Bundu Dusun Sketch Grammar

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1. Introduction

1.1 - Overview

Bundu Dusun is a dialect of Central Dusun, an Austronesian language spoken mainly in the Malaysian state of Sabah. The Dusunic linguistic group has approximately 140,000 speakers as of 1991 (SIL, 1991), however they have become a minority in Sabah, with the total population reaching ~3 million people. It has been estimated there are about 70,000 speakers of the Bundu dialect in total. The Dusunic languages originate from the indigenous Dusun tribe (ie. "ethnic and linguistic group"), from North Borneo (Sabah), which is below the typhoon belt south of the Philippines.

![Map of Sabah with dialect isoglosses](https://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=dtp)

Map 1.1 - Map of Sabah, with dialect isoglosses shown (Appell, 1968)

Dusun shares many aspects of grammar with Philippine type languages (such as Tagalog), which are also contained in the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian. Ethnologue\(^1\) describes the linguistic lineage of Central Dusun as:

Austronesian (1268) > Malayo-Polynesian (1248) > Northwest (84) > Sabahan (29) > Dusunic (23)
> Dusun (17) > Central (6) > Dusun, Central

Where the numbers in parentheses represent the total daughter languages. Central Dusun is also known as Kadazandusun for socio-political reasons mentioned in section 1.2.

1.2 - History

Control of the North Borneo area has changed hands many times during the last 500 years. In the early 16th century, Borneo came under control of the Sultanate of Brunei. In 1658, the North-Eastern portion was given to the Sultan of Sulu (an island province of the Phillipines), in exchange for military aid. In 1865, North Borneo was leased to the American consul for 10 years as a trading post. This lease was then onsold to the Austrian Consul in Hong Kong, who renewed the lease for a further 10 years before selling it to Englishman Alfred Dent, who founded the British North Borneo company in 1882 (n.d., Sabah, 2007). It became a protectorate of Great Britain in 1888. During World War II (1941-1945), Borneo was occupied by the Japanese, however after their defeat it was returned to the British in 1946. In 1963, Borneo was finally accessioned into Malaysia. The Philippines have asserted a claim over the North-Eastern part of Borneo, however this claim has not come to fruition and the area remains part of the Malaysian state of Sabah.

Both the two indigenous tribes of Borneo, the Dusun and Kadazan, have survived these changes of ownership. However, in the early 1960s, Kadazanism versus Dusunism was politicized, which caused conflict between the two. In more recent years, the Dusun tribe has been "unified" with the Kadazan tribe, in an attempt to resolve the identity crisis and conflicts faced by both minorities. In 1989, it was decided that a Kadazandusun Language based mainly on the Bundu-Liwan dialect would be taught at schools and universities, such as Universiti Malaysia Sabah (n.d., The Kadazan-Dusun, 2007). Of the ~30 dialects of Kadazandusun, most are mutually intelligible.

1.3 - About this Grammar

This grammar is a quick overview of the Bundu Dusun language. It is based upon a corpus elicited from V Atin, a native speaker of Bundu Dusun who is currently studying her PhD at The University of Western Australia. Due to time restraints, only a small corpus based on 20 45 minute elicitation sessions and two recorded texts could be collected. As such, this grammar should not be treated as anything more than a ‘sketch’.

This grammar is broken into 7 sections: this introduction; an overview of the phonemes, phonology and orthography; parts of speech; morphology; sentence structures and finally some fully parsed example texts. There are some notable areas which have not been fully addressed: sociolinguistic usages; morphophonemics; imperatives; common contractions in rapid speech; and a diachronic analysis. These have been ‘cut’ due to time constraints, lack of data and also to keep the grammar succinct.

A list of glosses used can be found in the appendix. I have used both three and four tiered parsing, depending on the example. This grammar also has an online component, which is available at:

http://www.thetelegraphic.com/dusun/

This webpage consists of a searchable dictionary and an ‘autoglosser’, which will parse a sentence and give the user a rough idea of what the sentence means. The many advantages of an online application are also discussed in the appendix.
2. A quick guide to Dusun (for non-linguists)

Bundu Dusun is an Austronesian language spoken mainly in the Malaysian state of Sabah. It only uses 4 vowels (a, i, u, o), and also has a restricted set of 15 consonants. It is a stress language (like English), which means differing patterns of intonation are used to change the meaning of the sentence.

Bundu Dusun does not differentiate between adjectives and verbs like English does, so ‘predicate’ is used as a name for the logical group of adjective like (stative) and verb like (eventive) words. Another class is the ‘particles’, which are small parts of speech such as articles (like the English ‘the’) and demonstratives (eg ‘this’). Question words (interrogatives), nouns and adverbs (which change how the predicates are ‘done’) are also present.

Bundu Dusun is very morphologically rich, meaning that there are many prefixes, suffixes, clitics etc. that can be used to modify the meaning of the words in the sentence. It is essentially a Verb-Subject-Object language; the predicate comes first, then the subject in focus (which is better described as a ‘pivot’), then the object (which similarly, is better described as the ‘non-pivot’). To contrast, English can be described as a Subject-Verb-Object language (e.g. “the Cat Sat on the Mat”), so there is an inherent difference in word order between the two.

Bundu Dusun is similar to other Dusunic languages such as Kimaragung, and has many features that would be expected of an Austronesian language (such as the small consonant inventory).
3. Phonetics & Phonology

3.1 - Phonemes

3.1.1 - Consonants

Bundu Dusun utilizes 15 phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Labial-Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral Approx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1.1 A - Bundu Dusun Consonant Phonemes

/t/, /d/ and /n/ are realised as dentals [t], [d], [n]. In addition to this set, the phoneme /dʒ/ is borrowed from Malay but is only used in loanwords, such as /dʒam/ - ‘hour’. All consonants apart from /ʔ/, /dʒ/ and /w/ can occur word-initial, word-middle and word-final, as the following examples illustrate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-Initial</th>
<th>Word-Middle</th>
<th>Word-Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/palad/ - ‘rice’</td>
<td>/lupup/ - ‘foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/babar/ - ‘to crush’</td>
<td>/babaq/ - ‘to break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/tanaq/ - ‘child’</td>
<td>/ittom/ - ‘be black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/duq/ - ‘two’</td>
<td>/indaqod/ - ‘to climb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>/q̥u̥/ - ‘spider’</td>
<td>/inqaqa/ - ‘to stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/G/</td>
<td>/Gai̊/ - ‘be big’</td>
<td>/b̥i̊G̥i̊/ - ‘to cleave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/mat̥o̊/ - ‘eyes’</td>
<td>/omod/ - ‘to harvest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/n̥ona/ - ‘custard apple’</td>
<td>/baqar/ - ‘raft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/ŋ̥ar/ - ‘name’</td>
<td>/p̥i̊̃jas/ - ‘cheek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s̥/</td>
<td>/s̥d̥ó̊p̥/ - ‘night’</td>
<td>/ro̊si̊/ - ‘fear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h̥/</td>
<td>/h̥atů/ - ‘hundred’</td>
<td>/molh̥i̊̃ŋ̥/ - ‘parents’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l̥/</td>
<td>/l̥ado̊/ - ‘chilli’</td>
<td>/hulu/ - ‘body hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w̥/</td>
<td>(w̥o̊/ - ‘sweet potato’)</td>
<td>/sirampuw/ - ‘to water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ̥/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dʒ̥/</td>
<td>/dʒam/ - ‘hour’</td>
<td>/Gadʒ̥ůs̥/ - ‘cashew’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I do not consider [j] to be part of the phonemic inventory, although it does occur when articulating diphthongs /iɒ/, /iə/ and /iu/, for example in [jatɒʔ] = /iatɒʔ/ - ‘we two’. This is more common in fluent speech. The phoneme /w/ is dangerously close to being also considered a quirk of articulation: word-initially it only appears in diphthongs /uɒ/ (eg [wɒi] - ‘sweet potato’), and /ua/ (eg [waiG] - ‘water’), word-middle it is again only found when articulating /uə/ or /uɒ/, but our native speaker stressed that it does appear word finally in the example /sirampuw/ - ‘to water’. As such I have given /w/ phoneme status, but all word-middle cases will be treated as /uɒ/ or /ua/ diphthongs as I feel this is more ‘underlying’ (see section 3.1.3).

/ʔ/ only appears word finally. The minimal pair /ilɒh/ - ‘to know’ and /ilɒʔ/ - ‘there near you’ illustrates it is contrastive. Another possible analysis is that /ʔ/ is used only to distinguish between a word-final short vowel and a word-final long vowel, and that as such it is epiphenomenal and does not deserve phoneme status. I would not conclude this without further investigation and so for now, it stands as a phoneme.

3.1.2 - Vowels

Bundu Dusun has only 4 vowel phonemes /a/, /i/, /ɒ/ and /u/ (there is no /e/). /a/ does not occur word-final.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Word-Initial</th>
<th>Word-Middle</th>
<th>Word-Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/akan/ - ‘to eat’</td>
<td>/balatun/ - ‘long bean’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/iti/ - ‘this’</td>
<td>/dilaʔ/ - ‘tongue’</td>
<td>/didi/ - ‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɒ/</td>
<td>/nsniʔ/ - ‘to build’</td>
<td>/diaboʔ/ - ‘they’</td>
<td>/duʔ/ - ‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/uhup/ - ‘to help’</td>
<td>/upus/ - ‘to love’</td>
<td>/liu/ - ‘neck’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1.2 - Bundu Dusun Vowel Phonemes

It does seem highly unusual that /a/ doesn’t appear word-final, but all collected data is supportive of this. It often appears followed by /ʔ/ (e.g. /apaʔ/ - ‘father’), which helps support the possible analysis of /ʔ/ mentioned in 3.1.1, however this analysis would still cause as many problems as it would fix, so I shall steer clear of it for now.

Vowel length is contrastive, as the following minimal pairs illustrate:

/tuʔhan/ - ‘thirsty’        /nɒnsoq/ - ‘cooked’ (state)
/tuʔhan/ - ‘god’            /nɒnsoq/ - ‘cooked’ (action)

Stress plays a part in vowel realisation; see section 3.3.1 for specific rules.
3.1.3 - Diphthongs

Bundu Dusun uses /au/, /əu/, /ai/, /oi/, /iu/ and /ui/ diphthongs. /ap/, /əp/, /əu/ and /ui/ diphthongs are not present; in words such as /susui/ - ‘story’, there is a break in voicing between /u/ and /i/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Word-Initial</th>
<th>Word-Middle</th>
<th>Word-Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>/əlaid/</td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
<td>/apandai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>/əu/</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
<td>/qau/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əi/</td>
<td>/əiəhum/</td>
<td>‘to find’</td>
<td>/uəi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ua/</td>
<td>/uəu/</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td>/tuə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uəi/</td>
<td>/uəiə /‘sweet potato’</td>
<td></td>
<td>/duə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iu/</td>
<td>/ıəiə /‘they’</td>
<td></td>
<td>/diəı/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1.3 - Bundu Dusun Diphthongs

No examples of /ai/ or /iu/ word-initially were found. As mentioned in 3.1.1, /w/ has dubious phonemic status but it should be noted that /ua/ → [wa] and /uo/ → [wo] word-initially. Insertion of [w] and [j] within a word-middle diphthong is common (/ua/ → [uwa], /uo/ → [uwo], /io/ → [ijo], /ia/ → [ija]), presumably due to least effort principles.

3.2 - Syllable Structure

Bundu Dusun has a (C / V)(V)V(C) structure. While it allows VVV and VVVC syllables, it does not allow CVVV syllables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-Initial</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>/i/ - ‘the’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV</td>
<td>/iəai/ - ‘we two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VVV</td>
<td>/uoi/ - ‘sweet potato’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/id/ - ‘the location of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/tət-ok/ - ‘to chop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>/tua/ - ‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVC</td>
<td>/tian/ - ‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VVVC</td>
<td>/waiG/ - ‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VVC</td>
<td>/iəʔ/ - ‘you’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 A - Bundu Dusun Syllable Structure
There are only a few allowable mid-word consonant clusters. Nasals may be followed by a homorganic plosive (e.g. /nd/ in /təndu/ - ‘female’), or by /s/ (e.g. /insən/ - ‘once’). The only other allowed consonant clusters are shown in Table 3.1.4 B below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-pb-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/təbpɪnə/ - ‘the’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ds-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pədzu/ - ‘to bathe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1.4 B - Non-nasal Consonant Clusters

Kroeger (2005), presents the homorganic -dt- cluster as present in the Dusunic language Kimaragung; no such cluster was found during our elicitations of Bundu Dusun.

3.3 - Prosody

3.3.1 - Stress

Bundu Dusun is a stress language (like English), as opposed to a tonal language like Mandarin. Stress is almost always on the penultimate syllable, however it moves reasonably freely depending on the intonation pattern of the sentence. As such, stress has not been marked in this grammar. Stress does nonetheless have an effect on how vowels are realised, with a small raising or lowering of tongue position which can be predicted by the following four rules:

\[
/\text{a/} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\{ [\text{a}] / \text{unstressed syllable} \\
\{ [\text{a}] / \text{stressed syllable} 
\end{cases}
\]
\[
/\text{i/} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\{ [\text{i}] / \text{unstressed syllable} \\
\{ [\text{i}] / \text{stressed syllable} 
\end{cases}
\]
\[
/\text{o/} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\{ [\text{o}] / \text{unstressed syllable} \\
\{ [\text{o}] / \text{stressed syllable} 
\end{cases}
\]
\[
/\text{u/} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\{ [\text{o}] / \text{unstressed syllable} \\
\{ [\text{u}] / \text{stressed syllable} 
\end{cases}
\]

Rule Set 3.3.1 - Vowel Conditioning by Stress

To summarise the above rule set: vowels are shorter, higher and further back in unstressed syllables.

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2 While clitics ‘attach’ themselves to the ends of words, they are articulated as if a discrete word if the final phone is not a nasal or vowel.

3 In Standard Mandarin, there are four contrasting tones which can be used to distinguish among otherwise identical words. Bundu Dusun does not exhibit this behaviour, which is evidenced by homonyms like /tinən/ - ‘mother’ and /tinən/ - ‘body’.
3.3.2 - Intonation

In Bundu Dusun, pitch can be used semantically to place emphasis on important words. To do so the starting pitch of the word is raised and falling intonation is used (marked by diagonal arrows, with affect segments placed inside brackets):

/ʊλʊndʊs/ → /ʊŋʊlʊndʊs/ - ‘beautiful’ versus ‘very beautiful’

In this example, the initial vowel is lengthened also for further emphasis. Intonation patterns are also found in some stock phrases:

/(ʊtu(ʔʊ) ɲ tu(ʔʊ) ɲ tu(ʔʊ) ɲ)/ - ‘every night’

This example, from a Dusun folk tale, has a falling intonation pattern with rising intonation on the /ʊ/’s. It would not be found in regular speech.

Intonation patterns also play a role in the meaning of a sentence as a whole. Falling intonation is used for statements, whereas rising intonation is used for questions:

/osonong o ginau(ɲʊ)/ - ‘you are happy’
/osonong o ginau(ʔʊ)/ - ‘are you happy?’

Prosodic information such as this has not been included elsewhere in this grammar as a simple orthographic method has been used (similar to Standard Malay, see section 3.5).

3.4 - Phonetic Realisation

There are a few general rules regarding the realisation of phones dependent on their environment. Word-final plosives are unreleased in general, although voiced word-final plosives occasionally break this rule. Word-final /h/ is articulated with very little airflow unless the speaker is intentionally emphasising it or the following word has a voiced phone word-initial. Word-final vowels are often followed by either /i/ or /h/, although this is not always the case. In most situations, /u/ is followed by /h/ if preceded by /l/, otherwise it is followed by /i/. The converse is true for /o/ and /a/, but /i/ does not exhibit this property.

/q/ and /G/ are velarised when they are in proximity with high front / low bottom vowels:

/q/ → \{ [k] / near high front vowels [q] / elsewhere \}

4 As mentioned in 3.1.1, a possible analysis is that /ʔi/ is used only to distinguish between a word-final short vowels and word-final long vowels, with short vowels realised as [Vʔ], and long vowels realised as [Vh]. I have not focused on phonology in this grammar and as there seem to be a few exceptions I have not concluded this.
\[ /G/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [g] & \text{near high front vowels} \\ [G] & \text{elsewhere} \end{cases} \]

Rule Set 3.1.7 - Rough Velarisation rules

/ŋ/ is often slightly uvularised, but it falls short of being realised as [N]. Similarly, /l/ is slightly velarised in many situations. I can find no clear rule that predicts this behaviour. /l/ is also more sonorant in word-initial position.

As mentioned in 3.1.1, /t/, /d/ and /n/ are realised as dentals \}[ ], [ ], [n]. /r/ is realised as a trill word-initial and word-final but as /ɾ/ word-middle. At fluent speech speeds, trills often ‘degenerate’ into taps.

3.5 - Orthography

The orthographic transcriptions have been chosen to be intuitive to native English speakers and also to conform with Standard Malay and other Dusunic languages such as Kimaragung (Kroeger 2005). The orthography is based upon the phonemic transcription, with a few exceptions which are shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/G/</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dʒ/</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1.9 - Phonemic vs. Orthographic transcription. All other graphemes are equal to their phonemic counterparts.

Orthographic transcriptions have been used throughout the rest of this grammar and appear italicised if introduced inline with a body of text. Period (.) has been used for glottal stops\(^5\); logical sentence breaks will instead be shown with line breaks.

---

\(^5\) Periods (.) are used instead of apostrophes (‘) to represent glottal stops as ‘ is used in MySQL to open/close statements. Due to time constraints it was easier to just not use apostrophes than to check all instances using mysql_escape() or similar methods in all the PHP functions I created for database queries.
4. Parts of Speech

4.1 - Pronouns

Bundu Dusun pronouns can be broken into two main categories: **Pivot (P)** and **Non-Pivot (NP)**, where "pivot" refers to the grammatically most central noun phrase (Huang 2000)\(^6\). For example, the pivot of an intransitive clause is the core argument of the verb, while the pivot of a transitive clause is not the agent, but the patient.

These two categories can be further broken down into clitic and non-clitic groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pivot (P)</th>
<th>Non-Pivot (NP)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Pivot (P)</th>
<th>Non-Pivot (NP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ioho.</td>
<td>doho</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>oku</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ia.</td>
<td>dia.</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>koh</td>
<td>nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>iatoh</td>
<td>datoh</td>
<td>1DL</td>
<td>kitoh</td>
<td>toh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>iatih</td>
<td>datih</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>toko</td>
<td>toko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>iatih</td>
<td>datih</td>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>toko</td>
<td>toko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>iahai</td>
<td>dahai</td>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>dah</td>
<td>dah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>iokoiu</td>
<td>dokoiu</td>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>kou</td>
<td>diu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>iolo.</td>
<td>diolo.</td>
<td>3PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>iau</td>
<td>dau</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>isio</td>
<td>disio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1.1 A - Non-Clitic Pronouns

The clitic forms, while being less numerous in number, are used more frequently. This is not really surprising: their clitic nature gives them more freedom and their comparatively shorter length makes their utterance 'less effort' than their corresponding non-clitic forms. The non-clitic pivot forms are used sparingly, mainly in contexts where the pronoun is emphasised. It is immediately apparent that the non-clitic non-pivot pronouns can roughly be formed from their pivot counterparts by adding a word initial d-, as is the case with determiners (section 4.4). I shall treat d- as a morpheme to distinguish non-focus arguments, but for simplicity and to illustrate the pivot / non-pivot paradigm, NP non-clitic pronouns will be treated as minimal lexical items with no morphology.

\(^6\) As Shelley Harrison points out in his draft paper "The Epiphenomenal Nature of Affectedness Marking in Dusunic Languages" (2007), there is controversy over the usage of the term "pivot". Its widespread adoption is widely regarded to be due to its use in Schachter's 1976 and 1995 analyses of Tagalog, however it has its critics, such as Kroeger (2005), who prefers the terms nominative, dative and genitive for case marking. My preference toward pivot/non-pivot is based on it making my pronoun paradigm slightly neater, avoiding the word 'emphatic' (which I have been emphatically warned away from), and uncovering the word initial d- which is also found on determiners (section 4.4).
Another pertinent question is why the 1PL clitics do not contrast. Perhaps at one stage they did and the difference has been lost, or that speakers simply find no situations where context doesn't fill the gaps.

4.2 - Nouns

4.2.1 - Simple Nouns

The easiest class to identify is the noun class. These are tangible and intangible objects:


Nouns do not accept arguments and so cannot be placed in the head position of a sentence (see chapter 6). A large amount of nouns begin with /t/; of special note are kinship terms such as tapa - ‘father’, which becomes apa when one calls out to get their father’s attention. This seems to suggest a morpheme t- that marks nouns but further analysis shows this is not the case. Nouns such as susu. - ‘breast’ and lupup - ‘foot’ are clearly counter-examples and words such as todung - ‘nose’ have no meaning without the initial /t/.

4.2.2 - Proper Nouns

Proper names function much the same as noun phrases (see section 6.1), except they must be introduced with a definite determiner:

i sinuripan
P.DEF Sinuripan

4.3 - Predicates

Bundu Dusun differentiates between eventive and stative predicates. Eventive predicates are similar to verbs in English in the sense that an activity or event is ‘done’. For example, kau - ‘to swim’, boli - ‘to buy/sell’ and tutud - ‘to burn’. Stative predicates are similar to English adjectives in the sense that they express a state of being, for example ragung - ‘to be red’ and unsikou - ‘to be happy’.

Every predicate has underlying thematic role information (or ‘voicing’), which is affected by morphology (chapter 5). The thematic role of the arguments of the head are given by this information (see section 6.1). In the following example, the pivot is an actor and the non-pivot is a patient:

mong-amal oku disio
AF-hit P-1SG NP-3SGM
He is hitting me

Stative predicates do however take word-initial t- for nominalisation. See section 5.2.
The mong- prefix marks the pivot as the actor and the non-pivot as the patient. Similarly, the –on affix marks the pivot as the patient, and thus the non-pivot is the actor:

amal-on  oku  disio
hit-PF  P-1SG  NP-3SGM
I am being hit by him

In this case, without morphology, it would be unclear who the actor and patient were. This is explained further in chapter 6: Sentence Structure.

The underlying semantics of the predicate govern what morphemes can be attached. Attaching some morphemes result in nonsensical meanings and a few predicates must have morphology for their meaning to be apparent (such as boli, which can mean either ‘buy’ or ‘sell’, depending on morphology). As such, further analysis of predicate morphology has been left until chapter 5.

4.4 - Adverbs

For the most part, eventive predicates act like ‘verbs’ and stative predicates act like ‘adjectives’. I have labelled words that modify predicates as adverbs:

[s<in>irampuw i  kantan ]  om  oruhai=dah  do  [s<um>uni ]
[water<PT.+VOL> P.DEF potato ]  and  faster=SUBJ  NP.IND  [<REFL>grow ]
I [watered the potatoes] [so they grow faster (lit: and faster maybe they grow)]

In the above example, oruhai - ‘faster’, modifies the way in which the watering (sinirampuw) is done. Adverbs can be placed in head position (see chapter 6), which is normally filled by a predicate:

alaid  do  s<um>uni.  ilo  kantan
slowly  NP.IND  <REFL>grow  this  potato
the potatoes are growing slowly

In this example, the predicate ‘grow’ is the non-pivot argument and alaid -‘slowly’ takes the head. Adverbs do not take morphology; any change in thematic role voicing is done via predicate morphology. The deictic adverbs such as here near me are discussed in section 4.5.3 and time adverbials are discussed in section 6.3.
4.5 - Common particles

4.5.1 - Determiners

There are two underlying ‘determiners’ in Bundu Dusun - \( i \) and \( o \)\(^8\). Determiners are used to introduce non-pronomial clauses and noun phrases and also to mark case. Both \( i \) and \( o \) are pivot forms, their non-pivot forms are created by adding the \( d- \) prefix, as is done with pronouns (section 4.1). As with pronouns, I will show the pivot and non-pivot forms as separate entities for simplicity of analysis, the reader should however note that they are morphologically conditioned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pivot</th>
<th>non-pivot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>definite</td>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>( di )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>( o )</td>
<td>( do )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3.1 - Bundu Dusun Determiners

A simple noun phrase is a noun introduced by a determiner (Section 4.2):

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{\( i \)} & \text{tanak} & \text{di} & \text{tanak} \\
\text{P.DEF} & \text{child} & \text{NP.DEF} & \text{child} \\
\text{The child (pivot noun phrase)} & & \text{the child (non-pivot noun phrase)} & \\
\text{\( o \)} & \text{tanak} & \text{do} & \text{tanak} \\
\text{P.IND} & \text{child} & \text{NP.IND} & \text{child} \\
\text{A child (pivot noun phrase)} & & \text{a child (non-pivot noun phrase)} & \\
\end{array}
\]

The locative \( id \) can also be considered a definite determiner, however it encodes no pivot marking:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
id & \text{tonin}=\text{ku} \\
\text{LOC} & \text{near}=\text{NP.1SG} \\
\text{near me} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Care must be taken to not confuse \( id \) with \( i \text{ do} \), which is contracted to \( id \) in fast speech and is used to introduce a pivot clause (section 6.4.2):

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{min-anpung} & \text{dau} & \text{i bankara} & \text{do} & \text{id} & \text{bang} \\
\text{pin-float} & \text{NP.3SG} & \text{P.DEF raft} & \text{NP.IND} & \text{LOC} & \text{river} \\
\text{he floated the raft on the river} & \\
\text{ko-ilo} & \text{oku} & \text{id} & \text{oruhai} & \text{no} & \text{do} & \text{o-susu.} & \text{i tasu} & \text{ku} \\
\text{ABIL-know} & \text{P.1SG} & \text{P.DEF=NP.IND} & \text{faster} & \text{yet} & \text{NP.IND} & \text{ST-give.birth} & \text{P.DEF dog} & \text{NP.1SG} \\
\text{I know my dog will give birth soon} & \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^8\) Determiners is a slightly misleading name for these ‘particles’, as it implies the following word is the head of a noun phrase, but as will be seen, in Bundu Dusun they often introduce predicates. In “Determiners, Nouns, or What? Problems in the Analysis of Some Commonly Occurring Forms in Philippine Languages” (Reid, 2002), these ‘determiners’ are instead analysed as “specifying-nouns meaning ‘the one’” and are the heads of their phrases. Under an analysis such as this, the immediately following words are verbal constructions that constitute relative clauses.
Determiners are used frequently to link clauses and phrases together, with the NP.IND determiner do having the largest environment. Their specific uses will be introduced throughout the grammar in relevant sections (specifically Chapter 6 - Sentence Construction).

### 4.5.2 - Demonstratives

Bundu Dusun has four demonstratives, for this (near speaker), that (near listener), that over there (near neither speaker nor listener) and the aforementioned (an object that was mentioned earlier in the conversation). They are pivot marked forms that can be used in place of a determiner in the creation of phrases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pivot</th>
<th>non-pivot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near speaker</td>
<td>iti ko-susa-an</td>
<td>do ko-susa-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this problem</td>
<td>NP.IND problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near neither</td>
<td>ino ko-susa-an</td>
<td>a problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aforementioned</td>
<td>iri diri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, the d- morpheme can be added to create their corresponding non-pivot forms. Further, a word initial h- can be added to create the deictic location adverbs here near me, there near you, and over there (see 4.3.3). I will shy away from calling this h- a morpheme as it occurs only on these three words and /h/ is inserted in fluent speech to create boundaries between words (see section 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pivot</th>
<th>non-pivot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near speaker</td>
<td>hiti</td>
<td>do hiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near listener</td>
<td>hilo</td>
<td>do hilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near neither</td>
<td>hino</td>
<td>do hino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aforementioned</td>
<td>hiri</td>
<td>do hiri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3.2 - Bundu Dusun Demonstratives

### 4.5.3 - Deictic Adverbs

The deictic adverbs used to express the locations here near me, there near you, over there and the aforementioned place are formed from demonstratives (see 4.3.2). They have both pivot and non-pivot forms, the non-pivot forms are equivalent to the pivot form introduced with do.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pivot</th>
<th>non-pivot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near speaker</td>
<td>hiti</td>
<td>do hiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near listener</td>
<td>hilo</td>
<td>do hilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near neither</td>
<td>hino</td>
<td>do hino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aforementioned</td>
<td>hiri</td>
<td>do hiri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3.2 - Bundu Dusun 'here', ‘there’ and 'over there' adverbs
4.5.4 - Subjunctive mood: *dah*

Subjunctive mood is indicated by the particle *dah*. It expresses doubt, uncertainty or hope:

```
s<in>irampuw i kantan om oruhai=dah do s<um>uni
water<PF.COMP.+VOL> P.DEF potato and faster=SUBJ NP.IND <REFL>grow
```

I watered the potatoes so they grow faster (lit: and faster maybe they grow)

```
si-anu po⁹ dah do titaha do kurismas
DES-give still SUBJ NP.IND present NP.IND Christmas
do you hope to get a present for Christmas?
```

4.5.5 - Negation with *amu*

The particle *amu*, which is shortened to *aa* in rapid speech, has the affect of negating the sentence:

```
a=ku ko-ihum do tupi=ku
NOT=NP.1SG ABIL-search NP.IND hat=NP.1SG
```

I can't find my hat

```
amu=ku po noko-akan
NOTE=NP.1SG not.yet AF.-VOL.COMP-eat
```

I have yet to eat

4.6 - The particles *no, po, nopo, nga* and *nopo=nga*

These particles are common parts of speech which exhibit unusual behaviour. The particle *no* can mean ‘yet’ or ‘already’, depending on context and similarly *po* can mean ‘not yet’ or ‘still’. By itself, *nga* means ‘but’, however *nopo nga* is more like ‘thing that is’. A more detailed discussion is given in the following subsections.

4.6.1 - *no*: yet, already

In most cases, *no* has the meaning of ‘already’, however it can also mean ‘yet’:

```
no pungaranang=ku i tanak=ku
already name=NP.1SG P.DEF child NP.1SG
```

I have already named my child

```
pungaranan ku nogi no dinoh i tanak=ku
name NP.1SG later yet NP.there P.DEF child=NP.1SG
```

I have yet to name my child

*no* is also used when counting to combine units with orders of magnitude:

---

9 It is unclear what *po* is doing in this context. I have glossed it as ‘still’, in which case the sentence means something more like “Do you still hope to get a present for Christmas?”, *po* is described in detail in section 4.6.2
In this case *no* is better translated as ‘already’.

4.6.2 - *po:* still, not yet

In many ways *po* is the opposite of *no* in meaning; it can be used to express ‘not yet’ or ‘still’:

```
poing-sikuh po i tanak=ku
DYN-school still P.DEF child=NP.1SG
```

My child is still in school.

```
a=ku po no-pungaranan i tanak=ku
NOT=NP.1SG still PF.COMP.+VOL-name P.DEF child=NP.1SG
```

I have yet to name my child.

4.6.3 - *nopo:* this is

*nopo*, when used in a sentence without preceding *nga*, means ‘this is’ or ‘thing that is’. It often acts as the head of the sentence (see section 6.1):

```
iti nopo i buuk
this thing that is P.DEF book
```

This is a book.

In this sense, *nopo* can be thought of as an auxiliary verb similar to the English copula ‘be’.

4.6.4 - *nga:* but

*naga* is a coordinate conjunction that is used to link together related clauses and sentences of equal importance. It can be loosely translated to ‘but’.

```
a ku no ihum do tupi=ku do sumoonu
NOT NP.1SG yet find NP.IND hat=NP.1SG NP.IND sometimes
```

```
nga ko:ihum oku i do sumoonu
but ABIL-find P.1SG P.DEF NP.IND sometimes
```

Sometimes I can’t find my hat, but sometimes I can find my hat.
4.6.5 - nopo nga

*nopo nga* (which I will treat as a single lexical item), has a meaning similar to *nopo*, but refers to something that has already been said or alluded to (the theme):

```
ngaran=ku nopo nga i v
name=NP.1SG thing,that.is P.DEF V
My name is V
```

```
mantad doho id ranau
from NP.1SG LOC Ranau
I am from Ranau
```

```
ranau nopo nga id sabah
Ranau thing,that.is LOC Sabah
Ranau is in Sabah
```

Above is an excerpt of a short self-introduction by V Atin, a native speaker of Bundu Dusun, in which *nopo nga* is used twice. Firstly, as she was asked to introduce herself, *ngaran=ku nopo nga* was used to refer to her name. Secondly, *ranau nopo nga* was used to refer back to the previous sentence, in which Ranau was first mentioned.

As a topicalisation strategy, a full clause can be placed between *nopo* and *nga*:

```
iti nopo ( boros=ku ) nga pingungaranan do Bundu Dusun
iti nopo nga ( boros=ku ) pingungaranan do bundu dusun
this thing,that.is ( speak=NP.1SG ) named NP.IND Bundu Dusun
The language I speak is named Bundu Dusun
```

In the above example *boros=ku* is explicitly set as the topic by placing it between *nopo* and *nga* (the second line has rearranged to illustrate this). A more complex example:

```
i nopo ( i buuk di po-in-tahak dau ) nga doho do mantad
i nopo nga ( i buuk di po-in-tahak dau ) doho do mantad
P.DEF thing,that.is ( P.DEF book NP.DEF CAUS+VOL.COMP-give NP.3SG ) NP.1SG NP.IND from
The book that he gave me was already mine
```

‘The book that he gave me’ is set as the topic with *nopo nga*. Without this clause, the sentence would loosely translate to ‘This book is mine’.

4.7 - Interrogatives

There are eight interrogatives in Bundu Dusun, three of which are morphologically related. ‘Why’ and ‘how to’ and appear to have a root form *kurou*, with morphemes *o-*, *poing-* and *son-*.

This could be investigated with a larger corpus.
Below are examples for each interrogative:

**isai** m<in>ong-onsok di takano
who <COMP>.REC(PLUR)-cook NP.DEF rice
who cooked the rice?

**nunu** o noko-babak dilo titigaun
what P.IND AF.VOL.COMP-break NP.there window
what broke the window?

**soirah** o ramadan
when P.IND Ramadan
when is Ramadan?

**hombo** o tupi=ku
where P.IND hat=NP.1SG
where is my hat?

**poingkurou=oku** mong-guol do piak
how.to=P.1SG AF-pluck NP.IND chicken
how do you pluck a chicken?

**okurou** is always accompanied by *tu* - ‘because’, making ‘because why’:

in-okurou tu momo-panau koh
+VOL.COMP-why because AF.DYN.CAUS-walk P.2PL
why are you leaving?

**pirou** tasu nu
how.many dog P.2PL
How many dogs do you have?

**songkurou** no kinoloidon nu iti
how.many already town? P.2PL this
how long have you been here in this town?
4.8 - Numerals

Bundu Dusun uses a Base 10 numbering system (i.e. Decimal).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>iso</th>
<th>duo</th>
<th>tolu</th>
<th>apat</th>
<th>limo</th>
<th>onom</th>
<th>turu</th>
<th>ualu</th>
<th>siam</th>
<th>hopot</th>
<th>hatus</th>
<th>soriong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To form numbers such as ‘50’ or ‘60’, a multiplier is combined with a positional unit (tens, hundreds, thousands etc), using *no*:

tolu no hopot
five already ten
Fifty

Separate units are combined with *om*:

soriong om turu no hatus om duo no hopot om siam
1000 and seven already 100 and two already ten and nine
One thousand, seven hundred and twenty nine

---

10 1729 is known as the Hardy-Ramanujan number. It is the smallest number expressible as the sum of two positive cubes in two different ways. It is often used in mathematical jokes for historical reasons.
5. Morphology

5.1 - Predicate Morphology

Predicates have a root form, from which morphology is added to modify its tense, mood, aspect, number and thematic voicing. The underlying semantics of the predicate govern what morphemes can be attached. The rest of this section is devoted to these morphemes, which have been separated into a few conceptual classes.

Bundu Dusun differentiates between eventive and stative predicates\(^{11}\). Eventive predicates are similar to verbs in English in the sense that an activity or event is ‘done’. For example, *kau* - ‘to swim’, *boli* - ‘to buy/sell’ and *tutud* - ‘to burn’. Stative predicates are similar to English adjectives in the sense that they express a state of being, for example *ragung* - ‘to be red’ and *unsikou* - ‘to be happy’. Because of their underlying semantic differences, eventives and statives are affected by morphology differently and as such there are certain morphemes that each will not accept as it would be nonsensical. For example, all statives accept the *o-* morpheme, but cannot accept actor focus morphemes such as *mong-*.\(^{12}\) Conversely, eventive predicates will not accept the stative marker *o-*, apart from a few exceptions where a logical meaning can be formed (e.g. *ihum* - ‘to drink’ → *o-ihum* - ‘to be drinkable’).

There are of course subgroups within these two classes, such as reflexive eventives (e.g. *kau* - to swim). I have not attempted to find all these subgroups as there is not enough data in the corpus. The reader should simply note that attaching morphemes at random to predicates will most probably result in nonsensical meanings.

I have focused upon the semantic affects of the morpheme, not on the morphophonemic particulars\(^{13}\). As such, in this chapter I will use 4-tiered glosses: an orthographic transcription of the surface level utterance, its underlying representation, the corresponding glosses and a free translation. Glosses for each morpheme are introduced as subheadings.

5.1.1 - Thematic voicing morphemes

These morphemes all affect the thematic voicing of the predicate. The thematic role of the pivot and non-pivot arguments of the predicate (see chapter 6), are dependent upon the attached morphemes. Actor focus means that the pivot is the actor, similarly patient focus means that pivot is the patient. If thematic role is not conveyed with morphology, the root form tends to have an inherent patient focus.

\(^{11}\) Stative and eventive predicates behave very similarly, which is why they have not been labelled ‘adjectives’ and ‘verbs’

\(^{12}\) Simply put: states cannot be acted out!

\(^{13}\) Most irregular sound changes are caused by prefixes such as *mong-*, which in certain situations affects the articulation of the first syllable. Vowel harmony is the most notable predictable sound change, it tends to spread right-to-left, changing /o/ to /a/, for example *o-rangang* → *arangung*
**actor focused: mong-**

*AF-*

*mong-* marks the pivot phrase as an actor and the non-pivot phrase as a patient. It is realised as /mon/, /mon/, /mod/ and /map/:

```
monukud       oku     do     uoi
mong-ukud     =oku    do     uoi
AF-dig =      =P.1SG  NP.IND  sweet potato
I am digging for sweet potatoes
```

```
modosi       i       tasu    di   dungau
mong-rosi     i      tasu    di   dungau
AF-fear =     P.DEF   dog     NP.DEF  cat
The dog is scared of the cat
```

```
orongou     oku      i      tasu    do   monginum    do   waig
orongousi    =oku     i      tasu    do   mong-inum    do   waig
ST-hear =     =P.1SG  P.DEF   dog     NP.IND  AF-drink    NP.IND  water
I can hear the dog drinking the water
```

**patient focused: -on**

*-PF*

-*on* marks the pivot phrase as a patient and the non-pivot phrase as an argument:

```
akanonku       i        matu    do   takanoku  do   baino
eat-PF =NP.1SG  P.DEF   maybe =NP.IND  rice =NP.1SG  NP.IND  today
I might eat my lunch today
```

```
lobongon      i       tasu    di   dungau
lobong-on     i       tasu    di   dungau
bury -PF =     P.DEF    dog     NP.DEF  cat
The dog is being buried by the cat
```

```
potuhon     toko     do    tadau
po-otuh-on =  toko     do    tadau
CAUS-dry-PF =(N)P.1PL.INCL  NP.IND  sun
the sun is drying us
```

**beneficiary focused: -an**

*-BF*

-*an* marks the pivot phrase as a beneficiary or location:
Beneficiary focused

tudukan i tanak do balajya

tuduk-an i tanak do balajya

teach-BF P.DEF child NP.IND work

helping the kid do homework

nuhupanku i au do mongomod

no-uhup-an =ku au do mong-omod

PF.COMP.+VOL-help-BF =NP.1SG P.3SG NP.IND AF-harvest

I help him harvest

Location focused

oilanku id panakahan toko dau

o-ilan-ku id po-takau-an =toko dau

ST-know=NP.1SG LOC CAUS-steal-BF =(N)P.1PL.INCL NP.3SG

I know he stole from us

iti no o tumo do pingananaman di kantan

iti no o tumo do min-tanom-an di kantan

this already P.IND field NP.IND REP-grow-BF NP.DEF potato

This is the field that the potatoes grow in (they were planted some time ago).

5.1.2 - Aspect and tense

The morphemes in this section modify the progressive and the perfective aspect (i.e. continuity of an action e.g. ‘eating’, and present/past tense). I will use ‘completive / non-completive’ over ‘perfective / imperfective’, to try and avoid confusion between perfect and perfective aspect.

non-volitional completive AF: noko-

AF.-VOL.COMP-

The noko- morpheme marks the predicates as being done by accident or without volition, and also marks the pivot phrase as the actor. It is realised as either /noqo/ or /naqa/:

nakababaroku di losun

noko-babar =oku di losun

AF.-VOL.COMP-crush =P.1SG NP.DEF losun

I accidentally crushed the garlic

nokokitooku do uoi di minonukudoku

noko-kito =oku do uoi di min-on-ukud=oku

AF.-VOL.COMP-find =P.1SG NP.IND sweet.potato NP.DEF REP-PF-dig P.1SG

I found sweet potato while digging

---

14 I never quite got my head around this and still get them confused. Completive has been glossed with COMP, non-completive has been glossed with -COMP.
We stood

Note that the final example appears to exhibit volition; this can be explained by *inkaka*. being a stative predicate.

**non-volitional completive PF: no-**

The *no-* morpheme is similar to *noko-* but marks the pivot phrase as the patient. It can be realised as /na/ or /no/:

```
no-anku2 =ku i tulun do sadah
nonuanku2 i tulun do sadah
```

In this example the patient focus is over-ridden by the -an beneficiary suffix.

```
napatai =ku i tamaku di toun di nakatalib
no-patai =ku i tamaku=ku di toun di nakatalib
```

In this case, ‘my father’ is introduced with the indefinite determiner *o*, which is acceptable as the patient cannot be misinterpreted due to the bound clitic *tama=ku*.

**volitional completive PF: <in>**

The intentional completive contrasts with *noko-* and *no-* as it suggests volition. The *<in>* infix is placed either straight after the first phone if it is a consonant, or becomes a prefix *n-* if the first phone is a vowel:

```
<PF.COMP.-VOL> pinataiku =ku i tiku
pinataiku =ku i tiku
```

In this case, ‘my father’ is introduced with the indefinite determiner *o*, which is acceptable as the patient cannot be misinterpreted due to the bound clitic *tama=ku*. 
repetitive: min-

*min-* marks something as being done repeatedly. Only semelfactives\(^\text{15}\), accept this morphology. It differs from <um><in>-", which is realised as *min-* on vowel initial words. *min-* also should not be confused with *mi-*", which is used for reciprocal actions.

```
minlantaid i kara. dot id kaniu
min-lantaid i kara. do id kaniu
REP-hang P.DEF monkey NP.IND LOC stick
The monkey is hanging (repeatedly swinging on one branch) from the tree
```

```
minipi di tusu do momo-gusa do dungau
min-mpi di tusu do momo-gusa do dungau
REP-dream NP.DEF dog NP.IND AF.CAUS-chase NP.IND cat
the dog is always dreaming of chasing the cat
```

\(^\text{15}\) Semelfactives are verbs with punctual and atelic aktsionsart (Comrie 1976). For example, in English, ‘wink’ and ‘knock’.

non-completive: poin-

*poin-* (which has stress on the second syllable), is the present non-completive used when an action is started but has not been completed yet. As such it cannot be used along with a completive such as <in>. It is realised as /poin/ or /poiŋ/:

```
pointungagoku
<um><in>-irikau =oku
<DYN><PF.+VOL.COMP>-sit P.1SG
I was sitting down
```

```
poinsikuh po i tanaku
poing-sikuh po i tanak=ku
-COMP-school still P.DEF child NP.1SG
My child is still in school
```

**dynamic: <um>**

<**DYN**>

The <um> infix is the Bundu Dusun progressive (I prefer ‘dynamic’), so in many ways acts like the English -ing suffix. It does not encode completive meaning, if this is required then the <in> infix is also used. It becomes *m-* if the predicate starts with a vowel:

```
pointungagoku
poing-tungag =oku
-COMP-sit.up =P.1SG
I am sitting up
```

```
poinsikuh po i tanaku
poing-sikuh po i tanak=ku
-COMP-school still P.DEF child NP.1SG
My child is still in school
```

```
I was sitting down
```

```
My child is still in school
```
It is often used with reflexives (where the actor is also the patient):

kinumauoku
k<in><um>au =oku
<PF.+VOL.COMP><DYNT>swim =P.1SG
I was swimming

As infixes, either order of <in> and <um> is acceptable:

kuminauoku
k<um><in>au =oku
<PF.+VOL.COMP><DYNT>swim =P.1SG
I was swimming

If the predicate begins with a vowel, then the order must be <um><in> → min-

minirikauoku
<um><in>-irikau =oku
<PF.+VOL.COMP><DYNT>sit P.1SG
I was sitting down

5.1.3 - Causatives

Causatives imply that the actor made something happen, or that a change in state occurred as a result of their action. Depending on the morpheme used, either the actor, patient or beneficiary can be in focus.

**basic form: po-**

*CAUS-

The basic form *po-* has actor focus. It is realised as either /pa/ or /po/:

poirikauoku
po-irikau =oku
CAUS-sit =P.1SG
I am sitting (state)

porolodoku di takano di silaun
po-rolod =oku di takano di silaun
CAUS-mix =P.1SG NP.DEF rice NP.DEF salt
I mixed the rice with the salt (caused the rice and salt to be mixed)
specifically actor focused: popo-

**AF.CAUS-**

The exact difference between *po-* and *popo-* is unclear, but it does seem that *popo-* emphasises the actor specifically, as it does not occur with -on (whereas *po-* does). It is realised as either /papal/ or /popo/:

popotuhtoko = toko = tasu
popo-otuh = P.1PL.INCL NP.DEF dog
we dried the dog (caused the dog to become dry)

paparatuoku = dau
popo-ratu = P.1SG NP.3SG
I made him fall

specifically patient focus: po- -on

The actor focus of *po-* can be overridden by the -on patient focus suffix:

potuludonku = iti = kapaltarabang = do = mingu = do = tobonotol
po-tulud-on=ku = iti = kapaltarabang = do = mingu = do = tobonotol
CAUS-fly -PF=NP.1SG this airplane NP.IND week NP.IND next
I will be flying this plane next week (making this plane fly)

pakayadon = di = tinaku = iti = kain
po-kayad-on = di = tina=ku = iti = kain
CAUS-hang-washing-PF NP.DEF mother=NP.1SG this clothes
My mum is hanging out clothes

actor focused dynamic: momo-

**AF.DYN.CAUS-**

*momo-* is equivalent to *<um>* and *popo-* combined\(^\text{16}\). It is actor focused, causative and dynamic. It can be made completive by adding the infix *<in>*; which forms *m<in>omo-*. The patient focus of *<in>* is discarded / overridden by the actor focus of *momo-*

minomogusa = i = tanak = di = tasu
minomo-gusa = P.DEF child NP.DEF dog
<PF.+VOL.COMP>-AF.DYN.CAUS-chase
The child chased the dog

momogusa = i = tasu = di = dungau
momo-gusa = i = tasu = di = dungau
AF.DYN.CAUS-chase P.DEF dog NP.DEF cat
The dog is chasing the cat

\(^{16}\) I don’t think it is worth analysing this as *popo-* + *<um>* → *momo-*, but it is worth noting that the two are semantically equivalent. Having said that, I haven’t focused on regular sound changes or morphophonemics, so one may be able to make a case for this.
5.1.4 - Multiple actors

reciprocal: mi -

The reciprocal prefix mi- marks that there are two actors, who are doing an action together. That is, the there are two actors who are also patients:

mitumbuk iolo.
mi-tumbuk iolo.
REC-hit.with.fist P.3PL
they are hitting each other (with their fists)

miamal kitoh
mi-amal =kitoh
REC-hit =P.1DL
we are hitting each other (between speaker and listener)

reciprocal with > 2 actors: mogi -

mogi- is the reciprocal for more than two actor/patients. Originally this was probably m<ongo>i-; <ongo> still exists as morpheme used to form collective nouns\(^{17}\). mogi- has since been reanalysed as a single morpheme and <ongo> can no longer be used with predicates.

mogiamal iahai
mogi-amal iahai
REC(PLUR)-hit P.1PLEXCL
we all are hitting each other

non-reciprocal: son-

If there are multiple actors but the actions are being done individually, then the prefix son- is used and the predicate root is reduplicated (said twice in succession). son- is also used to express individuality with nouns\(^{18}\).

sontahaktahak iahai do titaha
soN-tahak-tahak iahai do titaha
SING-give P.1PLEXCL NP.IND present
Each one of us is giving someone a present (swapping presents).

---

\(^{17}\) e.g. tanak - ‘child’ → t<ongo>anak → tanganak - ‘children’

\(^{18}\) This usage of son- is also glossed as SING-
5.1.5 - States

ST-

States are marked with the prefix o-, which can be realised as /a/ or /o/:

aragung    iti    di     konihab
o-ragung   iti    di     konihab
ST-red     this   NP.DEF yesterday

This was red yesterday

Stative predicates do not have to be marked with o-; they can also have ‘event-like’ meanings:

rinumagung  iti    di     konihab
r<in><um>agung iti    di     konihab
<PF.+VOL.COMP>--<DYN>--red this   NP.DEF yesterday

this was getting red yesterday

In this example, ‘getting red’ is an action that was ‘being done’.

Conversely, eventive predicates can take the o- prefix, if a logical meaning can be formed:

noonsonk   iti    takano
<in>-o-noonsonk iti    takano
<PF.+VOL.COMP>-ST-cook this   rice

This rice is cooked

Here, onsonk - ‘cook’ is an eventive predicate, but the rice is ‘in the state of being cooked’.

5.1.6 - Other morphemes

abilitative: ko -

ABIL-

The ko- morpheme denotes that the pivot has the ability to do an eventive action:

kababar    oku    di     lousun
ko-babar    =oku    di     lousun
ABIL-crush  =P.1SG NP.DEF garlic

I can crush the garlic

aku    koihum    do     tupiku
a=ku    ko-ihum    do     tupi=ku
NOT=NP.1SG ABIL-find NP.IND hat=NP.1SG

I can’t find my hat

An irregular use of this morpheme is with irak - ‘to laugh’:

koirak oku
ko-irak oku
ABIL-laugh P.1SG
I am laughing (accidentally)
In this situation, one would think *noko- (-VOL.COMP)*, would be more appropriate. For now, I am treating this just as an irregularity.

**requests: moki-**

*moki-* is used to request for an action to be done by the listener:

```
mokianuoku =oku do ia. do titaha
moki-anu    =oku do ia. do titaha
```

Give me a present (command)

The root form *rongou* - ‘listen’ exhibits an irregular usage of *moki-*. While the native speaker was aware this was a little strange, no explanation was given:

```
mokinongouoku =oku di tombolog
moki-rongou =oku di tombolog
```

I listen to the birds

**desiderative: si -**

*si-* expresses the speaker’s desire to do an action:

```
sigapusoku =oku dia.
si-gapus    =oku dia.
```

I want to hug you

```
sianu koh da. do titaha do kurismas
si-anu =koh da. do titaha do kurismas
```

do you hope to get a present for Christmas?

**5.1.8 - Nominalisation**

*Nom-*

A predicate can be nominalised by the two circumfixes *ko--on* and *ko--an*. These circumfixes are not semantically related to *ko-, -an or -on*. *ko--an* is used mainly for emotional states, *ko--on* is used elsewhere:

```
ounsikou - ‘to be happy’ → kounsikow-an → kounsikahan - ‘happiness’
lasu - ‘to be hot’ → ko-lasu-on → kolasuon - ‘heat’
susu - ‘to give birth’ → kinosusu-on → kinosusuon - ‘birthday’
```
Colour statives, such as *ragung* - ‘to be red’, and *silou* - ‘to be yellow’, can be nominalised with *t-o-*:

\[
\text{ragung} - 'to\ be\ red' \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{t-o-ragung} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{taragung} - 'redness'
\]

\[
tupi=ku \quad \text{do} \quad \text{t-o-ragung} \\
\text{hat}=\text{NP.1SG} \quad \text{NP.IND} \quad \text{NOM-ST-red} \\
\text{my\ red\ hat}
\]

5.2 - Noun Morphemes

Nouns also have a small set of morphemes that can be used to alter their meaning: *son-* to express singularity, *ki-* to express ownership and *<ongo>* to express plurality. Nouns with attached morphemes still act like simple nouns (see section 4.2), so can still be used as normal within noun phrases.

*son-*

SING-

*son-* is used to specify the noun is singular:

\[
tulun - 'person' \rightarrow \text{son-tulun} \rightarrow \text{songulun} - 'one\ person' \\
purok - 'piece' \rightarrow \text{son-purok} \rightarrow \text{sompurok} - 'one\ piece'
\]

*ki-*

HAVE-

The *ki-* morpheme expresses ownership:

\[
\text{buuk} - 'book' \rightarrow \text{ki-buuk} \rightarrow \text{ki-buuk} - 'book\ I\ have'
\]

\[
\text{ki-buuk}=\text{oku} \\
\text{HAVE-book}=\text{P.1SG} \\
\text{I\ have\ a\ book}
\]

*<ongo>*

*<ongo>* is used to express plurality or that there is a collection/group of the same object\(^{19}\). It is used mainly with groups of people:

\[
tulun - 'person' \rightarrow \text{t<ongo>ulun} \rightarrow \text{tongulun} - 'a\ group\ of\ people' \\
tanak - 'child' \rightarrow \text{t<ongo>anak} \rightarrow \text{sompurok} - 'one\ piece'
\]

\(^{19}\) the *<ongo>* infix (see section 5), is most probably related to the Kimaragung particle *tongo* (Kroeger 2005), which is used to express plurality
6. Sentence structure

Bundu Dusun has a head/predicate, pivot phrase (P), non-pivot (NP) phrase argument order. Every head (which is in most cases a predicate) has an inherent thematic role voicing, or voicing is given by morphology (see section 5). From the thematic voicing, one can tell whether the pivot is an actor/patient etc and similarly the role of the non-pivot argument.

For a simple case, where the pivot is an actor and the non-pivot is a patient:

```
mang-amal   oku   disio
AF-hit      P-1SG NP-3SGM
He is hitting me
```

Similarly the –on affix marks the pivot as the patient, and thus the non-pivot is the actor:

```
amal-on   oku   disio
hit-PF     P-1SG NP-3SGM
I am being hit by him
```

The non-pivot argument can be left out if not required (eg. For an intransitive predicate):

```
o-unsikou oku
ST-happy   P-1SG
I am happy
```

The pivot argument can also be left out in certain circumstances, such as when requesting an action to be done:

```
momo-onsoi do kakayadan
AF.CAUS.DYN.CONT-build NP.IND clothesline
Put up a clothesline (lit: cause a clothesline to be building)
```

In this context, the actor is inferred.

6.1 - Noun Phrases

A simple noun phrase\(^{20}\) is a noun introduced by a determiner (Section 4.2):

```
i   tanak       di   tanak
P.DEF  child    NP.DEF  child
The child (pivot noun phrase)       the child (non-pivot noun phrase)
o   tanak       do  tanak
P.IND  child    NP.IND  child
A child (pivot noun phrase)         a child (non-pivot noun phrase)
```

\(^{20}\) “Noun Phrase” will not be shortened to NP as this is set aside for “Non-Pivot.”
Again, the thematic role is governed by the predicate:

\[
\begin{align*}
gusa-on & \quad i & \quad tasu & \quad di & \quad tanak \\
\text{chase-PF} & \quad \text{P.DEF} & \quad \text{dog} & \quad \text{NP.DEF} & \quad \text{child}
\end{align*}
\]

The dog is being chased by the child

Argument order can be reversed:

\[
\begin{align*}
gusa-on & \quad di & \quad tanak & \quad i & \quad tasu \\
\text{chase-PF} & \quad \text{NP.DEF} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{P.DEF} & \quad \text{dog}
\end{align*}
\]

The dog is being chased by the child

Here, the NP phrase is in the P phrase position. It is still however a valid utterance and intelligible, as the determiners still agree with the verbal morphology.

More complex noun phrases can be produced by the following rule:

\[(\text{number}) \leftrightarrow \text{determiner} \rightarrow \text{noun}<\text{plural}>(=\text{possessor})^{21}\]

Where possessor is a clitic pronoun and the modifier is an adjective or clause. This is similar to the Kimaragung rule presented by Kroeger (2005), however in Bundu Dusun the number can appear before the determiner, and plurality can be expressed by the infix <ongo>\(^{22}\). Kroeger also includes a (modifier) slot after the noun; it does not appear that this construction works in Bundu Dusun as modifiers (such as adjectives) are introduced by determiners which is not the case in Kimaragung.

To illustrate:

\[
\begin{align*}
d & \quad \text{limo} & \quad \text{ringit} & \quad \text{apat} & \quad o & \quad \text{kusai} \\
\text{NP.IND} & \quad \text{five} & \quad \text{Ringgit} & \quad \text{four} & \quad \text{P.IND} & \quad \text{male}
\end{align*}
\]

five Ringgits

The particle \textit{om} (see section 4.2), which roughly translates to ‘and’, can be used to join noun phrases together into a larger phrase:

\[
\begin{align*}
apat & \quad o & \quad \text{kusai} & \quad \text{om} & \quad \text{iso} & \quad o & \quad \text{tondu} \\
\text{four} & \quad \text{P.IND} & \quad \text{male} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{P.IND} & \quad \text{female}
\end{align*}
\]

four men and one woman

Clitics are attached to the noun to express ownership:

\[
\begin{align*}
tina=ku \\
\text{mother}=\text{NP.1SG}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{my mother}

---

\(^{21}\) The arrows represent direction of formation (what precedes what), the $\leftrightarrow$ indicates the order is flexible.

\(^{22}\) the <ongo> infix (see section 5), is most probably related to the Kimaragung particle \textit{tongo} (Kroeger 2005), which is used to express plurality.
6.2 - Clitic Positioning

Clitic pronouns attach to the preceding argument/predicate, and thus are always found in the second position of a sentence or clause. They do not always act as arguments, they can also mark possessors (section 6.1).

-onsok-mon=kumu
-cook-PF=NP.1SG P.DEF

I will cook the rice

As the NP.1SG clitic ku needs to be in the second position, it ‘displaces’ the pivot phrase. Again, the determiner i agrees with the verbal morphology and marks takano as the patient, so the sentence is intelligible. Another example, this time with a clitic in the second position of a non-pivot phrase:

-no-kito=kumu
-PF.-VOL.COMP-find=NP.1SG P.DEF

I found my hat

Which is semantically equivalent to:

-no-kito
-PF.-VOL.COMP-find

I found my hat

The first utterance is preferred as it ‘sounds more natural and less formal’ to our native speaker.

6.3 - Time and Aspect

Time adverbials always appear at the end of clauses / sentences and are marked by di if in the past, or do if in the present or future:

-no-rongo=oku
-PF.COMP.-VOL-hear P.1SG

I heard the birds yesterday

-akan-on=kumu
-eat-PF=NP.1SG P.DEF maybe P.IND

I might eat my lunch today

*di* marks the past as being ‘definite’, whilst *do* marks the present / future as being ‘indefinite’, which again highlights the distinction between completive and non-completive aspect found in the verbal morphology (chapter 5). In fluent speech, the determiner is sometimes dropped, presumably as the aspect difference can be inferred from the time expression:
ko-iloh oku i do noko-rikod i tinaku konihib
ABIL-know P.1SG P.DEF NP.IND AF.-VOL.COMP-approach P.DEF mother yesterday
I know my mum arrived yesterday

Here konihib - ‘yesterday’ is in the past, so is should be marked with di which is inferred in this case.

6.4 - Clauses

A clause differs from a noun phrase as it contains a predicate and its arguments. Clauses are introduced by a determiner. I will mark clauses with square brackets, []. Consider the sentence:

tutud-an di t<ongo>anak i tumo
burn-PF NP.DEF <PLUR>child P.DEF rice field
the kids will burn the rice field

To use this as a clause, it is introduced with do:

mong-rosi iau do [tutudan di tanganak i tumo]
AF-fear P.3SG NP.IND [see above]
she is afraid (the kids will burn the rice field)

Another simple example:

mogi-tabang do [momo-onsi do bankar ]
REC-do.together NP.IND [AF.DYN.CAUS-build NP.IND canoe ]
working together to [make a canoe]

This is better illustrated in a tree diagram:

```
S
  /\   /
 predicate1 non-pivot.argument1
    |      |
mogi-tabang
    |      |
   /\    /
 predicate2 non-pivot.argument2
     |      |
momo-onsi bankar
```

Note there is no actor stated; it is implied by the use of the mogi- reciprocal affix (section 5).
6.4.1 - Concatenation With om

The particle *om* it is used to string noun phrases together and also to introduce adverbial information. It roughly translates to the English ‘and’.

Note that in all cases where *om* is used to concatenate extra information, it can be removed without causing the sentence to be unintelligible.

\[
\text{[s<in>irampuw i kantan]} \quad \text{om} \quad \text{oruhai=dah do} \quad \text{[s<um>uni]}
\]
\[
\text{[water<PF.COMP.+VOL> P.DEF potato]} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{faster=SUBJ NP.IND [<REFL>grow]}
\]
\[
/\text{[watered the potatoes] [so they grow faster (lit: and faster maybe they grow)]}/
\]

This expresses that the clauses are related. Note the argument for the second predicate, *suni* - ‘to grow’ is contained in the first clause, so is dropped.

6.4.2 - Pivots in Subordinate Clauses

In certain situations, there can be more than one pivot. This occurs with the predicates *iloh* - ‘to know’, and *munongkuya/otumbaya* - ‘to believe’:

\[
\text{munongkuya-an oku i ___}
\]
\[
\text{believe-GF P.1SG P.DEF ___}
\]
\[
\text{I believe ___}
\]

The clause (in this case, the ‘belief’) is still introduced with a *do*:

\[
\text{otumbaya-an oku i do [obolugu i obomogunan]}
\]
\[
\text{believe-GF P.1SG P.DEF NP.IND [round P.DEF the.world]}
\]
\[
\text{I believe the world is round}
\]

It is probable that this occurs with other cognitive type predicates (such as *sorou* - ‘to think’), but I do not have enough data to verify if this is the case. *sorou* exhibits some seemingly unusual behaviour:

\[
\text{o-sorou=ku om apankal iti ko-susa-an}
\]
\[
\text{STAT-think=NP.1SG and hard this ABIL-difficulty -GF}
\]
\[
\text{I think this problem is too hard}
\]

In this case the clitic *ku* is acting as the non-pivot argument, not *om apankal* which at first inspection appears to be in pivot position. The non-pivot clitic *ku* is in second position (see section 6.2), and *om apankal* is adverbial information (see 6.4.1). This would thus translate to ‘my state of thinking this problem is too hard’. The following example with a similar *STAT-predicate=NP.1SG* construction further illustrates this:

\[
\text{o-ilan=ku i do [po-takau-an took dau]}
\]
\[
\text{STAT-know=NP.1SG P.DEF NP.IND [CAUS-steal-BF (N)P.1PL.INCL he/she]}
\]
\[
\text{I know he stole from us}
\]
### 6.5 - Clefting

Clefting is used as a topicalisation strategy, where the pivot is moved in front of the predicate, which is then marked by the pivot determiner $o^{23}$:

$i$ kaiu o po-bobog isio doho.
P.DEF stick P.IND $<$PF.+VOL.COMP$>$-CAUS-hit P.3SG.MASC NP.1SG
He is hitting me with a stick

Clefting is commonly used alongside *nopo nga* clauses (section 4.6):

$i$ nopo_nga (i buuk di po-in-tahak dau) doho do mantad
P.DEF thing.that.is (P.DEF book NP.DEF CAUS+VOL.COMP-give NP.3SG) NP.1SG NP.1ND from
The book that he gave me was already mine

‘The book that he gave me’ is set as the topic with *nopo nga*. Without this clause, the sentence would loosely translate to ‘This book is mine’.

---

$^{23}$ This is often lost in rapid speech
7. Examples and texts

7.1 - Introducing V Atin

ngaran=ku nopo nga i V___
name=NP.1SG thing,that.is P.DEF V___
My name is V___

mantad doho id ranau
from NP.1SG LOC Ranau
I am from Ranau

ranau nopo nga id sabah
Ranau thing,that.is LOC Sabah
Ranau is in Sabah

sabah nopo nga id malasia
Sabah thing,that.is LOC Malaysia
Sabah is in Malaysia

ioho nopo nga balajya no hiti
P.1SG thing,that.is work already here
I am studying here

mong-tuduk=oku do PHD
AF-teach=P.1SG NP.IND PHD
I am doing my phd

iti nopo boros=ku nga pingungaranan do Bundu Dusun
iti nopo nga ( boros=ku ) pingungaranan do bundu dusun
this thing,that.is ( say=NP.1SG ) named NP.IND Bundu Dusun
My language is named Bundu Dusun

Bundu Dusun nopo nga boros-on do id ogumu o uatas do i sabah
Bundu Dusun thing,that.is speak-PF NP.IND LOC lots P.IND area NP.IND P.DEF Sabah
Bundu Dusun is spoken in many areas of Sabah

uatas nopo nga ( i dih ) id kinoyonon do nulud do balu
area thing,that.is( P.DEF they) LOC kinoyonon NP.IND mountain NP.IND Kinabala (abbr.)
Among the areas is around the Kinabala mountains

om ranau nopo nga hiri nogi id doros do nulud no balu
and ranau thing,that.is there also LOC near NP.IND mountain still Kinabala
And ranau is also near the kinabala mountains.
7.2 - How to cook steamed chicken

Piak do poobusan
Steamed Chicken

To cook steamed chicken, prepare

- One chicken of about 1kg
  - Five cloves of garlic (white garlic)
  - Five shallots (red garlic)
  - A piece of ginger around as long as your thumb
  - \( \frac{1}{4} \) of a cup of light soy sauce
  - Two tablespoons of dark soy sauce
  - Three tablespoons of oyster sauce
  - Two tablespoons of rice wine

- Songinan do songkilo
- One small carrot cut lengthways match stick size
songinan o lopong ridison nogi
son-tinan o lopong ridis-on nogi
INDIV-body P.IND leek slice-PF also
one leek cut lengthways, also match stick size

samangkop do tokoto o kulat do kinoring ...
son-angkop do t-o-koto o kulat do k<in>oring ...
SING-bowl NP.IND NOM-ST-small P.IND mushroom NP.IND <PF.+VOL.COMP-dry ...
NP.IND -PF.COMP.+VOL-slice NP.IND <ongo> <ongo> nipsis
A bowl of diced mushrooms ...

do noridis do tongonipis
do no-ridis do t<ongo> nipis
NP.IND PF.COMP.+VOL-slice NP.IND ST-PLUR-thin
... thinly sliced

maan do ronomo no gisom do kolomok ...
maan do r ronom-o o no gisom do kolomok ...
do NP.IND soak-IMP yet until NP.IND soften ...
soak until they soften ...

om i duman no ndo do uaiq
om i duman no ndo do uaiq
and remove-BF yet then NP.IND water
... then remove them from the water

om borisian i piak i duman ngaii lunok
om borisi-an i piak i dumanngaii lunok
and clean-BF P.DEF chickenremove-PF all fat
also, the chicken should be cleaned all the fat removed

maan no ndo popoto i piak. ...
maan no no dinoh popot-o o i piak ...
do yet then cut.meat-IMP P.DEF chicken ...
Then cut the chicken ...

kuranglobi do hopot om duo o kapapatan
korunglobi do hopot om duo o kapapatan
about NP.IND ten and two P.IND NOM-cut.meat
... into about 12 pieces

poroloton i gisap sustiram om lihing ...
po-rolod-on i gisap sustiram om lihing ...
CAUS-mix-PF P.DEF soy.sauce oystersauce and rice.wine ...
mix in the soy sauce, oyster sauce and rice wine ...

om posuapong do id pingan do pongobusan
om po-suapong do id pingan do mong-obus-an
and CAUS-enter-PF NP.IND LOC plate NP.IND AF-steam-BF
... and put them into a steaming dish
Then the aforementioned garlic and shallots...

... are thinly sliced and chopped thinly.

and the ginger is also sliced up.

Then cover and leave...

... for approximately one hour.

first, let the water boil
Before already then CAUS-steaming and CAUS-mixing and immediately before steaming

Kulat, lubak do taragung om lopong
Mushrooms root NM-ST-red and leek
... add in mushrooms carrot and leek

Om pasakaion no ndo id pingan ...
Om po-sakai-on no no dinoh id pingan ...
And CAUS-put ontop-PF already then LOC plate ...
Then put the dish on the ...

Do id pongobusan om somponon id puriu
Do id mong-obus-an om sompon-on id puriu
NP.IND LOC AF-steaming-BF and close-PF LOC wok
... rack and cover the wok

Poobusan no ndo id tangatongo santangajaman gisom ...
Po-obus-an no no dinoh id tangatongo son-tongo-jam-an until ...
CAUS-steaming-BF already then LOC about SING-NM-PL-hour-BF until ...
Have it steamed for about 30 minutes or until ...

Nopo no ndo do onskok kopio
Nopo no dinoh do NP.IND onskok kopio
Thing.that.is then NP.IND cook very
... it is cooked through

Onskok nopo no ndo om kakadon no ndo
Onskok nopo no dinoh om kakad-on no no dinoh
cook thing.that.is then and lift-PF already then
When it is cooked, lift it out

Om milo ndo takanon do pakanason do takano
Om milo no dinoh takanon do po-akan-on do takano
And can then meal NP.IND CAUS-eat-PF do rice
And then it can be eaten, with rice
8. Online Components

An interactive website has been created to accompany this grammar. It functions as a fully searchable English → Dusun, Dusun → English dictionary and also has an autoglossing function that partly automates parsing of Dusun Texts. It can be found online at:

http://www.thetelegraphic.com/dusun/

9. References


A – Appendix

Glossary

P - pivot
NP - non-pivot
(N)P - can be either P or NP

DEF - definite
IND - indefinite

1SG - 1st person singular
2SG - 2nd person singular
3SG - 3rd person singular
3SGM - 3rd person singular masculine
1DL - 1st person dual
1PL - 1st person plural
2PL - 2nd person plural
3PL - 3rd person plural
INCL - inclusive
EXCL - exclusive

AF - actor focus
PF - patient focus
BF - benefactive focus

ST - stative

CAUS - causative
CONT - continuative
COMP - completive
-COMP- non-completive
+VOL - volitional
-VOL - non-volitional
ABIL - abilitative
REQ - request
REP - repeatedly
DES - desiderative
REC - reciprocal
DYN - dynamic
HAVE - possessive
PLUR - plural

SUBJ - subjunctive
LOC - locative
IMP - Imperatives