

Variation in aspect and modality in some languages of Northeastern Borneo

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In most of the languages of Northeastern Borneo the categories of aspect and modality are almost always expressed lexically and often are optional. This paper discusses the expression of perfective and imperfective aspect as well as mood and negation as conveyed through a wide range of mostly unbound morphemes in four North Sarawak languages. The languages consist of two Kenyah variants, Lebu' Kulit, and Ôma Lôngh as well as two languages spoken by former hunter-gatherers, the Punan Tubu' and the Penan Benalui. The data used draws from both narratives and elicited material.

The lexemes used are in large part discourse context and verb semantics dependent, and differ in all the languages. The lexical meaning of the form used for the perfective is usually 'finished' and for the imperfective it is 'in the middle'. The exception is in Punan Tubu' and Penan Benalui where the infix <en> marks the undergoer voice and also bears the meaning of perfectivity. Quotative verbs are generally used to express evidentiality and no bound evidentials are found.

1. Aspect in Borneo and beyond

The rich diversity of languages spoken in Borneo is reflected in the different aspect and modality markers that occur in the various languages. Precise information regarding the TAME markers in most of the languages of Central Borneo is lacking, perhaps due in part to the fact that in general these markers are optional. Aspect and modality are almost always expressed lexically and often seem to be non-obligatory, and in large part, discourse context and verb semantics contribute to the expression of TAME features. After all, as Himmelmann (2005: 60) points out, in many Western Austronesian languages the 'auxiliaries' are elements that usually convey notions of tense, aspect, mood, negation, or manner and are phonologically independent. The free and clitic aspectual adverbs used for TAM marking in most of the Western Austronesian languages of Indonesia is also displayed in the World atlas of linguistic structures -WALS (Dryer 2011). Kaufmann (2011) provides an overview of TAM marking in Indonesia, and concludes that while 'inner aspect' marked by reduplication and <in> infixation, and 'outer aspect' can be reconstructed as PAN *dala and PAN *pa, most of the modern Indonesian TAM markers are un-reconstructable because those that exist are very diverse, while sometimes they are lacking completely. Those that do exist are therefore recent innovations. As Kaufman (2011) points out, in Old Malay, 'all the inherited aspect markers were abandoned and replaced (functionally) by lexical items meaning 'want', desire', towards, 'finish' etc. A general overview of some languages of Borneo confirms this to be the case in Borneo, too, as can be seen in Clayre & Cubit (1963) for Kayan, Clayre (2002) for Lundaye, Tjia (2007) for Mualang, Adelaar (2002) for Salako, Sercombe (2006) for Eastern Penan, and Inagaki (2011) for Kadorih, among others.

This paper describes a wide range of strategies used in a variety of languages from Northeastern Borneo to express TAM and evidentiality. It especially focuses on two Kenyah variants spoken in East Kalimantan: Lebu' Kulit, and Ôma Lôngh and compares the strategies found in these languages to those employed in the neighboring languages of Penan Benalui and Punan Tubu'. This comparison draws on narrative texts (see Soriente, 2006 and Soriente et al, To appear) and elicited material. The Kenyah represented in this study are from the Ôma Lôngh group, which constitutes a population of 3000 spread

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across six villages in Bulungan Regency of East Kalimantan, and from the Lebu' Kulit group, which consists of roughly 8000 people living in several villages spread over the Bulungan Regency, Kutai and Berau in East Kalimantan and Sarawak. The Penan Benalui and the Punan Tubu' are representative of two groups of former hunter gatherers located in the Malinau Regency of East Kalimantan. These languages number 450 and 4000 speakers respectively, and they are closely related to each other or to the Kenyah languages.

The TAM markers of the languages investigated are usually optional, and occur as free lexemes in specific positions in the verbal complex. They interact with modals, negation, main verbs and particles to create a range of aspectual and modal meanings.

Perfective action is marked in the various languages by different lexemes that generally occur before the verb. They can be omitted in some pragmatic situations or when some adverbs or adverbial phrases like 'yesterday', 'some time ago', 'earlier', 'later' etc. indicate the time of the action

On the other hand, for imperfective, spatial expressions like *daleu* (inside) in Lebu' Kulit, *daò* in Òma Lóngh, *an tang* (in the middle), *an luang* (inside), *an belua'* (in the middle) in Punan Tubu', and *reng* (in the middle) in Penan Benalui, are employed, but these markers too, are optional. Data from elicitation sessions indicates that an imperfective action can be unmarked morphologically and when it is expressed it is conveyed through the use of spatial lexemes. Imperfective action is better expressed by the use of the deictic 'this', the adverb meaning 'still' or often by verbal reduplication when continuous action is being expressed.

Modality and negation are also not expressed morphologically, with the only exception being the polyfunctional prefix or proclitic *ke-* which occurs with various verbs. What is peculiar is the great number of particles employed across these languages to express modality, and to mark the sources of evidence in the source of information in statements. These particles that are not grammatical often occur in naturalistic data, but are difficult to elicit because they are so discourse dependent.

The first section of this paper discusses Kenyah Lebu' Kulit. Then follow sections on Kenyah Òma Lóngh, Punan Tubu' and Penan Benalui.

2. Kenyah Lebu' Kulit

Lebu' Kulit is a Kenyah language belonging to the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup of the western branch of Malayo-Polynesian and part of the North Sarawak branch. According to previous work, (Soriente, 2004 and 2008) it belongs to the branch labeled Kayanic, or as Lowland Kenyah in Blust (2007, 2010) or Kenyah Wahau in Ethnologue (Lewis et al, 2013). Other members of this group are Uma' Timai, Uma' Pawa' Uma' Ujok, Uma' Kelep and the extinct Nyibun. It counts about 8000 speakers spread in around 15 villages in East Kalimantan and Sarawak. Some documentation is found in Soriente, (2006) who presents some features that set it off the main branch of the Kenyah languages (Soriente, 2004 and 2008).

Like many Austronesian languages Lebu' Kulit does not express tense, nor is any morphology employed for aspect and mood. Rather, time is expressed by time adjuncts like *mena'a da* 'in the past', *o'o re* 'earlier', *o'o* 'later', *menalem da* 'yesterday', *nempam* 'tomorrow' etc. Aspectual features are marked analytically by free morphemes.

2.1. Perfective

Perfectivity is marked by a number of lexemes that can be optional:

- *lepek* ‘finished’ PFCT preceding verbs
- completed action particle occurring at the end of the utterance
- *no’o* completed action particle occurring at the end of the utterance
- *uvan* ‘trace’ occurring before verbs
- *dité* ‘seen’ also an evidential
- *<en>* infixation on transitive verbs meaning passive and perfective.

Lepek is an aspect marker that indicates that an action is complete as in examples (1) through (4). It also often marks resultative aspect as in example (6). Moreover, *lepek* also functions also as a time conjunction in subordinate clauses as can be seen in example (5).

- (1) *ié lepek na’at aki’, mpei a na’at iku’*
ié lepek N-ta’at aki’, mpei a N-ta’at iku’
 3SG PFCT AV-see 1SG NEG 3SG AV-see 2SG
 ‘he has seen me but he has not seen you’

- (2) *lepek na releu menia’ o di’ sulo ketai releu*
lepek na releu meN-tia’ o di’ sulo ke-tai releu
 PFCT DIR 3PAU INTR-shout CMPL EMPH then IRR-go 3PAU
 ‘they shouted and then they went’

ketei lepek ketena’
ke-tei lepek ketena’
 IRR-go PFCT story
 ‘so this is how the story of Usung Bayung went’

- (4) *lepek na sinen a da kumé di’,*
lepek na sinen a da kumé di’,
 PFCT DIR mother 3SG PRTCL say EMPH
 “anak mo’ uva’ ketai”
 “anak mo’ uva’ ke-tai
 child don’t want IRR-go
 ‘the mother had warned him, “son, don’t go” (but he went and was killed)’

- (5) *tiga ta pa kenya o na lepek na ledó*
tiga ta pa ken-ya o na lepek na ledó
 good DIR PRTCL say-3SG CMPL DIR PFCT DIR woman

tí ngetem lo tí aseu tí o di’
tí N-tem lo tí aseu tí o di’
 that AV-stuck needle that dog that CMPL EMPH
 ‘well, she said, after that the woman stuck a needle on the dog’s hair’

- (6) *sé baleu a uvan a mena’a’ na lakei a*
 one widow 3SG because 3SG in.the.past DIR male 3SG

lepek matai
 PFCT dead
 ‘she is a widow because long time before her husband had died’

Lepek is an optional marker. It is often omitted when other elements expressing perfective aspect are used. These include the lexemes *uvan* ‘trace’ and the marker of agentive in undergoer sentences, or *dité* ‘seen’ (which is also used as an evidential). These all have the function of indicating that the action is completed. The particles *o* and *no’o* in final position also have the function of marking a completed event. The following example (7) shows that perfective event is marked by the lexeme *uvan*. This can also be interpreted as an agentive, though the verb has a fossilized form with the <en> infix on the verb *uvan* ‘make, do’. Infixation is used in other languages in Borneo to mark undergoer past action (see Soriente, 2013) and is not productive in the Kenyah languages. It is not clear whether this is a relic or a form borrowed from adjacent languages. In (8) the lexemes *dité* and *uvan* have a resultative function. The same holds for example (9) where *uvan* is employed as a perfective marker before the verb and as preposition before the 3rd person of the personal pronoun *a*. In sentence (10) the aspect of perfectivity is emphasised by both *dité* and *lepek*. This is an excerpt from a political speech where some sentences needed some pragmatic stress. Example (11) displays the use of the particle *no’o* at the end of the utterance with the function of indicating that the action is completed.

- (7) *un lu kelunan ya’ uvan Tuhan Ngenuyan*
 un lu kelunan ya’ uvan Tuhan N-ke<en>uyan
 be 1PL person REL trace God AV-NMLZ-UV-make
 ‘we are human beings created by God’
- (8) *Pejulung ra ni nai ilan dulu kini ni na*
 Pejulung ra ni nai ilan dulu ke-ini ni na
 Pejulung 3PL this come bring people LOC-here this DIR

nginyé dité Lebu Kulit ni uvan nai pasei da
 N-inyé dité Lebu Kulit ni uvan Nai pasei da
 AV-like.this seen Lebu Kulit this because come spread PRTCL
 ‘Pejulung and the others have taken the people here, this is how the Lebu’ Kulit people have moved and spread all over the place’
- (9) *buké nakini uvan tai pesaliu na*
 buké na-ka-ini uvan tai pe-saliu na
 if DIR-LOC-this trace go INTR-change DIR

kimet lu uvan a
 kimet lu uvan a
 pikir 1PL.INC because 3SG
 ‘but now our thoughts have changed because of that’
- (10) *ikam teleu pegayeng ketu’ dité ineu ya’ lepek nempelu atur*
 ikam teleu pe-gayeng ketu’ dité ineu ya’ lepek nem-peleu atur
 2PL PL INTR-work all seen what REL PFCT PL-2PL arrange
 ‘you work out what you have planned to do’
- (11) *tai takut na kelunan ra’ ini no’o*
 go afraid DIR person REL-PL this CMPL

nga tai na balai tai bulak Na
 so go DIR part go move DIR
 ‘they had become afraid, therefore a part of them moved’

2.2 Imperfective

As with the perfective, marking of imperfective aspect is optional and can be expressed through the following ways:

- *daleu* inside/in the middle
- *ini/iti* this/that
- reduplication

It can be expressed using the locative preposition *daleu* ‘in the middle’ as in example (12), (which can also mean ‘when’ – see example (13)) or with use of the deictics (*i*)*ni* ‘this’ and (*i*)*ti* but without any other marker as in example (14).

- (12) *no, daleu ra uman-uman mengiti di’*
 no daleu ra RED-uman meN-iti di’
 EXCLM in.the.middle 3PL ITER-eat AV-that.way EMPH
 ‘well, they were eating, that’s it’

- (13) *nai ngendani niya pa*
 nai N-dani na-ia pa
 come AV-close DIR-3SG PRTCL

daleu iré uman (i)ti no’o di’
 in.the.middle 3PL eat that CMPL EMPH
 ‘then he got closer when they were eating’

- (14) *ni mpei un dité liung ineu-ineu un di’*
 (i)ni mpei un dité liung RED-ineu un di’
 this NEG exist seen movement PL-what exist EMPH

sedi’ pekajep pira
 sedi’ pe-kajep pe-ira
 hopefully.not INTR-peep also-3PL
 ‘nothing was seen moving, hopefully there wasn’t anybody peeping at them’

2.3 Mood and modality

The markers for mood and modality are:

- *ke-* as a prefix or a free lexeme located before verbs
- *uva’* ‘want’
- *senteng* ‘can’
- *harus* ‘have to’

There is no dedicated morpheme for the expression of future tense or irrealis mood; however, the prefix or proclitic *ke-* or *ka-* that in some cases occurs as a free lexeme, can convey an intention, an approaching event, a hypothesis, a refusal, a possibility, or an expectation. In (15) below the free lexeme *ke* marks an hypothesis whereas the proclitic *ke-* in *kenai* and *kebara’* in example (16) convey the idea of an approaching event and an intention. Very often the proclitic *ke-* in its function of marking an intention, combines with the modal verb *uva’* ‘want’ (see example (17) below).

- (15) *buké ileu ncé ke nebawa’ ketai*
 buké ileu ncé ke N-tebawa’ ke-tai
 if 1PLINCL NEG IRR AV-make.effort IRR-go

tapa Lu o
tapa Lu o
 left.behind 1PLINCL CMPL
 ‘if we do not make an effort we’ll be left behind’

- (16) *mbei teleu kebara’ teleu makang un*
mbei teleu ke-bara’ teleu makang un
 NEG three IRR-let.know PAU strength exist
 ‘we’ll not let them know what our strengths are’

The modals *uva’* ‘want’ also marks a future action, (see examples (17) through (20)). The form *senteng* ‘can’ indicates possibility and permission (example (21)). No special lexeme for obligation is employed except for the Indonesian borrowing *harus* ‘must’. The lexeme *sap* indicates its negation and can be translated as ‘no need to’.

- (17) *ileu uva’ ke sekening ngempei daau ketena’ ti*
ileu uva’ ke sekening N-mpei daau ketena’ ti
 1PLINCL want IRR hear AV-what voice story that
 ‘we want to the hear how the story goes’
- (18) *ncé un uva’ teleu tai pura, un kimet ya’ tai kileng*
 NEG exist want 1PLINCL go separate exist think REL go bent
 ‘we shall not proceed separate, our thoughts might go wrong’
- (19) *haa kelunte té ié uva’ té ié ke petira’*
haa ke-hunte té ié uva’ té ié ke pe-tira’
 EXCLM IRR-sleepy PRCL 3SG want PRCL 3SG IRR INTR-talk
- ngan mé’ leu ba’am*
 with 1PLEXCL PL EXCLM
 ‘haa, he is very sleepy now, but he will talk to us’
- (20) *nia dué luai ini mpei ra uva’-uva’ kenai a*
ni-a dué luai ini mpei ra RED-uva’ ke-nai a
 this-3SG two time this NEG 3PL ITER-want IRR-come 3SG
- ko’ Nyapa’ un*
 LOC Nyapa’ exist
 ‘this is the second time they will not give it to Nyapa’
- (21) *senteng nilu kumé neng kebelua’ urip nem*
senteng ne-ilu kumé neng ke-belua’ urip nem
 can ne-1PLINCL towards at NMLZR-middle live 2PL
- nini nakini*
 RED-ni nakini
 ITER-this now
 ‘we can say you are now in the middle of your life’

2.4 Negation and evidentiality

Negation and evidentiality in Lebu’ Kulit are marked by:

- *ncé* with verb of existence
- *mpei* with any verb and nouns

- *nu'un* final particle
- *nyen* prohibition 'don't'
- *mo'* prohibition 'you better don't'
- *ken* say (with cliticized personal pronouns)
- *ba'an* say (with cliticized personal pronouns)
- *dau* voice
- *dité* seen

Negation is expressed by the negators *ncé* and *mpei*. The first generally negates existence and is usually followed by the verb of existence *un* (see example (18) above). The negator *mpei* (which also means 'where') tends to negate actions (see example (20) above). Most negative utterances can have a final particle *nu'un* that further emphasizes negation as in example (22). Prohibitions are marked by the lexemes *nyen* and *mo'*. (See examples (23) and (24)).

- (22) *na tu adet-adet pu'un lu da mpei lu*
 na tu' RED-adet pu'un lu da mpei lu
 DIR All PL-customary.law old 1PLINCL PRCTL NEG 1PLINCL

ngelan a nu'un o
 N-lan a nu'un o
 AV-true 3SG NEG CMPL

'all the old laws have been abandoned, we don't believe in them any longer'

- (23) *nyen teleu uva' suto' bang ngeli'o'*
 nyen teleu uva' suto' bang N-li'o'
 don't PL want offend only AV-deceit
 'we better never offend and deceive people'

- (24) *nyé teleu ketai ta Usung, mo' sekening daau sinam na!*
 nyé teleu ke-tai ta Usung, mo' sekening daau sinam na!
 that three IRR-go DIR Usung don't hear voice mother DIR
 'let's go, Usung, don't pay attention to your mother's words!'

Evidentials are not expressed with bound morphemes but nearly every utterance needs to contain an evidential marker indicating whether the expressed event was seen, felt or reported by someone. All evidential markers in the language are open class lexemes that exhibit an additional evidential function. They include *dité* 'seen', *ken* 'say', *dau* 'voice', *baen* 'word', *gen* 'feel'. These quotation words have the special characteristic of hosting a clitic pronoun. Thus, they appear in utterances as *k(en)=é'* (I say) *ken=ya* (he says) *ke=lu* (we say), *ke=ra* (they say), *dé=é'* (my voice), *ban=ya* (he says), etc. or with the agglutinated form *g(en)=é'* (I feel). Example (25) shows the use of *dité* 'seen' where the speaker distances himself somewhat from the utterance. This is also the case in example (26) where the quotative form *kenya* (he says) is employed too. In example (27) the speaker makes clear that he is not directly involved in what is said in the utterance.

- (25) *ié ti ya' ileu ke pekimet mengempei ketai*
 ié ti ya' ileu ke pe-kimet mengempei ke-tai
 3SG this REL 1PL KE INTR-think how IRR-go

lu ka ngebaya' dité
 lu ka N-baya' dité
 1PL KA AV-follow seen
 'that's what we think, how we went along with them (as was seen)'

- (26) *nai a menesai no'o kenya*
 nai a <en> besai no'o ken=ia
 come 3SG <UV>row CMPL say=3SG

mpei nia dité gejala' a da nu'un o
 mpei ni-ia dité ke-jala' a da nu'un o
 NEG this-3SG seen NMLZR-net 3SG PRTCL NEG CMPL
 'he came rowing (it is said so) after he had lost his net (as was seen)'

- (27) *alé' ma'an gen ke pisiu ié ke pisiu Kenya*
 alé' ma'an gen ke pe-isiu ié ke pe-isiu Kenya
 very difficult feel IRR INTR-word 3SG IRR INTR-word Kenyah

ni ke-dau tamen a da
 this IRR-voice father 3SG DA
 'it is very difficult (it is felt) to speak Kenyah with him, says the man'

3. Kenyah Òma Lóngh

Kenyah languages are known to display a very high level of dialectal variation, and Òma Lóngh is among the ones that presents the most striking features that set it off from the main branch. It is spoken by about 3000 people and is perhaps the most divergent and least understood of the Kenyah languages. Indeed, it is the sole member of one of the three main branches of Kenyah languages (see Soriente, 2004, 2008), as evidenced by its highly idiosyncratic phonological (see Blust 2007) and morphological properties (see Soriente, to appear).

Within the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup, it is listed in the upper Pujungan subgroup with the languages of Uma Lasan, Uma Baha and Uma Alim. This language is mainly spoken in Indonesia but there are also a few groups in Sarawak (Soriente, 2004, Soriente 2008 and Lewis et al, 2013). Òma Lóngh is spoken in the Malinau and Bulungan regencies of East Kalimantan, mainly in the villages of Setulang (Malinau Regency) and Pimping (Bulungan Regency), as well as Batu Kajang and in the town of Malinau. Like most Kenyah speakers, the Òma Lóngh are multilingual as they are able to speak other Kenyah languages as well, such as Lepo' Tau and Uma Lasan. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is noted that almost all Òma Lóngh speakers are bilingual or multilingual: they learn Indonesian as the official language of the Republic of Indonesia at school, and most of them also speak other Kenyah languages. Since their language itself is very idiosyncratic its speakers tend to switch very easily to other Kenyah variants and exhibit very accentuated linguistic exogamy. On the other hand speakers of other Kenyah variants find it difficult to fully understand and to master Òma Lóngh.

3.1. Perfective

Markers of perfectivity in Òma Lóngh are:

- *tene* PFCT preceding and following the verb
- *póne* PFCT
- *lepe'* finished, PFCT preceding verbs

- *hóbó* semelfactive, preceding verbs
- *òbèny* ‘trace’ occurring before verbs

Much like Lebu’ Kulit, the perfective in Òma Lóngh is marked by an open class marker, *tene* that occurs in most of the utterances where a perfective aspect is expressed. The lexemes *póne* and *lepe’* (which closely resembles its cognate *lepek* in Lebu’ Kulit), both of which can mean ‘finish’, have also been recorded in a number of utterances. For the semelfactive aspect, the marker *hóbó* is used. As with Lebu’ Kulit *uvan*, the lexeme *òbèny* is also used to mark the agent of undergoer action, and it can signal that the action is completed. Very often these lexemes are used together in the same clause.

In examples (28) and (29) the lexeme *tene* is used to indicate aspectual characteristic of the verbs. In (28) it is stressed that 700 years have passed since people had stayed in Sa’an and that now they are not there any longer, whereas in (29) the verb *tèsen* ‘know’ is marked for perfective action because today’s knowledge is the result of something that happened in the past. The same holds for (30) where the lexeme *lepe’* is also used to accompany the verb *kanane* ‘use’ therefore to emphasize that it is not used any longer. In (31) *lepe’* and *tene* refer to the implied verb ‘exist’ to stress that somebody is dead, is not there any more. Generally *tene* is preferred to mark stative verbs like *tèsen* whereas *lepe’* is used with other verbs as in (30) and (34). In (32) the semelfactive marker *hóbó* marks the verb *tèsen* because it has to be stressed that nobody ever knew this history before that. In (33) the perfective marker *póne*, which is used much less commonly, is employed with the verb *baca* ‘read’.

- (28) *mase’ tè tene sui tuju ató òmèny éle*
 maybe go PFCT more seven hundred year 1PLINCL

ke Sa’èny te
 LOC Sa’an DIR
 ‘maybe we stayed for more than 700 years in Sa’an’

- (29) *a’eng tene le tèsen ó’ó lepó Ònya Sè’ò zé he*
 NEG PFCT 1PLINCL know later after Ònya Sè’ò that PRTCL
 ‘we don’t know anything after Ònya Sè’ò’

- (30) *a’eng tene ki tèsen je lepe’ ta’eng kanane tene re*
 a’eng tene ki tèsen je lepe’ ta’eng kanèny-e tene re
 NEG PFCT 1SG know because PFCT NEG use-3SG PFCT PFCT
 ‘I don’t know because it has not been used any more’

- (31) *lepe’ ta’eng tene e, matè tene*
 finished NEG PFCT 3SG dead PFCT
 ‘he is gone, he is dead’

- (32) *a’eng hóbó re de’ tèsen de’ tè Ònya Sè’ò ngèny*
 NEG PFCT 3PL REL know REL go Ònya Sè’ò with

de’ tè Apèny Lempu zé
 REL go Apèny Lempu that
 ‘nobody ever knew who was before Ònya Sè’ò and Apèny Lempu’

- (33) *póne ki baca' ó'óre mè*
 PFCT 1SG read earlier that.time
 'I have read it'
- (34) *zó òbèny lepe' nafa éle re*
zó òbèny lepe' N-tafa éle re
 3SG trace finished AV-abandon 1PL.INCL PRCL
 'he has abandoned us'

3.2. Imperfective

The markers of imperfective aspect are as follows:

- *énó* exist
- *leve'* in the middle
- *daò* inside, in the middle
- RED reduplication

Imperfective aspect, when marked, is expressed by various strategies. Progressive aspect can be marked by the verb 'to be/exist' but progressive is more typically marked with adverbs such as 'now' as in example (37). Examples (35) and (36) show the employment of *énó* 'exist' with the function of showing the progressive aspect. In naturalistic data, one also finds instances of imperfective actions being marked by adverbs/prepositions meaning 'in the middle' like *leve'* or *daò*. Habitual and iterative aspect, regardless of tense, can be marked by reduplication of the verb.

Example (38) displays the employment of *leve'* 'middle' to indicate the progressive action whereas in (39) through (43) the adverb *daò* 'in the middle' and its variant *raò* are used to express an action that is in progress.

- (35) *énó e nyòrèj dae ku té mée*
énó e N-sòrèj dae ku té mée
 exist 3SG AV-write voice 2SG there like.that
 'she is recording (and writing) your voice'
- (36) *sekali nè e fena'at té lèny éno étó*
sekali nè e feN-ta'at té lèny éno étó
 one.time come 3SG INTR-AV-see there really exist seen
- ketòza' bali zé na'at étó zó lutu té*
ke-tòza' bali zé N-ta'at étó zó lutu té
 IRR-observe ghost that AV-see aspect 3SG tidur di.situ
 'when he he looked at it, he clearly saw that the ghost was observing him sleeping'
- (37) *nyòrèj sòrèj ki me falè ki mii*
 N-sòrèj sòrèj ki me falè ki mii
 N-write letter 1SG towards friend 1SG now
 'I am writing a letter to my friend'
- (38) *sa' jòte' leve' ama'*
 cook rice middle mother
 'mum is cooking rice'

- (39) *daò le tè ntu Sa'èny nyé*
 in.the.middle 1PLINCL go bathe Sa'an that
 'we are having a bath in the Sa'an River'
- (40) *je raò éle mane mée le*
je raò éle mény=e mée le
 because in.the.middle 1PLINCL hold=3SG like.that LE
 'because we were holding it'
- (41) *daò évó òmény jòte' pé dó pény-pény*
daò évó òmény jòte' pé dó RED-pény
 in.the.middle 3DU eat rice father 3PL ITER-throw
- ke lighe' anune jòte'*
ke lighe' aneng=e jòte'
 at back posses=3SG rice
 'when they were eating rice, the father kept on throwing the rice on his back'
- (42) *daò nè évó ngalangh janèny tene zé évó felai-felai*
daò nè évó ngalangh janèny tene zé évó RED-felai
 in.the.middle come 3DU along road PFCT that 3DU ITER-talk
 'they were coming along the road, they talked and talked'
- (43) *daò e talò isi nòcen-nòcen afě zé té*
daò e talò isi RED-nòcen afě zé té
 in.the.middle 3SG absorbed aspect ITER-N-hit.w.head fire that there
 'he was hitting his head against the fire'
- (44) *òbèny ala zó hetem temali e ézé*
òbèny ala zó fe-tem temali e ézé
 trace take 3SG INTR-exact pregnancy 3SG that
 'she was taken when she was pregnant'

Reduplication of various verbs marks habitual action in the following examples (45) through (47) and iterativity as in examples (48) through (53).

- (45) *dé tè le kelale'-kelale' te tepeng dé*
dé tè le RED-ke-lale' te tepeng dé
 that go 1PLINCL HAB-IRR-confused at ancestor that
 'that is what is confusing us about our ancestors'
- (46) *tangen kam òèj keng-keng ngadèny i'ek de' zi*
tangen kam òèj RED-keng ngadèny i'ek de' zi
 happy 2PL MOD HAB-say name small REL this
 'you would always call people by their nick-names'
- (47) *aghi Apèny Fè'èj rae-rae re keng aghi*
aghi Apèny Fè'èj RED-rae re keng aghi
 1SG Apèny Fè'èj HAB-voice people say 1SG
 'I am Apèny Fè'èj, this is how people call me'

(48) *métó-métó kena le ja'at ngadèny jè'è le, nyòrèj môngh*
 RED-N-fétó ke-na lPLINCL ja'at ngadèny jè'è le N-sòrèj môngh
 HAB-look.for IRR-go 1PLINCL bad name that 1PL AV-write all
 'we are looking for bad names for us to write them down'

(49) *harus le tè fôte-fôte de' mugheng-mugheng téle*
 harus le tè RED-fôte de' RED-mugheng téle
 must 1PL.EXCL go ITER-question REL PL-old DIR-1PL.INCL
 'we have to keep on asking our elders'

(50) *ntó ne eng kelèvet-kelèvet ngadèny é'ó ti'i zé keci lu*
 ntó ne eng RED-kelèvet ngadèny é'ó ti'i zé keci lu
 or NE exist HAB-repeat nama 3PL there that say-1SG LU
 'or they repeat their names in that situation (I say)'

(51) *te ngadèny ne be re fò'ónggh ala-ala ngadèny tepeng,*
 te ngadèny ne be re fò'ónggh RED-ala ngadèny tepeng,
 at nama person if person purpose HAB-take name old

dé ta felèvet
 that go repeat

'as for names, when somebody takes the name of their ancestors, it is on purpose that it gets repeated'

(52) *zó hazu de' fezej-fezèj tavè kelònèny ne ézé*
 zó hazu de' RED-fezèj tavè kelònèny ne ézé
 3SG maybe REL ITER-disturb feeling person DIR that
 'maybe he is the ghost who keeps on disturbing the feeling of people'

(53) *ngeda-ngeda môngh ènem de' kè'en le perlu*
 RED-N-keda môngh ènem de' kè'en le perlu
 HAB-AV-poison all What REL by 1PL.INCL need

kata éle ne
 towards 1PL.INCL DIR

'he poisons everything we need in our place'

3.3. Negation, mood and evidentiality

Negation of an event is marked by a wide range of strategies.

- *aeng* to negate verbs
- *ta'eg* to negate verb of existence and nouns
- *au* prohibition
- *è'el* prohibition
- *òèj* modal

Aeng tends to negate verbs and *ta'eng* nouns, whereas *au* or *è'el* are employed to prohibit. These are often accompanied by *òèj*, a marker of modality, used mostly in prohibitions, but also to express intention, an approaching event, a hypothesis, a refusal, a possibility, or an expectation. The prefix/proclitic *ke-* only occurs with *tè* 'go' and *nè* 'come' and marks irrealis mood (see examples (60) and (61)). Example (54) shows the use of the negator *a'eng* with a verb whereas in (55) the negator *ta'eng* negates a noun. Prohibitions

are displayed in example sentences (56) and (57) where also the modality particle *òèj* occurs. This modality particle is also exemplified in (58) and (59).

- (54) *fèmet bate Òzò I'ek jé a'eng tene ncam ketè*
 fèmet bate Òzò I'ek jé a'eng tene ncam ke-tè
 think stone Òzò I'ek that NEG PFCT can IRR-go

fabèj jó ta'èny
 fabèj jó ta'èny
 chase 3SG see
 'he thinks of the Òzò I'ek rock, that it won't be able to chase him again'
- (55) *avane engne kam de' nè òbe' kenè ala*
 avan=e eng-ne kam de' nè òbe' ke-nè ala
 then=3SG exist-DIR 2PL REL come want IRR-come take

teghene' fu'eng dé, ta'eng de' madiengh
 teghene' fu'eng dé NEG REL new
 'so you came to get our old stories, not the new ones'
- (56) *au òèj mengkangh nyó òzò có' ta*
 au òèj meN-kangh nyó òzò có' ta
 don't MOD AV-carry 3SG orphan order go

ngèny ne me-asèj
 ngèny ne me-asèj
 with people INTR-road
 'don't carry him, let him walk with other people'
- (57) *léfe kavó ke kòma ne, è'elle kavó*
 léfe kavó ke ke-òma ne, è'el-le kavó
 let 2PL.DU LOC LOC-home DIR don't-PRTCL 2PL.DU

òèj nè fempek
 MOD come go.out
 'you two stay just at home, don't go out!'
- (58) *je re òèj jere' étó aghi ke ce te re*
 because people MOD laugh seen 1SG LOC far DIR PRTCL
 '(I don't like) that people make fun of me'
- (59) *je òèj ala ngadèny tó'ó*
 because MOD take name parent
 'because they would take the name of their parents'
- (60) *ketè tele ke Irian có tò, òmèny có tè*
 ke-tè tele ke Irian có tò òmèny có tè
 IRR-go 1PLINCL LOC Irian one day year one go

ke Irian bòlèny bòlèny tele
 to Irian month month three
 'we will go to Irian one day, next year, to Irian, in the month of March'

- (61) *nè Bôngèny kenè mesé' famen, a'eng e maghangh*
nè Bôngèny ke-nè N-fesé' famen a'eng e me-aghangh
 come Bôngèny IRR-come AV-open door NEG 3SG INTR-brave
 'Bôngèny was going open the door but he did not have the courage'

Evidentiality, as in *Lebu' Kulit*, is not grammatical but the language employs a range of lexemes and evidential verbs to mark the source of information expressed in a sentence.

- *disi* aspect, appearance
- *étó* seen
- *baen* utter (with cliticized personal pronouns)
- *dae* voice (with cliticized personal pronouns)
- *ken* say (with cliticized personal pronouns)
- *len* feel (with cliticized personal pronouns)

These are *disi* 'aspect', *étó* 'seen', quotative verbs like *baen*, *dae*, *ken* 'say, utter' with the clitic pronouns in forms like: *ba=ci* (I say) *ba=cu* (you say) *ban=e* (he says) *ba=cam* (youPL say) *ba=do* (they say) *ba=nyo* (he says), *da=re/ra=re* (they say), *ke=ci* (I say), *ke=cu* (you say) *ko=do* (they say) *kó=nyó* (he says) *kó=le* (we say) *kun=e* (he says) *kón=am* (we say) *len* (feel) *len=ci/le=ci* (I feel) *le=ku* (you feel), *le=le* (we feel). Below, from (62) through (64), are some example sentences where the evidentials *étó* 'seen' and *disi* 'aspect' are employed. In (65), the evidence of a statement is marked by a quotative verb *kónyó* (he says) and by a verb of feeling *lenci* 'I feel' in (66).

- (62) *ki meli safè de' tè'a étó ó'ó*
ki N-beli safè de' tè'a étó ó'ó
 1SG AV-buy dress REL nice seen later
 'I will buy you a nice dress'

- (63) *mée étó bevèj-bevèj tasa le ke Sa'èny ne*
mée étó RED-bevèj tasa le ke Sa'èny ne
 like this seen PL-feature time 1PLINCL at Sa'an DIR
 'apparently our habits in Sa'an in the past where exactly like these'

- (64) *bangh étó zó ngetòmen-ngetòmen ngempangen anake*
bangh étó zó RED-N-ketòmen N-bangen ana'=e
 only seen 3SG ITER-AV-embrace AV-happy child=3SG
 'he was embracing (it was seen) his child'

- (65) *tè mana sòngè ntu zó ó'ó je*
tè N-fana sòngè ntu zó ó'ó je
 go AV-heat water bathe 3SG later because

a'eng tè'a udite kónyó
a'eng tè'a udij=e keng=nyó
 NEG nice life-3SG word-3SG
 'heat the water, bathe him because he is not feeling well, he said'

- (66) *bangen lenci je tè'a isi e re*
bangen len=ci je tè'a isi e re
 happy feel=1SG because nice aspect 3SG PRCL
 'I am happy (I feel) because of his kindness'

4. Punan Tubu'

The Punan Tubu'-Malinau-Mentarang are the largest community of hunter-gatherers living in a one area in Borneo, the Malinau Regency in East Kalimantan. They possibly number as many as 4000 speakers and include the Punan Tubu', Punan Malinau, Punan Mentarang and Punan Sekatak or Punan Berusu'. Most live in a resettlement camp (Respen Sembuak, now called Respen Tubu' next to the capital town of Malinau), while some inhabit the upper part of the Tubu' river in the Malinau Regency. Data for this paper were collected with the Punan Tubu' community in Respen Tubu', Malinau. Punan Tubu' is a branch of the North Sarawak subgroup. Morphologically this language behaves like most of the other languages of the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup with prefixes and no suffixes. Aspect is mostly marked analytically. Nevertheless this language employs the <en> infixation to express undergoer voice (see Soriente 2013) and this infix can also have a perfective meaning.

4.1. Perfective

Perfectivity is marked by the following markers:

- *belum* PFCT/finished
- <en> passive and perfective of transitive verbs
- *tubit* semelfactive

Perfectivity is mostly marked by the optional word *belum*, which expresses perfect of experience, of result and of a persistent situation. It seems that this word only appears in isolation when no other devices are employed to indicate the aspect of the event (see examples (67) and (68)). Undergoer sentences morphologically expressed by the infixation of <en> often have the perfect interpretation, thus, undergoer sentences are usually not marked by *belum* as in example (73). Furthermore, *belum* can also function as a time conjunction in subordinate clauses. *Tubit* marks semelfactive aspect (see example (74)). The time of an event is only expressed through the time adjuncts *lou'ah* 'that day', *tovun* 'tomorrow', *bénih* 'now', *maléh* 'yesterday', *uron* 'in the past', *unih, unéi* 'earlier', *ano* 'later' as in examples (69) through (72) below.

(67) *belum kou mom?*
 PFCT 2SG bathe
 'have you bathed yet?'

(68) *déh belum a' déh tat a'up nah hén pén ké'*
déh belum a' déh tat a'up nah hén pén ke=é'
 go PFCT person go from morning exist 3SG take say-1SG

janéi wo' ji' ne=(h)én
 bird REL one then=3SG
 'the person has gone since this morning, he has taken that one bird (I say)'

(69) *miri' unan hén dorén hén ne rin betai'*
 N-piri' unan hén dorén hén ne rin betai'
 AV-lay-down with 3SG visible 3SG kemudian 3SG hamil

pe lou'ah
pe lou'ah
 also hari.itu
 'she had laid down with him and it was clear later that she had become pregnant that day'

- (70) *iro déh ti' lou'ah yah?*
 3DU go aggressive that.day EXCLM
 'they have fought against each other, right?'
- (71) *mekevoh hén déh nah lou'ah*
 me-kevoh hén déh nah lou'ah
 ST-dead 3SG go be day=that
 'he died that day'
- (72) *na uli' ne detou petékung lou'ah*
 na uli' ne detou pe-tékung lou'ah
 EXCLM go.back then 3PL INTR-gather day=that
 'well, they have all come back in the village'
- (73) *kévi' a' an lirin tukung an lun tukung tenenah*
 kévi' a' an lirin tukung an lun tukung <en>tenah
 all person at close village at place village <UV>destroy

otuh Kaci',
otuh Kaci',
ghost Kaci'
 'all the people living in the village and next to it were destroyed by the ghost Kaci''
- (74) *hok tubit pelok hén, belum inah hén mekevo'*
 hok tubit pelok hén, belum inah hén me-kevo'
 1SG PFCT meet 3SG PFCT that 3SG ST-die
 'I met him once, after that he died'

4.2. Imperfective

Imperfective markers in Punan Tubu' are:

- *an tang* between
- *an luang* in the middle
- *an belua* in the middle
- *déh* go
- *téi* come
- *lela* still
- *ledun* while
- *reduplication*

Imperfective aspect does not have a dedicated marker and is often omitted. In a limited number of cases the spatial expressions *an tang* (in the middle), *an luang* (inside), *an belua* (in the middle) in Punan Tubu', are employed, but these markers are not obligatory. Progressive aspect is expressed with the verbs *déh* 'go' (which precedes the word expressing the action) or *téi* 'come', or via reduplication and the employment of adverbs like *lela* 'still' or *ledun* 'while'.

There is a prefix *nye-* that derives verbs on nominal bases that, among the others, exhibits progressive aspectual properties but this has to be better investigated.

Examples (75) and (76) show instances of progressive aspect expressed through the spatial expression 'in the middle/between'. Examples (77) to (80) employ the motion verbs *déh* 'go' and *téi* 'come'. In (81) and (82), the imperfective action is marked by the

adverbs *lela* ‘still’ and the conjunction *ledun* ‘while’, and in (83) and (84) examples of reduplication where iterativity marks non completed action are displayed. Examples (85) and (86) are instances of imperfectivity marked by deictics whereas (87) and (88) are utterances where no aspect marker is employed.

- (75) *nak inah an luang keman kun*
 child that at between eat food
 ‘the child is (in the middle of) eating rice’
- (76) *hén an tang menarik*
 hén an tang meN-tarik
 3SG at between AV-dance
 ‘she is dancing’
- (77) *detou uva’ déh mekéi an aun tukuk*
 detou uva’ déh me-kéi an aun tukuk
 3PL new go INTR-go.up at over mountain
 ‘he is climbing the mountain’
- (78) *hén déh mena’ tandik rin*
 hén déh N-pena’ tandik rin
 3SG go AV-do story 3SG
 ‘he is continuing his storytelling’
- (79) *Roman téi nekering an jungat teban*
Roman téi ne-kering an jungat teban
 Roman come AV-stand at doorway door
 ‘Roman is standing on the doorway’
- (80) *hén déh ngelekan you wo’ muit tat levu’*
 hén déh N-kelekan you wo’ muit tat levu’
 3SG go AV-chase chicken REL AV-go.out from house
 ‘he is chasing the chicken that went out from the house’
- (81) *tat kou téi jam yan hok lela lekah, ovi’ maling nun*
 from 2SG come hour eight 1SG still work NEG NEG rest

hok melai lekah
 1SG not.yet work
 ‘if you come at eight I will be still working’
- (82) *maléh ledun inah hén matuk an atang,*
maléh ledun inah hén N-patuk an atang
 yesterday in.the.meanwhile that 3SG AV-cook at kitchen

nak hén puvé’ an atan
nak hén pe-uvé’ an atan
 child 3SG INTR-play at yard
 ‘yesterday while she was cooking in the kitchen, her son was playing in the yard’

(83) *telipan nggap-nggap kiné' rin déh*
 telipan RED-nggap ke-iné' rin déh
 cockroach ITER-peck NMLZR-because 3SG go
 'the cockroach is pecking and pecking so that she can leave'

(84) *péma'-éma' ne doh lou'ah tubit*
 pe-RED-éma' ne doh lou'ah tubit
 INTR-ITER-say then 3PL. that.day PFCT

doh kah jainah rin ke doh
 doh kah jainah rin ke doh
 3PL walk like 3SG to 3PL

'he had been asking here and there that day, then he went, they say'

(85) *ovi' ngalung surat, hén turui*
 ovi' N-kalung surat hén turui
 NEG AV-carving letter 3SG sleep
 'he is not writing a letter, he is sleeping'

(86) *hén tandik an arin hén*
 3SG story at y.sibling 3SG
 'he is telling a story to his brother'

(87) *lekah hok inih*
 work 1SG this
 'I am working'

(88) *hén leka bénih, ovi' ngom téi*
 3SG kerja now NEG can come
 'he is working now, he cannot come'

4.3 Negation, mood and evidentiality

Negation, mood and evidentiality are marked in Punan tubu' by the following:

- *ovi'* negates verbs and nouns
- *maling* marks an opposition
- *ke-* irrealis mood
- *it* want
- *ngom* can
- *padai* be able
- *ke-* quotative

Negation, mood and evidentiality are not marked by bound morphemes but rather by free lexemes, with the exception of the prefix *ke-*, which marks modality.

Ovi' negates nouns and verbs, *maling* marks opposition or a statement contrary to expectations (see ex. 92-93). *Ovi'* tends to precede the subject in the syntactic structure as can be seen in examples (89) and (90), whereas *maling* occurs before the verb (92-93):

(89) *detou ovi' detou melai vi' umoh, ovi' detou padai*
 3PL NEG 3PL not.yet many field NEG 3PL know

jam kun hén
 can food 3SG
 ‘they don’t yet have ricefields because they do not know how to make food’

(90) *ovi’ déh iro melai ku’ung*
 NEG go 3DU not.yet gather
 ‘they have not gotten together yet’

(91) *ovi’ ne hok ngami kou kenah uron, ovi’ nih*
ovi’ ne hok N-ami kou kenah uron, ovi’ nih
 NEG then 1SG AV-hope 2SG that in.the past NEG here

kén an nak hén nah
kén an nak hén nah
 say3SG at child 3SG exist
 ‘I was not expecting you would be like this, he said to his son’

(92) *hok mu’ nak kah, nak maling kah*
 1SG order child walk child NEG walk
 ‘I made/caused the child to walk, but he didn’t walk’

(93) *hok mé’ nak inah keman, nak inah maling yo’ keman*
 1SG give child that eat child that NEG unwilling eat
 ‘I made the child eat, but he didn’t want to eat’

Mood or epistemic modality, i.e. the expression of the degree of a speaker’s certainty regarding an utterance, is conveyed using modal verbs. These include *it* (want) (for future actions), *harus* ‘have to’ or simply adverbs like *laung* ‘really’, or strong intonation, for obligation, *ngom*, for the epistemic modality of possibility, and *jam* ‘know’ and *padai* ‘be able’. Following are some examples showing the use of modal verbs.

(94) *lacét kou, aruk it déh kah*
 quick 2SG boat want go walk
 ‘you must hurry up, the boat is going to leave’

(95) *tovun kou ovi’ kengom leka*
tovun kou ovi’ ke-ngom leka
 tomorrow 2SG NEG IRR-can work
 ‘tomorrow you shouldn’t be able to work’

(96) *John it teniran tovun, héi wo’ it téi*
 John it <en>tiran tovun héi wo’ it téi
 John want TER-marry tomorrow who REL want go

tat adat ngenong hén
 tat adat N-genong hén
 from customs N-see 3SG
 ‘John will get married tomorrow, who is going to be the witness?’

(97) *héi wo’ neju tero mangun lakin tero tovun?*
 héi wo’ ne-ju tero mangun lakin tero tovun?
 who REL UV-angkat 1PL.INCL become leader 1PL.INCL tomorrow

tat adat ngenong hén tat adat
 tat adat N-genong hén Tat adat
 from customs AV-see 3SG from customs
 ‘who among us will be chosen to become our leader tomorrow?’

- (98) *hok kah déh lulung, tat hok uli’ ano’ tanah mangun*
 1SG walk go before from 1SG go.back later there become

pa’ ne lekah ketou pa’
 also then work 2PL also
 ‘I am leaving now, when I come back, all your work has to be finished’

- (99) *arin ku tovun ngalung surat*
 arin ku tovun N-kalung surat
 y.sibling 1SG tomorrow AV-carving letter
 ‘my brother will be writing letters tomorrow’

- (100) *tovun kou ovi’ nyatung, ungéi réh seniom*
 tovun kou ovi’ N-satung ungéi réh seniom
 tomorrow 2SG NEG AV-swim water that cold
 ‘tomorrow you won’t be swimming, the water will be cold’

As in other Borneo languages, there is not a dedicated class of evidentials but in most utterances it is necessary to express whether the truth of a statement comes from the fact that it is said, heard, or felt. In Punan Tubu there is a proclitic sometimes occurring as a free morpheme *ke-* that has a quotative meaning. It always becomes the hosts of clitic pronouns: *ke=rin* ‘he says’, *ke=detou* ‘they say’, *ke=kou* ‘you say’ *ke* ‘I say’, *kén* ‘he says’¹. Examples (101) through (103) display these quotative verbs with cliticized pronouns. This *ke-* can be also prefixed to any noun to indicate who says what: *keBilung* ‘said Bilung’. The same cliticized pronouns attach also to the lexem *kuén* ‘word, intention’ like *kuok* ‘I say, I mean’ in example (104).

- (101) *gemi’ kén ngenong rin kun auh aji’*
gemi’ ke=hén N-genong rin kun auh aji’
 smile say=3SG AV-see 3SG food dog other
 ‘she had the most beautiful looking smile, ‘I swear’’

- (102) *nyelu va’ nyelu nyipén hén jan héi kedoh*
nyelu va’ nyelu nyipén hén jan héi ke=doh
 till mouth till tooth 3SG good who say=3PL
 ‘including her mouth, including her teeth, said them’

- (103) *hok pelok ké’ ji’ liwai man hén mekevo’ uva’*
hok pelok ke-é’ ji’ liwai man hén me-kevo’ uva’
 1SG meet say-1SG one kali father 3SG INTR-kill new
 ‘I met your father once, then he died’

¹ It is worth briefly mentioning that clitic pronouns in this language are affixed to inalienable nouns and also to some verbs and lexemes. Moreover, whereas the aspect markers and the negation markers cannot host these clitics, modal verbs and evidential verbs nevertheless can. Only singular pronouns can become clitics (*-k*, *-m*, *-n*), and the position of the arguments is irrelevant for the realis/irrealis distinction.

- (104) *ja' ku' an tilau bayau ke kou kuok uron néi*
ja' ku' an tilau bayau ke kou kuén=hok uron néi
 probably 1SG at place tiger KE 2SG word=1SG long.time earlier
 'probably I was in the tiger's place that time, I say'

5. Penan Benalui

The Penan Benalui are a group of former hunter gatherers people originally inhabiting several areas in the highlands of Central Borneo and nowadays living in seven communities of the Malinau district of East Kalimantan and not always in contact with each other: Long Bena (52 people) and Long Belaka (165 people) on the Lurah River, Long Lame (also k.a. Long Lame Baru) (190 people), Long Sungai Taket (population included in Long Lame), on the Bahau River, and other villages of settled Kenyah people in the Pujungan regency like Long Uli (42 people) and Pujungan (2 persons). Data for this paper are mostly from the Long Lame Baru village.

The Penan Benalui language is spoken by almost 450 people and has been considered a member of Western Penan group which also comprises also the Penan Geng, Penan Silat, and Penan Apau in Sarawak between the Baram and the Balui rivers. Eastern Penan languages are spoken in Sarawak and Brunei and are considered slightly different in vocabulary and phonetics. The Penan Benalui is a very small group that has lived for many years separated from groups in Sarawak apparently speaking sister languages.

They are generally bilingual, speaking the language of the settlers they are in contact with, namely the Kenyah, with which they have historical relations. They are claimed to speak the language of any settled neighbor and are always defined by Kenyah as multilingual. Nowadays, with the spread of Indonesian as a national language, Penan Benalui also communicate with non-neighboring Kenyah in Indonesian, and this also is the language used with other Punan as demonstrated during the cross-Punan meetings. Penan Benalui is classified as belonging to the Kayan-Kenyah subgroup sharing with Kayan and Kenyah languages similar morphological behavior with prefixation and no suffixation. On the other hand Penan Benalui displays undergoer voice with the the employment of the <en> infixation (see Soriente 2013). Like the other languages discussed before, Penan Benalui does not express tense, nor is any morphology used for aspect and mood, but rather, time is expressed using time adjuncts such as *saau* 'in the past', *nii* 'earlier', *daap or éda* 'later', *malem* 'yesterday', *sagam* 'tomorrow' etc. and most aspectual features are marked analitically by free lexemes that can be optional. As already mentioned for Punan Tubu the <en> infix can have a perfective reading.

5.1 Perfective

The markers of perfective aspect in Penan Benalui are:

- *pengah* finished, PFCT
- <en> passive and perfective of transitive verbs
- *tubit* semelfactive

Perfective aspect is expressed analitically through the lexeme *pengah*² which also conveys the meaning of 'finished' and can also be used as a temporal adverb 'after' in temporal clauses. In examples (105) through (107), *pengah* functions as a perfective

² The same lexeme is employed in Kelabit (see Clayre 2002). In Western and Eastern Penan spoken in Sarawak and Brunei, the perfective lexeme is *lepah*, a cognate of Kenyah *lepek*.

marker, whereas in (108) it is a temporal adverb ‘after’ that links two sentences. As already mentioned, the undergoer voice marking infix <en> also has a perfective meaning. Sentences (109) and (110) demonstrate this. Nevertheless there are cases like example (111) where the free lexeme *pengah* is used together with an infixed verb.

(105) *pengah éh naat akeu’ iah ieng éh naat kaau*
 PFCT 3SG see 1SG but NEG 3SG see 2SG
 ‘he has seen me but he hasn’t seen you’

(106) *kekat sakai pengah masek bibi*
 all guest PFCT go.in whole
 ‘all the guest have all come in’

(107) *ineu’ puun amee pengah ko’ tei la’ Jakarta?*
 what be father PFCT 2SG go to Jakarta
 ‘have you ever been to Jakarta?’

(108) *melu apu pengah melu ale apu melu apu*
 drain.water sagu after drain.water take sagu drain.water sagu
 ‘we drained water, after draining water, we took the sagu’

(109) *akeu’ kenala’ nah*
akeu’ <en>kala’ nah
 1SG -en-laughter 3SG
 ‘I have been laughed at by him’

(110) *éh mange tu deneban*
éh mange tu <en>deban
 3SG cry because <UV>hit
 ‘she is crying because she was hit’

(111) *balak ya’ pengau senua’ pengah kinan*
 banana REL new <en>buy PFCT <en>eat
 ‘the bananas that were just bought were eaten up’

5.2 Imperfective

Imperfective aspect has no dedicated marker, but can be marked by the following:

- *me/meN-* transitive and intransitive verbs
- *tei* go
- *reng* in the middle
- RDP reduplication

When non explicitly expressed by a lexeme, the stative or intransitive prefix *me*³ as in (112) or the active transitive (*me*)*N-* in (113) and (114).

(112) *padi ki’ melakau*
padi ki’ lakau
 relative 1SG INTR-walk
 ‘my brother is walking’

³ The verbal prefix *me-* also has a stative function.

- (113) *mam moru*
mam N-poru
 father AV-bathe
 ‘daddy is bathing’
- (114) *akeu’ menyurat mona’ bakéh ki’*
akeu’ meN-surat mona’ bakéh ki’
 1SG AV-letter for friend 1SG
 ‘I am writing a letter for my friend’

Sometimes the motion verb *tei* ‘go’ followed by another verb indicates imperfectivity as can be seen in examples (115) and (116). Reduplication has the function of expressing imperfective action in (116).

- (115) *akeu’ tei melakau-melakau tong ba’*
akeu’ tei RED-me-lakau tong ba’
 1SG go ITER-INTR-walk LOC forest
 ‘I went walking in the forest’
- (116) *ireh kelunan Kenyah tei pejagan dalem sawah*
ireh kelunan Kenyah tei pe-jagan dalem sawah
 3PL person Kenyah go INTR-work inside paddy
 ‘the farmer (the Kenyah) went working in the paddy’

More generally, imperfective action can just be unmarked as in (117) where only the context determines the aspect. Alternatively the use of adverbials such as *reng* ‘in the middle’ or *déneh* ‘now’ can express imperfective action as in (118)

- (117) *ireh pula parai*
 3PL plant rice.plant
 ‘they’re planting rice’
- (118) *reng nen panah ma’*
 in.the.middle mother hot cooked.rice
 ‘mom is cooking rice’

5.3 Modals, negators and evidentials

Modals, negators and evidentials in Penan Benalui are:

- *ju’* want, will
- *sukat* can
- *harus* must
- *ieng* negator
- *amai* prohibition
- *pia’/mia’* say

Modals are *ju’* ‘want, will’ *sukat* ‘can’ and the Indonesian borrowed verb *harus* ‘must’.

The modal *ju’* is generally used to mark an approaching event (see example (119)) or to denote an intention as in examples (120) and (121). The modal verb *sukat*, illustrated in (122), marks a possibility and *harus* in (123), a necessity.

- (119) *iah ya' ju' alee akeu'*
 3SG REL want take 1SG
 'it is going to be taken by me'
- (120) *akeu' ju' moru*
 akeu' ju' N-poru
 1SG want AV-bathe
 'I will have a bath'
- (121) *sagam akeu' ju' tei la' kota*
 tomorrow 1SG want go to town
 'tomorrow I'll go to town'
- (122) *mesep bee gonin bee Baau ireh sukat ireh sep*
 me-sep bee gonin bee Baau ireh sukat ireh sep
 me-drink water raw water Bahau 3PL can 3PL drink
 'they drank the raw water of the Bahau, yes they could drink it'
- (123) *ireh harus posot*
 3PL must rest
 'they must rest'

The negator *ieng* has a tendency to occur before pronouns as in example (124) and *amai* is used to prohibit something or to express the desire that something does not happen as in example (125).

- (124) *ieng ireh puun puto mamah, ieng ireh puto sakit kena'*
 NEG 3PL exist often feverish NEG 3PL often sick appear
 'they did not often get feverish, they did not get often sick (it appears)'
- (125) *amai beleka tuei ugai akeu'*
 NEG need come naked 1SG
 'I'd better not come, I am naked'

In Penan Benalui the quotative verb *mia'* (say) or the noun *pia'* (word) occur very frequently in utterances where it is necessary to mark the source of information. When the source of information is vaguer, then the word used is *kena'*⁴ 'appear, resemble'. In example (126) the speaker is repeating somebody else's words whereas in (127) the source of information is not certain and the invocation to the spirits is felt as vague.

- (126) *mia' pia' ireh kovok één katon apu niin*
N-pia' pia' ireh kovok één katon apu <en>miin
 N-say language 3PL monitor that sack sago <UV>bring
- ireh moli één*
ireh N-poli één
 3PL AV-come.home that
 'it was said, the monitor, the sack of sago was brought by them'

⁴ *Kena'* is now grammaticalized in the question word 'how' and in the conjunction 'like'.

- (127) *kena' éneh tei kah aseu' ketei pitah balei Gaau*
kena' éneh tei kah aseu' ke-tei pitah balei Gaau
 appear that go 2PL dog IRR-go look.for spirit Gaau
 'you dogs, go look for the spirit Gaau! (it appears)'

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, all these languages, which are otherwise unintelligible, make use of TAME markers that are very diverse from each other. Nevertheless, despite the fact that these markers are different lexemes, the strategies to mark TAME show some similarities. The marker of perfectivity in all these languages is a free morpheme except for a few instances. These exceptions are the polyfunctional prefix *ke-* that occurs as a modality marker in Kenyah and occasionally in Penan Benalui and Punan Tubu'. The infix <en> is also used extensively as a marker of undergoer voice in Punan Tubu' and Penan Benalui. In all the languages studied, the major marker of perfectivity is a free lexeme with the meaning of 'finished'. For the imperfective aspect, in the cases it is expressed, the strategy used is to employ adverbial expressions meaning 'in the middle, between'. All the other TAME markers are non morphological. As I have shown, for the most part these languages express TAME properties using unbound lexical items. These lexical items are optional, and can be omitted if the relevant TAME properties are otherwise clear from discourse of sentential context. It is interesting to note that in all the languages studied, the quotative verbs have an important role in the expression of evidentiality. In particular in Kenyah and in Punan Tubu the quotative verb *ken* 'say' bears the clitic pronouns and in the case of Punan Tubu this epistemic marker is being morphologized as it attaches also to nouns.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	AV	actor voice
CAUS	causative	CMP	completed
DIR	directional	DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic particle	EXCL	exclusive
EXCLM	exclamation	HAB	habitual
INCL	inclusive	INTR	intransitive
IRR	irrealis mode	ITER	iterative aspect
LOC	locative	NEG	negator
NMLZ	nominalizer	PAU	paucal
PFV	perfective	PL	plural
PRTCL	particle	RECP	reciprocal
RED	reduplication	REL	relativizer
SG	singular	ST	stative
TR	transitive	VBLZR	verbalizer

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