in the following sentences:-

- Exx. (37) (i) /tanah pa? lutʃa? lupaw/
= The soil is very muddy.
- (ii) /səməa mənsia tuaj bia? ŋulu?ka pəŋərami pa?/
= All the people, young and old, attended the celebrations.
- (iii) /tiap-tiap ʔiko? mənsia tuaj bia? məsti
ŋulu?ka pəŋərami pa?/
= Everyone, young or old, must attend the celebrations.

In each of sentences (ii) and (iii), two pauses can be optionally placed before and after the complex phrase, thus separating it from the rest of the sentence.

5.2

Nominal Phrases

The minimal form of a nominal phrase is N, Pro, Num (excluding the ordinal) or a simple exocentric NP.

5.21

Simple Exocentric NP

An NP is exocentric if it is represented by a non-nominal structure. The exocentric NP in Iban consists of:-

- (i) A single verb.
- (ii) A single subordinate clause.

A verb which represents an exocentric NP can^{be} exemplified by the V which occurs in the prepositional phrase with the structure /ʔari/ + V (cf. 5.13.14.4, Exx. (27)).

A subordinate clause which represents an exocentric NP can function as the subject or the object of a sentence. As the subject of a sentence, this subordinate clause is represented by a relative clause, which is introduced by the relative conjunction /ti/ or /kə/ (cf. 4.32.11), and this clause is termed subject clause (cf. 7.12). The subject clauses in Exx. (38) are underlined.

Exx. (38) (i) /kə ʔudah pulaj ʔakan noan/

who already returned cousin you

= The one who had already gone home was your cousin.

(ii) /kə kunin naʔ ʔəndaʔ badas/

which yellow that not good

= The yellow one is not good.

(iii) /ti soldadu to? məpadı? ?ija/

who soldier this sibling he

= The one who is the soldier is his sibling.

(iv) /ti kəsatu na? kəriŋ ?amat/

which first that strong very

= The first one is very strong.

The subordinate clauses which function as objects of sentences are termed object clauses. They need not necessarily be represented by relative clauses. For examples of object clauses, refer to 7.12, Exx. (3).

5.22

Simple Endocentric NP

Simple endocentric nominal phrases are divided into the following principal types:-

(i) Numeral Phrase.

(ii) Noun Phrase.

(iii) Attributive Nominal Phrase.

The structure of the simple (non-extended) NP can be formulated as follows:-

$(M1) + H + (M2) + \text{Pro}_d$

Conditions

- (a) H is always a nominal.
- (b) M1 and M2 are mutually exclusive.
- (c) M1 stands for a numeral (excluding the ordinal) or a phrase consisting of a cardinal or a quantifier followed by N, where N is not necessarily a coefficient (cf. 4.21.4).
- (d) M2 stands for an ordinal, N, Pro or a relative clause.

The optional Pro_d in the above rule can also be regarded as M, but in this thesis, it is taken as the factor which delimits the expansion of all nominal phrases, simple or complex (cf. 4.22.2).

5.22.1

Nominal Phrases

The numeral phrases are divided into two types; one which involves the cardinals and the quantifiers, and the other which involves the ordinals. The former type is the quantity phrase, and the latter the ordinal phrase.

5.22.11

Quantity Phrases

The quantity phrases are divided into two types

based on the position of H in relation to M.

5.22.11.1 Quantity Phrases: Type I

This type consists of the following structure:-

Num + (N) + H + (Pro_d)

M

Conditions

- (a) H is N.
- (b) Num stands for a cardinal or a quantifier.
- (c) Subject to certain conditions, the optional N is not necessarily a coefficient (cf. 4.21.4).
- (d) The optional N does not occur with certain quantifiers and head-nouns (cf. 4.21.4).

Quantity phrases classified as Type I are given in 4.21.4, Exx. (32), (33), (34) and (35).

5.22.11.2 Quantity Phrases: Type II

The structure of this type of quantity phrase is as follows:-

H + Num + (N) + (Pro_d)

M

Conditions

- (a) H is N or Pro_p .
- (b) The bracketed N is not necessarily a coefficient. (cf. 4.21.4).
- (c) If H is N, the presence of the bracketed N is obligatory.
- (c) If H is Pro_p , the presence of the bracketed N is optional.

Quantity phrases which are formed according to the above structure are given in 4.23.11, Exx. (40).

5.22.12

Ordinal Phrases

The ordinal phrases fall into two types as discussed below.

5.22.12.1

Ordinal Phrases: Type I

This type of ordinal phrase consists of the following structure:-

$$H + \underline{\text{Ord}} + (\text{Pro}_d)$$

$$M$$

H in the above rule is always N. Examples of this type of ordinal phrase are given in 4.23.12, Exx. (45) (i) and (ii).

5.22.12.2 Ordinal Phrases: Type II

In this type, M is a subordinate clause introduced by the relative conjunction /ti/, who, which, that. The structure of this type of ordinal phrase is as follows:-

$$H + \underline{ti + Ord} + (Pro_d)$$

M

H is N. Ordinal phrases belonging to this type are given in 4.23.12, Exx. (45) (v) and (vi).

5.22.2 Noun Phrases

The structure of the noun phrase is as follows:-

$$H + \underline{Nom} + (Pro_d)$$

M

H is N in almost all the types. An exception is Type IV, which also admits Pro_p as H. N which functions as H is generally a common noun. Exceptions are found in Types III and VIII, where H can also be represented by a proper noun. Nom which functions as M in the above structure is N for all the types except Type VIII, where Nom is either N, Pro_p or the Pro_Q /sapa/, who. The division of the noun phrases into types is based on the conditions stated in 5.04.

5.22.21

Noun Phrases: Type I

In this type, H and M are represented by N. The head N and the modifying M must belong to the same subclass of nouns (cf. 4.21). This type includes phrases which denote the sex of a person or an animal.

- Exx. (39) (i) /məpadi? ləlaki/
 sibling male = brother.
- (ii) /kaban ?indo?/
 relative female = female relative.
- (iii) /guru ?indo?/
 teacher female = a teacher who is a female.
- (iv) /?indo? guru/
 female teacher = a female who is a teacher.
- (v) /rumah lan kaw/
 house detached-house = a detached house (as opposed to a long-house).
- (vi) /lagu timan/
 melody lullaby = a melody which is a lullaby.

The relative conjunction /ti/ or /ke/, who, which,

that, can be inserted between H and M, such that the subordinate clause /ti/ + M or /kə/ + M functions as modifier. The resultant phrase can be classified as an attributive nominal phrase Type II (cf. 5.22.32).

- Exx. (40) (i) /məpadi? ti lələki/
 = a sibling who is a male.
- (ii) /kaban kə ʔindo?/
 = a relative who is a female.

5.22.22 Noun Phrases: Type II

In this type, both H and M are represented by N. The head-nouns and the modifying nouns must belong to the same subclasses, and these exclude the proper and the human nouns.

- Exx. (41) (i) /rumah batu/
 house stone = stone-house.
- (ii) /lanʔkaw papan/
 hut plank = wooden hut.
- (iii) /dindiən buloəh/
 wall bamboo = bamboo wall.
- (iv) /sumpit tapar/
 blowpipe bee-tree = blowpipe of bee-tree wood.
- (v) /tintʃiən təmaga/
 ring brass = brass-ring.

This type differs from Type I in the fact that the constituents of the first-mentioned type can be separated only by the structure relative clause + /?ari/, on condition the relative clause itself consists of the structure /ti/ + V or /kə/ + V, where V is filled by the passive verb /digaga?/, is made. Exx. (41) (i) and (ii) correspond semantically to Exx. (42) (i) and (ii), which belong to Type II of the attributive nominal phrase (cf. 5.22.32).

- Exx. (42) (i) /rumah ti digaga? ?ari batu/
 = a house which is made of stone.
- (ii) /lan?kaw kə digaga? ?ari papan/
 = a hut which is made of wood.

5.22.23 Noun Phrases: Type III

H of this type can be a proper (cf. 5.22.2) or a common human noun, and it represents the agent of action. The subclasses that the modifying noun can enter exclude the proper and the human nouns. The modifier corresponds to NP2 (object) in an unmarked structure (cf. 4.11 and 4.11.11.3).

- Exx. (43) (i) /tʃina ?ikan/
 Chinese fish
 = a Chinese who sells fish.
- (ii) /?uraŋ tʃalu/
 person ferry

- a person who drives the ferry.
- (iii) /manan pəlian/
traditional-doctor ceremony
= a traditional doctor who performs ceremonies.
- (iv) /manan penama/
traditional-doctor palpation
= a traditional doctor who uses palpation.
- (v) /tukan kamboh/
craftsman forged-iron
= a craftsman who forges iron.

The modifier of this type can be substituted by a relative clause with the structure /ti/ + VP or /kə/ + VP, where VP is relatable to the noun which is originally the modifier, either syntactically (cf. Exx. (44) (i) and (ii)) or morphologically (cf. Exx. (44) (iii) - (v)). With the relative clause as modifier, the whole phrase is an attributive nominal phrase Type II (cf. 5.22.32).

- Exx. (44) (i) /tʃina ti dʒual ʔikan/
 (ii) /ʔuran kə bədʒalajka tʃalu/
 (iii) /manan ti bəlian/
 (iv) /manan kə bəgama/
 (v) /tukan ti ŋamboh/

5.22.24

Noun Phrases: Type IV

H of this type is N or Pro_p (cf. 5.22.2). N can stand for any noun except a proper noun, and it denotes a species or a race. The modifying noun specifies the head-noun, and hence, the subclasses of the nouns which function as M must be identical to those of the nouns which function as H. In a phrase where H is Pro_p, the modifying noun is a human noun, proper or common (cf. examples (x) and (xi) below).

- Exx. (45) (i) /ʔantu ɣerasi/
 spirit giant = a kind of spirit.
- (ii) /ʔikan tapah/
 fish tapah = a kind of fish.
- (iii) /buroəŋ kikiŋ/
 bird kikiŋ = a kind of bird.
- (iv) /buah rian/
 fruit durian = a kind of fruit.
- (v) /puən kabəŋ/
 tree kabang = a kind of tree.
- (vi) /puən mutan/
 tree rambutan = a kind of tree.
- (vii) /bansa ʔiban/
 race Iban = Iban race.

- (viii) /ʔindoʔ laut/
 woman Malay = Malay woman.
- (ix) /ʔari ləmaj/
 day evening = evening.
- (x) /kitaj dajaʔ/
 = we Dayaks.
- (xi) /sidaʔ ʔanəmbiaʔ/
 they children = the children.

The constituents of the above phrases are inseparable.

5.22.25 Noun Phrases: Type V

H of this type is N which is not a proper noun, while M is an inanimate common noun which denotes locality.

- Exx. (46) (i) /lauʔ tasieʔ/
 food-eaten-with-rice sea
 = food, which is eaten with rice, from the sea.
- (ii) /ʔikan suŋaj/
 fish river
 = fish from the river.
- (iii) /ʔuraŋ kamponʔ/
 people village
 = village people.

- (iv) /ʔindoʔ səbəraj/
 woman opposite-bank-of-the-river
 = a woman from the opposite bank of the river.
- (v) /mənoa ʔiliʔ/
 locality downstream
 = downstream.
- (vi) /ribuət tasieʔ/
 wind sea
 = the wind from the sea.

H and M of the above phrases are separable by the insertion of the locative preposition /di/ or /ba/, both of which bear the meaning at, in, on, or the direction preposition /ʔari/, from. With this insertion, the modifying N of each of the above phrases is substituted by a prepositional phrase.

- Exx. (47) (i) /mənoa ba ʔiliʔ/
 (ii) /ribuət ʔari tasieʔ/

5.22.26

Noun Phrases: Type VI

In this type, H is neither a proper nor an animate noun, while ^M excludes the proper noun. This type is not productive.

- Exx. (48) (i) /gawaj ʔantu/
 festival spirit = festival for the spirit.

- (ii) /ʔubat ʔindah/
 medicine beauty = cosmetics.
- (iii) /madan buah/
 land-given-up-to-one-kind-
 of-plant fruit = orchard.

H and M of the above phrases are inseparable. Type VI differs from Type IV in the fact that nouns which function as H and M of the former do not necessarily belong to the same subclass.

5.22.27

Noun Phrases: Type VII

In this type, H is N which can enter any subclass except the subclasses proper and animate. M is a deverbal noun which can belong to the subclass concrete (cf. examples (i) - (iv) below) or abstract (cf. examples (v) - (viii) below). This deverbal noun consists of the structure {pe-} + Nasalized Stem (cf. 3.21). The nouns which function as H do not necessarily enter the same subclass as those which function as M.

- Exx. (49) (i) /batu penait/
 stone a-catch
 = a stone used for trapping enemies.
- (ii) /pangaw penindoəʔ/
 platform place-for-sleeping

- = a platform used for sleeping.
- (iii) /baraŋ pəmakaj/
 thing food
 = things used as food.
- (iv) /paŋgal pəŋimbaj/
 pillow something-put-on-the-side-of-another
 = a side-pillow.
- (v) /buku pənusah/
 knuckle sadness
 = sadness.
- (vi) /buku pəmədis/
 knuckle pain
 = sadness.
- (vii) /tadzaw pəŋadzih/
 jar magic
 = magic jar.
- (viii) /dzalaj pəŋidoəp/
 way livelihood
 = livelihood.

5.22.28

Noun Phrases: Type VIII

This type is the genitive phrase. H is represented by N, while M can be represented by N, Pro_p or the Pro_Q /sapa/,

who (cf. 5.22.2). The nouns which function as H and M can belong to any subclass of nouns, but the two constituents do not necessarily have the same subclass-membership. A proper noun functioning as H has a very restricted occurrence.

- Exx. (50) (i) /tutʃuəŋ bukiət/
peak mountain = peak of a mountain.
- (ii) /kərubuəŋ təkujəŋ/
empty-shell snail = empty shell of a snail.
- (iii) /biŋkaj bakuəl/
rim basket = rim of a basket.
- (iv) /dagien tʃapi/
meat cattle = beef.
- (v) /pəŋawa? paŋan/
occupation friend = occupation of a friend.
- (vi) /pəmanseəŋ sərawea?/
progress Sarawak = Sarawak's progress.
- (vii) /sərawea? kitaj/
Sarawak we = our Sarawak.
- (viii) /pətara kitaj/
god we = our god.
- (ix) /rundien sapa?/
opinion who? = whose opinion?

5.22.3

Attributive Nominal Phrases

The attributive nominal phrases are divided into two principal types based on the different representations of their modifiers. In one type, the modifier is a single full word, while in the other, it is a relative clause.

5.22.31

Attributive NP: Type I

Type I of the attributive NP consists of the structure $N + V$, where N is the head and V the modifier. This type is divided into four subtypes (cf. 5.04), all of which exclude the proper noun as H .

5.22.31.1

Subtype I

In this subtype, the modifying V is V_1 or V_{adj} . V_1 occurs in examples (i) - (iv), and V_{adj} in examples (v) - (viii). The noun which functions as H can enter any subclass of noun except the subclass proper nouns, and this noun corresponds to the subject in the unmarked structure NP - VP.

Exx. (51) (i) /tanah tusur/

land slide = a land-slide.

(ii) /baran tumbuah/

thing grow-from-the-

soil = a plant.

- (iii) /puən bəbuŋaj/
tree have-flowers = a flowering tree.
- (iv) /manuəʔ bəkulit/
chicken have-hide = an invulnerable
chicken (in cock-
fighting).
- (v) /ʔaiʔ ʔaŋat/
hot water = hot water.
- (vi) /sərak baru/
generation new = new generation.
- (vii) /pəpakiət bəsaj/
illness big = serious illness.
- (viii) /ʔuraŋ salah/
person wrong = ^a_^criminal.

The relative conjunction /ti/ or /kə/ can be inserted between H and M, and as a result of this, M takes the form of a relative clause, and the whole phrase can be classified as an attributive nominal phrase Type II (cf. 5.22.32).

- Exx. (52) (i) /tanah ti tusur/
(ii) /baraŋ kə tumbuəh/
(iii) /ʔaiʔ ti ʔaŋat/

5.22.31.2 Subtype II

The modifying V of this subtype is V_i or V_{t-a}. With

V_{t-a} , the object occurs in some phrases but not in others (cf. examples (i) and (ii) below). This subtype is more productive with the modifier V_1 than with the modifier V_{t-a} .

The head-noun does not enter the subclasses proper, animate and abstract. In an unmarked verbal phrase structure, this noun occurs as a component of the locative adverb phrase, which is introduced by the locative preposition (cf. 5.31.2).

- Ex. (53) (i) /midʒa makaj/
 table eat = dining table.
- (ii) /ʔalaj nimpan semaʒat/
 place keep soul = a place where the
 soul is kept.
- (iii) /ʔupis bətanam/
 office to-plant = agricultural office.
- (iv) /ʔəndor bəgawaj/
 place have-ritual = a ritual place.
- (v) /pərəŋka tindoəʔ/
 equipment to-sleep = bed.
- (vi) /təlagə mandi/
 pool bathe = bathing pool.

5.22.31.3 Subtype III

The modifying V of this type is V_t which occurs in its non-affixal form. The head-noun is neither a proper nor

an abstract noun, and in an unmarked declarative sentence-structure (cf. 6.1), this noun functions as the object of the modifying V.

- Exx. (54) (i) /ʔikan kukus/
 fish steam = steamed fish.
- (ii) /dagien salaj/
 meat smoke = smoked meat.
- (iii) /ʔikan rəndəŋ/
 fish warm-up = warmed-up fish.
- (iv) /babi paŋgaŋ/
 pork roast = roast pork.
- (v) /ʔundaŋ gurin/
 prawns fry = fried prawns.
- (vi) /dʒəloʔ tupiʔ/
 animal rear = domestic animal.
- (vii) /ʔanaʔ ʔiru/
 child adopt = adopted child.
- (viii) /paŋgaw ganton/
 platform hang = hanging platform.

The heads and the modifiers of phrases (i) - (v) (i. e. those which refer to food) can be permuted as shown by Exx. (55), while those of the rest of the examples cannot undergo this process.

- Exx. (55) (i) /kukus ʔikan/
 (ii) /salaj dagien/

(iii) /rəndəŋ ʔikan/

(iv) /paŋgaŋ babi/

(v) /guriŋ ʔundaŋ/

The relative conjunction /ti/ or /kə/ can be inserted between H and M of the phrases in Exx. (54), such that M is a relative clause with the structure /ti/ + V or /kə/ + V, where V is the passive form of the modifying V (of Exx. (54)). The whole phrase can then be classified as belonging to the attributive NP Type II.

Exx. (56) (i) /ʔikan ti dikukus/

= fish which is steamed.

(ii) /dagien kə disalaj/

= meat which is smoked.

(iii) /ʔanaʔ ti diʔiru/

= a child who is adopted.

5.22.31.4 Subtype IV

In this subtype, the modifying V can belong to the subclass V_{t-a} , V_{mid-a} or V_1 . In the case of the first two subclasses, the absence of the objects are obligatory. V_{t-a} as M is illustrated by examples (i) - (ii), V_{mid-a} by (iii) - (iv) and V_1 by (v) - (vi). The head-noun is always an abstract noun.

- Exx. (57) (i) /pəməli makaj/
 taboo eat = a taboo on eating.
- (ii) /pəməli munuəh/
 taboo kill = a taboo to kill.
- (iii) /pənəmu bəgiga?/
 knowledge search = knowledge of hunt-
 ing or fishing.
- (iv) /pəŋawa? bumaj/
 occupation cultivate-
 rice = the work of rice-
 farming.
- (v) /təgal bərimpuən/
 reason get-together = the reason for getting
 together.
- (vi) /pənəmu ŋajaw/
 knowledge make-war = knowledge of fight-
 ing in war.

5.22.32

Attributive NP: Type II

The structure of this type is N + Relative Clause, where N is the head, and the relative clause the modifier. N can be a proper or a common noun. The modifying relative clause is adjectival (hence, verbal) in function, and on this basis, this type is grouped together with Type I as members of

one major type, the attributive NP.

Phrases belonging to Type II of the attributive NP are given in 5.22.21 Exx. (40), 5.22.22 Exx. (42), 5.22.23 Exx. (44), 5.22.31.1 Exx. (52) and 5.22.31.3 Exx. (56). In most of these examples, H is a common noun. Below are phrases whose heads are ~~proper~~ nouns.

- Exx. (58) (i) /kumaŋ ti manah to?/
 = Kumang who is beautiful.
- (ii) /sərawea? kə lantaŋ/
 = Sarawak which is peaceful.

5.23 Extended Simple NP

The extended simple NP consists of a head and two or more modifiers which occur in the following order:-

$$(M1) + H + \left(\begin{array}{c} M2a \\ M2b \end{array} \right) + (M3) + (M4) + (M5) + (M6) + (M7) + (Pro_d)$$

Conditions

- (a) M1 = Quantity modifier Type I.
 M2a = Attributive modifier Type I.
 M2b = Noun Phrase modifier excluding the genitive phrase modifier (Type VIII).

- (M3 = Ordinal modifier Type I.
- M4 = Genitive modifier.
- M5 = Quantity modifier Type II.
- M6 = Ordinal modifier Type II.
- M7 = Attributive modifier Type II.

- (b) M1 is mutually exclusive with M5.
- (c) M3 is mutually exclusive with M5 and M6.
- (d) All the M's, except M1 and M5, can occur in their simple or complex phrasal forms.

Exx. (59) (i) /pat ?iko? ?inde? ?iban ti bagas/

M1 H M2b M7

= four Iban women who are industrious.

(ii) /?ana? ?iru kədua ?əŋgaw kətiga pəŋulu? to?/

H M2a M3 Conj M3 M4 Pro_d

= the second and the third adopted children of the chief.

(iii) /tiga lambar tikaj pandan ?aku ?əŋgaw ?indaj

M1 H M2b M4 Conj M4

ti ?alus/

M7

= three pandanus mats which are fine, belonging to me and (my) mother.

(iv) /puən rian ʔəŋgaw mutan ʔaku səpuloəh kajuʔ

H M2b Conj M2b M4 M5

ti tiŋgi toʔ/

M7 Pro_d

= My ten durian and rambutan trees which are tall.

(v) /dua piŋgaj babi paŋgaŋ ʔibuʔ ti paŋmaj

M1 H M2a M4 M7

ʔəŋgaw ti paŋas/

Conj M7

= two plates of roast pork which is delicious and hot belonging to (my) aunt.

(vi) /kelin ti kəriŋ sərətə ʔəŋgaw ti manah gamal/

H M7 Conj M7

= Keling who is strong and handsome.

(vii) /ʔanaʔ ʔaku ti kəsatu ʔəŋgaw ti kədua

H M4 M6 Conj M6

ti ʔudah d₃adiʔ/

M7

= My first and second children who are already married.

5.24

Complex Nominal Phrases

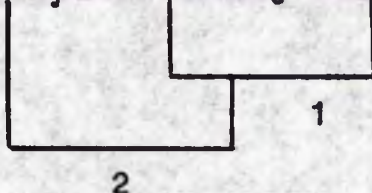
The complex nominal phrases are divided into two principal types: subordinative and co-ordinative. This division is based on their different types of recursion (cf. 5.02).

5.24.1

Subordinative Complex NP

Subordinative complex nominal phrases are formed by embedding. Below are examples of such phrases in Iban:-

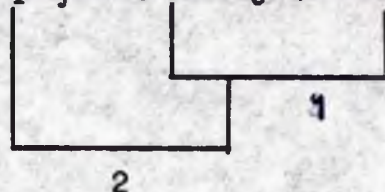
Exx. (60) (i) /məpadi? ?inda? ?aku/



1 (NPhr-Gen) = my mother.

2 (NPhr-Gen) = sibling of my mother.

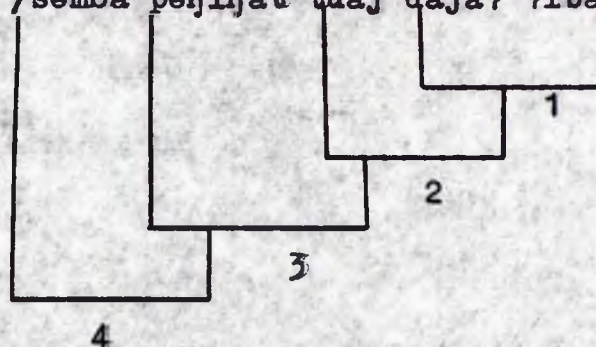
(ii) /pəŋawa? kitaj ?iban/



1 (NPhr) = we Ibans

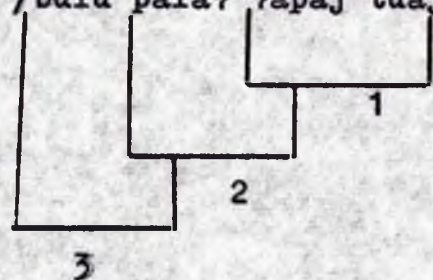
2 (NPhr-Gen) = the occupation of us Ibans.

(iii) /səmoə pəŋiŋat tuaj daja? ?iban/

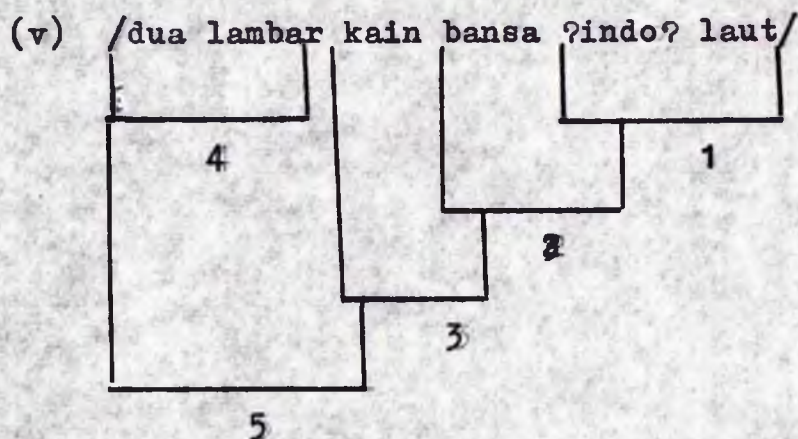


- 1 (NPhr) = Iban Dayaks.
 2 (NPhr-Gen) = headman of Iban Dayaks.
 3 (NPhr-Gen) = message of the headman of the Iban Dayaks.
 4 (NumPhr) = all the messages of the headman of the Iban Dayaks.

(iv) /bulu pala? ?apaj tuaj/



- 1 (Attrib NP) = old father.
 2 (NPhr-Gen) = head of old father.
 3 (NPhr-Gen) = hair of the head of old father.



- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 1 (NPhr) | = Malay women. |
| 2 (NPhr) | = class of Malay women. |
| 3 (NPhr-Gen) | = skirts of the class of Malay women. |
| 4 (NumPhr) | = two pieces. |
| 5 (NumPhr) | = two skirts of the class of Malay women. |

5.24.2

Co-ordinative Complex NP

A co-ordinative complex NP can be formed by the operation of a co-ordinating conjunction or parataxis. These different types of conjoining motivate the division of the complex nominal phrases in Iban into two principal types.

5.24.21

Co-ordinative Complex NP Formed by Conjunctions

All the co-ordinating conjunctions given in 5.02 can conjoin nominal phrases. The different characteristics of these conjunctions (cf. 5.02) form the bases for the division of this method of conjoining into three types.

5.24.21.1

Type I

The conjunctions which operate in this type of conjoining are /ʔəŋgaw/, and, and /((baika) ... tauka/, (either) ... or, both of which permit iteration (of. 5.02). In the conjoining by the last-mentioned conjunction, /baika/ is optional before the first conjunct.

Exx. (61) (i) /ʔaku ʔ/ noan ʔəŋgaw sidaʔ/

= I , you and they.

(ii) /kambien ʔ/ tʃapi ʔəŋgaw kərəbo/

= goats, cattle and buffaloes.

(iii) /ʔanaʔ sadʒi ʔ/ məpadiʔ ʔaku ʔəŋgaw ʔindoʔ naʔ/

= Saji's child, my sibling and that woman.

(iv) /kərədʒaj ʔəŋgaw paku/

= ferns and fronds.

(v) /piŋgaj tauka pirin/

= plate or saucer.

- (vi) /baika gətah tauka padi/
= either rubber or rice.
- (vii) /baika mun̄guə? // bukiət // sunaj // ləbak
tauca ʔəmperan/
• either hill, mountain, river, valley or
plain.

5.24.21.2

Type II

This type consists of the conjoining by /sərətə (ʔəŋgaw)/, as well as, and /səduaj/, together with, ^{neither} both of which do not permit iteration (cf. 5.02).

- Exx. (62) (i) /kami sərətə (ʔəŋgaw) kita?/
= we as well as you (pl).
- (ii) /ʔakan ʔaku sərətə (ʔəŋgaw) ʔadi ʔija/
= my cousin as well as his younger sibling.
- (iii) /gulaj ʔikaḿsərətə (ʔəŋgaw) salaj dagiən/
= curried fish as well as smoked meat.
- (iv) /ʔaku səduaj ʔibu? ʔaku/
= I together with my aunt.
- (v) /ʔindo? ʔiban səduaj ʔindo? laut/
= an Iban woman together with a Malay woman.

5.24.21.3 Type III

Type III consists of the conjoining of nominal phrases by /taŋ/, but. A complex NP thus formed can occur only as the predicate of a sentence with the unmarked structure NP - NP - (Adv) (cf. 5.02). In each of the examples below, the subject is underlined.

Exx. (63) (i) /ʔi:ja kaban ʔaku taŋ munsoh sidaʔ/

= He is my relative but their enemy.

(ii) /lələki naʔ ʔajaʔ ʔaku taŋ ʔapaj duat/

= That man is my uncle but Duat's father.

5.24.22 Co-ordinative Complex NP Formed by Parataxis

The complex nominal phrases formed by parataxis have the following specifications:-

(i) The number of the conjuncts does not exceed two.

(ii) The conjuncts belong to the same subclass of nouns excluding the proper nouns.

Feature (ii) serves to differentiate this type of phrase from the genitive phrase (cf. 5.22.28). Another feature which brings about this differentiation is the fact that complex nominal phrases which are formed by parataxis correspond to those phrases which are formed by the

operation of /ʔəŋgaw/, /səɾəta (ʔəŋgaw)/ or /səduaj/.

Exx. (64) (i) /ʔapaj ʔindaj/

= father (and) mother.

(ii) /ʔajaʔ ʔibuʔ/

= uncle (and) aunt.

(iii) /ʔutʃu ʔitʃit/

= grandchild (and) great-grandchild.

(iv) /ʔakiʔ ʔiniʔ/

= grandfather (and) grandmother.

(v) /məlaki bini/

= husband (and) wife.

(vi) /sirih pinaŋ/

= betel-leaf (and) betel-nut.

(vii) /kəɾəbo tʃapi/

= buffaloes (and) cattle.

(viii) /tutʃum kətawa/

= smile (and) laughter.

5.3

Adverb Phrases

The minimal form of an adverb phrase¹ is a single full word or a prepositional phrase. A prepositional phrase is defined as a sequence of words which consists of a preposition followed by an NP or a VP. A prepositional phrase

which is constructed with VP is confined to the type which functions as the adverb of manner (cf. 4.34 and 5.31.7).

Adverb phrases consisting of single full words can be endocentric or exocentric, while those consisting of prepositional phrases are exocentric. The endocentric adverb phrases are the function words given in 4.33.

The ^cex_Acentric adverb phrases consist of :-

- (i) NP (simple, minimal and non-minimal, and complex).
- (ii) V_{adj-m} .
- (iii) Prepositional Phrase.

The nominal phrases which function as Adv are those which denote time and frequency. A simple NP which functions as a temporal adverb can either be minimal or non-minimal as shown by Exx. (65). For an example of a temporal adverb which is represented by a complex NP, refer to 5.32.22, Exx. (81) (i).

Exx. (65) (i)	/ʔari toʔ/	= today.
(ii)	/kəmarɪʔ/	= yesterday.
(iii)	/ʔənsanus/	= day before yesterday.
(iv)	/pagɪlaʔ/	= tomorrow.
(v)	/lusaʔ/	= day after tomorrow.
(vi)	/taun toʔ/	= this year.

An MP which functions as the adverb of frequency consists of the structure Num + N, where Num can be a cardinal, a quantifier or the nominal prefix {se-} (cf. 3.22), and N is filled by /kali/, time (cf. 4.33.5).

- Exx. (66) (i) /səkali/ = once.
 (ii) /dua kali/ = twice.
 (iii) /tiap-tiap kali/ = every time.

V_{adj-m} can occur as the minimal form of the adverb phrase of manner as shown below.

- Exx. (67) (i) /dataj ləŋkas/
 comes quick = comes quickly.
 (ii) /bədʒakoʔ lubang/
 speaks slow = speaks slowly.

The discussion on simple adverb phrases below concerns only the exocentric adverb phrases which consist of prepositional phrases.

5.31 Simple Adverb (Prepositional) Phrases

The adverb (prepositional) phrases are divided into several subclasses which are introduced by different prepositions.

5.31.1

Temporal Adverb Phrases

The prepositional phrases which function as temporal adverb phrases are introduced by the temporal prepositions (cf. 4.34.1).

- Exx. (68) (i) /kəna? ?ari bulan dua-belas/
 on day moon twelve
 = on the twelfth day of the month.
- (ii) /kəna? taun to?/
 on year this
 = this year.
- (iii) /kəna? ?ari pagi/
 on day morning
 = in the morning.
- (iv) /dataj ka pagila?/
 = until tomorrow.
- (v) /dataj ka sahari to?/
 = until the present moment.

5.31.2

Locative Adverb Phrases

The exocentric locative adverb phrases are represented by prepositional phrases which are constructed with the locative prepositions (cf. 4.34.2).

- Exx. (69) (i) /di mənəa paʔ/ = in that country.
 (ii) /ba paŋgaw toʔ/ = on this platform.
 (iii) /datas tikaj/ = on the mat.

5.31.3

Direction Adverb Phrases

Direction adverb phrases which consist of prepositional phrases are formed when the direction prepositions occur with nominal phrases (cf. 4.34.3).

- Exx. (70) (i) /ka pəndaj paʔ/ = to the bathing place.
 (ii) /ŋagaj noan/ = to or towards you.
 (iii) /soh ʔija/ = to or towards him.
 (iv) /katas puən/ = on to the tree.
 (v) /ʔari kibaʔ/ = from the left.
 (vi) /ʔari baroh rumah/ = from under the house.

5.31.4

Benefactive Adverb Phrases

The preposition which occurs in these phrases is the benefactive preposition /ka/, for (cf. 4.34.4).

- Exx. (71) (i) /ka ʔaku/ = for me.
 (ii) /ka ʔapaj/ = for father.
 (iii) /ka mənəa sidaʔ/ = for their country.

The above phrases are used in the following sentences:-

ces:-

- Exx. (72) (i) /ʔija pimpan wan paʔ ka ʔaku/
 = He saved the money for me.
- (ii) /ʔija məliʔ buah paʔ ka ʔapaj ʔija/
 = She bought the fruit for her father.
- (iii) /bala soldadu paʔ ʔajaw ka mənoa sidaʔ/
 = The soldiers fought for their country.

5.31.5

Equative Adverb Phrases

The equative adverb phrase is formed by the combination of the equative preposition /baka/ with a following NP (cf. 4.34.5).

- Exx. (73) (i) /baka sidaʔ/ = like them.
- (ii) /baka ʔuran paʔ/ = like that person.
- (iii) /baka mənoa sidaʔ/ = like their country.

The above phrases can be used in sentences such as the ones given below.

- Exx. (74) (i) /kitaj ʔəndaʔ radʒa baka sidaʔ/
 = We are not rich like them.
- (ii) /ʔija gəmuʔ baka ʔuran paʔ/
 = He is as fat as that person.
- (iii) /mənoa kitaj ʔəndaʔ mansaʔ baka mənoa sidaʔ/
 = Our country is not progressive like their country.

5.31.6

Instrumental Adverb Phrases

The prepositional phrase which functions as the instrumental adverb phrase is introduced by the instrumental preposition /*ɲənaʔ*/ (cf. 4.34.6).

- Exx. (75) (i) /*ɲənaʔ ʔəntukar*/ = by car.
 (ii) /*ɲənaʔ sampan*/ = by rowing boat.
 (iii) /*ɲənaʔ dukuʔ*/ = with (a) knife.
 (iv) /*ɲənaʔ sumpit*/ = with (a) blowpipe.

The following sentences exemplify the use of some of these adverb phrases:-

- Exx. (76) (i) /*ʔiʝa dataʝ ɲənaʔ ʔəntukar*/
 = He came by car.
 (ii) /*ʔiʝa ɲasuʔ ɲənaʔ sumpit*/
 = He hunts with a blowpipe.

5.31.7

Manner Adverb Phrases

The prepositional phrase which functions as the adverb phrase of manner is characterized by the structure /*ʔəŋgaw*/ + *V_{adj-m}*, where /*ʔəŋgaw*/ is the manner preposition (cf. 4.34.7). For examples of these phrases, refer to 5.13.11.3, Exx. (18).

5.32

Complex Adverb Phrases

The minimal form of a complex adverb phrase is

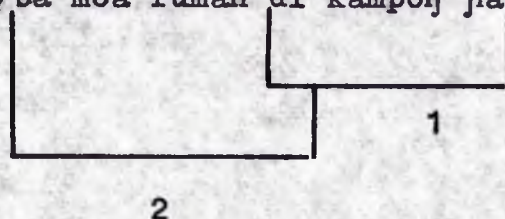
Adv + Adv. Complex adverb phrases are divided into two major types, subordinative and co-ordinative, on the basis of their types of recursions(cf. 5.02).

5.32.1

Subordinative Complex Adv

The subordinative complex adverb phrases are formed by embedding (cf. 5.02). Such phrases are as follows:-

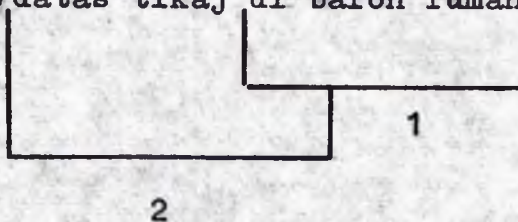
Exx. (77) (i) /ba moa rumah di kampon pa?/



1 (LocAdv) = in that village.

2 (LocAdv) = in front of a house in that village.

(ii) /datas tikaj di baroh rumah/



1 (LocAdv) = under the house.

2 (LocAdv) = on the mat under the house.

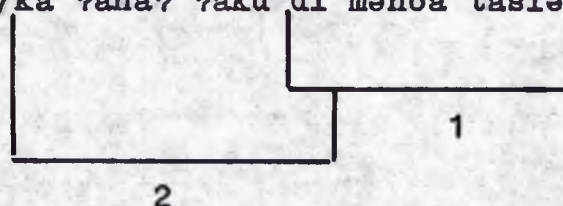
(iii) /ʔari laŋkaw di ʔumaj/



1 (LocAdv) = in the rice-field.

2 (DirAdv) = from the hut in the rice-field.

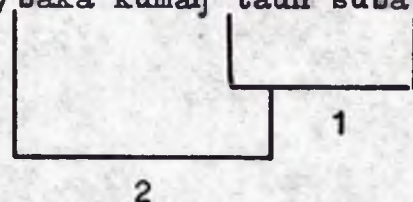
(iv) /ka ʔanaʔ ʔaku di mənəa tasieʔ/



1 (LocAdv) = abroad.

2 (BenAdv) = for my child (who lives) abroad.

(v) /baka kuman taun subaʔ/



1 (TempAdv) = last year.

2 (EquaAdv) = like Kumang last year.

5.32.2

Co-ordinative Complex Adv

The co-ordinative complex adverb phrases can be formed by the operations of the co-ordinating conjunctions or parataxis.

5.32.21

Co-ordinative Complex Adv Formed by Conjunctions

All the conjunctions given in 5.02, with the exception of /səduaj/, can conjoin adverbs. The various characteristics of the conjunctions concerned motivate the division of these adverb phrases into three types (cf. 5.02, 5.13.21 and 5.24.21).

5.32.21.1

Type I

This type consists of the conjoining by /ʔəŋgaw/, and, and /(baika) ... tauka/, (either) ... or. In the conjoining of prepositional phrases which are introduced by the same preposition, only the preposition of the first conjunct is obligatory.

Exx. (78) (i)

/ba ʔumaj ʔəŋgaw ba rədas/

= in the rice-field and in the garden.

(ii)

/datas munɡuəʔ ʔəŋgaw di ləbak/

= on the hill and in the valley.

- (iii) /ʔəŋgaw manah ~~ʔ~~ landaj ʔəŋgaw tərəŋ/
 = beautifully, gently and clearly.
- (iv) /baika kənaʔ pagi ~~ʔ~~ tərəŋ ʔari tauka ləmaj/
 = either morning, midday or evening.
- (v) /ka ʔapaj tauka ʔindaj/
 = for father or mother.

5.32.21.2

Type II

This type consists of the conjoining by /səɾəta (ʔəŋgaw)/, as well as. Just as in Type I, only the preposition of the first conjunct is obligatory when the conjuncts are introduced by the same preposition.

- Exx. (79) (i) /ka mənoa ʔaku səɾəta (ʔəŋgaw) bansa ʔaku/
 = for my country as well as for my people.
- (ii) /kəmaja toʔ səɾəta (ʔəŋgaw) ʔilaʔ/
 = the present moment as well as the future.
- (iii) /ʔari rumah toʔ səɾəta (ʔəŋgaw) rumah paʔ/
 = from this house as well as that house.
- (iv) /ʔəŋgaw ləŋkas səɾəta (ʔəŋgaw) lantʃar/
 = quickly as well as smoothly.

5.32.21.3 Type III

The conjunction which operates on simple adverb phrases to form Type III of the ^mcomplex adverb phrase is /taŋ/, but (cf. 5.02) In the case of the prepositional phrases, the preposition is obligatory in all the conjuncts.

- Exx. (80) (i) /di mənəa pa? taŋ di ʔulu?/
 = in that country but inland.
- (ii) /ʔənda? di suŋaj taŋ di tasie?/
 = not in the river but in the sea.
- (iii) /miŋgu to? taŋ kəna? ʔari bulan dua/
 = this week but on the second day of the month.
- (iv) /ʔukaj ŋəna? ʔəntukar taŋ ŋəna? belon/
 = not by car but by plane.
- (v) /ʔəŋgaw lubang taŋ ʔəŋgaw bəndar/
 = slowly but properly.

5.32.22 Co-ordinative Complex Adv Formed by Parataxis

Adverb phrases can occur paratactically with their own or different ^usubclasses.

- Exx. (81) (i) /pagila? lusa? dudi ʔari/
 = tomorrow, day after tomorrow (and) the future.

- (ii) /kin kia?/
= hither (and) thither.
- (iii) /kin kito?/
= hither (and) thither.
- (iv) /kulu? kili?/
= upstream (and) downstream.
- (v) /baka kəbo baka ləmbu/
= like the buffalo (and) like the cow.
- (vi) /ʔəŋgaw landaj ŋagaj ʔija/
= gently to her.
- (vii) /kena? taun suba? di mənoa pa?/
= last year in that country.
- (viii) /ŋagaj sərawea? ŋəna? belon/
= to Sarawak by plane.
- (ix) /((rari) baka ribuet ŋagaj ʔaku/
= (ran) like the wind towards me.
- (x) /ʔəŋgaw ləŋkas ka kubu pagi to?/
= quickly to the office this morning.

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CHAPTER 6
SIMPLE SENTENCES

6.0 A sentence is the largest unit in grammatical analysis in terms of which other units are defined. It is composed of units of lower levels: the clause, the phrase, the word and the morpheme. The elements of a sentence-structure are NP, VP and Adv, which can be placed in various linear arrangements, marked or unmarked (cf. 1.5), according to the types in which they occur.

A simple sentence is a sentence which consists of a single subject and a single predicate. In an unmarked structure, the simple sentence can fall into any of these major patterns:-

- (i) NP - VP
- (ii) NP - NP - (Adv)

Adv in structure (i) is an optional component of VP (cf. 5.12).

The various intonation types discussed in 2.6 provide the basis for the division of sentences into the following types:-

- (i) Declarative
- (ii) Interrogative
- (iii) Imperative

(iv) Exclamative.

Type (i) is unmarked as far as its declarative intonation goes, while types (ii) - (iv) are marked by their various non-declarative intonations. Furthermore, each of types (i) - (iii) can be marked by an inversion in word-order, Emph, Neg and the presence of an internal pause, while type (iv) can be marked by all the features mentioned above except Neg.

6.1 Declarative Sentences

The declarative sentences are divided into three main types based on their different structures. These types are as follows:-

- (i) Active.
- (ii) Passive.
- (iii) Equational.

6.11 Active Sentences

The active sentences are divided into two types. One type is marked by an inversion in word-order and the other is not. Both types can be marked by Emph, which can be conveyed by a heavy stress or any of the emphasizing words (cf. 4.37), as well as by Neg, which can be filled by any of the

non-imperative negative words (cf. 4.35.2).

6.11.1

Active Sentences: Type I

This type is not marked by an inversion in word-order, and it consists of the following structure:-

NP - (Neg) - VP - (Emph)

On the basis of the composition of VP (cf. 5.12), this structure is rewritten as follows:-

NP1 - (Neg) - (Aux) - V - (NP3) - (NP2) - (Adv) - (Emph)

Conditions

- (a) The positions of Neg, Adv and Emph are variable.
- (b) Aux can be simple or complex.
- (c) NP excludes Pro_Q.

For the meanings of the numerical scripts in the above rule, refer to 4.11.11.3. The following are sentences which illustrate the above structure:-

Exx. (1) (i) /ʔija sakit balat bendar/

he ill serious very

= He is very seriously ill.

(ii) /ʔija riŋat gaʔ dalam ʔati ʔija/

he angry Emph in heart he

= He is silently angry.

- (iii) /dʒaŋgut ʔija kuniŋ/
beard he yellow
= His beard was yellow.
- (iv) /kitaj ʔəndaŋ ʔəndaʔ tau munueh/
we definitely not may kill
= We definitely may not kill.
- (v) /ʔija mulajka diri ŋagaj mənoa ʔija/
she return self to country she
= She returned to her country.
- (vi) /ʔuraŋ ʔapin dəkaʔ bətuajka ʔija/
people not-yet will have-headman he
= People will not take him as headman yet.
- (vii) /gawaj toʔ bəkumbaj gawaj ʔantu/
ritual this have-name ritual spirit
= This ritual is called the ritual of the spirit.
- (viii) /ʔija madahka ʔaku ʔutaj paʔ/
he inform I matter that
= He informed me about that matter.
- (ix) /ʔija məriʔ ʔadi ʔija ʔajam toʔ/
she give younger-sibling she toy this
= She gave her younger sibling this toy.
- (x) /sidaʔ piɓurka pəŋabaŋ ʔaiʔ ʔiɾoəp/
they serve guests water drink
= They served the guests drinks.

Sentences with NP3 can optionally place the direction preposition /*ɲagaj*/, to, before NP3 (cf. 4.11.11.3), so that the prepositional phrase /*ɲagaj*/ + NP3, when permuted with NP2, becomes part of the complex Adv (cf. 5.32). Hence, the structure of the active sentence which is characterized by the presence of NP3 can alternatively be rewritten as follows:-

NP1- (Neg) - (Aux) - V - (NP2) - (*ɲagaj* + NP3) - (Adv) - (Emph)

In terms of this structure, sentences (viii) - (x) in Exx. (1) can alternatively be expressed in the following ways:-

- Exx. (2) (i) /*ʔija madahka ʔutaj naʔ ɲagaj ʔaku*/
 = He related that matter to me.
- (ii) /*ʔija məriʔ ʔajam toʔ ɲagaj ʔadi ʔija*/
 = She gave this toy to her younger sibling.
- (iii) /*sidaʔ piɓurka ʔaiʔ ʔiɾoɐp ɲagaj pəɲabaɲ*/
 = They served drinks to the guests.

6.11.2

Active Sentences: Type II

This type consists of the inversion sentence, as the structure is marked by an inversion in word-order. In this structure, the subject (NP1) and the head of VP (cf. 5.12) change places. This inversion is engendered by an emphasis,

conveyed by a heavy stress or an emphasizing word which is rendered to Aux, V or Aux + V of the sentence.

The structure of this type of sentence is formulated as follows:-

(Neg) - Vb - NP1 - (NP3) - (NP2) - (Adv) - (Emph)

Conditions

- (a) The positions of Adv and Emph are variable.
- (b) Vb stands for Aux, V or Aux + V.
- (c) If Vb stands for Aux + V, the position of NP1 can vary, before or after V.
- (d) Aux can be simple or complex.
- (e) NP excludes Pro_Q.

In the sentences below, emphasis is placed on Aux.

Underlining indicates an emphasis by a heavy stress.

Exx. (3) (i) /dəka? meh ?aku məri? ?ija sumpit pa?/
 will Emph I give he blowpipe that
 = I WILL give him the blowpipe.

(ii) /?ənda? dəka? ?aku mulajka diri/
 not will I return self
 = I WILL not return.

(iii) /?əpin ?ija dataj/
 not-yet he come
 = He has NOT come YET.

(iv) /?ənda? kala? kami bəlaʒa?/
 not ever we quarrel

= We NEVER quarrel.

- (v) /ʔəndaʔ məsti noan bəgulaʔ ʔəŋgaw sidaʔ/
 not must you mix with they
 = You don't HAVE to mix with them.

- (vi) /ʔudah tau ʔija pulaj/
 already can she return
 = She was ABLE to return already.

In the following set of examples, V or Aux + V is emphasized. Underlining indicates an emphasis by a heavy stress.

- Exx. (4) (i) /ʔəndaʔ tau madaʔ ʔija ʔapaj ʔija/
 not can see he father he
 = He COULD not SEE his father.
- (ii) /pulaj gaʔ bala majoəh ləmaj/
 return Emph group many evening
 = The group of (people) DID return in the evening.
- (iii) /nikiʔ səduaʔ ka sadaw/
 climb both to loft
 = Both DID climb up to the loft.
- (iv) /patut pənəmu noan paʔ/
 fitting knowledge you that
 = That knowledge of yours IS fitting.
- (v) /ʔalit gaʔ ʔati kami/
 puzzled Emph heart we

= We ARE puzzled.

- (vi) /mansaw ga? pisaŋ noan ba puən pa?/
 ripe Emph banana you on tree that
 = Your banana on that tree IS ripe.

- (vii) /bisi? ʔuraŋ dito?/
 have people here
 = There ARE people here.

6.12

Passive Sentences

The passive sentence is marked by an inversion in word-order, such that the object precedes the verb. A sentence is passive if its verb is a V_t which consists of the structure {di-} + V, where {di-} is the passive verbal prefix (cf. 3.15). This verb can take a single or a double object (cf. 4.11.11.3). The type of object that the verb takes determines the type of passive sentence in which this verb occurs as an element, and on this basis, the passive sentences in Iban are divided into two types, in both of which NP1 is optional. In the presence of NP1, the agentive preposition /ʔuliah/, by, can be optionally placed before NP1 (cf. 4.34.8). The NP's in the passive sentence are labelled according to the NP's in the ~~active~~ sentence.

6.12.1

Passive Sentences: Type I

This type consists of passive sentences in which the verb takes a single object which is a direct object (cf. 4.11.11.3). The structure of this type is as follows:-

NP2 - (Neg) - (Aux) - V - (?uliəh) - (NP1) - (Adv) - (Emph)

Conditions

(a) The positions of Neg, Adv and Emph are variable.

(b) Aux can be simple or complex.

(c) NP excludes ProQ.

Exx. (5) (i) /bəŋkaj bunta? pa? dibuan?aku ka baroh rumah/

corpse grasshopper that Pas+throw I to under house

= The dead grasshopper was thrown away under the house by me.

(ii) /noan ga? di?anu? ?ila?/

you Emph Pas+scold presently

= You will be scolded presently.

(iii) /səmoa ?utaj pa? digaga? ?uliəh ?ija/

all thing that Pas+make by she

= All those things were made by her.

(iv) /pawa pa? ?ənda? tau didiŋa ?ari ?əndor to?/

voice that ~~not~~ can Pas+hear from place this

= The voice cannot be heard from this place.

(v) /səduaj ?udah ditingalka ?indaj/

both already Pas+forsake mother

= Both had been forsaken by (their) mother(s).

(vi) /padi digiraw ?ija/

rice Pas+stir she

= Rice was stirred by her.

6.12.2

Passive Sentences: Type II

This type consists of passive sentences which are characterized by the presence of double objects. The choice of the type of object (NP2 or NP3) to be placed as the first-occurring element in the sentence determines the subtype the passive sentence enters. Hence, Type II of the passive sentence is characterized by two possible structures: one which places the indirect object (NP3) at the beginning of the sentence, and the other the direct object (NP2). These structures are as follows:-

(i) NP3 - (Neg) - (Aux) - V - (?uliəh) -

(NP1) - NP2 - (Adv) - (Emph)

(ii) NP2 - (Neg) - (Aux) - V - (?uliəh) -

(NP1) - ηagaj + NP3 - (Adv) - (Emph)

Conditions

As for Type I.

In Exx. (6) below, sentences (a) and (b) illustrate structures (i) and (ii) respectively.

Exx. (6) (i) (a) /sida? ʔudah dikirumka ʔulih kami gari?/

they already Pas+send by we clothes

= They have already been sent by us the clothes.

(a) /gari? ʔudah dikirumka ʔulih kami ʔagaj sida?/

clothes already Pas+send by we to they

= Clothes had already been sent to them by us.

(ii) (a) /ʔija ʔudah dipadahka ʔaku ʔutaj pa?/

she already Pas+tell I matter that

= She had already been told by me about that matter.

(b) /ʔutaj pa? ʔudah dipadahka ʔaku ʔagaj ʔija/

matter that already Pas+tell I to she

= The matter had already been told to her by me.

(iii) (a) /ʔindaj ʔija diber? ʔija pənanan pa?/

mother she Pas+give she cake that

= Her mother was given by her that cake.

(b) /pənanan pa? diber? ʔija ʔagaj ʔindaj ʔija/

cake that Pas+give she to mother she

= The cake was given to her mother by her.

- (iv) (a) /pəŋabaŋ ʔapin disiburka pəmakaj/
 guests not-yet Pas+serve food
 = The guests have not been served with
 the food yet.
- (b) /pəmakaj ʔapin disiburka ŋagaj pəŋabaŋ/
 food not-yet Pas+serve to guests
 = Food has not been served to the
 guests yet.

6.13

Equational Sentences

The equational sentence is one whose predicate is a nominal phrase. This sentence, when unmarked, is characterized by structure (ii) given in 6.0. Marked by Neg and Emph, this sentence can be characterized as follows:-

NP - (Neg) - NP - (Adv) - (Emph)

Conditions

- (a) The positions of Neg, Adv and Emph are variable.
- (b) NP excludes Pro_Q.
- (c) If the predicate NP is represented by Pro_p or Pro_Q, this structure is marked by a

pause which separates the subject from the predicate. (Cf. examples (vii) and (viii) below. Cf. also 4.22.1, Exx.

(36) (iii) , and 4.22.2, Exx. (38) (v)).

(d) Adv stands only for the temporal, locative or restrictive adverb.

Exx. (7) (i) /bunta? pa? karoəŋ səmaŋat ?aku/

grasshopper that bag soul I

= The grasshopper is the carrier of my soul.

(ii) /to? pəŋanan/

this cake

= This is cake.

(iii) /noan pa? ?indaj/

you that mother

= You are mother.

(iv) /?əŋgi ?aku lad₃a? ŋapa/

belonging I arrow only

= What I have is only an arrow.

(v) /suba? ?ija pəŋulu?/

previously he chief

= Previously, he was a chief.

(vi) /kitaj to? ?ukaj ?uraŋ kampar dito?/

we these not person outside here

= We are not foreigners here.

(vii) /rumah pand₃aj ~~##~~ te?/

longhouse , this

= This is a longhouse.

(viii) /soldadu ~~##~~ sida?ja/

soldiers, they

= They are soldiers.

6.2

Interrogative Sentences

The interrogative sentence is characterized as follows:-

Q-element - Declarative Sentence

The declarative sentence in the above structure can belong to any type or subtype (cf. 6.1). The Q-element is either a Q-intonation (cf. 2.6) or a Q-word/ Pro_Q , which is inherently marked by the Q-intonation. The Q-element can then be characterized as follows:-

$$Q\text{-element} \longrightarrow Q\text{-inton} + \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Q\text{-word} \\ Pro_Q \end{array} \right\} \right)$$

In terms of the answers that they elicit, the interrogative sentences are divided into two types: the Q_{tv} -sentence and the Q_{wh} -sentence. The former requires a truth-value answer, while the latter does not.

6.21

Q_{tv} - Sentences

The Q_{tv} - sentences are divided into two types:
the unreduced Q_{tv} and Q_{tag}.

6.21.1

Q_{tv} - Sentences: Type I

This type consists of the unreduced Q_{tv}. Such sentences can be formed according to any of the following rules:-

- (i) Q-inton - Declarative Sentence.
- (ii) Q-inton - Q_{tv} - word - Declarative Sentence.

The Q_{tv} - words which can occur in structure (ii) are /kati/ and /kada/ (cf. 4.31.1). The positions of these Q_{tv} - words are invariable. In Exx. (8) below, sentences (i) - (iii) exemplify structure (i), while sentences (iv) - (viii) exemplify structure (ii).

Exx. (8) (i) /pa? ʔapaj noan?/

that father you?

= Is that your father?

(ii) /ʔudah dataj ʔuranj pa?/

already come person that?

= Has the person arrived?

(iii) /bəsaʔ rumah pa?ʔ/

big house that?

= Is that house big?

- (iv) /kati ʔagi pədis pala noan?/
 is-it still painful head you?
 = Is your head still painful?
- (v) /kati ʔəndaʔ səduaj di rumah toʔ bisiʔ
 pəŋawaʔ salah?/
 is-it not both at house this have work wrong?
 = Have the two of them in this house not
 done something wrong?
- (vi) /kati ɲaʔ ɲawa bala məɲadiʔ noan?/
 is-it that voice group sibling you?
 = Are those the voices of your siblings?
- (vii) /kada bisɿʔ təmuaj tadiʔʔ/
 is-it have guest just-now?
 = Was there a guest just now?
- (viii) /kada ditusoʔ ʔija rita ɲaʔʔ/
 is-it Pas+tell she story that?
 = Has she told (you) the story?

6.21.2

Q_{tv} - Sentences: Type II

This type consists of the tag-questions (Q_{tag}).
 A tag-question is a Q_{tv} in that it requires a truth-value
 answer. The Q_{tag} is placed after a declarative sentence
 from which it is separated by a pause. Hence, the context

in which Q_{tag} occurs can be characterized as follows:-

Declarative Sentence $\neq Q_{tag}$

The Q_{tag} itself is characterized as:-

Q_{inton} - tauka - Neg,

where /tauka/ is the co-ordinating conjunction with the meaning or. The choice of the negative word which can occur at Neg is determined by the structure of the declarative sentence that precedes it, as specified below:-

(i) MP - VP \neq tauka - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ?\text{enda?} \\ \text{nada?} \end{array} \right.$

(ii) NP - NP - (Adv) \neq tauka - ?ukaj

Structure (i) is illustrated by sentences (i) - (iii) below, and structure (ii) by sentences (iv) and (v).

Exx. (9) (i) /?ija daka? data? \neq tauka ?enda?/?
 he will come, or not?
 = He will come, won't he?

(ii) /?anambia? pa? manah \neq tauka ?enda?/?
 child that beautiful, or not?
 = That child is beautiful, isn't it?

- (iii) /noan tama? tadi? ~~ta~~ tauka nadaɟ?/
 you enter just-now, or not?
 = You came in just now, didn't you?
- (iv) /ʔindoʔ toʔ kaban noan ~~ta~~ tauka ʔukaɟ?/
 woman this relative you, or not?
 = This woman is your relative, isn't she?
- (v) /paʔ ʔanaʔ noan ~~ta~~ tauka ʔukaɟ?/
 that offspring you, or not?
 = That's your child, isn't it?

6.22

Q_{wh} - Sentences

The Q_{wh} - sentences fall into two types: one which utilizes the Q_{wh} - words, and the other the Pro_Q.

6.22.1

Q_{wh} - Sentences: Type I

This type is characterized by the following structure:-

~~Q-inton~~ - Q_{wh} - word - Declarative Sentence

The Q_{wh}-words which occur in this structure are those given in 4.31.2. The position of the Q_{wh}- word /kini/, whither, is variable, while those of the other Q_{wh}- words

are invariable (cf. examples (x) and (xi) below).

Exx. (10) (i) /kəməja ʔija guru ditoʔʔ/

when he teacher here?

= When was he teacher here?

(ii) /kəməja kitaj mərarawʔ/

when we have-lunch?

= When do we have lunch?

(iii) /lapaʔ paʔ laluʔ ʔəndaʔ disaut noan dehʔ/

why that then not Pas+answer you Emph?

= Why then did you not answer it?

(iv) /kati ko ʔator bədua ʔikan toʔ dehʔ/

how arrange share fish this Emph?

= How shall we share out the fish?

(v) /kapaʔ noan ʔiboh paʔʔ/

what-for you bother that?

= What do you bother about that for?

(vi) /kapaʔ rutan ʔəngaw pasaʔ paʔʔ/

what-for cane and peg that?

= What are the cane and the peg for?

(vii) /bəkəni sidaʔ pulajʔ/

how they return?

= How did they return?

(viii) /dini ʔalaj rumah noanʔʔ/

where place house you?

= Where is your house?

(ix) /dini kitaj ŋaga? laja??/

where we make quarrel?

= Where do we fight?

(x) /kini pa? dipəd₃alajka?/

whither that Pas+drive?

= Where is it being driven to?

(xi) /dəka? kini kita??/

will whither you (pl)?

= Where do you want to go?

(xii) /ʔari ni pənataj noan?/

whence arrival you?

= Where did you arrive from?

6.22.2

Q_{wh} - Sentences: Type II

This type is characterized by the presence of Pro_Q at any NP in any declarative sentence-structure (active, passive or equational). Pro_Q can also occur as a component of Adv, if Adv is represented by a prepositional phrase with the structure Prep + NP, where NP is filled by Pro_Q (cf. examples (ix) and (x) below).

Exx. (11) (i) /sapa kita? bukaj?/

who you (pl) others?

= Who are the rest of you?

(ii) /ʔapa dipədaʔ noanʔ/

what Pas+see you?

= What did you see?

(iii) /ʔular nama paʔʔ/

snake what that?

= What snake is that?

(iv) /ni dipilih ʔijaʔ/

which Pas+choose he?

= Which one did he choose?

(v) /ni ʔuraŋ paʔʔ/

which person that?

= Which is the person?

(vi) /ʔuraŋ ni paʔʔ/

person which that?

= Which person is that?

(vii) /bərapa ʔikoʔ datajʔ/

how-many Coef came?

= How many came?

(viii) /noan məriʔ sapa waŋ paʔʔ/

you give who money that?

= Who did you give the money to?

- (ix) /ŋagaj sapa disua?ka ?ija batu pa??/
 to who Pas+hand-over he stone that?
 = Who did he hand over the stone to?
- (x) /?ari sapa pəməri? pa??/
 from who gift that?
 = Who is the gift from?

6.3 Imperative Sentences

The imperative sentences are characterized by the Im-intonation (cf. 2.6). They are divided into three types: the imperative proper (which includes the request), the optative and the propositive.

6.31 Imperative Sentences Proper

The structure of the imperative sentence proper is as follows:-

Im-inton - (Neg) ± (NP) - VP - (Emph)

Conditions

- (a) V of VP can belong to any subclass, but it excludes those verbs which take the prefix {tə-} (cf. 3.14).
- (b) NP is filled by the second person pronoun.
- (c) The position of NP is variable, before VP

or after Emph; in the latter case, NP is preceded by a pause.

(d) Neg is filled by /ʔanaŋ/ (cf. 4.35.1).

(e) Emph is filled by /meh/ (cf. 4.37.1).

An imperative sentence proper which retains its NP is used in a more formal situation than the one which does not. This type of sentence can be interpreted as a request.

In the imperative sentence proper, the prefix {bə-} which occurs in V_t is realized in the allomorph /pə-/ (cf. 3.13.3). Each of the examples below illustrates the occurrence of V_t in the context of an imperative sentence proper.

Exx. (12) (i) /makaj ʔikan paʔ!/
= Eat that fish!

(ii) /ʔanaŋ noan ŋudʒi mudʒuəʔ ʔaku!/
= Don't you try to coax me!

(iii) /ʔanaŋ ditusoʒ rita paʔ ŋagaj sidaʔ!/
don't Pas+tell story that to they!
= Don't tell them the story!

(iv) /kəpandʒajka toʔ meh ~~ʔ~~ noan!/
lengthen this Emph, you!
= Will you please lengthen this?

(v) /ʔəntʃəlaŋ mataʔ noan!/
open-in-water eyes you!
= Open your eyes in water!

(vi) /pədzako?ka na? meh!/
 = Discuss that!

In an imperative sentence proper, V_i can occur in its root-form or with the prefix {bə-} or {ʔən-}.

Exx. (13) (i) /dataj meh ~~ʔ~~ noan!/
 come Emph, you!

= Will you please come?

(ii) /pulaʔ kita? diato?!/

return you (pl) now!

= Will all of you please return now?

(iii) /tindoə? meh ~~ʔ~~ noan səduaʔ!/
 sleep Emph, you both!

= Please go to sleep, both of you.

(iv) /bədzalaj meh!/
 = Walk!

(v) /ʔəŋkətʃit meh!/
 = Jump!

The occurrence of V_{adj} in an imperative sentence proper is restricted to the subclass V_{adj-m} .

Exx. (14) (i) /dʒampat meh!/
 quick Emph!

= Do be quick!

(ii) /ʔanaŋ lubah meh!/
 don't slow Emph!

= Don't be slow!

(iii) /ʔanaŋ maŋah!/
 don't fierce!

= Don't be fierce!

V_{mid} which can occur in an imperative sentence proper is the one which takes the prefix {bə-} (cf. 4.11.12.1). The only instance of a V_{mid} represented by its root-form which can occur in this type of sentence is /d₃adiʔ/, to marry (cf. sentence (i) below).

Exx. (15) (i) /d₃adiʔ ʔindoʔ toʔ/
 = Marry this woman!

(ii) /bumaj padi paʔ!/
 = Cultivate rice!

(iii) /bəgulaj paŋan diri meh!/
 = Do mix with one another!

6.32

Optative Sentences

The optative sentence is characterized by the following structure:-

Im-inton - (Neg) - VP - meh // NP

Conditions

- (a) V of VP can belong to any subclass, but it excludes those verbs with the prefix

- {tə-} (cf. 3.14 and 6.31, condition (a)).
- (b) If V of VP is V_{adj} , NP can be represented by any nominal except Num and Pro_Q .
 - (c) If V of VP is not a V_{adj} , NP excludes the second person pronoun, Num and Pro_Q .
 - (d) Neg is filled by /ʔanaŋ/.
 - (e) /meh/ does not necessarily convey an emphasis.

The morphological characteristics of these verbs of the various subclasses which can occur in optative sentences are similar to those of the verbs which can occur in the imperative sentences proper; V_{adj} in an optative context is not restricted to V_{adj-m} .

Exx. (16) V_{adj} in an Optative Context

- (i) /rad₃a meh ʔʔ ʔaku!/
rich , I!
= I hope I will be rich.
- (ii) /pandaj meh ʔʔ ʔanaʔ ʔaku!/
clever , offspring I!
= I hope my child will be clever.
- (iii) /ʔanaŋ bendar meh ʔʔ paʔ!/
don't true , that!
= I hope that's not true.

Exx. (17) V_i in an Optative Context

- (i) /dataj meh ~~ʔ~~ ʔija!/
 come , he
 = I hope he comes.
- (ii) /ʔanaŋ ʔalah meh ~~ʔ~~ kitaj!/
 dont lose , we
 = I hope we won't lose.
- (iii) /ʔanaŋ laboh meh ~~ʔ~~ paʔ!/
 don't fall , that!
 = I hope that won't fall.

Exx. (18) V_t in an Optative Context

- (i) /ʔanaŋ mədaʔ paʔ meh ~~ʔ~~ ʔija!/
 don't see that , he!
 = I hope he won't see that.
- (ii) /pansa laŋkaw kitaj meh ~~ʔ~~ sidaʔ!/
 pass-by hut we , they!
 = I hope they pass by our hut.

Exx. (19) V_{mid} in an Optative Context

- (i) /bəgigaʔ ʔikan meh ~~ʔ~~ sidaʔ!/
 search fish , they!
 = I hope they go fishing.

- (ii) /bulih duit meh ## ?aku!/
 get money , I!
 = I hope I get some money.

6.33

Propositive Sentences

The propositive sentence is characterized by the following structure:-

Im-inton - Propos - (Neg) - (NP) - VP - (Emph)

Conditions

- (a) V of VP can belong to any subclass, but it excludes those verbs with {tə-} (cf. 6.31 and 6.32).
- (b) NP stands for the first person pronoun, dual or plural, both inclusive of the second person (cf. 4.22.1).
- (c) The position of NP is invariable.
- (d) Propos is filled by the propositive word /?aram/ or its weak form /?am/ (cf. 4.36).
- (e) Neg is filled by /?anaŋ/.
- (f) Emph can be filled by /meh/, /ga?/ or /lah/ (cf. 4.37.1).

The morphological characteristics of the verbs which can occur in a propositive context are similar to those

which can occur in the imperative proper and the optative contexts (cf. 6.31 and 6.32). V_{adj} in a propositive context is restricted to the subclass V_{adj-m} (cf. 6.31).

Exx. (20) V_t in a Propositive Context

- (i) /ʔaram nəmuajka ʔija meh!/
 let's visit she Emph!
 = Let's visit her.
- (ii) /ʔaram ʔanaŋ tua ŋanuʔ ʔija/
 let's don't we (du) scold she!
 = Let's not scold her.

Exx. (21) V_{mid} in a Propositive Context

- (i) /ʔaram kitaj bəgigaʔ ʔikan/
 let's we (pl) search fish!
 = Let's go fishing.
- (ii) /ʔaram ʔanaŋ bəmunsoh paŋan diri!/
 let's don't have-enemy one another!
 = Let's not regard one another as enemies.

Exx. (22) V_i in a Propositive Context

- (i) /ʔaram ʔanaŋ bədʒakoʔ lah!/
 let's don't talk Emph!
 = Let's not talk.

(ii) /ʔaram rari gaʔ!/
 = Let's run.

Exx. (23) V_{adj} in a Propositive Context

(i) /ʔaram d₃ampat!/
 let's quick!

= Let's be quick!

(ii) /ʔam ʔanaŋ lubah!/
 let's don't slow!

= Let's not be slow!

6.4

Exclamative Sentences

The exclamative sentences are marked by the Exc-intonation (cf. 2.6). They fall into two types: one consisting of interjection words (cf. 4.39) and the other consisting of NP or VP. These two types can occur together in a sentence with the first type preceding the second.

6.41

Exclamative Sentences: Type I

This type of exclamative sentence comprises the interjections. It can precede the exclamative sentence Type II or any sentence of the declarative, interrogative or

imperative type. The interjections below are divided according to the situations in which they are used.

Exx. (24) Command

- (i) /ʔalaj!/
(ii) /ʔalaw!/
(iii) /bah!/ (when giving a signal to start).

Exx. (25) Contempt

- (i) /tʃis!/
(ii) /poj!/
(iii) /pe!/

Exx. (26) Pain or Disappointment

- (i) /ʔakaj!/
(ii) /ʔakaj raj!/
(iii) /ʔadoh!/

Exx. (27) Surprise

- (i) /ʔah!/
(ii) /ʔoh!/
(iii) /ʔapu!/
(iv) /pu!/
(v) /nakaʔ!/

Exx. (28) Vocative

- (i) /ʔa!/

Exx. (29) Pleasure

- (i) /pam!/

Exx. (30) Uncertainty or Lack of Knowledge

- (i) /ʔəntah!/ (means "I am not sure" or "I do not know").

Exx. (31) To Children

- (i) /ʔap!/ (when playing with a child).
 (ii) /ʔatah!/ (when encouraging a child).
 (iii) /kur!/ (when stopping a child from crying).
 (iv) /saum!/ (same as (iii)).
 (v) /ʔiwaj!/ (when stopping a child from doing something).

6.42

Exclamative Sentences: Type II

This type of exclamative sentence is divided into two subtypes based on the class-membership (NP or VP) of the obligatory word in the sentence. Both the subtypes can be preceded by the interjections (cf. 6.4 and 6.41).

6.42.1

Subtype I

This subtype is characterized by the following structure:-

Exc-inton - (Interj) - NP

Condition

NP excludes Pro_Q.

Exclamative sentences belonging to this type are vocatives as well as non-vocatives. In a vocative sentence, NP is normally an animate noun, but in incantations and songs, this NP can also be an inanimate noun (cf. Exx. (32) (v)). Vocatives can be optionally preceded by the vocative interjection /ʔo/. No pause occurs between this interjection and the NP that follows it. Below are examples of vocative sentences:-

- Exx. (32) (i) /ʔo ʔəndoʔ/ - Oh lady!
- (ii) /ʔo buət!/ - Oh gentleman!
- (iii) /ʔiniʔ!/ - Grandmother!
- (iv) /ʔutʃu!/ - Grandchild!
- (v) /ʔo ribuət!/ - Oh wind!

A non-vocative sentence can also occur with an interjection, but a pause separates the interjection from the NP that follows it.

- Exx. (33) (i) /ʔudʒan!/
rain! - It's raining!

- (ii) /paʔ!/
that! = There you are!
- (iii) /nakaʔ ʔ/ noan!/
Interj, you! = Oh, it's you!
- (iv) /ʔah ʔ/ ʔapaj!/
Interj, father! = Oh, it's father!

6.42.2

Subtype II

The structure of this type is as follows:-

Exc-inton - (Interj) - VP - Emph

Conditions

- (a) V of VP is V_i or V_{adj} .
- (b) Emph is filled by /meh/ or /deh/ (cf. 4.37.1).
- (c) /meh/ occurs with V_i .
- (d) /deh/ occurs with V_i and V_{adj} .
- (e) In the presence of Interj, a pause separates Interj from VP.

- Exx. (34) (i) /nam ʔ/ namaj deh!/
Interj, delicious Emph!
= Oh, how delicious!
- (ii) /manah deh!/
= How beautiful!
- (iii) /tʃis ʔ/ bodo deh!/
Interj, stupid Emph!

= Oh, how stupid!

(iv) /ʔapu ~~ʔ~~ d₃ampat deh!/
 Interj, fast Emph!

= Oh, how fast!

(v) /ʔakaj raj ~~ʔ~~ paraj deh!/
 Interj, dead Emph!

= Dear me, it's dead!

(vi) /ʔalah meh!/
 defeated Emph!

= (Somebody is) defeated!

(vii) /təkəpit meh!/
 startled Emph!

= (I'm) startled!

CHAPTER 7: COMPLEX SENTENCES

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CHAPTER 7
COMPLEX SENTENCES

7.0 A complex sentence represents the recursion of simple sentence-structures. Similar to the one operating on the structures of simple phrases, the recursive process which operates on sentence-structures can be divided into two types: subordinative and co-ordinative. The former, which involves embedding, results in subordinative complex sentences, while the latter, which involves conjoining, results in co-ordinative complex sentences.

 The unit which is significant in the treatment of complex sentences is the clause. A clause is parallel to a simple sentence in that it has a subject and a predicate, but on the other hand, a clause can also function as a phrase in that it can occur as an element of a sentence-structure (cf. 5.21, 7.12 and 7.13).

 The free or bound nature of a clause (cf. 1.5) in relation to the complex sentence determines the type the clause enters: the main or the subordinate clause. The main clause is the type of clause which does not presuppose the existence of another clause, and in this sense, the main clause corresponds to a simple sentence. Complex sentences

which consist only of main clauses are co-ordinative complex sentences. On the other hand, the subordinate clause presupposes the existence of a main clause in order to function in a subordinative complex sentence.

7.1

Subordinative Complex Sentences

A subordinative complex sentence is a sentence which consists of a main clause and a simple or a complex subordinate clause. The formation of a complex subordinate clause, subordinative or co-ordinative, is similar to that of a complex sentence.

As mentioned in 7.0, the recursive process which results in subordinative complex sentences is that of the embedding type. Sentence-embedding means the placing of a sentence as an element of another sentence. In embedding, the main clause forms the matrix into which another sentence is embedded. Embedding in a complex sentence implies the following processes:-

- (i) The placing of a subordinate clause as the modifier of NP of the main clause.
- (ii) The substitution of an element in the main clause by a subordinate clause.

In process (i), the subordinate clause can occur as modifier to any NP in the main clause: NP1, NP2, or NP3 or the predicate NP of the unmarked structure NP - NP - (Adv). Pro-

cess (ii) results in subordinate clauses which function as NP and Adv.

A subordinating conjunction (cf. 4.32.1) can introduce a subordinate clause according to the particular class or type the clause enters. The subordinate clause can then be defined as an embedded sentence, which occurs with or without a subordinating conjunction and which presupposes the existence of the main clause that embeds it. Embedding of a clause (or sentence) within another clause (or sentence) can theoretically be infinite in length, but usually a maximum of two embeddings is found to occur.

In terms of their various functions as the modifier of NP, NP and Adv, the subordinate clauses are divided into three classes:-

- (i) Adjective Clause.
- (ii) Nominal Clause.
- (iii) Adverb Clause.

The position of the adjective clause is always after the NP of the main clause which it modifies, while those of the other two classes may vary, before or after the main clause.

7.11

Adjective Clauses

The adjective clause is one which functions as the modifier of NP of a complex sentence. This clause is always a relative clause (cf. 5.22.32).

Any declarative sentence which is not an inversion sentence (cf. 6.11.2) can function as a relative clause when it is embedded. In the embedding of this sentence, the left-most NP is substituted by the relative conjunction /ti/ or /kə/ (cf. 4.32.11). The relative clause can be characterized as follows:-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ti/ \\ /kə/ \end{array} \right\} + X$$

Conditions

- (a) X stands for any element or elements occurring after the NP that is substituted by the relative conjunction.
- (b) If X is a numeral phrase, it can form a construction with /ti/ only (cf. 5.22.12.2).

Below are examples of relative clauses:-

- Exx. (1) (i) /ti makaj pa?/
 = who ate that.
- (ii) /kə paraj/
 = who died.

- (iii) /ti pəmərəj/
= who swam.
- (iv) /kə ʔagi bədʒalaj diaʔ/
= who was still walking there.
- (v) /ti disumaj ʔija/
= which was cooked by her.
- (vi) /kə dikirumka ʔaku gari paʔ/
= who I sent the clothes to.
- (vii) /ti tʃələm/
= which was black.
- (viii) /ti pəŋuluʔ/
= who was a chief.
- (ix) /kə məpadiʔ ʔija/
= who was his sibling.
- (x) /ti kədua/
= which is second.

As a modifier of NP or as a constituent of a complex sentence, the adjective clause is shown in the tree-diagram below as S'.

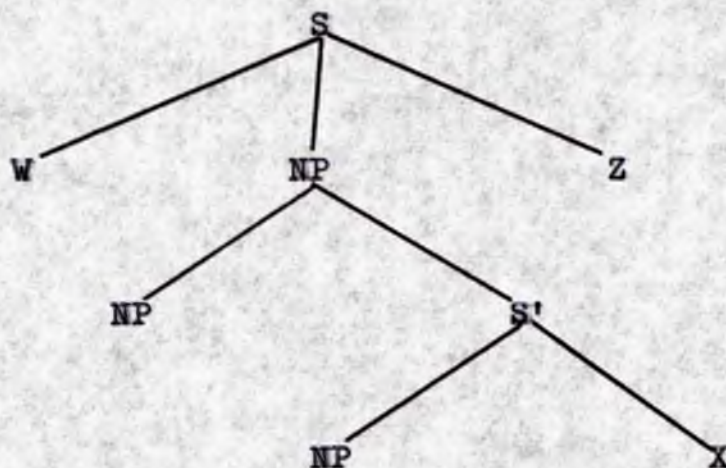


Diagram (1)

Conditions

- (a) S is a complex sentence.
- (b) S' is an adjective clause.
- (c) X is any element that occurs after NP of S'.
- (d) W and Z stand for any elements that occur before and after NP which is directly dominated by S but which dominates NP and S'.
- (e) NP which is dominated by S' is filled by /ti/ or /kə/.

The term dominate is used to refer to the function of a node which on a tree-diagram is higher than the node or nodes which branch out from it. The nodes which branch out from a higher node are said to be dominated by it.

The position of the adjective clause is always after the NP it modifies. Only certain nominal phrase modifiers ~~can~~ intervene between the head NP and the adjective clause (cf. 5.23).

The adjective clauses are used in Exx. (2). Sentence (iv) exemplifies the occurrence of a co-ordinative complex S', and sentence (v) that of the subordinative complex S'. The rest of the examples illustrate the occurrence of simple S'.

Exx. (2)

(i) /ni bagi sida? kə ʔudah bəbini?/
 NP NE NP VP

 S'

 NP NP

 S

which division they who already have-wife?
 = Which one of them has already got a wife?

(ii) /ʔəngi ʔaku ʔija kə badzi? ʔagi/
 NP NP NP VP

 S'

 NP NP

 S

belonging I she who beautiful more

= Mine is the one who is more beautiful.

(iii) /səduaj to? ʔindo? kə bisi? bəndar pənəmu/

NP

NP

NP

VP

S'

NP

NP

S

both these women who have really knowledge

= The two are women who are really knowledgeable.

(iv) /sida? ninka perenka kə badas ʔəngaw kə mahal/

NP

VP

NP

VP

Conj

NP

VP

V

NP

S'

Conj

S'

S'

NP

NP

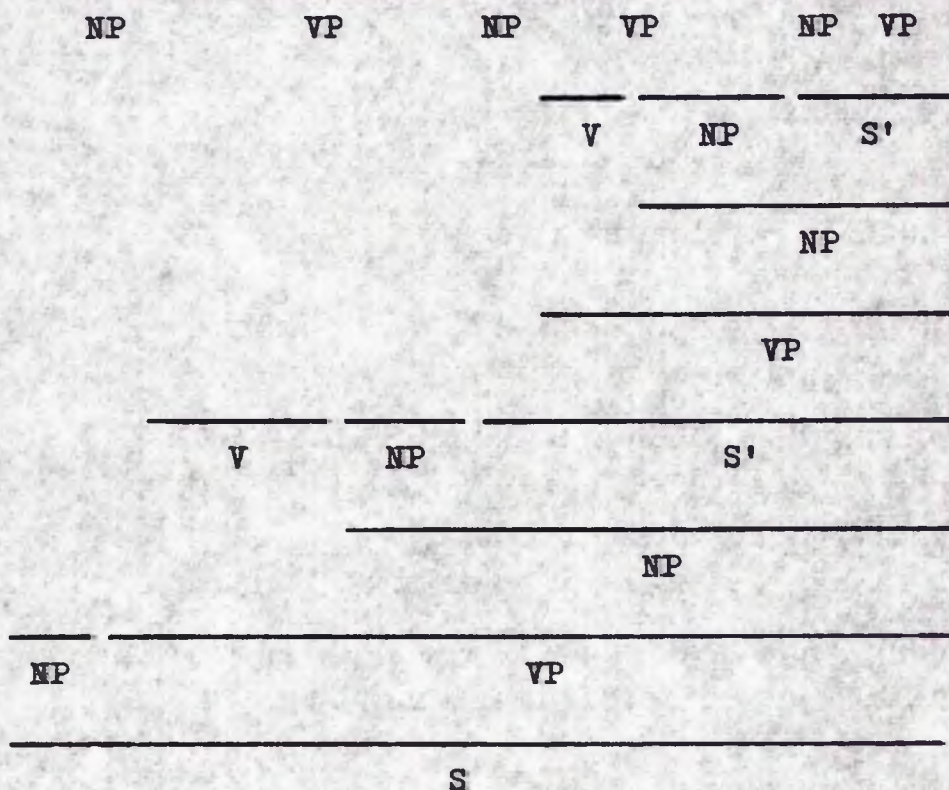
VP

S

they packed equipment which good and which expensive

= They packed the equipments which were good and expensive.

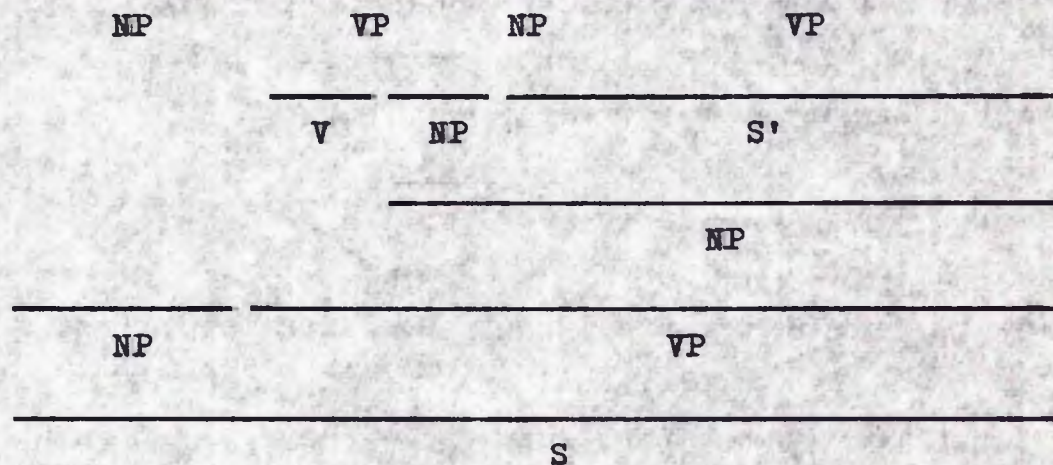
(v) /ʔija mansutka dzako? ti mēri teladan kə manah/



he say-out words which give example which good

= He says things which give good examples(to others).

(vi) /sidaʔ səmoa nadaj mimpi kə tau nangul pənankat sida?/



they all not-have dream which can hinder journey they
 = None of them had any dream which could be a bad
 omen to them in their journey.

7.12

Nominal Clauses

Nominal clauses are those which function as NP of a sentence-structure. A nominal clause can always be replaced by a nominal or a nominal phrase.

On the basis of their functions in a sentence-structure, nominal clauses can be divided into two types. The first type is the subject clause, which functions as the subject of a sentence. The subject clauses form the exocentric nominal phrases which are illustrated by Exx. (38) in 5.21. These examples indicate that a subject clause need not necessarily involve a complex sentence. In terms of its structure, a subject clause in Iban is always a relative clause (cf. 7.11).

The second type of nominal clause is the object clause, which functions as the object of a complex sentence. This means that the unmarked structure of the main clause must consist of NP1 - V - NP2. Embedding in this case means the substitution of NP2 of the above structure by a subordinate clause (cf. 7.1, process (ii)).

The following rules have to be observed in the embedding of object clauses:-

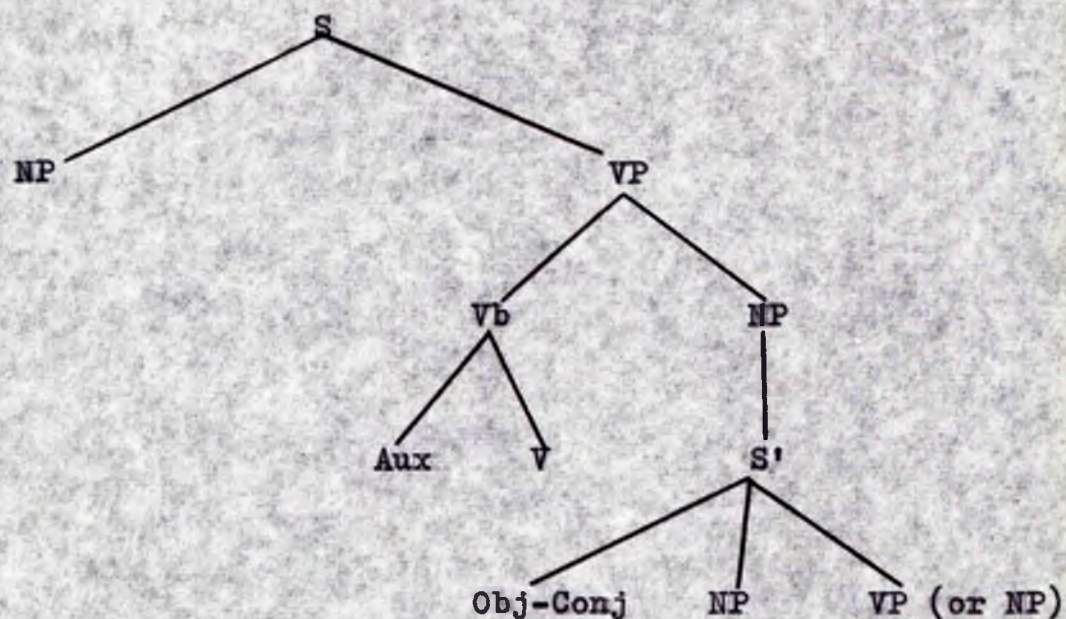
- (i) A Q_{tv} - sentence which is embedded as an object clause takes the structure:-

$$\text{Obj-Conj} - \text{NP} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\} ,$$

where Obj-Conj is filled by /sēkalika/, whether (cf. 4.32.12).

- (ii) The position of the object clause is variable, before or after the main clause.
- (iii) The main clause is a passive sentence when it is preceded by the object clause except when the latter is a quoted sentence (cf. Exx. (3) (xi)).
- (iv) A relative clause can also function as an object clause (cf. Exx. (3) (xi)).

The object clause can be simple or complex. The latter type can either be subordinative (Exx. (3) (x)) or co-ordinative (Exx. (3) (xi)). In the tree-diagram below, the object clause is S' which is dominated by NP (= NP2) of VP of the complex sentence S.

Diagram (2)Condition

The object conjunction occurs only when S' before embedding is Q_{tw}^a - sentence.

Exx. (3)

(i) /kami ʔəndaʔ nəmu səduaj toʔ bəlalaj/

NP	Neg	V	NP	VP
----	-----	---	----	----

S' (= NP)

NP	Neg	VP
----	-----	----

S

We not know both these hide

= We did not know these two were hiding.

(ii) /səduaj na? numbaj kami dəka? nərəbut laki səduaj/

NP

V

NP

VP

S' (= NP)

NP

VP

S

both these think we will snatch husbands both

= Both of them think that we will rob them of their husbands.

(iii) /ʔiʔa minta pərintah ʔanan mansaw wan/

NP

V

NP

Neg

VP

S' (= NP)

NP

Neg - VP

S

he requested government don't waste money

= He requested the government not to waste money

(iv) /?ija nana səkalika pərintah dəka? məri? wan/
NP V Obj-Conj NP VP

S' (= NP)

2

he asks whether government will give money
= He asks whether the government wants to give
money.

(v) /ʔija dəkaʔ nəmu səkalika noan guru/

NP Vb Obj-Conj NP NP

S' (= NP)

S

he will know whether you teacher

= He wanted to know whether you were a teacher.

(vi) /ʔija musoj nama ʔudah dipadahka noan/

NP V VP NP

S' (= NP)

NP VP

S

he related what already Pas+teLL you

= He related what had already been told (to us)
by you.

(vii) /sapa ʔuran naʔ ʔendaʔ dipadaʔ kami/

NP NP Neg V NP

S' (= NP)

Neg - VP NP

S

who person that not Pas+see we

= We did not see who the person was.

(viii) /nama dipərundinka sida? ʔudah didina kami/

VP NP VP NP

S' (= NP)

VP NP

S

what Pas+discuss they already Pas+hear we

= What was discussed by them had already been heard
by us.

(ix) /səkalika ʔija dəka? dataj ʔapin ditəmu ʔaku/

Obj-Conj NP VP VP NP

S' (= NP)

VP NP

S

whether he will come not-yet Pas+know I

= I still don't know whether he will come.

(x) /ʔi:ja nasoh ʔaku nansaʔ sidaʔ nuluʔka ʔuran bumaj/

NP VP NP VP NP VP NP VP

S' (= NP)

VP

S' (= NP)

VP

S' (= NP)

NP

VP

S

he request me urge they witness person plant-rice

= He requested me to urge them to witness the people
planting rice.

(xi) /ʔi:ja rinduʔ makaj kə pədas ʔəngaw kə masien/

NP VP NP VP Conj NP VP

S' Conj S'

S' (= NP)

NP

VP

S

she like eat which hot and which salty

= She likes to eat that which is hot and salty.

(xii) /ʔamat salah gaʔ kitaj ~~ʔ~~ ko ʔindaj nanaw/

VP Emph NP Quot NP VP

S' (= NP)

S

very wrong Emph we, Quot mother shouted

= "We are definitely wrong," shouted mother.

7.13

Adverb Clauses

An adverb clause is a subordinate clause which functions as Adv of a complex sentence. In a tree-diagram, the adverb clause is represented by the node Adv which dominates a subordinating conjunction and S'. Diagrams (3) and (4) are the tree-diagrams for the unmarked structures NP - VP and NP - NP - (Adv) respectively.

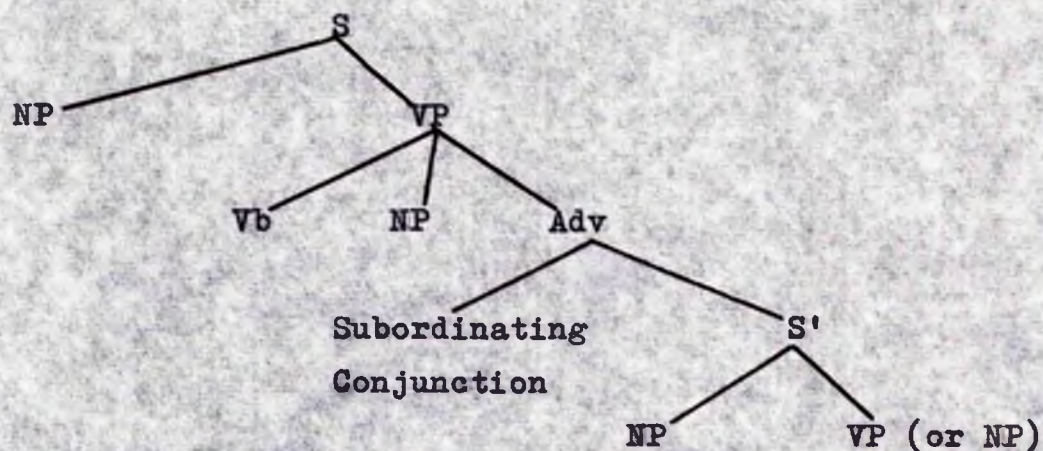
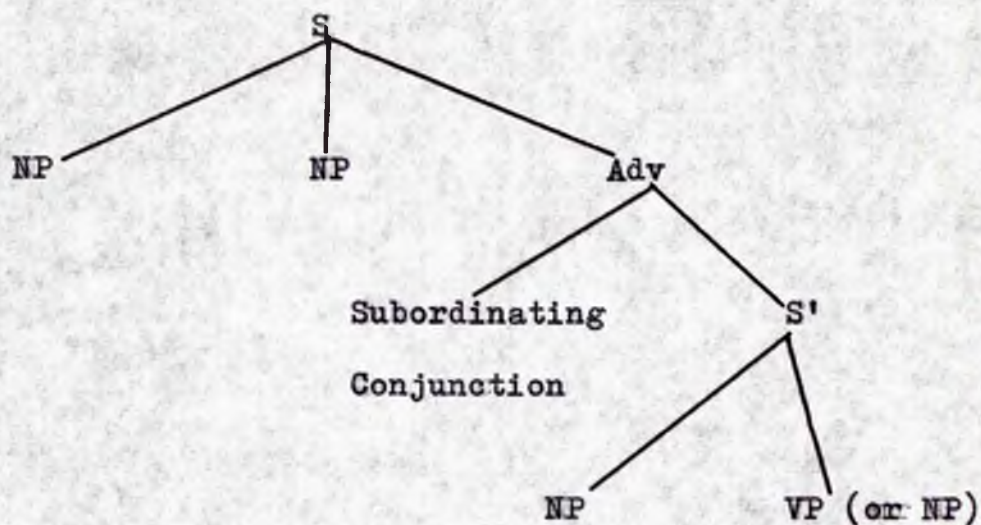


Diagram (3)

Conditions

- (a) The node "subordinating conjunction" admits the temporal, reason, condition and concession conjunctions only.
- (b) The subordinating conjunction does not occur when S' is an inversion sentence (cf. 7.13.12).

Diagram (4)Condition#

The node "subordinating conjunction" admits the temporal and reason conjunctions only.

The adverb clauses are divided into four subclasses based on the subclasses of the subordinating conjunctions which introduce them. These subclasses are:-

- (i) Temporal.
- (ii) Reason.
- (iii) Condition.
- (iv) Concession.

The position of the adverb clause is variable, before or after the main clause. An exception is Type II of the temporal clause, which occurs only before the main clause (cf. 7.13.12). In a complex sentence, a pause separates the main clause from the adverb clause. Similar to the adjective and the nominal clauses, the adverb clause can either be simple or complex. The complex adverb clauses are discussed in 7.13.5.

7.13.1 Temporal Clauses

The temporal clause (Temp-Cl) are divided into two types. One type is characterized by the presence of the temporal conjunction, while the other is not.

7.13.11 Temporal Clauses: Type I

All the temporal conjunctions given in 4.32.3 can connect S' to the main clause. The temporal clause which is classified as Type I can precede or follow the main clause.

Exx. (4)

(i) /ləboh səduaj ŋətu naba? ~~ʔ~~ ʔija nana ʔaka? ʔija/

 S'

 Temp-Cl

 Mn-Cl

 S

= When the two of them stopped weeping, she asked
her elder sibling.

(ii) /ʔija puaʔka ʔasi ŋagaj ʔaku ~~ʔ~~ ləboh pəmakaj sədia/

 S'

 Mn-Cl

 Temp-Cl

 S

= She handed the rice to me, when the food was
ready.

(iii) /bənoŋ sida? niti təmpuan ~~ʔ~~ məda? səmpuraj sida?/

 S'

 Temp-Cl

 Mn-Cl

 S

= When they were walking along the gallery,
Sempurai saw them.

(iv) /ʔija dataj ~~ʔ~~ bənoŋ kami bəgawaj/

S'

Mn-Cl

Temp-Cl

S

= He came while we were having our festival.

(v) /səkumbaŋ səduaj pulaj ~~ʔ~~ tindoəʔ səduaj diaʔ /

S'

Temp-Cl

Mn-Cl

S

= When the two of them returned, they slept there.

(vi) /ʔija paraŋ ləmas ~~ʔ~~ səkumbaŋ ʔija pəməraŋ di suŋaj paʔ/

S'

Mn-Cl

Temp-Cl

S

= He died of drowning when he went swimming in that river.

(vii) /kəpaw ?ari ?ija mit ~~///~~ ?ija ?udah pandaj pəmərəj/

S'

Temp-Cl

Mn-Cl

S

= Ever since he was small (= young), he had been a good swimmer.

(viii) /?ija paŋan ?aku ~~///~~ kəpaw ?ari ?ija ?aŋkat dara/

S'

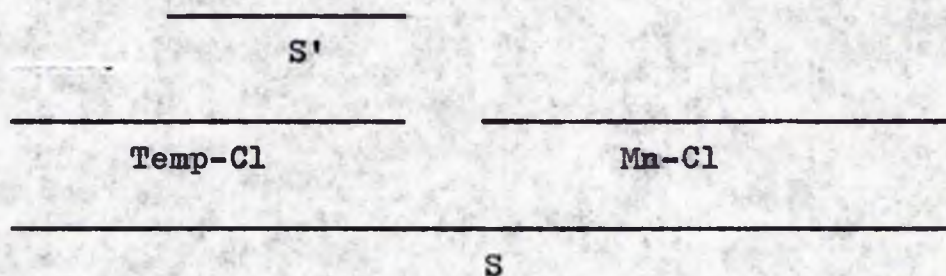
Mn-Cl

Temp-Cl

S

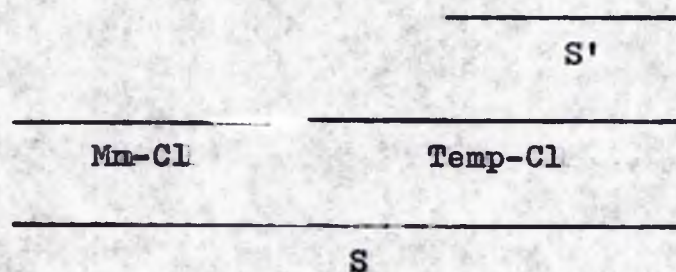
= She has been my friend ever since she was a young girl.

(ix) /səbədaw ?ija tindoe? ~~??~~ ?ija nəmata?ka pabur pa?/



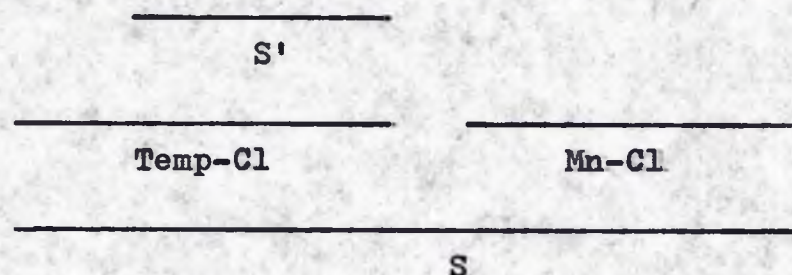
• Before he went to sleep, he took a close look at the sword.

(x) /kami pulaj ~~??~~ səbədaw ?ija məraraw/



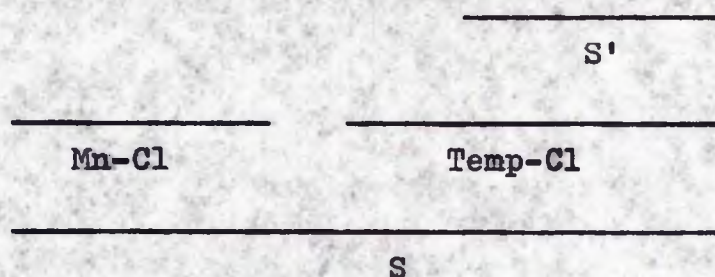
= We went back before he had his lunch.

(xi) /?udah kami niŋa pa? ~~??~~ kami mandʒoŋ ?ija/



= After we heard it, we shouted out to him.

(xii) /?ija nana pa? ~~##~~ ?udah ?aku bəd₃ako?/



= He asked it after I had finished speaking.

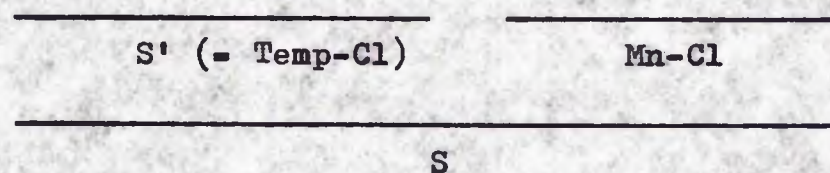
7.13.12

Temporal Clauses: Type II

The structure of this type of temporal clause corresponds to that of the inversion sentence (cf. 6.11.2). This type of temporal clause occurs only at the beginning of the complex sentence, and it is not characterized by the presence of a subordinating conjunction (cf. 7.13, Diagram (3), condition (b)). The main clause which embeds this type of temporal clause cannot consist of the unmarked structure NP - NP - (Adv).

Exx. (5)

(i) /dataj sida? di pəndaj ~~##~~ sida? lalu? mandi/



came they at bathing-place, they then bathed.

= When they reached the bathing place, they bathed.

(ii) /mədaʔ kəliŋ ʔʔ ladʒaʔ pən turuən/

S' (Temp-Cl)

Mn-Cl

S

see keling, Laja Emph Descend

= On seeing Keling, Laja went down.

7.13.2

Reason Clauses

The reason clauses are divided into the reason clauses proper and the purpose clauses, based on the different subclasses of the subordinating conjunctions that introduce them (cf. 4.32.14). The positions of both of the subclasses may vary, before or after the main clause.

7.13.21

Reason Clauses Proper

The reason clauses proper (Rea-Cl) can be introduced by any of the reason conjunctions proper (cf. 4.32.14.1).

Exx. (6)

(i) /laban sida? takut tindoe? dia? ~~///~~ sida? tindoe? dito?/

S'

Rea-Cl

Mn-Cl

S

= Because they were scared to sleep there, they
slept here.

(ii) /kami kasiəhka ?ija ~~///~~ laban ?ija ?anəmbia?/

S'

Mn-Cl

Rea-Cl

S

= We pity him because he is a child.

(iii) /kətegal ?ija mudzuer ~~///~~ gaga ?amat ?ija/

S'

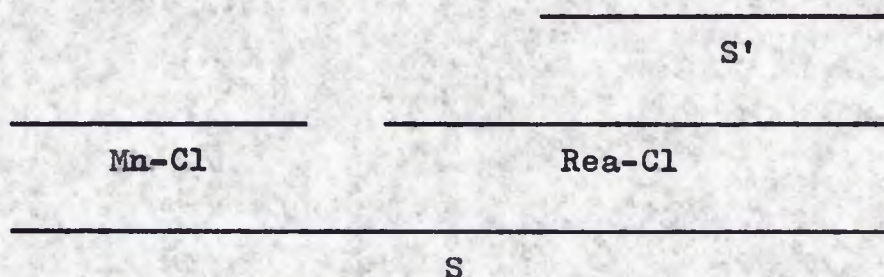
Rea-Cl

Mn-Cl

S

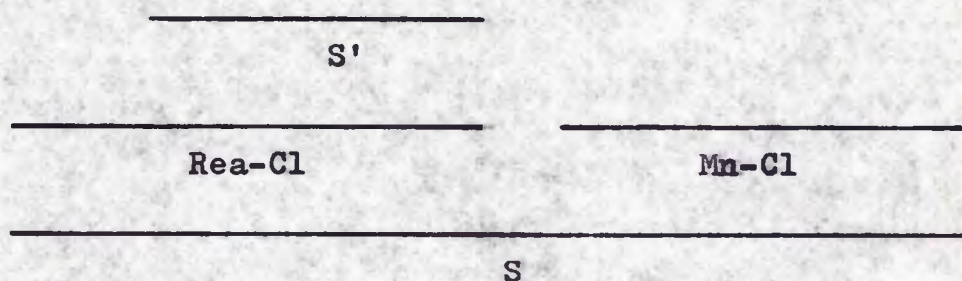
= Because he was successful, he was very happy.

(iv) /ʔija tuaʝ rumah ~~ʔ~~ kətəgal ʔija ʔanaʔ pəŋuluʔ/



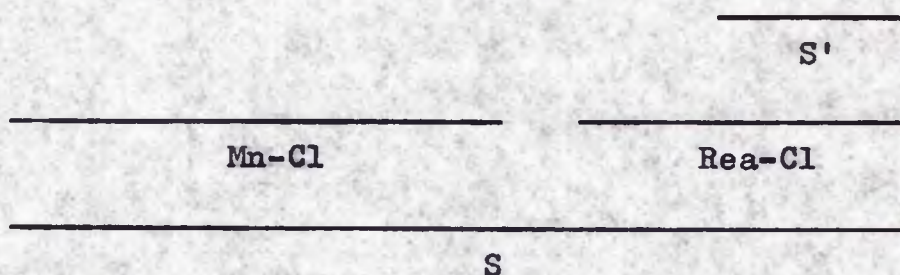
= He was head of the longhouse, because he was the chief's son.

(v) /kəbuah ʔaku kiroh bəndar ~~ʔ~~ ʔaku ʔəndaʔ manseanʔ/



= Because I was very busy, I did not go out.

(vi) /kami ʔəndaʔ rinduʔka ʔija ~~ʔ~~ kəbuah ʔija dʒaiʔ/



= We do not like him because he is wicked.

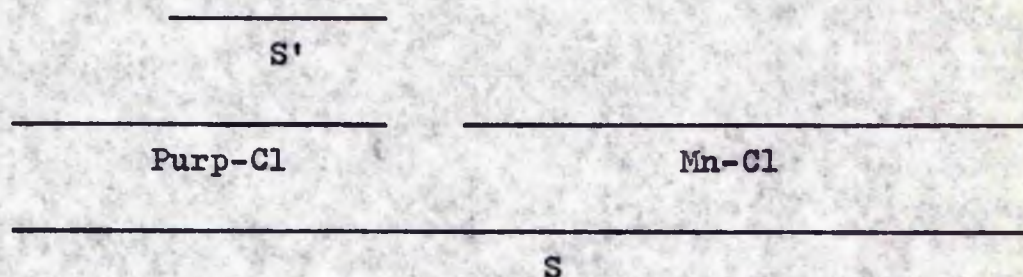
7.13.22

Purpose Clauses

The purpose clause can be introduced by any of the purpose conjunctions (cf. 4.32.14.2).

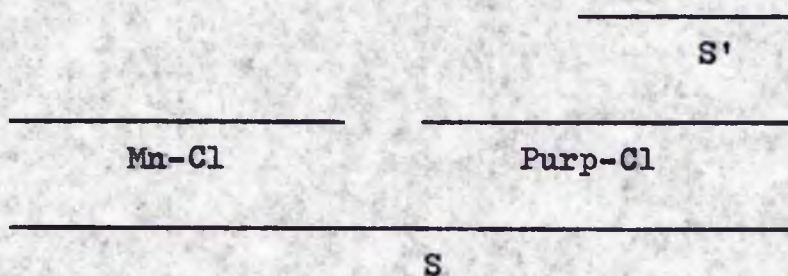
Exx. (7)

- (i) /ʔawaʔka kiʔaj geraj ~~ʔ~~ kitaj məsti makaj ʔutaj manah/



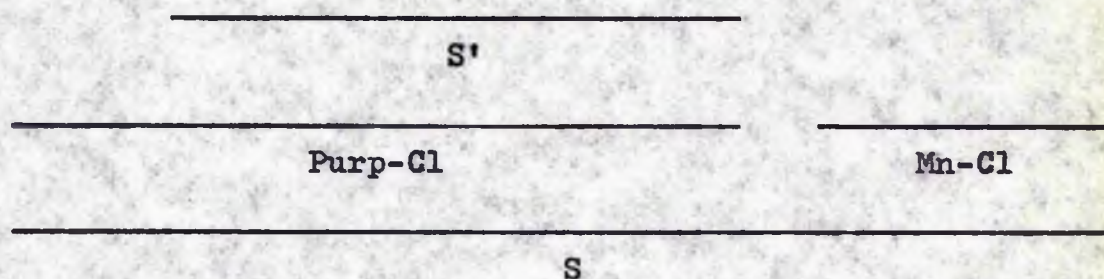
= In order that we (keep ourselves) healthy, we must eat good food.

- (ii) /noan məsti bagas ~~ʔ~~ ʔawaʔka noan pandaj/



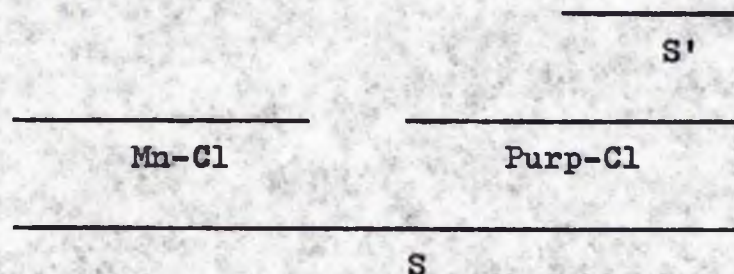
= You must be diligent in order that you (become) clever.

(iii) /ɲambika ʔaku tau bərandaw ʔəŋgaw ʔija ~~ʔ~~ ʔaku nəmuajka ja/



= In order that I could converse with her, I visited her.

(iv) /tusoj berita paʔ ~~ʔ~~ ɲambika kami niŋa/



= Tell (us) the news so^fthat we hear (it).

7.13.3

Condition Clauses

The condition clause can be introduced by any of the condition conjunctions (cf. 4.32.15). It can precede or follow a main clause.

Exx. (8)

(i) /ʔənti noan dəkaʔ dataj ʔənanʔ ʔəŋgaj madah/

S'

Cond-Cl

Mn-Cl

S

= If you wish to come, do not hesitate to say (so).

(ii) /ʔaku diatoʔ pulaj ʔənti noan ʔəŋgaj bəsita/

S'

Mn-Cl

Cond-Cl

S

= I'm going back now, if you refuse to tell(me)
the story.

(iii) /səmeaʔ ʔija mudʒuər ʔija tau pulaj ka mənoa ʔija/

S'

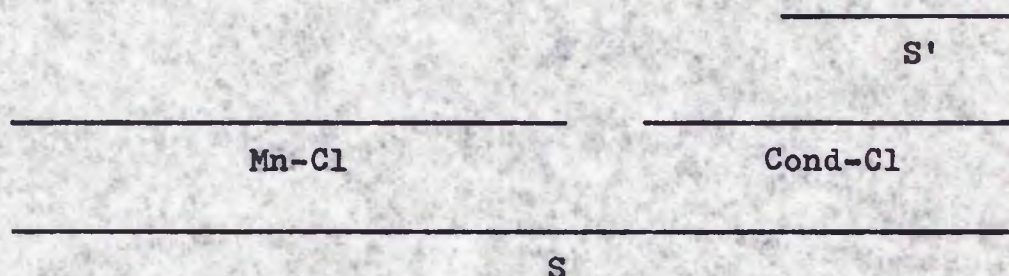
Cond-Cl

Mn-Cl

S

= If he is succesful, he can go back to his country.

(iv) /ʔaku ʔəndaʔ ʔulieh niŋa noan ~~ʔ~~ səmeaʔ noan bətəlaɟ/



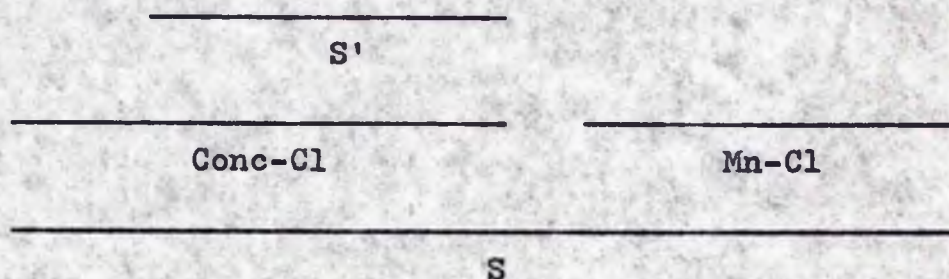
= I cannot hear you if you whisper.

7.13.4 Concession Clauses

The concession clause can be introduced by any of the concession conjunctions (cf. 4.32.16). This clause can precede or follow the main clause. If it precedes the main clause, the co-ordinating conjunction /taŋ/, but, can be optionally placed before the main clause.

Exx. (9)

(i) /tadʒaʔ nama ʔija mupi naʔ ~~ʔ~~ taŋ ʔija nadaɟ buta/



= Although that was his name, he was not blind.

(ii) /ʔija ŋəlantəŋka gamal ʔʔ tadʒaʔ ʔija tusah ʔati/

S'

Mn-Cl

Conc-Cl

S

= She looks happy, although she is sad.

(iii) /tadʒaʔ pən tuboəh nadaj dipədaʔ ʔʔ bisiʔ pawa diaʔ/

S'

Conc-Cl

Mn-Cl

S

= Although no one was seen, there were voices there.

(iv) /ʔija nadaj sumbuəŋ ʔʔ tadʒaʔ pən ʔija radʒa/

S'

Mn-Cl

Conc-Cl

S

= He is not vain, although he is rich.

7.13.5

Complex Adverb Clauses

A complex adverb clause represents the recursion of the structures of simple adverb clauses. Similar to the recursion of the structures of phrases and sentences, the recursion of the structures of adverb clauses falls into ^{two} types: embedding and conjoining. The former type results in subordinative complex adverb clauses and the latter in co-ordinative complex adverb clauses. The simple adverb clauses involved in the recursive processes of both the types mentioned above can belong to the same or different subclasses.

7.13.51

Subordinative Complex Adverb Clauses

In a subordinative complex adverb clause, a simple adverb clause occurs as an element of another adverb clause, and the resultant form can in turn occur as an element of a larger adverb clause and so on. This type of adverb clause is used in Exx. (10) below. In these examples, the main clauses are underlined.

Exx. (10) (i) /ʔaku bətəmu ʔəŋgaw ʔija ~~ʔ~~ ləboh ʔaku nəmuajka
 sidaʔ səbilibəʔ ~~ʔ~~ ʔawaʔka ŋambiʔ pəŋaban ~~ʔ~~
 səkumban kitaj dəkaʔ bəgawaj subaʔ ~~ʔ~~ ŋambika
 məlah pinan ʔanaʔ noan/

= I met her when I visited the family, in order to extend them an invitation, when we were about to hold the celebrations sometime ago, in order to marry off your offspring.

- (ii) /tadzə? pən kitaj kasienka ?ija // laban ?ija səranta // kitaj ?ənda? təbantuka ?ija/

= Although we pity him because he is poor, we are unable to help him.

- (iii) /noan məsti bagas bumaj // ?ənti noan dəka? buliəh majoəh padi // səkumbəŋ ?uraŋ nətaw pəŋabis taun to?/

= You must work hard on your rice-field, if you want to get a lot of rice when the harvesting season comes at the end of this year.

7.13.52

Co-ordinative Complex Adverb Clauses

The co-ordinative complex adverb clause is the result of the process of conjoining by parataxis operating on the structures of simple adverb clauses. The co-ordinating conjunctions do not seem to operate on adverb clauses. In a subordinative complex sentence, the conjuncts of the co-

ordinative complex adverb clause can be separated from each other by the main clause. The main clauses in the sentences below are underlined.

Exx. (11) (i) /laban ?ija badas ?ati ~~##~~ ?ija dataj nuloen

kami ~~##~~ tad₃a? pən ?ija ?agi ?ənda? gəraj/

= Because he was kind-hearted, he came to help us, although he still was not well.

(ii) /?ija təntu ?ənda? tau tindoə? ~~##~~ ?ənti kitaj

madahka ?ija bərita na? ~~##~~ laban ?ija tusah ?ati/

= He certainly will not be able to go to sleep, if we break the news to him, because he will be unhappy.

(iii) /səbədaw ?ija dataj ~~##~~ səbədaw ?aku təmbu

gawa? ~~##~~ ?aku ?ənda? dəka? mansean/

= Before she comes, (and) before I complete (my) work, I will not go out.

7.2

Co-ordinative Complex Sentences

Co-ordinative complex sentences consist of the conjoining of main clauses (or simple sentences) by the co-ordinating conjunctions and parataxis (cf. 7.0). On this basis,

the co-ordinative complex sentences are divided into two principal types as discussed in 7.21 and 7.22.

7.21

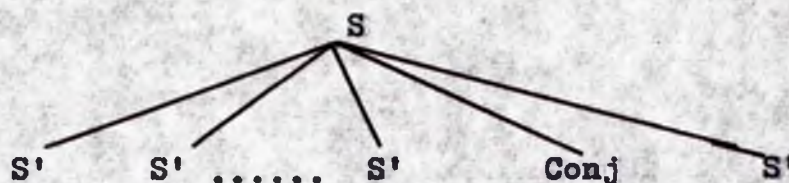
Co-ordinative Complex Sentences Formed by
Conjunctions

The co-ordinating conjunctions which can ⁿconjoin simple sentences to form complex sentences are:-

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (i) | /lalu?/ | = and. |
| (ii) | /((baika) ... tauka/ | = (either) ... or. |
| (iii) | /tan/ | = but. |

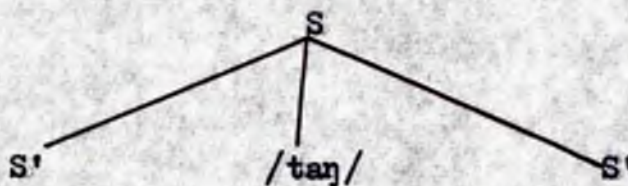
Conjoining by these conjunctions falls into two types. One type consists of the conjoining by conjunctions (i) and (ii), and the other the conjoining by conjunction (iii). This division is motivated by the fact that /tan/, unlike the other two conjunctions, cannot operate on more than two conjuncts.

The tree-diagrams below illustrate these two types of conjoining. In both diagrams, S stands for the complex sentence, and S' for the conjunct.

Diagram (5)Conditions

- (a) Conj is filled by /lalu?/ or /(baika) ... tauka/.
- (b) More than two conjuncts can be conjoined to form S₁, if the conjuncts concerned belong to the same type of sentence, although the maximum number of the conjuncts is usually three.

The dots in the above diagram denote iteration.

Diagram (6)

In conjoining, identical words which have the same functions in the conjuncts are not normally repeated. A pause separates the conjunct S' from the co-ordinating conjunction which follows it. With /tauka/, the pause does not

occur if /tauka/ in the sentence also functions as a phrasal conjunction (cf. Exx. (14) (ii) and (v)).

7.21.1 Type I

This type consists of the conjoining of sentences by /lalu?/ and /(baika) ... tauka/. The conjuncts can belong to the same or different types of sentences (cf. Chapter 6). The conjoining of sentences of the same type excludes the conjoining of the exclamative sentences, while the conjoining of sentences of different types is confined to the conjoining of the imperative and the declarative sentence in that order. In the latter case, only two conjuncts are allowed (cf. 7.21, Diagram (5), condition (b)).

In the conjoining of sentences by /(baika) ... tauka/, /baika/ can be optionally placed before the first conjunct, only if the conjuncts concerned are declarative sentences. /baika/ does not occur in any context of sentence-conjoining other than the one mentioned above.

The complex declarative sentences which are formed by the conjoining by /lalu?/ and /(baika) ... tauka/ are illustrated by Exx. (12) below.

Err. (12) (i) /siko? na? buŋa ʔeni ~~ʔ~~ lalu? siko? na? buŋa
setaŋkaj/

= One is Bunga Eni, and one is Bunga Setangkai.

- (ii) /ʔindaj kəliŋ pansuət ka ruaj ~~ʔ~~ lalu?
berantʃaw tikaj ~~ʔ~~ lalu? pəndiaka pərənka
pinaŋ sirih/

= Keling's mother went out to the verandah,
and spreaded out the mat, and ^epr_kpared the
betel-nut-and-leaf container.

- (iii) /baika ʔija dataj ~~ʔ~~ tauka ʔaku pulaj/

= Either he comes, or I return.

In the conjoining of the interrogative sentences, the conjuncts must belong to the same type, Q_{tv} or Q_{wh} . The conjoining of the Q_{tv} -sentences is confined to those sentences which are introduced by the Q_{tv} -words /kati/ and /kada/ (cf. 6.21.1), and the conjunction which can operate on these sentences seem to be only /tauka/. On the other hand, the conjoining of the Q_{wh} -sentences can be performed by /tauka/ as well as /lalu?/. Sentences (i) and (ii) below exemplify the conjoining of Q_{tv} , while sentences (iii) and (iv) exemplify the conjoining of Q_{wh} .

- Exx. (13) (i) /kati noan deka? dataj dito? ~~ʔ~~ tauka ʔaku
məsti pulaj?/

= Are you coming here, or must I return?

- (ii) /kada noan ?ada dito? ~~##~~ tauka noan ?uraŋ
kampar?/
= Were you born here, or are you an outsider?
- (iii) /lapa? ?ija ?enda? dataj ~~##~~ tauka bəkirumka
kitaj bərita?/
= Why doesn't he come or sends us news?
- (iv) /sapa nama ?apaj ?indaj səduaj ~~##~~ lalu?
dini ?əndor mənoa ?uraŋ ja? deh?/
= What are the names of the father(s) and
mother(s) of both of them, and where is
their country?

The complex imperative sentences consist of the conjoining of simple imperative sentences of the same type (cf. 6.3). The conjunction /tauکا/ does not conjoin the optative sentences.

- Exx. (14) (i) /bai? ?ija pulaj ~~##~~ lalu? məri? ?ija makaj!/
= Take him home and feed him!
- (ii) /?anaŋ bədʒako? tauکا bətəlaʃ!/
= Don't speak or whisper!
- (iii) /pandaj meh ~~##~~ ?ija ~~##~~ lalu? mudʒuər meh!/
= I hope he will be clever and successful.
- (iv) /?aram kitaj gumpul waŋ ja? ~~##~~ lalu? bəduaka
ja?!/
= Let's collect the money and share it out.

- (v) /ʔaram ʔanaŋ nədat tauka ŋanu? ʔija!/
 = Let's not beat or scold him.

The conjoining of the imperative to the declarative sentence is quite rare in Iban, and the very few examples that exist seem to admit only the conjunction /lalu?/.

- Ex. (15) (i) /dataj tumu?!// lalu? kitaj tau ŋiga? ʔikan/
 = Come early and we can go fishing.

7.21.2

Type II

This type of sentence-conjoining consists of the conjoining by /taŋ/, but. This conjunction operates on simple sentences of the same or different types. A pause separates the conjunct from the conjunction which follows it.

Exx. (16) below illustrate the conjoining of declarative sentences by /taŋ/.

- Exx. (16) (i) /baŋkaj ɲa? ʔənda? ditumba?ka tanah // taŋ
 disimpan dalam batan kaju?
 = The corpse was not buried in the earth,
 but was kept in a hole in the trunk of a tree.
- (ii) /nadaɲ ʔənda? digiga? // taŋ nadaɲ nəmbuka
 pawa sida?
 = Everything was sought for, but nothing satisfied their appetites.

(iii) /?ija diaw dimənoa tasiə? ~~ʔ~~ tan ?ija suah
nəmuajka mənoa to?/

= He lives abroad, but he often visits this
country.

(iv) /?apaj ?ija ?akan ?aku ~~ʔ~~ tan ?indaj ?ija
?adi bini ?aku/

= His father is my cousin, but his mother is
my wife's younger sister.

(v) /?ija kaban ?aku ~~ʔ~~ tan ?ija munsoəh mənoa
sərawea?/

= He is my relative, but he is an enemy of
Sarawak.

The complex interrogative sentences consist of the
conjoining of simple interrogative sentences of the same type,
 Q_{tv} or Q_{wh} . The Q_{tv} - sentences which can be conjoined by /tan/
are those which are characterized by the presence of the Q_{tv} -
words /kati/ and /kada/ (cf. 7.21.1, Exx. (13)).

Exx. (17) (i) /kati noan . ?udah dataj dito? ~~ʔ~~ tan ?agi
belalaj?/

= Were you already here, but were still in
hiding?

(ii) /sapa tutoep pintu pa? ~~ʔ~~ tan nadaj ninsi pa?/?/

= Who closed the door but did not lock it?

- (iii) /lapa? ʔija mandʒoŋ kitaj ~~ʔ~~ tan lalu?
 ŋəlalajka diri?/
 = Why did ^{he} shout out to us, but a moment later
 hid himself?

The conjoining of the imperative sentences by /tan/ is also confined to the conjoining of the imperative sentences of the same type (cf. 7.21.1, Exx. (14)).

- Exx. (18) (i) /main dito? ~~ʔ~~ tan ʔanaŋ rit[ah!/
 = Play here, but don't be noisy!
- (ii) /mudʒuər meh ~~ʔ~~ ʔija ~~ʔ~~ tan ʔanaŋ sumbuəŋ meh!/
 = I hope he will be successful, but I hope
 he will not be vain.
- (iii) /ʔaram nitih ʔija ~~ʔ~~ tan ʔaram niki? ʔəntukar!/
 = Let's follow him, but let's go by car.

The conjoining of sentences of different types is confined to the following structures:-

- (i) Declarative - tan - Interrogative (cf. examples (i) and (ii) below).
- (ii) Declarative - tan - Imperative (cf example (iii) below).

- Exx. (19) (i) /ʔija rindu? diaw dito? ~~ʔ~~ tan kati ʔija
 nadaj lələŋawka mənoa ʔija?/
 = He loves staying here, but doesn't he miss
 his country?

(ii) /noan ɲəlala? ʔuraŋ pa? #/ taŋ lapa? noan
ʔənda? nabi? ʔija?/

= You recognized the person, but why did
you not greet him.

(iii) /ʔaku məri? noan waŋ pa? #/ taŋ ʔanaŋ ɲabiska
pa?!/

= I'll give you the money, but don't finish
it up.

7.22

Co-ordinative Complex Sentences Formed by
Parataxis

In this type of sentence-conjoining, S' is separated
from another S' by a pause as shown in the following diagram:-

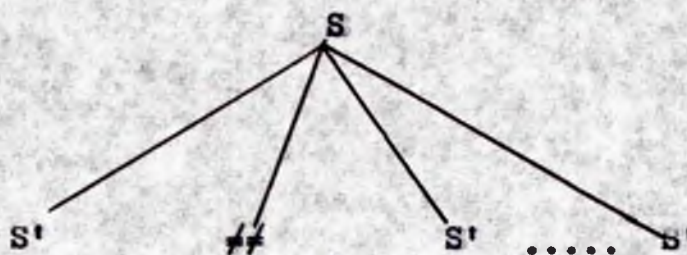


Diagram (7)

The dots in the above diagram indicate iteration.
The number of S' conjoined can be indefinite, but usually three
occurrences seem to be the maximum. Identical words with si-
milar functions are not normally repeated.

The complex sentences formed by paratxis consist of the complex declarative sentences and the complex imperative sentences proper. The former group is exemplified by Exx. (20) and the latter by Exx. (21).

- Exx. (20) (i) /ʔuraŋ ʔəŋgaj napa ~~ʔ~~ʔəŋgaj naut sidaʔ/
 = The people were unwilling to ask or answer them.
- (ii) /ʔija bisiʔ pəɖʒalaj bərat ditoʔ ~~ʔ~~ʔukaj səmina ŋandʒoŋ sidaʔ/
 = He has an important business (coming) here, not just taking them home.
- (iii) /ʔəndaʔ kami dua nəmu ~~ʔ~~ʔ nadaʒ ʔuraŋ nusoj ~~ʔ~~ʔ niŋa ʔuraŋ ŋənaŋ pən nadaʒ gaʔ/
 = The two of us did not know about it, no one told us, (and) we did not even hear people discussing it.
- Exx. (21) (i) /laluʔ meh ~~ʔ~~ʔ tamaʔ ~~ʔ~~ʔ dudoəʔ!/
 = Pass along, come in, (and) sit down!
- (ii) /dani ~~ʔ~~ʔ turuən mandi!/
 wake-up, descend (to) bathe !
 = Wake up, (and) go and have your bath!

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CHAPTER 8
MINOR SENTENCES

8.0 The unmarked structures NP - VP and NP - NP - (Adv) are the major sentence-patterns in Iban (cf. 6.0). These structures form the bases for the constructions of various sentence-types, simple and complex.

Sentences which do not conform to the major sentence-structures are minor sentences. Among the simple sentences discussed in Chapter 6, the exclamative sentences can be classified as minor sentences, but they were discussed together with the other sentence-types on the basis of their type of intonation.

The minor sentences are divided into two types: contextual and non-contextual. The first type is relatable to the major sentence-structures, as sentences belonging to this type represent the elliptical forms of these structures. The non-contextual type of minor sentences is not relatable to the major sentence-structures, and it consists of the exclamative sentences (cf. 6.4) and such words like /?au?/, yes, and /na-daj/, no, which can stand as sentences in their own right.

The discussion on minor sentences in this chapter is confined to those of the contextual type only, but nevertheless, the non-contextual minor sentences will be included when they

are used in the same way as ~~some~~ contextual minor sentences as answers to questions. The contextual minor sentences are divided into two types. These types are:-

- (i) Ellipses of declarative sentences.
- (ii) Ellipses of non-declarative sentences.

8.1 Ellipses of Declarative Sentences

The ellipses of declarative sentences are divided into two principal types on the basis of their dependence on and independence of foregoing sentences.

8.11 Ellipses of Declarative Sentences: Type I

This type comprises elliptical sentences which are not dependent on foregoing sentences. Such elliptical sentences consist of the structure NP - Aux, where Aux can be simple or complex. This structure indicates that V, which is the nucleus of VP, is ellipsed (cf. 5.12). Minor sentences of this type are given in 4.12.2, Exx. (17) (iii) and (iv), Exx. (22) (viii) and (ix), and Exx. (24) (ii).

8.12 Ellipses of Declarative Sentences: Type II

Minor sentences of this type are dependent on foregoing sentences. They are divided into two subtypes based on

their existence as answers or repetitions of the sentences that precede them.

8.12.1 Minor Sentences as Answers to Questions

The minor sentences which form answers to questions are divided into three types on the basis of the class-membership of the units which occur as sentences. The units involved are the word, the phrase and the clause.

8.12.11 NP as Minor Sentence

NP as a minor sentence can stand for any NP which occurs as an element in the declarative sentence-structures, and this means that this type of minor sentence excludes Pro_Q . The type of NP (NP1, NP2, NP3 or the predicate nominal of the equational sentence) that this minor sentence represents is determined by the question which elicits it as an answer. The questions involved in eliciting this type of minor sentence are Q_{tv} Type I and Q_{wh} Type II (cf. 6.21.1 and 6.22.2).

Q_{tv} occurs only in the form of a co-ordinative complex sentence which results from the conjoining of simple Q_{tv} -sentences by /tauka/ (cf. 7.21.1, Exx. (13) (i) and (ii)). Such Q_{tv} -sentences are given in Exx. (1) together with their possible answers:-

Exx. (1) (i) Q(uestion): /kati ?uraŋ pa? bansa ?asal
tauکا ?uraŋ kampar?/

= Is the person a native or an
outsider?

A(answer): /?uraŋ kampar/

= An outsider.

/bansa ?asal/

= A native.

(ii) Q: /kada pa? kambien tauکا pelando?/?/

= Is that a goat or a mousedeer?

A: /kambien/

= A goat.

/pelando?/?/

= A mousedeer.

(iii) Q: /kati ?ija ŋambie? dagien tauکا ŋambie?
?ikan?/?/

= Did she take meat or fish?

A: /dagien/

= Meat.

/?ikan/

= Fish.

(iv) Q: /kada ?ija makaj ?asi tauکا roti?/?/

= Is she eating rice or bread?

A: /?asi/

= Rice.

/roti/

= Bread.

Q_{wh} Type II which can elicit NP as a minor sentence can consist of any of the following structures:-

- (i) Q_{wh} - Active Sentence (cf. Exx. (2) (i) and (ii)).
- (ii) Q_{wh} - Passive Sentence (cf. Exx. (2) (iii)).
- (iii) Q_{wh} - Equational Sentence (cf. Exx. (2) (iv) - (vi)).

Exx. (2) (i) Q: /berapa ?iko? dataj?/

= How many came?

A: /tud₃oəh/ or /tud₃oəh ?iko?/

= Seven.

(ii) Q: /ŋagaj sapa noan məri? pa??/

= Who did you give it to?

A: /?apaj/

= Father.

(iii) Q: /nama dipakaj ?ija?/

= What is he eating?

A: /to?/

= This.

(iv) Q: /nama ə₃ələ? pa??/

= What is that animal?

A: /majaw/

= A cat.

- (v) Q: /sapa pa??/
 = Who is that?
 A: /paŋan ?aku/
 = My friend.
- (vi) Q: /ni ?uraŋ pa??/
 = Which one is the person?
 A: /ti ?agi ŋerukue?/
 = (The one) who is smoking.

8.12.12

VP as Minor Sentence

VP can answer both the Q_{tv} - and the Q_{wh} - sentences. The Q_{tv} - sentence which elicits VP as an answer can occur in either of these forms:-

- (i) A simple Q_{tv} - sentence which contains Aux which forms the answer to Q.
- (ii) A co-ordinative complex Q_{tv} conjoined by /tauka/, or.

- Exx. (3) (i) Q: /kati ?ija bədaw pulaj?/
 = Hasn't she returned yet?
 A: /bədaw/
 = Not yet.
 /?udah/
 = Already.

(ii) Q: /dəka? turuət kami?/

= Will (you) come with us?

A: /dəka?/

= (I) will.

/ʔənda? dəka?/

= (I) won't.

(iii) Q: /kada ʔija ʔagi bəladʒar tauka ʔudah
tindoəʔʔ/

= Is she still studying, or has she gone
to sleep?

A: /ʔagi bəladʒar/

= Still studying.

/ʔudah tindoəʔʔ/

= Already asleep.

The Q_{wh} - sentences which can elicit VP as a minor
sentence are the following:-

(i) Q_{wh} Type I (cf. 6.22.1) on condition the
 Q_{wh} - word is /lapaʔ/, why, /kapaʔ/, what
for, /bəkəmi/, how, or /kati ko/, how
(cf. examples (i) - (iv) below).

(ii) Q_{wh} Type II (cf. 6.22.2) on condition:-

(a) Pro_Q is /nama/ or /ʔapa/, what,
and the Q-sentence is a passive
sentence.

- (b) The structure Q_{wh} - Equational occurs only in one instance, and that is example (vii) below.

Exx. (4) (i) Q: /lapa? noan ?enda? dataj kemari??/

= Why didn't you come yesterday?

A: /kiroh/

= Busy.

(ii) Q: /kapa? noan məli? na??/

= What did you buy that for?

A: /dəka? dibəri? ɲagaj ?ibu??/

= To give to (my) aunt.

(iii) Q: /bəkeni (or kati ko) ?ənsəpi noan?/

= How do you feel?

A: /ləpi?/

= Weak.

(iv) Q: /bəkeni (or kati ko) noan pulaj?/

= How did you return?

A: /niki? ?əntukar/

= Travel (by) car.

(v) Q: /nama digaga? noan ?ari to??/

= What did you do today?

A: /nəmuajka paŋan/

= Visited friends.

(vi) Q: /?apa dipərundiənka sida??/

= What are they discussing?

A: /bətanam bətuɸi?/

plant-crops rear-animals

= Planting of crops and rearing of animals.

(vii) Q: /nama pəɸawa? noan?/

= What is your occupation?

A: /nuɸi? dʒani?/

= Rear pigs.

8.12.13

Adv and Neg as Minor Sentences

Among the adverbs which can form answers to Q_{tv} are the affirmative adverbs (cf. 4.33.6) and the anaphoric adverb /ʔau?/, yes (cf. 4.33.9). The non-imperative negative words (cf. 4.35.2) can also form answers to Q_{tv} . As mentioned in 8.0, the minor sentences which consist of /ʔau?/ and the negative words are non-contextual.

Exx. (5) (i) Q: /kati noan dəka? nəmuajka sida??/

= Will you visit them?

A: /təntu/

= Certainly.

/ʔənda?/

= No.

(ii) Q: /kada ʔija landi??/

= Is he intelligent?

A: /ʔəndaŋ/

= Certainly.

/ʔauʔ/

= Yes.

(iii) Q: /kati ʔija pəŋuluʔʔ/

= Is he a chief?

A: /ʔauʔ/

= Yes.

/ʔukaj/

= No.

The adverbs can also form answers to Q_{wh} Type I (cf. 6.22.1). Such an adverb can occur in the form of a phrase (minimal or non-minimal) or a clause.

Exx. (6) (i) Q: /kəməja ʔija pəŋuluʔ ditoʔʔ/

= When was he chief here?

A: /dua taun subaʔ/

= Two years ago.

/ləboh ʔija ʔagi biaʔ/

= When he was still young.

(ii) Q: /dini diaw sidaʔʔ/

= Where did they live?

A: /diaʔ/

= There.

/di kampon paʔ/

= In that village.

- (iii) Q: /kini bəkədʒaŋ ʔija?/
 = Where did he go?
 A: /ŋagaj rumah pa?/
 = To that house.
- (iv) Q: /bəkəni (or kati ko) noan ŋaga? pa??/
 = How did you make that?
 A: /pia?/
 = Like this.
- (v) Q: /bəkəni (or kati ko) noan pulaj?/
 = How did you return?
 A: /ŋəna? ʔəntukar/
 = By car .
- (vi) Q: /lapa? ʔija ʔənda? dataj?/
 = Why didn't he come?
 A: /laban ʔija sakit/
 = Because he is ill.
- (vii) Q: /kapa? noan bəguaj deh?/
 = What are you in a hurry for?
 A: /ŋambika ʔaku tumu? dataj ba rumah/
 = So that I reach home early.

8.12.2

Minor Sentences as Repetitions of Parts of
 Foregoing Sentences

This type of minor sentence consists of the repeti-

tions of certain parts, usually the last, of some foregoing sentences. Repetitions are of two types:-

- (i) Those uttered by the speaker himself, usually in hesitation, repeating what he has previously said.
- (ii) Those uttered by the listener repeating what he has heard from the narrator.

The second type is most common among old people in conversation and story-telling. The examples below are of the second type only.

Exx. (7) (i) A: /ʔənti ʔapam naʔ d₃araŋ ~~ʔ~~ kitaj siloep/

= If the weaving is not close enough,
we insert in (more weaving).

B: /siloep/

= Insert.

(ii) A: /ʔudah badoʔ piloep naʔ tadiʔ ~~ʔ~~ kitaj
kətas/

= After we have inserted in (more weaving)
we cut (it).

B: /kətas/

= Cut.

(iii) A: /tikaj naʔ did₃əmbi dua mingu ~~ʔ~~ baru
dirəndam di ʔaiʔ/

= The mat is exposed to the sun for two
weeks, then only is it soaked in water.

B: /di ʔaiʔ/

= In water.

(iv) A: /dʒugah maiʔ kitaj gawaj satu ʔari bulan
nam/

= Jugah wanted us to hold a festival on
the first day of the sixth month.

B: /satu ʔari bulan nam/

= The first day of the sixth month.

8.2

Ellipses of Non-Declarative Sentences

Minor sentences which belong to this type are ellipses of the interrogative and the imperative sentences.

The ellipses of the interrogative sentences consist of the Q_{wh} - words, NP, VP and Adv. The Q_{tag} can also be included in this type of minor sentences (cf. 6.21.2). The Q_{tv} - words cannot occur as minor sentences as they are not full words (cf. 4.11).

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Exx. (8) (i) | /lapaʔʔ/ | = Why? |
| (ii) | /kəmajaʔ/ | = When? |
| (iii) | /sapaʔ/ | = Who? |
| (iv) | /noanʔ/ | = You? |
| (v) | /kumaŋʔ/ | = Kumang? |
| (vi) | /ʔagi makajʔ/ | = Still eating? |

- (vii) /diato??/ = Now?
 (viii) /ba ʔumaj?/ = At the rice-field?

The simple imperative sentences which have corresponding minor imperative sentences are the propositive sentence and the negated form of the imperative sentence proper. These sentences are represented by the propositive word or/and the imperative negative word.

- Exx. (9) (i) /ʔaramʲ/ = Let's!
 (ii) /ʔananʲ/ = Don't!
 (iii) /ʔaram ʔananʲ/ = Let's not!

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