Voice and focus system in Penan and Kenyah languages of East Kalimantan

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1. Introduction

This paper describes the morphosyntactic features of some Borneo languages spoken in East Kalimantan belonging to different branches of the North Borneo phylum, mainly Penan Benalui, Punan Tubu', Punan Malinau and Kenyah. I present a description of the morphosyntax of Penan Benalui, Punan Tubu', Punan Malinau and Kenyah languages from naturalistic and elicited data and also use some secondary source data from Kayan and Kayanic languages to shed light on the typological morphosyntactic features of the area for the expression of focus and voice comparing the way grammatical relations are marked and the way actor focus and undergoer focus contrast is expressed.

2. The North Borneo languages

In the following table a classification of these languages according to the most recent version of the Ethnologue is provided to give an idea of the extention of this group and at the same time to discuss the problem of the different subgroupings these languages are considered to belong to and the shortcomings of this classification.

Genealogical classification of North Borneo languages according to the Ethnologue

North Borneo (99)
   (1) Melanau-Kajang (11)
      Kajang (6)
         Bukitan [bkn] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
         Kajaman
         Lahanan
         Sekapan
         Sian
         Ukit
      Melanau (5)
   (2) North Sarawakan (53)
      Berawan-Lower Baram (8)
      Bintulu (1)
      Dayic (18)
         Kelabitic
            Kelabit
            Lengilu
            Lun Bawang
            Putoh
            Saʔban
            Tring
      Kayan-Kenyah (25)
         Kayanic (17)

    Kayan Proper (8)
    Modang (2)
    Müller-Schwaner Punan (6)
        Aoheng [pni] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
        Hovongan [hov] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
        Kereho [xke] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
        Punan Aput [pud] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
        Punan Merah [puf] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
        Bukat [bvk] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
    Murik Kayan (1)
Kenyah (6):
    Kayanic Kenyah (3)
        Kenyah, Wahau
        Long Wat
        Sebop
    Upper Pujungan (2)
        Kenyah, Mainstream
Penan (2)
    Penan, Eastern [pez] (Malaysia (Sarawak))
    Penan, Western [pne] (Malaysia (Sarawak))
Punan Tubu (1) [puj] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
(3) Rejang-Sajau (5)
    Basap [bdb] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
    Burusu [bgr] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
    Penan, Bah-Biau [pna] (Malaysia (Sarawak))
    Punan Merap [puc] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
    Sajau Basap [sjb] (Indonesia (Kalimantan))
    .   Punan Sajau
                Punan Basap
                Punan Batu 2
(4) Sabahan (29)
(5) Punan Batu 1 [pnm] (Malaysia (Sarawak))

3. Focus in Borneo languages

According to Clayre (1996, 2002) with the exception of some languages, a focus system is present in the languages of Borneo although in a much reduced form and less overtly marked than in the Philippine languages.

Sabah languages are closer to the Philippine type languages with 3 sets of pronouns and nominative, genitive and accusative distinction of nouns to mark the focused and the non focused actors. In other languages of Northern Borneo actor and undergoer focus are marked morphologically and through a difference only in pronoun sets.

Focus marking (only on verbs and occasionally on pronouns) is interrelated with the syntactic and morphological features: the relation between focus and aspect, the role played by verbal semantics and the question of transitivity.

4. Penan Benalui - Western Penan (Sarawak and East Kalimantan)

Penan Benalui is the language of a semi settled group of hunter gatherers living in two main villages of the Pujungan Regency in East Kalimantan (Long Belaka, Long Bena)

counting about 450 people. It is a member of Western Penan and is spread in many villages in Sarawak without contact with each other.

● **Morphology**

Morphologically Penan Benalui does not have suffixes nor nominal marking.

It has a set of prefixes sharing almost the same features as in Kenyah and Kayan:
    MEN- ME-(actor oriented transitive and intransitive verbs)
    PE-(reciprocal, causative/benefactive, intransitive verbs) (examples 10-11)
    KE-(future, willingness/modality)
    ME-(iterative/modality);
    -IN-/ -EN- infix for passive/resultative (absent in Kenyah and Kayan).
Completed action in actor focus is marked by the marker *pengah* 'finished'.

Penan Benalui has two voices: actor and undergoer voice.
The affixes that signal voice are ME-/MEN- and –EN-
The prefix (ME)N- symbolizes homorganic substitution and is a marker for transitive verbs or actor focus verbs.
The prefix ME- probably a reflex of the PAN *-*um*- whose most evident realization is the verb
k-um-an 'eat < *kan*, occurs mostly with monosyllables and words starting with vowel. With a number of bases the prefix ME- gives the meaning of an action performed very often so to become an habit. The base has the prefix KE- like *mekegen iah* 'he likes to sleep a lot'; *mekesep alé koq* 'you like to drink'; *mekangéh* 'he keeps on crying'.
(Examples 1-9)
The prefix PE- is polyfunctional and marks benefactive and or causative, reciprocal and intransitive. Intransitive verbs can be transitivized by adding *nge-* or *pe-* to the root. Sometimes both can apply without a clear distinction between the two lke in *lubin* 'roll' *ngelubin* 'make roll', *pelubin* 'make roll'.
Undergoer voice is marked by the –infix –EN- after the initial consonant of the word. If the word starts in vowel or nasal the –EN- is realized in *n-*
There is no marking on nominal arguments but several sets of pronouns mark the difference in voice. The relationships in the clause are signaled by the verb affix and by word order: the non focused core nominal immediately follows the verb.

● **Personal pronouns**

Penan Benalui has two sets of pronouns. Set I contains free pronouns that mark the pivot of the clause whether it is the actor, the undergoer or the instrument. Set II pronouns tend to occur immediately following a verb, a noun or a function word. They also mark the undergoer in some undergoer voice sentences. The difference between the two sets of pronouns is reduced to the first three persons (and the 3 PL). Pronouns have a dual and a paucal form (from 3 to ten) expressed by the numeral *teleuq* following the plural.
In Penan Benalui few words like kinship terms and body parts have a cliticized element *–n* similar to set II of other languages and are probably the remnant of an earlier set of genitive and non-focused actor pronouns. Another possible explanation for these fossilized pronouns is that they were borrowed from Kayan languages where the process is still productive. This cliticized elelment is employed to mark possessive nouns and some verbs in undergoer focus construction.

Pronouns

	Set I (focused actor)	Set II (non focused actor)
1SG	*akeuq*	*kiq/kéq*
2SG	*kaau*	*koq/kuq*
3SG	*iah, éh*	*nah, neh*
1PL.EXCL	*ami*	*ami*
1PL.EXCL.DUA	*amuh*	*amuh*
1PL.EXCL.PAU	*mételeu*	*mételeu*
1PL.INCL	*uleuq*	*uleuq*
1PL.INCL.DUA	*tuah*	*tuah*
1PL.INCL.PAU	*keteleu*	*keteleu*
2PL	*kah*	*kah*
2PL.DUA	*kawah*	*kawah*
3PL	*ireh*	*doh*
3PL.DUA	*rawah*	*rawah*
3PL.PAU	*rételeu*	*rételeu*

1 *pengah   akeuq   moru*
   PFCT   1SG   N-bathe
'I have bathed'

2 *tei   ngelanee   ireh*
   tei   N-lanee   ireh
   go   N-peep   3PL
'they went to peep…'

3 *kuyat   kuman   parai   kéq*
   kuyat   -um-kan   parai   kéq
   longtail.macaque   eat   rice.plant   1SG
'the macaque eats my rice plants'

4 *anak   kiq   menyolu   jah   batun   napun*
   anak   kiq   MEN-solu   jah   batu   napun
   child   1SG   MEN-swallow   one   seed   sand
'my child swallowed a grain of sand'

5 *iah   menawai   banen*
   iah   MEN-tawai   banen
   3SG   MEN-remember   husband
'she remembrs her husband'

6 *koriq   koq   memodee   éh?*
   koriq   koq   MEN-podee   éh?
   why   2SG   step.on   3SG
'why do you step on it?'

7 *tamen   kiq   mematai   kaan*
   tamen   kiq   MEN-patai   kaan
   ather   1SG   MEN-dead   wildboar
'my father killed the wildboar'

8 *padi   kiq   melakau*
   padi   kiq   ME-lakau
   sibling 1SG   ME-walk
'my brother goes walking'

9 *tuken   éh   saat   padi   neh   mojam*
   tuken   éh   saat   padi   neh   ME-jam
   elder.brother 3SG   bad   younger.sibling 3SG   ME-able
'her older brother is stupid her younger one is clever'

    Intransitive verbs can be transitivized by adding *nge-* or *pe-* to the root. Sometimes both can apply without a clear distinction between the two.

10 *pepatai   rawah   malem*
   PE-patai   rawah   malem
   REC-dead   3DUA   yesterday
'they fought last night'

11 *man   pesuaq   sangep   menaq   akeuq*
   ma-n   PE-suaq   sangep   menaq   akeuq
   father BEN-buy dress   do   1SG
'father bought a dress for me'

    Undergoer voice is marked by the –infix –EN- after the initial consonant of the word. If the word starts in vowel or nasal the –EN- is realized in *n-*. No marker is required for the agent but if the agent is a singular pronoun, then a member of Set II pronouns is employed. (Examples 12-17).

12 *aseukéq   penorah   tamenkéq*
   aseu-keq   -EN-porah   tamen-kéq
   dog-1SG   -EN-hit   father-1SG
'my dog was hit by my father'

13a *sangep   senuaq   man   tulat   akeuq*
    sangep   -EN-sua   ama=n   tulat   akeu
    dress   -EN-buy   father=3SG   divide 1SG
'the dress was bought by father for me'

13b *balak   yaq   pengau   senuaq   pengah   kinan*
    banana REL   new   -EN-buy   PFCT   -EN-eat
   'the bananas that were just bought were eaten up'

14 *kue   niin   kiq*
   kue   -EN-miin kiq
   cake -en-bring 1SG
'the cake was brought by me'

15 *lakee   penikah   kiq*
   rattan   -EN-tie   1SG
'the rattan was tied up by me'

16 *bee   tenoli   koq   tong   lepek*
    water -EN-pour 2SG LOC bamboo
'water was poured inside the bamboo by you'

17 *buee noluu   jin   bawai*
    fruit -EN-separate from high
'fruits are taken (separated from the tree) from above'

In few cases, when no –EN- infix is employed but the verb remains in the actor voice, the word order is the only way to distinguish an actor voice from an undergoer voice sentence:

18 *padikéq   tinen/nen   moru*
    padi=kéq   t-ina-n   N-poru
    younger.sibling=1SG   mother-3SG   ACT-bathe
'the younger brother was bathed by mother'

An undergoer focus construction with the use of the verb 'make' together with a verb in actor voice occurs sometimes. No marker for the agent is expressed but if this is a pronoun, then a member of set II will be employed (Examples: 19-22). This construction occurs in Berawan and in Kelabitic languages.

19 *bukui   molim   tong   tilung   neuq   padi   kiq*
    bukui   N-polim tong   tilung   neuq   padi   kiq
    rattan.bag N-hid   LOC   room   -EN.do sibling 1SG
'my bag was hidden by my brother in the room'

20 *gelas bilaq   neuq   kiq*
    gelas bilaq   -EN-maneuq 1SG
    gelas shattered -EN-do   kiq
'the glass was shattered by me'

21 *kulit kiq melokak   neuq   péti*
    kulit kiq ME-lokak neuq   péti
    skin   1SG ME-peel   -EN-do   heat
'my skin got peeled by the heat'

22 *akeuq gaten neuq kinan   nyamok*
    akeu   gaten neuq -EN-kan nyamok
    1SG   itchy   do   -EN-eat   mosquito
'I am itchy because I was bitten by a mosquito'

5. Punan Tubu' - Tubu' Malinau Mentarang – East Kalimantan

Punan Tubu' language is spoken by as many as 4000 (former) hunter gatherers in East Kalimantan and include the Punan Tubu', the Punan Malinau, the Punan Mentarang and the Punan Sekatak or Punan Berusu', most of them living in a resettlement camp (Respen Sembuak) and some of them on the upper part of the Tubu' river in the Malinau Regency.

Morphologically Punan Tubu' does not have suffixes nor nominal markinng. It has a set of prefixes sharing the same features as in Penan Benalui and other Borneo languages:

N- ME-(actor oriented verbs transitive and intransitive)
PE (reciprocal, causative/benefactive, intransitive)
KE-(future, willingness/modality)
ME-(iterative/modality)
N- symbolizes homorganic substitution and it signals actor voice.

The prefix ME- probably a reflex of the PAN *-um- whose most evident realization is the verb *k-em-an* 'eat' < *kan*, occurs in few other verbs like *lukau* 'hit' > *lemukau* or *melukau* 'to hit somebody' but mostly with monosyllables (*me-cak* 'to stab', *me-kan* 'to feed', *me-cik* 'to squeeze lice') and words starting with vowel.

- NE- indicates perfective aspect or is the realization of-EN- passive
- NYE- signals stative verbs (*abun* 'cloud' -> *nyabun* 'be cloudy') or progressive aspect

PE has the allomorph PÉ- with monosyllables and has multiple the functions of causative, benefactive and reciprocal. Causative can be also obtained in a periphrastic way with the verb *menaq* 'do'. (Examples 23-25)

TE- denotes an unintentional or uncontrolled movement, it is not completely productive but a number of verbs occur with this prefix:

tekajing being suddenly taken by shock< *kajing* 'shocked'
tekecét 'suddenly becoming frightened' < *kecét* 'frightened'
teba'ang 'run one's head into stone walls by accident' < **ba'ang*

-IN-/ -EN- infixs for passive/resultative (absent in Kenyah and Kayan). The infix –EN- is infixed after the first consonant. It is realized as *n-* in words starting with vovels or nasals
It is very productive and is employed all the time. (Examples 26-30)

Punan Tubu' has two voices: actor and undergoer voice.
The affixes that signal voice are ME-/N- and –EN-
There is no marking on nominal arguments but presence of several sets of pronouns and relationships in the clause are signaled by the verb affix and by word order: the non focused core nominal immediately follows the verb.

● **Personal pronouns**

	Set I	Set II	Set III
1SG	*hok*	*ku*	*-q*
2SG	*kou*	*nuh*	*-m*
3SG	*héén*	*riin*	*-n*
1PL.EXCL	*katou*	*katou*	
1PL.EXCL.DUA	*karoo*	*karoo*	
1PL.INCL	*teroo*	*teroo*	
1PL.INCL.DUA	*tou*	*tou*	
2PL	*ketou*	*ketou*	
2PL.DUA	*kevo*	*kevo*	
3PL	*detou*	*detou/doh*	
3PL.DUA	*iroo*	*iroo*	

Also Punan Tubu' has three sets of pronouns displaying more or less the same characteristics as the Penan Benalui, though the difference is only marked in the singular. Set I comprises free pronouns in actor focus. Pronouns in Set II occur in non focus position and function as possessives. This set provides the pronouns that function as agents of undergoer sentences although pronouns from set I also occur. Set III includes possessive pronouns that

are cliticized to the word and appear also as agent of passive verbs like *kinam* –EN-*kan*=2sg eaten by you, *ayam* possessed by you.

The difference with Penan Benalui is that Punan Tubu' has set III which includes pronoun cliticization that in Penan Benalui occurs only for few body parts and kinship terms for 3SG. Here it is definitely more productive and applies also to most inalienable possession (body parts and also other belongings like machete, dog and knife) some verbs in undergoer voice: *kina-q* 'eaten by me' *kina-m* 'eaten by you'; *ayéq* 'possessed by me' *ayam* 'possessed by you'.

23 *nak   inah   leruh   tat   pu'un   kayuh*
    child   that   fall   from   tree   wood
 'the child fell from the tree'

24 *hok   peleruh   nak   inah   tat   pu'un   kayuh*
    1SG   PE-fall   child   that   from   tree   wood
'I made the child fall from the tree'

25 *hok   menaq   nak   inah   leruh   tat   pu'un   kayuh*
    1SG   N-make   child   that   fall   from   tree   wood
'I made the child fall from the tree'

26 *putiq   awoq   teniuq   unih   tubit   kinan*
    banana   REL   -EN-buy   earlier   already.happened.once   -EN-eat
'the banana that was bought earlier has been eaten'

27 *hok   senélu   aq*
    1SG   -EN-cheat   person
'I was cheated by people'

28 *hok   nerok   keloviq*
    1SG   -EN-kiss   child
'I was kissed by the child'

29 *bayang   ku   néngang   maléh   inéq*
    shirt   1SG   -EN-bring   yesterday   mother
'my shirt was brought by my mother yesterday'

30 *nak-keloviq   tenelekan   telauq*
    child'   -EN-chase   muntjak deer
'the child was chased by the deer'

There is no marking on the agent except if this is a singular pronoun. In this case a pronoun from set 2 is employed except for 3SG. Sometimes the lexeme *inéh* (because) is employed. Unknown agent is simply omitted. (Examples 31-39).

31 *nak   inah   teniciq   héén*
    child   that   -EN-hit   3SG
'that child was hit by him'

32 *Dollop   laq   kun   woq   narung   doh*
    Dollop   laq   kun   woq   -EN-arung   doh
    Dollop   get   food   REL   -EN-serve   3PL
'Dollop got the food that had been served'

33 *hok   teniciq   nuh*
    1SG   -EN-hit   2SG
'I am hit by you'

34 *héén   awoq   teniciq   inéh   ku*
    3SG   like   -EN-hit   because   1SG
'he was hit by me'

35 *bavui-bavui   inah   awoq   teniciq   detou*
    RED-wildboar   that   REL   -EN-hit   3PL
'those wildboars were hit by them'

36 *bavui   inah   awoq   tenepeluh   héén*
    wildboar   that   REL   -EN-spear   3SG
'the wildboar was killed by spear by him'

37 *tas   inah   tenayang   ku*
    bag   that   -EN-bring   1SG
'that bag was brought along by me'

38 *Dollop   tenelekan   Mariam*
    Dollop   -EN-run   Mariam
'Dollop was chased by Mariam'

39 *Dollop   necak   aan   nuan*
    Dollop   -EN-stab   at   road
'Dollop was stabbed in the street'

Adversative passive can be expressed by the –EN- infix but can also be marked by the word *bok* 'affected' followed by the verb in undergoer voice, but examples with bare verb are found as well. (Examples 40-42).

40 *hok   tenecun   ovoq   kayuh*
    1SG   -EN-heavy   trunk   wood
'I was fallen over by a tree'

41 *nak   inah   bok   teniciq   Dollop*
    1SG   that   affected   -EN-hit   Dollop
'the child got hit by Dollop'

42 *Petrus   bok   cat   tat   malom   aan   nuan*
    Petrus   affected   stab   from   night   at   road
'Petrus got stabbed in the street last night'

In some cases the word order signals that it is an undergoer action sentence. (Examples: 43-45).

43 *tas   ku   luq   ku   aan   tilung*
    bag   1SG   leave   1SG   at   room
'my bag I left (was left) in the room'

44 *nak   inah   kan   nuh*
    child   that   eat   2SG
'the child was fed by you'

45 *nekan   nuh   héén   unih*
    NE-food   2SG   3SG   earlier
'he was given food by you earlier'

    Some possibly ambiguous sentences are disambiguated by the use of pronoun set I for the actor focus and by pronoun set II/III for the non actor/undergoer focus. (Examples 46-48).

46 *nekan   nuh   you   nih   unih?*
    NE-food   2SG   chicken   here   earlier
'has the chicken ben given food by you earlier?'

47 *nak   inah   lukau   nuh*
    child   that   hit   2SG
'that child was hit by you'

48 *kun   unih   kinam*
    food   earlier   -EN-food=2SG
'the food was given by you earlier'

    In ditransitive constructions the indirect objects are marked by a preposition like *nyan* 'towards:

49 *Dollop   ngatuh   surat   nyan   inéq   héén   (riin)*
    Dollop   N-send   letter   towards   mother   3SG   3SG.POSS
'Dollop sent a letter to his mother'

    The correspondent passive sentence can have the two options (50-51) showing that both direct and indirect object can be promoted to the subject position.

50 *surat   inah   kenatuh   Dollop   nyan   inan   riin*
    letter   that   -EN-send   Dollop   to   mother.ref   3SG.POSS
'that letter was sent by Dollop to his mother'

51 *inan   héén   laq   katuh   surat   inah   tat   Dollop*
    mother.ref   3SG   obtain   send   letter   that   part   Dollop
'his mother got sent the letter by Dollop'

    Punan Tubu' marks aspect morphologically in actor voice with the prefix NE- though sometimes a lexeme *belum* 'already' or *tubit* 'already happened once' can be employed. On the other hand, Penan Benalui does not express aspect morphologically but only lexically.

6. Kenyah –East Kalimantan and Sarawak

    Kenyah is the language used by one of the ethnic groups originally inhabiting the highlands on either sides of the border between Sarawak and East Kalimantan.This ethnonym 'Kenyah' refers to several groups, which ethnically and culturally, as well as according to their origin stories, are quite different. Several subgroups including Kenyah, Kayan and Punan are often mixed together because of residential mixing and intermarriage which in turn yields ethnic and linguistic mixing because of the obvious contacts between groups. According to

Rousseau (1990:17) there are forty Kenyah groups with a total of about 40,000 speakers, spread throughout four Regencies in Kalimantan (Malinau, Bulungan, Kutai and Berau) and also two districts of Sarawak (Baram and Balui). This estimate should probably be revised downwards because it is quite common to include groups whose languages are not directly or closely related to Kenyah within the ethnonym Kenyah. They live at present along a number of rivers in today's Sarawak (Malaysia) and Kalimantan (Indonesia) in the island of Borneo in particular the Kayan, the Kelai, the Mahakam and their tributaries in East Kalimantan and the Baram and Balui in Sarawak.

- **The Kayan-Kenyah subgroup**

Based on a previous research (Soriente 2004) and on a series of innovations shared by the languages under investigation Kayan, Kenyah and Penan languages are considered to belong to a subgrouping called Kayan-Kenyah.
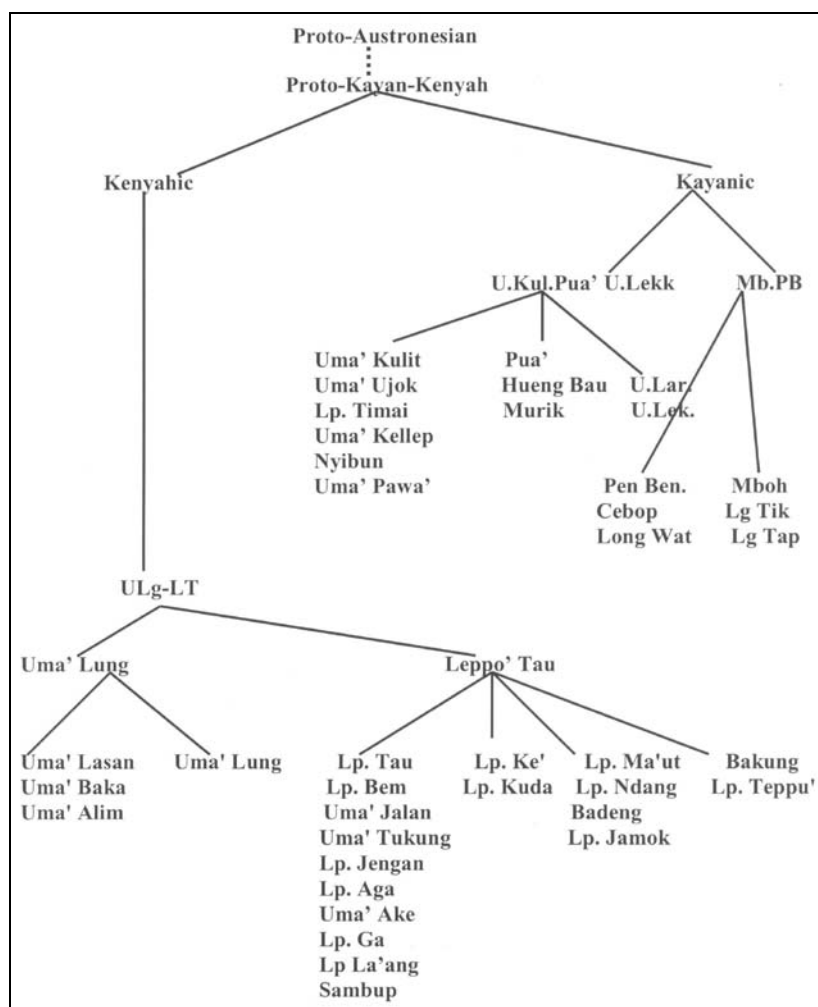
- **Morphology of Kenyah**

The verbal morphology of Kenyah languages is very similar to that of Kayan, Penan and other languages in Borneo in terms of morphotactics (only prefixes) and paradigmatic structure. Kenyah, Kayan and Penan share the same prefixes: (ME)N- for actor orientation, ME- for stative (in a few cases also for iterative), PE- for reciprocal, causative/benefactive and intransitive (and as nominalizer), and lastly KE- for future and irrealis.

Kenyah languages have a similar morphological structure as Penan Benalui and Punan Tubu' with prefixation and no suffixation. They have two sets of pronouns one used as free pronouns that signal the focused actor and the second set has short form pronouns that are used as possessives and occur as clitics after verbs and function forms. Follow pronouns from the Òma Lóngh and Lebu' Kulit languages.

	Òma Lóngh		Lebu' Kulit	
I	*aghi*	*-ki*	*akiq*	*-é*
you SG	*ighu*	*-ku*	*ikuq*	*-o*
he/she	*zó/jó/nyó*	*-e*	*ié*	*-a*
we (excl)	*ami*	*mi*	*ami*	*mé*
we (excl.dual)	*mévó*	*mévó*	*mé'é*	*mé'é*
we (excl.trial)	*ami tele*	*ami tele*	*mé teleu*	*mé teleu*
we (incl.)	*éle*	*le*	*ileu*	*lu*
we (incl.dual)	*tò*	*tò*	*tua*	*tua*
we (incl.trial)	*éle tele*	*le tele*	*teleu*	*teleu*
you PL	*égham*	*kam*	*ikam*	*kam*
you (dual)	*kavó*	*kavó*	*kam ué*	*kam ué*
you (trial)	*égham tele*	*kam tele*	*kam teleu*	*kam teleu*
they	*éqó*	*éqó /-dó*	*iré*	*-ra*
they (dual)	*évó*	*évó*	*dué*	*dué*
they (trial)	*éqó tele*	*éqó tele*	*rateleu*	*rateleu*

The main difference is the lack of an undergoer focus construction marked by affixation such as in the case of Penan Benalui and Punan Tubu' nor the type with 'make' construction as in Penan Benalui and other languages. Every time a kind of passive construction was being elicited the main result was the change of word order or sentences where the agent is preceded by the lexeme *uben* (in Badeng or *uban* in Lepo' Tau, *obeny* in Òma Lóngh, *uvan* in Lebu' Kulit) that means 'trace' and indicate the perfective action, or the use of the lexeme *ko'on* or *kè'en* that means 'by, because'. (Examples 52-57).

In general in Kenyah there is no specific passive morphology, but thematic roles are expressed pragmatically or analytically through the word order or the use of words like *kè'en* 'by', in the Òma Lóngh Kenyah.

52 *sadin* (*uben*) *uwéq* *ndo*
   s-adi-n   uben   uwéq   ndo
   younger.sibling=3SG   trace   mother   bathe
'the younger brother is bathed by mother'   Badeng Kenyah

53 *sapai* *uben* *amai* *meli* *makéq*
   sapai   uben   ama-I   N-beli   kuma=kéq
   dress   trace   father   N-buy   for=1SG
'the dress was bough by father for me'   Badeng Kenyah

54 *udoq* *kayeu* *daruq* *ié* *dulu* *ka* *pedeng* *neng* *jumé* *ti* *o*
   mask   wood   long   3SG   people   KA   PE-stand   towards   in.front   that   O
the statue made of a long piece of wood will be built in front of it   Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

55 *un* *na* *sang* *yaq* *uvan* *méq* *neké* *i'uk* *kanen* *méq* *ti* *o*
   be   NA   k.o.palm   REL   UVAN   1PL   tied   wrap   rice   1PLINCL   that   O
daun silat yang digunakan untuk membungkus nasi   Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

56 *dulu   menesun   ta   uleu   yaq   uvan   dulu   alaq   ti   iti*
    people   MEN-stab   TA   head   REL   UVAN   people   take   that   that
people stack the heads that had been cut   Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

57 *ini   uvan   aseu   maat   éq*
    this   UVAN   dog   N-bite   1SG
here I have been bit by a dog   Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

only word order:
58 *buaq   iti   iré   tai   koq   dalem   buan*
    fruit   this   3PL   go   LOC   inside   container
that fruit was put inside the pocket.   Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

59 *kelunan   iti   mpei   a   nai   luq   pu'un   uvan   a   sakit*
    person   that   NEG   3SG   come   LUQ   never   UVAN   3SG   sick
that person did not come because he was sick   Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

60 *sarik   sinak   di   ntuq   ié*
    y.sibling=1SG   mother=1SG   DI   bathe   3SG
my brother is bathed by my mother   Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

61 *iti   aseu   uman   a*
    that   dog   eat   3SG
that was eaten by the dog   Lebu' Kulit Kenyah

62 *énó   rae   òbèny   kam   negheneke   mè'è   bò'è   re*
    be   voice   òbèny   2PL   N-tell a story-3SG   at.that time   in the past   RE
you told me the story once   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

63 *engne   isi   le   ngkiny   jòteq   le,   kè'en   le   mejep   te   sòngè,*
    be-NE   apparently   1PL   bring   rice   LE   by   1PL   N-dip   LOC   water
apparently we brought the rice and we dipped in the water   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

64 *kè'en   le   òmèny   kajèny   le   meghala   ntu   ki'i   te*
    by   1PL   eat   long.time   1PL   ME-play   bathe   there   TE
that was eaten by us while we were playing and bathing there   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

65 *malèj   ncam   òbèny   é'ó   métó   tóq   ti'i   eng,*
    iron   can   òbèny   3PL   N-look.for   exactly   there   be
iron could be looked for by them exactly where it was   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

66 *be   òbèny   nyelapangh   babé   rè'è*
    if   òbèny   N-rifle   wild.boar   that
if the boar was shot at   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

67 *engne   òbèny   ómó   te   zi'i   òbèny   e   nyòrèj*
    be-NE   òbèny   dry.field   TE   that   òbèny   3SG   N-letter
'(about) our former ricefield was written by her'   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

68 *felanóq   òbèny   matè   kè'en   kólé*
    mousedeer   trace   N-dead   by   clouded.leopard
'the mousedeer was killed by the clouded leopard'   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

69 *udek   jé   kè'en   kelònèny   nyé   metóngh*
    dog   that   by   person   that   ME-hit
'that dog was hit by those people'   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

70 *tele   zaq   de   ngelasij   kelighek   laminy*
    three chicken people N-steal   LOC-back   house
'three chicken were stolen by people on the back yard'   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

TEN-

This prefix denotes an unintentional or uncontrolled movement. Derived verbs with the prefix TEN- are the only examples of passive constructions in Òma Lóngh. The order of the constituents in the sentence is the only way to stress whether the focus is on the agent or the patient of the action. (58-59).

    tenepè 'called' < *tepè* 'call' (but here it could also be interpreted as -EN-tepè
    tenaòngh 'left behind' (unitentionally) < *aòngh* 'place to put things'
    tenedengh 'constituted by' < *dengh* 'standing pole'
    tenesèj 'cut by accident' < *sèj* 'chop'
It is yet to be understood whether this is the relic of the PAN *-in-* infix.

71 *tenafiengh   ki   kè'en   bazé*
    TEN-fan   1SG   by   wind
'I am fanned by the wind'   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

72 *tè..   tè   tengkiny   ne   le   méé   ce?*
    go   go   TEN-bring   NE   1PL.EXCL   like.that   CE
'we were taken by people like that?'   Òma Lóngh Kenyah

As for the distribution of structures it is interesting to note that in Kenyah Lebu' Kulit the tendency of naturalistic data is for zero focus marking but the order of the constituents plays a role and therefore the patient has to be located before the agent. On the other hand in elicited data *uvan* followed by the agent occurs more often. In Òma Lóngh the use of *òbèny* and *kè'en* seems more pervasive. It might be interesting to observe the distribution of these two lexemes and their correspondences in other Kenyah languages and see whether this is the reflex of an internal subgrouping.

7. Kayan - East Kalimantan and Sarawak

Kayan dialects display three sets of pronouns: free pronouns, short form pronouns that function as possessives or occur after verbs and function forms to signal non focus actors. The third set includes pronouns that are cliticized to certain nouns and passive verbs.
What is called in the literature as undergoer construction is basically the use of a particle *EN* preceding the pronouns of set II and the verb in the active form. Sometimes the agent is preceded by the lexeme *kenan* (by action of).
Clayre, (1974, 1996) interpreted this *EN* as a cognate of the verb an 'make, do'. Another possible interpretation is that is related to the Kenyah form *uben* that seems to mark the so called undergoer sentences in Kenyah. The preposition *kenan* (by action of) is definitely related to Kenyah *ko'on*, but is there any other interpretation?
Can it be considered related to the Kenyah form *uben, uvan* that seems to mark the so called undergoer focus in Kenyah? If the claim that EN in Kayan is related to *uban /uvan/òbèny* in Kenyah then it is clear that the agent marker function of *uban* is slowly changing towards that of a preposition to introduce causal sentences. The same thing, but in less measure seems to occur in Òma Lóngh for which a larger amount of data was collected.

73 *en   naq   nasaq   uma   anan*
   EN   3SG   N-destroy   house   that
'the house was destroyed by him'   Kayan

74 *en   naq   ngaham   haruk   anan*
   EN   3SG   N-capsize   boat   that
'the boat was capsized by him'   Kayan

75 *en   naq   uk   basung   men   ihaq*
   EN   3SG   give   shrit   to   3SG
he gave the shirt to him   Kayan

76 *ihaq   uh   en   dahaq   geri   di*
   3SG   PFCT   EN   3PL   bring   DI
he was brought by them   Kayan

77 *kayuq   atih   en   naq   lek*
   wood   that   EN   3SG   leave
the wood was left by him   Kayan

78 *hiap   atih   en   Anyiq   ngaput   men'a   dih*
   chicken   that   EN   Anyiq   N-tie   a.little.ago   DIH
the chicken was tied up by Anyi a little ago   Kayan

79 *ihaq   em   en   kelunan   masi*
   3SG   NEG   EN   people   N-pity
he is not pitied by man   Kayan

80 *en   ameq   duan   nah   ihaq*
   EN   1PLINCL   speak   NAh   3SG
we spoke to him   Kayan

81 *en   dahaq   ngaput   pah   ihaq*
   EN   3PL   N-tie   also   3SG
he too was tied up by them   Kayan

82 *uvaat   kiiq   an   naay   mejoot*
   clothes   1SG   AN   mother   ME-sew
my clothes were sawn by my mother   Hwang Tring (Kayanic)

83 *uvaat   kui   an   iné   ngepat*
   clothes   1SG   AN   mother   N-sew
my clothes were sawn by my mother   Busang/Kayan-Bahau (Kayanic)

84 *abeyn   kei   mé   ngepaat*
   clothes   1SG   mother   N-sew
my clothes were sawn by my mother   Long Gleaat (Kayanic)

8. Punan Malinau

The Punan Malinau (or Segah) count 80 individuals on the Segah River in Berau Regency are related to the Kayanic languages (Segai).

Punan Malinau does not display undergoer focus whatsoever and seems to align more with Kayan, Kayanic and Kenyah languages.

85. *diq   koi   **nhut**   bupet   neh*
    mother   1SG   N-sew   dress   that
'my mother sewed that dress'

86. *bupet   neh   diq   koi   in hut*
    dress   that   mother   1SG   IN sew
'The dress was sewed by my mother'

87. *koi   mbop   asau*
    1SG   N-hit   dog
'I hit the dog'

88. *asau   in bop   ulin   co   koi*
    dog   IN hit   sibling   little   1SG
'the dog was hit by my brother'

89. *asau   ulin   co   koi   bop*
    dog   sibling   little   1SG   hit
'the dog was hit by my brother'

90. *lun   tai   ngkau   tlau   lieng   jip*
    orang   pergi   N-steal   three   CLASS   chicken
'a thief stole three chickens'

91. *tlau   lieng   jip   in   ngkau*
    three   CLASS   chicken   IN   N-steal
'three chicken were stolen'

92. *lun   ngkau   in   lamwas*
    person   N-steal   IN   die
'the thief was killed'

9. Preliminary conclusions

As a conclusion I will try to answer questions on how these languages relate to each other and to other languages in the area in the reflex of the Proto-Austronesian infix -IN- marking simultaneously voice and aspect, how we interpret the lack of the undergoer voice markers in Kenyah and Kayan and whether it is possible to use morphosyntactic features to define subgroupings.

Through the study of these voice systems I am trying to give an answer to some problems related to the classification of these languages, mainly is there any relationship between the languages of hunter gatherers like Penan Benalui, Punan Tubu' and Punan Malinau?

Although Penan Benalui and Punan Tubu' are clearly Austronesian languages there are many linguistic elements which disprove the hypothesis that both Penan Benalui and Punan Tubu' are Kenyah languages.

Based on morphosyntactic evidence, I argue against such a classification, and demonstrate that Penan and Punan clearly fall outside of the Kenyah Subgroup. In terms of their lexicons, Penan Benalui and Kenyah variants show a closer affinity with each other than either does with Punan Tubu', however, in terms of morphosyntax, it is Penan Benalui and Punan Tubu' which have a more similar structure. Is there any possibility of unity of hunter gatherers groups? On the other side, Punan Segah does not display undergoer focus whatsoever and seems to align more with Kayan (and Kenyah) languages. Except for lexical items the relationship to other Punan languages seems more ambiguous. Was the –IN- PAN infixation lost or was it never developed? Is this Punan group just the proof that indeed hunter-gatherers were diverse groups of Austronesians which entered Borneo in different waves or did they totally replace their language with that of the Kayanic agriculturalists?

To return to the initial assumption made by Clayre (1996), the voice system in Bornean languages is much reduced in comparison to the Philippine-type languages. Indeed the languages studied display different systems, a simpler one like Kayan and Kenyah where a very simple morphological process is employed and only personal pronouns and word order play a role, and more complex like Penan Benalui and Punan Tubu's. Here the use of the –EN- infix to mark the undergoer voice, seem to fall in the middle of this range of voice systems, whereas in contrast Kayan and Kenyah (together with Punan Segah) seem to have lost the system or probably never developed it.

In PAN *–in- marked perfectivity in undergoer voice marking simultaneously voice and aspect (Blust 2002). Punan Tubu' and Penan Benalui fall in the two term languages but the double function of –in- in the patient focus has retained only voice. Aspect has to be marked by a lexeme (*pengah* in Penan Benalui and *belum* in Punan Tubu').

In conclusion despite the fact that Penan (Benalui and other Penan variants in Sarawak) and Punan Tubu' is classified within the Kenyah subgroup, from a morphosyntactic point of view seems to share more with languages of lower Baram like Berawan, Kiput and Kelabit than with Kayan and Kenyah.

On the other hand the behavior of focus in Kayan and Kenyah seems much more similar. The *uban* construction in Kenyah seems to be the counterpart of the *en* construction of Kayan and use of the lexeme *ko'on/kè'en* in Kenyah to mark the agent of an undergoer focus construction corresponds to *kenan* of Kayan.

So what happened to the -EN- infix in Kayan and Kenyah? This original PAN infix seems to have left very scattered traces in few verbal forms in a relatively low number of verbs especially in Òma Lóngh. In the other Kenyah variants and in Kayan there seems to be no trace of it except if we want to consider Kayan lexeme *en* and Kenyah *uban* a realization of that infix. Nevertheless in Kenyah word order and pronouns of set II seem to be the preferred way of marking focus in undergoer focus construction. Collection of naturalistic data on Kayan might prove that in Kayan the en construction is only one construction but word order also has a role. This might be another proof of the fact that Kayan and Kenyah language relationship is not based on mere contact.

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