
| RESEARCH ARTICLE

A Grammar Sketch of Southern Sinama Language

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| ABSTRACT

This study aimed to sketch the grammar of the Southern Sinama language, particularly that of the Simunul variety. The language is spoken in the island municipality of Simunul in Tawi-Tawi, Philippines, by some 34,000 people. This study employed a qualitative research method utilizing the descriptive design. Drawn from the elicited data, the description sketches the language in three different levels: phonology, morphology, and syntax. In the language phonology, significant features include 24 phonemes: 17 consonants and seven vowels; no consonant cluster occurs within syllable; word-initially, [m], [n], and [l] can occur as phonetically lengthened to the extent that they form a geminate cluster; and the replacement of segment is evident through nasal fusion. In language morphology, noted features comprise affixes which interrelate with other structures of the language, such as aspect, mood, and the voice system of the verbs, which in consequence, affects the meaning of the utterance. In terms of syntax, Southern Sinama is a head marking language with VSO word order whose clause structures encompass one to three arguments (i.e. actor, object, and benefactor).

| KEYWORDS

Language documentation, language description, grammar sketch, Southern Sinama, Simunul, Philippines

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

ACCEPTED: 28 December 2022

PUBLISHED: 01 January 2023

DOI: 10.32996/ijls.2023.3.1.2

1. Introduction

The Southern Sinama language (ISO 639-3 *ssb*), which belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family, is the language of the Southern Sama people in Tawi-Tawi, Philippines. It is one of the classifications of Sama languages based on mutual intelligibility along with Sama Bangingi, Sama Siasi, Sama Pangutaran, Jama Mapun, Yakan, Inabaknun, Indonesian Bajau, and Bajau West Coast (Grimes, 2003). The language is known for its alternative names, especially among the people in Tawi-Tawi, as simply Sinama or Bahasa Sinama. It is primarily spoken in the island municipalities of Simunul, Sibutu, Tandubas, Sitangkai, South Ubian, Sapa-Sapa, Panglima Sugala and some parts of the provincial capital, Bongao, particularly in the barangays of Pahut and Sanga-Sanga. The language has a total of 260,000 speakers in all countries, the largest among all Sama groups of languages (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2021). However, this study focused only on one variety, which is the Sinama of Simunul in the Municipality of Simunul, Tawi-Tawi, Philippines.

This study on Southern Sinama sketches the grammar of the language. Grammar sketch is written to help outsiders of the speech community who are interested in speaking or writing the language described in the manuscript, linguists who may or may not currently speak the language, individuals who will consult a grammar to obtain information for typological or theoretical studies, or for language documentation (Noonan, 2006). In addition, Mosel, as reported by Chelliah (2013), detailed that grammar sketch is a common practice in the field of linguistics to produce intermediate analyses to yield justification of what is known and what still needs to be discovered.

Notable work on sketch grammar is that of Pondi by Barlow (2020). Pondi has relatively 300 speakers, nearly all of whom live in a single community in the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea. The sketch covers descriptions of the language on phonology and phonetics; morphology, which sheds light on nouns, verbs and pronouns; and syntactic phenomena, specifically at the level of phrase and clause. Meanwhile, Atos, Brillante, Jabonillo, and Villena (2015) presented the phonology, morphology, clause structure, and a socio-linguistics glimpse of the nature of the toponymy of Hinigakit. The speech community is located in the province of Surigao Del Norte, Philippines. Likewise, Miller (2007) investigated the grammar of West Coast (WC) Bajau, a western Austronesian language spoken in Sabah, Malaysia, by some 60,000 people. The data were drawn through elicitation, including a corpus of compiled texts. He described the language in different levels, including phonology, morphology, phrase structure, clause structure, clause-combining operations, and discourse. He noted that the WC Bajau morphology shows an actor-orientation vs. undergoer orientation with both transitive and intransitive verb roots. Furthermore, the language shows evidence for a verb phrase in one or possibly two voices. The language pragmatic structure also shows that WC Bajau preverbally has both a topic and a focal position.

2. Theoretical Framework

This sketch grammar of the Southern Sinama language adheres to Dixon's Basic Linguistic Theory (2010a). It is a theory that defines the theoretical framework and basic concepts that are commonly used in the grammatical report of languages and in linguistic typology. Basic linguistic theory, unlike traditional grammar, may be used in the cross-comparison of the languages of the world to explain what defines languages and how they are related. Meaning basic linguistic theory, as explained by Dryer (2006), attempts to describe each language in its own terms rather than trying to force the language being studied into a model based on world's dominant languages.

3. Methodology

This section presents the methodology used in the study, particularly the research design, the language informants, data collection procedures, data analysis, and ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

This study on sketch grammar of the Southern Sinama language employed a qualitative research method. Specifically, it utilized descriptive design because it dealt with the description of the Southern Sinama language. Particularly, it described the phonology, morphology of words, and syntax of well-formed sentences of the Southern Sinama Language.

3.2 Language Informants

The language informants were the five native speakers of Southern Sinama who are living in Simunul. Tawi-Tawi, Philippines. The informants were chosen using a purposive-criterion sampling procedure. In this sampling procedure, informants who meet established criteria are selected (Omona, 2013). According to Miles and Huberman (1994), this is used for the purpose of quality assurance.

The selection of the informants was based from the following inclusion criteria: a) older informants were preferred as their linguistic knowledge is profound, thus in this inquiry, respondents who are 50 years old and above were selected; b) the informants were native speakers of Southern Sinama specifically of the Simunul variety; c) the informants were not too highly educated since English and Filipino subjects might maneuver their native accent, thus, included participants were at most secondary level; d) the informants could understand Tagalog as it is one of the mediating language between the informants and the researcher; e) those informants who did not migrate to other places were included as their linguistic structure, particularly that of phonology are not inclined to the influence of other speech community; f) able to explain cultural references and other important contextual information related to the language under study; g) open to translating sensitive words or sentences (i.e. private parts of the body); and h) the informants were patient, friendly, and had enough free time and willingness to work and coordinate long hours with the researcher.

3.3 Data Collection Procedures

In the conduct of this sketch grammar of Southern Sinama, I used the elicitation technique in the data collection. It is a staged communication event, which is encouraged as it allows more control of the researchers and subsequently focuses on the topics being structured.

3.4 Data Analysis

This study strived to be descriptive, so the analysis was eclectic. It was primarily built on Dixon's analytic framework as described in his book Basic Linguistic Theory volumes one, two, and three (Dixon 2010a, 2010b, 2011). He asserted that working within the basic linguistic theory, researchers examine the data to see existing linguistic elements and parameters to catalyze the construction of the grammar of a language. If so, they offer argumentation in support of the analysis. Of course, familiar categories and

construction types (e.g. vowel and consonant sounds for phonology, affixation for morphology, and noun phrase for syntax) are regarded.

3.5 Ethical Consideration

The researcher considered research ethics as one of the most vital parts of this paper. Thus, in order to address this aspect, the study was conducted with a strong adherence to the ethical protocols and guidelines set forth by the University of Mindanao Ethics Review Committee. The researcher secured permission from the key officials of the local government unit necessary to complete this research. Likewise, the researcher ensured the appropriateness of identified recruiting parties and conducted a review of the level of risks and measures to mitigate these risks (including physical, psychological and social economic). Proper authorization and consent were also obtained from the language informants, in which they were assured that all their rights would be fully protected, specifically in handling the data.

4. Phonology

A phonological description of Southern Sinama, particularly that of the Simunul variety, is complex by the fact that the language displays a higher rate of variation between the speech of different speakers. From one moment to the next, from one sentence to another, the different speaker does not always pronounce the same word in the same way. In this study, the researcher presented what seemed to be the most common pronunciations.

4.1 Phonemes

The Southern Sinama language has a total of 24 phonemes: 17 consonants and seven vowels. It lies at the upper end of the Austronesian languages family with a 19-25 phoneme inventory (Blust, 2006).

4.1.1 Consonant Phonemes

Table 1. Southern Sinama Consonant Phonemes

Place Manner	Bilabial		Alviolar		Post- Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	b	t	d	ɖʒ		k g	ʔ
Nasal	m		n				ŋ	
Trill			r					
Fricative			s					h
Approximant						j	w	
Lateral Approximant			l					

The table above presents the Southern Sinama consonantal phoneme inventory. For each phoneme, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbol is shown. Symbols to the right in a cell are voiced, and those to the left are voiceless. The inventory of consonant sounds tends to be symmetrical as they are distributed evenly throughout the articulatory possibilities of the language in the study. It featured six manners of articulation: plosives, nasals, trill, fricatives, approximants, and a lateral-approximant, and six places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. Brief and selected samples of the occurrence of each phoneme in a word in the initial, medial, and final positions are presented below. The presentation is categorized according to their manners of articulation.

Plosive

Plosives are the largest group of consonants in Southern Sinama and are represented by voiceless bilabial [p], alveolar [t], velar [k], and glottal [ʔ]. The first three have voiced counterparts: [b], [d], and [g]. There is a voiced post-alveolar [ɖʒ], which lacks a corresponding voiceless contrast. The phonemes [p], [t], and [k] and their voiced counterparts occur in words initially, medially, and finally. However, [ʔ] is in the word-final position only and [ɖʒ] is in the word-initial or word-medial position only.

- [p] voiceless bilabial plosive
 → [p] in word-initial or word-medial positions
Pallong ['pal.lɔŋ] 'hole in the ground.'
kepet ['kɛ:pet] 'armpit'
- [p'] unreleased in word-final position
angowap [a.'ŋɔ:wap] 'to yawn'

- [t] voiceless dental plosive

→ [t] in word-initial or word-medial positions

tuut ['tu:.ut] 'knee'
batu ['ba:.tu] 'rock'

→ [t̚] unreleased in word-final position

mayat ['ma:.jat̚] 'corpse'

[k] voiceless velar plosive

→ [k] in word-initial or word-medial positions

kohap ['ko:.hap] 'afternoon'
diki ['di:.kiʔ] 'small'

→ [k̚] unreleased in word-final position

lammok ['lam,mɔk̚] 'fat'

[ʔ] voiceless glottal plosive

→ [ʔ] in word-final position only

nengko ['nɛŋ.kɔʔ] 'to sit down.'
labu ['la:.buʔ] 'to fall or drop'

[b] voiced bilabial plosive

→ [b] in word-initial or word-medial positions

bapa ['ba:.paʔ] 'uncle'
uban ['u:.ban] 'gray hair.'

→ [b̚] unreleased in word-final position

ukab ['u:.kab̚] 'open'

[d] voiced dental plosive

→ [d] in word-initial or word-medial positions

dugsu ['dug.suʔ] 'stab'
ndong ['n.dɔŋ] 'eel'

→ [d̚] unreleased in word-final position

bud ['bud̚] 'mountain'

[dʒ] voiced post-alveolar plosive

→ [dʒ] in word-initial or word-medial positions only

jalum ['dʒa:.lum] 'needle'
badju ['bad.dʒuʔ] 'clothes' or 'shirt'

[g] voiced velar plosive

→ [g] in word-initial or word-medial positions

gana-gana [,.ga.na-'ga:.na] 'later'
baga ['ba:.ga] 'ember'

→ [g̚] unreleased in word-final position

katig ['ka:.tig̚] 'outrigger float'

Nasal

There are three nasal consonants in Southern Sinama; the bilabial nasal [m], dental nasal [n], and velar nasal [ŋ]. All of the segments occur in all word positions. [m] and [n] form a syllable on their own in word-initial position. [m̚] is syllabic before the bilabial phonemes [m], [b], and [p]; whereas [ŋ] is syllabic before the alveolar phonemes [t], [d], and [n].

[m] voiced bilabial nasal

→ [m] in all word positions

min-duwa [min.'du:.wa] 'twice'

<i>umow</i>	['u:.mo:]	'mute' or 'dumb'
<i>sangom</i>	['sa:.ŋɔm]	'night' or 'evening'

→ [m] syllabic in word-initial position

<i>mma'</i>	['m.maʔ]	'father'
<i>mbo'</i>	['m.boʔ]	'grandparent'
<i>mpat</i>	['m.pat]	'four'

[n] voiced dental nasal

→ [n] in all word positions

<i>nengge</i>	['nɛŋ.ge]	'to stand up'
<i>bono'</i>	['bo:.noʔ]	'fight'
<i>on</i>	['ɔn]	'name'

→ [ŋ] syllabic in word-initial position

<i>ntallo</i>	['n.taɭɔ]	'egg'
<i>ndong</i>	['n.doŋ]	'eel'
<i>nnom</i>	['n.noɱ]	'six'

[ŋ] voiced velar nasal

→ [ŋ] in all word positions

<i>ngintan</i>	['ŋin.tan]	'to hold'
<i>tangan</i>	['ta:.ŋan]	'hand'
<i>puting</i>	['pu:.tiŋ]	'lie'

Trill

The trill in Southern Sinama has only one phoneme i.e. voiced alveolar trill [r]. However, it is realized as alveolar flap [r] in initial and intervocalic positions.

[r] voiced alveolar trill

→ [r] voiced trill in word-final position only

<i>pagar</i>	['pa:.gar]	'fence'
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→ [r] voiced alveolar flap in word-initial and intervocalic positions

<i>ranta'</i>	['ran.taʔ]	'light'
<i>ero'</i>	['ɛ:.roʔ]	'dog'

Fricative

Fricatives in Southern Sinama are represented by voiceless alveolar fricative [s] and voiceless glottal fricative [h]. [s] occurs in all word positions; whereas, [h] transpires in initial and medial-word positions only.

[s] voiceless alveolar fricative

→ [s] in all word positions

<i>saddi</i>	['sad.di]	'different'
<i>bisu</i>	['bi:.su]	'deaf'
<i>manis</i>	['ma:.nis]	'beautiful'

[h] voiceless glottal fricative

→ [h] in word-initial or word-medial positions only

<i>hap</i>	['hap]	'good'
<i>bohe'</i>	['bo:.heʔ]	'water'

Approximant

There are two approximants in the language under study: voiced palatal approximant [j] and voiced labio-velar approximant [w]. Neither [j] nor [w] occur word-finally.

[j] voiced palatal approximant

→ [j] in word-initial or word-medial positions only

<i>yuk</i>	[ˈjuk]	‘said’
<i>heya</i>	[ˈhɛːja]	‘big’

[w] voiced labio-velar approximant

→ [w] in word-initial or word-medial positions only

<i>walu</i>	[ˈwaːlu]	‘eight’
<i>kuwit</i>	[ˈkuːwit]	‘skin’

Lateral

The lateral is represented by a voiced alveolar lateral-approximant [l]. It is evident in utterance-initial or medial position. Although evident in other varieties of Southern Sinama, such as Bannaran and Sibutu (Allison, 1979; Jackaria, 2017), the phoneme does not occur in the utterance-final position in the Simunul variety of the language. It is syllabic in word-initial position before another [l].

[l] voiced alveolar lateral-approximant

→ [l] in word-initial or word-medial position

<i>loka’</i>	[ˈlɔːkaʔ]	‘loose’
<i>tibulung</i>	[tiˈbuːluŋ]	‘round’

→ [l] syllabic in word-initial position before another alveolar lateral

<i>llow</i>	[ˈl.loː]	‘day’
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4.1.1.1 Phonemic Status

The consonant phoneme inventory can be validated by demonstrating the contrast which occurs between phonetically similar segments in minimal pairs. The only way to establish a minimal pair, with reference to the two sounds involved, is to place them in the same condition in terms of word position and the adjacent context (Yavas 2011). In the case of [p] ~ [t], a perfect, minimal pair does not exist; thus, a near minimal pair was utilized to show contrast.

The following minimal pairs, minimal sets, and near minimal pairs provided evidence for the phonemic status of phonetically similar consonants in Southern Sinama. Examples listed below are grouped into phonetically similar segments but differ in terms of voicing, place of articulation, and manner of articulation. Furthermore, they are registered either in word-initial, medial or final positions.

Voicing

voiced bilabial plosive vs. voiceless bilabial plosive

[b] ~ [p]	<i>timbang</i>	[ˈtim.ban]	‘ocean’
	<i>timpang</i>	[ˈtim.pan]	‘askew’

voiced alveolar plosive vs. voiceless alveolar plosive

[d] ~ [t]	<i>dahun</i>	[ˈda.hun]	‘leaf’
	<i>tahun</i>	[ˈta.hun]	‘year’

voiced velar plosives vs. voiceless velar plosives

[g] ~ [k]	<i>gatas</i>	[ˈga.tas]	‘milk’
	<i>katas</i>	[ˈka.tas]	‘paper’

Manner of Articulation

voiced bilabial plosive vs. voiceless alveolar plosive

[b] ~ [t]	<i>bowa’</i>	[ˈbɔːwaʔ]	‘mouth’
	<i>towa’</i>	[ˈtɔːwaʔ]	‘hit’ or ‘right’

voiced bilabial plosive vs. voiced alveolar plosive

[b] ~ [d]	<i>baran</i>	[ˈba.ran]	‘body’
	<i>daran</i>	[ˈda.ran]	‘often’

voiced bilabial plosive and voiceless velar plosive

[b] ~ [k]	<i>bowan</i>	[ˈbɔːwan]	‘foul-smelling’
	<i>kowan</i>	[ˈkɔːwan]	‘right (hand)’

voiced bilabial plosive vs. voiced velar plosive

[b] ~ [g]	<i>busung</i>	['bu:suŋ]	'karma'
	<i>gusung</i>	['gu:suŋ]	'sand'

voiceless bilabial plosive vs. voiceless alveolar plosive

[p] ~ [t]	<i>pitu</i>	['pi:tu]	'seven'
	<i>tipu</i>	['ti:pu]	'betrayal'

voiceless bilabial plosive vs. voiceless velar plosive

[p] ~ [k]	<i>kepet</i>	['kɛ:pɛt]	'armpit'
	<i>keket</i>	['kɛ:kɛt]	'to bite'

voiceless bilabial plosive vs. voiced velar plosive

[p] ~ [g]	<i>hap</i>	['hap]	'good'
	<i>hag</i>	['hag]	'post'

voiceless bilabial plosive vs. voiceless glottal plosive

[p] ~ [ʔ]	<i>sukup</i>	['su:kup]	'enough'
	<i>suku'</i>	['su:kuʔ]	'assigned (task)'

voiced alveolar plosive vs. voiceless velar plosive

[d] ~ [k]	<i>saddi</i>	['sɑd.di]	'different'
	<i>sakki</i>	['sɑk.ki]	'sickness'

voiceless alveolar plosive vs. voiced post-alveolar plosive

[t] ~ [dʒ]	<i>talum</i>	['tɑ:lum]	'eggplant'
	<i>jalum</i>	['dʒɑ:lum]	'needle'

voiceless alveolar plosive vs. voiceless velar plosive

[t] ~ [k]	<i>tabang</i>	['tɑ:baŋ]	'aid/help'
	<i>kabang</i>	['kɑ:baŋ]	'stripe'

voiceless alveolar plosive vs. voiced velar plosive

[t] ~ [g]	<i>taha'</i>	['tɑ:haʔ]	'long'
	<i>gaha'</i>	['gɑ:haʔ]	'rust'

voiceless alveolar plosive vs. voiceless glottal plosive

[t] ~ [ʔ]	<i>lahat</i>	['lɑ:hat]	'place'
	<i>laha'</i>	['lɑ:haʔ]	'blood'

voiceless velar plosive vs. voiceless glottal plosive

[k] ~ [ʔ]	<i>tahak</i>	['tɑ:hɑk]	'ripe or cooked'
	<i>taha'</i>	['tɑ:haʔ]	'long'

voiced bilabial nasal vs. voiced alveolar nasal

[m] ~ [n]	<i>imam</i>	['i:mɑm]	'religious leader'
	<i>iman</i>	['i:mɑn]	'faith'

voiced alveolar nasal vs. voiced velar nasal

[ŋ] ~ [ŋ]	<i>dagan</i>	['da:gɑn]	'to run'
	<i>dagang</i>	['da:gɑŋ]	'sell'

voiced palatal approximant vs. voiced velar approximant

[j] ~ [w]	<i>bayad</i>	['ba:jad]	'payment'
	<i>bawang</i>	['ba:wɑŋ]	'garlic'

Place of Articulation

voiced bilabial plosive vs. voiced bilabial nasal

[b] ~ [m]	<i>banta</i>	[' ban.ta]	'enemy'
	<i>manta</i>	[' man.ta]	'blanket'

voiceless bilabial plosive vs. voiced bilabial nasal

[p] ~ [m]	<i>palappa</i>	[pa.' lap.pa]	'to become free'
	<i>pamma</i>	[pa.' lam.ma]	'to become weak'

voiced alveolar plosive vs. voiced alveolar nasal

[d] ~ [n]	<i>tanda'</i>	[' tan.da ?]	'saw (see)'
	<i>tanna'</i>	[' tan.na ?]	'to put'

voiced alveolar plosive vs. voiceless alveolar fricative

[d] ~ [s]	<i>duru'</i>	[' du.ru ?]	'breast'
	<i>suru'</i>	[' su.ru ?]	'spoon'

voiced alveolar plosive vs. voiced alveolar lateral-approximant

[d] ~ [l]	<i>dangan-dangan</i>	[da.ŋan -' da.ŋan]	'alone'
	<i>langan</i>	[' la.ŋan]	'prevent'

voiceless alveolar plosive vs. voiced alveolar nasal

[t] ~ [n]	<i>tey'</i>	[' te :?]	'feces'
	<i>ney'</i>	[' ne :?]	'foot'

voiceless alveolar plosive vs. voiced alveolar flap vs. voiceless alveolar fricative

[t] ~ [r] ~ [s]	<i>bati'</i>	[' ba:ti ?]	'to wake up'
	<i>bari'</i>	[' ba:ri ?]	'bolo knife'
	<i>basi'</i>	[' ba:si ?]	'steel'

voiceless alveolar plosive vs. voiced alveolar lateral-approximant

[t] ~ [l]	<i>talom</i>	[' ta:lɔm]	'sharp'
	<i>lalom</i>	[' la:lɔm]	'deep'

voiced alveolar nasal vs. voiced alveolar lateral-approximant

[n] ~ [l]	<i>naan</i>	[' na:an]	'(like) that'
	<i>laan</i>	[' la:an]	'(to) leave'

voiceless alveolar fricative vs. voiced alveolar lateral-approximant

[s] ~ [l]	<i>sowa</i>	[' sɔ:wa]	'snake'
	<i>lowa</i>	[' lɔ:wa]	'appearance'

voiced velar plosives vs. voiced velar nasal

[g] ~ [ŋ]	<i>dagan</i>	[' da:gan]	'to run'
	<i>dangan-dangan</i>	[da.ŋan -' da.ŋan]	'alone'

voiced velar plosive vs. voiced velar approximant

[g] ~ [w]	<i>laga'</i>	[' la:ga ?]	'to boil'
	<i>lawa'</i>	[' la:wa ?]	'spider'

voiceless velar plosive vs. voiced velar nasal

[k] ~ [ŋ]	<i>budjak</i>	[' bud.dʒak]	'spear'
	<i>budjang</i>	[' bud.dʒaŋ]	'maiden'

4.1.2 Vowel Phonemes

Table 2. Southern Sinama Vowel Phonemes

		Front	Central	Back
		Unrounded		Rounded
High	close	i		u
	open			
Mid	close	e		o
	open	ɛ		ɔ
Low	close			
	open		a	

The table above illustrates the vowel phoneme inventory of Southern Sinama. Each phoneme is represented by an IPA symbol. The terms 'high', 'mid', and 'low' refer to vowel height, while 'front', 'central', and 'back' refer to the vowel horizontal dimension. Moreover, the terms 'close' and 'open' distinguish vowel heights within the high, mid, and low ranges. Furthermore, vowels are affected by the rounding of the lips. Samples of the occurrence of each phoneme in utterance-initial, medial, and final are presented below:

- [i] close high front unrounded vowel
→ [i] in all word positions
- | | | |
|---------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>iting</i> | [i:tiŋ] | 'fishbone' |
| <i>diilow</i> | [di:i:lo:] | 'yesterday' |
| <i>bigi</i> | [bi:gi] | 'seed' |
- [e] close mid front unrounded vowel
→ [e] in all word positions
- | | | |
|--------------|----------|----------|
| <i>eyyan</i> | [e:jan] | 'what' |
| <i>deyng</i> | [de:ŋ] | 'fish' |
| <i>matey</i> | [ma:te:] | 'to die' |
- [ɛ] open mid front unrounded vowel
→ [ɛ] in all word positions
- | | | |
|--------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>entom</i> | [ɛn.tɔm] | 'remember' |
| <i>keyat</i> | [ke:jat] | 'red' |
| <i>kale</i> | [ka:lɛ] | 'to hear/listen' |
- [a] open low central unrounded vowel
→ [a] in all word positions
- | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>api</i> | [a:pi] | 'fire' |
| <i>danakan</i> | [da.'na:kan] | 'sibling' |
| <i>siyaka</i> | [si.'ja:ka] | 'older sibling' |
- [u] close high back rounded vowel
→ [u] in all word positions
- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|----------|
| <i>ullang</i> | [ul.laŋ] | 'shrimp' |
| <i>lumut</i> | [lu:mut] | 'moss' |
| <i>baliyu</i> | [.ba.'li:ju] | 'wind' |
- [o] close mid back rounded vowel
→ [o] in medial and final positions only
- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>pagtowaan</i> | [pag.to:.'wa:an] | 'agreement' |
| <i>talow</i> | [ta:.lo:] | 'afraid' |
- [ɔ] open mid back rounded vowel
→ [ɔ] in all word positions
- | | | |
|---------------|----------|------------|
| <i>ongka'</i> | [ɔŋ.kaʔ] | 'a play' |
| <i>pong</i> | [pɔŋ] | 'to break' |

tepo ['tɛ:.pɔ] 'mat'

4.1.2.1 Phonemic Contrast

The following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs provided evidence for the phonemic status of phonetically similar vowels in Southern Sinama. They are registered either in word-initial, medial or final positions.

[i] ~ [ɛ]	<i>basi'</i> <i>base'</i>	['ba:.siʔ] ['ba:.sɛʔ]	'steel' 'wet'
[i] ~ [a]	<i>bigi</i> <i>baga</i>	['bi:.gi] ['ba:.ga]	'seed' 'ember'
[i] ~ [u]	<i>iting</i> <i>itung</i>	['i:.tiŋ] ['i:.tuŋ]	'fishbone' 'to count'
[i] ~ [o]	<i>sapi'</i> <i>sapow</i>	['sa:.piʔ] ['sa:.po:]	'cow' 'roof'
[a] ~ [ɔ]	<i>taha'</i> <i>toho'</i>	['ta:.haʔ] ['tɔ:.hɔʔ]	'long' 'dry'
[u] ~ [ɔ]	<i>muwan</i> <i>bowan</i>	['mu:.wan] ['bɔ:.wan]	'to give' 'foul smelling'
[u] ~ [a]	<i>luma'</i> <i>hama'</i>	['lu:.maʔ] ['ha:.maʔ]	'house' 'mosquito'
[u] ~ [e]	<i>subu</i> <i>subey</i>	['su:.bu] ['su:.be:]	'daytime' 'should'

4.2 Non-Segmental Phonology

4.2.1 Stress

Stress in Southern Sinama is predictable. Lexical stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, and phrasal stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the phrase. The stress is retained by this syllable regardless of any reduplication or inflectional, or derivational affixing. Because of its predictable nature, the stress in the language is non-phonemic. The following are examples of bisyllabic, trisyllabic, quadrisyllabic, and pentasyllabic words, reduplication, compound words, and phrases:

Bisyllabic

<i>jintang</i>	['dʒin.tan]	'ugly'
<i>lasso</i>	['las.sɔ]	'full (after eating)'
<i>putus</i>	['pu:.tus]	'wrap'

Trisyllabic

<i>binasa</i>	[bi.'na:.sa]	'laborious'
<i>hapsana</i>	[hap.'sa:.na]	'delicious'
<i>istowa</i>	[is.'tɔ:.wa]	'laugh'

Quadrisyllabic

<i>manusiya'</i>	[ma.nu.'si:.jaʔ]	'person'
<i>pariyata'</i>	[pa.ri.'ja:.taʔ]	'upward'
<i>sasohoan</i>	[sa.sɔ.'hɔ:.an]	'servant'

Pentasyllabic

<i>kasiyalihan</i>	[ka.si.ja.'li:.han]	'youngest child'
<i>kabilahian</i>	[ka.bi.la.'hi:.an]	'desire'
<i>samparuwahan</i>	[sam.pa.ru.'wa:.han]	'sometimes'

Reduplication

<i>anak-anak</i>	[a.nak-'a:nak]	'little child'
<i>diki'-diki'</i>	[di.kiʔ-'di:kiʔ]	'little'
<i>duwa-duwa</i>	[du.wa-'du:wa]	'two at a time'

Compound

<i>aa babono'</i>	[a.a ba.'bɔ:ɔʔ]	'warrior'
<i>anak ingipat</i>	[a.nak i.'ŋj:pat]	'adopted child'
<i>keber bowa'</i>	[kɛ.bɛr 'bɔ:waʔ]	'lips'

Phrase

<i>bey ili</i>	[be:'i:li]	'long time ago'
<i>bete' ili</i>	[bɛ.tɛʔ 'i:lu]	'like that'
<i>lalla iti</i>	[la.la 'i:ti]	'this man'

In Southern Sinama, stress is often strengthened by allophonic vowel length, especially when it is lexical. This means, long vowel sounds are frequently stressed. However, there are instances where stress occurred in syllabic consonants such as [ŋ], [ŋ] and [l].

<i>mbɔ'</i>	[ʔm.bɔʔ]	'grandparent'
<i>nnom</i>	[ʔŋ.nɔm]	'six'
<i>llow</i>	[ʔl.lo:]	'day'

In a disyllabic lexeme where both syllables contain long vowels or diphthongs, the penultimate syllable is stressed.

<i>kiley</i>	[ʔki:le:]	'eyebrow'
<i>umow</i>	[ʔu:mo:]	'dumb/mute'
<i>langow</i>	[ʔla:ŋo:]	'a fly'

In contrast to the above-mentioned assertion, in which stress is placed on the penultimate syllable, the numbers presented below are stressed on the ultimate syllable:

<i>dikow'</i>	[di.'ko:ʔ]	'one'
<i>duwampu'</i>	[du.wam.'pu:ʔ]	'twenty'
<i>tallumpu'</i>	[tal.lum.'pu:ʔ]	'thirty'
<i>mpatpu'</i>	[m.pat.'pu:ʔ]	'forty'
<i>limampu'</i>	[li.mam.'pu:ʔ]	'fifty'
<i>nnompu'</i>	[n.nɔm.'pu:ʔ]	'sixty'
<i>pitumpu'</i>	[pi.tum.'pu:ʔ]	'seventy'
<i>walumpu'</i>	[wa.lum.'pu:ʔ]	'eighty'
<i>siyampu'</i>	[si.jam.'pu:ʔ]	'ninety'

4.2.2 Length

Vowel length is not contrastive in Southern Sinama language. Vowels in stressed, open syllables are lengthened. Likewise, vowel phonemes such as [e] and [o] are lengthened in any position.

Stressed, Open Syllable

<i>heka</i>	[ʔhɛ:ka]	'many'
<i>kaki</i>	[ʔka:ki]	'cousin'
<i>mamahi</i>	[ma.'ma:hi]	'star'

Phoneme [e]

<i>eyyan</i>	[e:jan]	'what'
<i>deyng</i>	[ʔde:ŋ]	'fish'
<i>bagey</i>	[ʔba:ge:]	'friend'

Phoneme [o]

<i>towwa'</i>	[to:waʔ]	'to agree'
<i>langkow</i>	[ʔlaŋ.ko:]	'tall'
<i>payow</i>	[ʔpa:jo:]	'deer'

4.2.3 Intonation

Intonation in Southern Sinama determines whether an utterance is intended as a statement or a question. It specifically regulates whether the question is yes–no or wh–question. In statement, there is a falling intonation at the end of the utterance. On the other hand, a rising intonation is evident at the end of yes–no question. Whereas, for wh–question, there is a rising intonation on the question word, and a falling intonation at the end of the question.

Statement

Ilu milu bari’.

[‘i:lu ‘mi:lu ‘ba:↘ri?||]

‘The bolo knife is there.’

Manis anak-anak naan.

[‘ma:nis a.nak-‘a:nak ‘na:↘an||]

‘That child is beautiful.’

Bagey ku disi Juan maka Tomas.

[‘ba:ge: ku di.si ‘hu:wən | ma.ka ‘to:↘mas||]

‘Tomas and Juan are my friends.’

Yes–No Question

Takale nu ba sigala?

[ta.‘ka:ɛ nu ba si.‘ga:↗la||]

‘Did you hear them?’

Niya’ ba dinakan nu?

[‘ni:ya? ba di.‘na:kan ↗nu||]

‘Do you have siblings?’

Palaan ba si Maria pahalū?

[pa.‘la:an ba si ma.‘ri:ja pa.‘ha:↗lu||]

‘Will Maria leave tomorrow?’

Wh-Question

Eyan bey tanda’ nu?

[↗e:jan be: tan.‘da?↘nu||]

‘What did you see?’

Ma seyyan saging iti?

[ma ↗se:jan ‘sa:ginj ‘i:↘ti||]

‘Whose banana is this?’

Bete’ ingga langkow sampallok?

[be.te? ↗in.ga ‘lan.ko: sam.‘pal.↘ɔk||]

‘How tall is a tamarind (tree)?’

4.3 Syllable Types and Phonemic Distribution

4.3.1 Syllable Types

The syllable structure in Southern Sinama may be represented as consonant (C) – vowel (V) – consonant (C). The (V) nucleus is obligatory constituent of the syllable. However, there are syllables in the language where only (C) onset has occurred. That is, bilabial nasal [m], alveolar nasal [n], and alveolar lateral-approximant [l] can stand as syllables on their own in the utterance-initial position.

[m]	<i>mbo’</i>	[‘m:boʔ]	‘grandparent’
	<i>mpat</i>	[‘m:pat]	‘four’
	<i>mma’</i>	[‘m:maʔ]	‘father’
[n]	<i>ntut</i>	[‘n:tut]	‘fart’
	<i>ndor-ndor</i>	[n.dɔr-‘n:dɔr]	‘worm’

	<i>nom</i>	['n:.nɔm]	'six'
[l]	<i>low</i>	['l:.lo:]	'day' or 'sun'

There are five types of syllables signified by (C)V(C) template: C, V, VC, CV, and CVC. The last four may occur in all word positions. Examples are illustrated in the table below:

Table 3. Syllable Types

C	<i>mbo'</i> <i>ntut</i> <i>low</i>	['m:.boʔ] ['n:.tut] ['l:.lo:]	'grandparent' 'fart' 'day' or 'sun.'
V	<i>amok</i> <i>toolang</i> <i>tinai</i>	['a:.mɔk] [to.'ɔ:.laŋ] [ti.'na:i]	'wave' 'bone' 'intestine'
VC	<i>appak</i> <i>piingga</i> <i>buun</i>	['ap.pak] [pi.'iŋ.ga] ['bu:.un]	'frog' 'where to go' 'hair'
CV	<i>linug</i> <i>bulawan</i> <i>humbu</i>	['li:.nug] [bu.'la:.wan] ['hum.bu]	'earthquake' 'gold' 'smoke'
CVC	<i>nukna'</i> <i>anambar</i> <i>kamemon</i>	['nuk.naʔ] [a.'nam.bar] [ka.'mɛ:.mɔn]	'to curse' 'doctor' 'all'

4.3.2 Phoneme Distribution

4.3.2.1 Consonants

4.3.2.1.1 Within Syllable

No consonant clusters occur within syllable. Any consonant may occur in the onset and/or the coda positions within a syllable. Apparently, [ʔ] may only appear in coda, never in the onset position. In the case of the letters 'y' and 'w', vowel phonemes [e] and [o] are used in transcription in coda, respectively. Below are examples:

<i>teynga</i>	['te:ŋa]	'ear'
<i>paley</i>	['pa:le:]	'rice plant'
<i>karbow</i>	['karbo:]	'water buffalo'
<i>iskow</i>	['isko:]	'lazy'

4.3.2.1.2 Within a Word

No consonant clusters occur word-finally. Word-initially and medially, consonants are allowed to blend across syllable boundaries. Word-initially, [m], [n], and [l] can occur as phonetically lengthened to the extent that they form a geminate cluster.

Examples:

<i>mma'</i>	['m:.maʔ]	'father'
<i>nom</i>	['n:.nɔm]	'six'
<i>low</i>	['l:.lo:]	'day' or 'sun'

Word-medially, the typical consonant blending across syllable boundaries are nasal + plosive, where the nasal (coda) of the preceding syllable has the same place of articulation with the stop (onset) of the following syllable. This allows for the following clusters: [mb, mp, nd, nt, ŋg, ŋk].

Examples:

<i>tambar</i>	['tam.bar]	'medicine'
<i>tampe'</i>	['tam.pɛʔ]	'shore'
<i>lindung</i>	['lin.duŋ]	'shade'
<i>lantung</i>	['lan.tuŋ]	'float'
<i>linggi'</i>	['liŋ.giʔ]	'fishing net'
<i>ningko'</i>	['niŋ.koʔ]	'to sit down'

There are also consonant clusters across syllable boundaries, which do not conform to the usual patterns above, and their occurrence are rare in the language. These are [ks, kn, ndʒ, ns, rb, nj, dɔʒ, ɲp, st, sk, gp, gs, ps].

<i>laksu</i>	[ˈlak.su]	‘to jump’
<i>nuknaʼ</i>	[ˈnuk.naʔ]	‘to curse’
<i>banjir</i>	[ˈban.dʒir]	‘flood’
<i>ponsot</i>	[ˈpɔn.sɔt]	‘navel’
<i>karbow</i>	[ˈkar.bo:]	‘water buffalo’
<i>banyagaʼ</i>	[ban.ˈja:.gaʔ]	‘slave’
<i>ludjaʼ</i>	[ˈlud.dʒaʔ]	‘spittle’
<i>sangpuʼ</i>	[ˈsaŋ.puʔ]	‘ten’
<i>astolan</i>	[as.ˈtɔ:.lan]	‘be angry’
<i>sigpit</i>	[ˈsig.pit]	‘tight’
<i>tugsuk</i>	[ˈtuɡ.suk]	‘to prick’
<i>hapsana</i>	[hap.ˈsa:.na]	‘delicious’
<i>iskow</i>	[ˈis.ko:]	‘lazy’

Likewise, geminate cluster can also occur across syllable boundaries in word-medial position. Doubling of the phonemes [dʒ, ʔ, r, h, j, w] in the word-medial position is restricted in Southern Sinama.

<i>nguppi</i>	[ˈŋup.pi]	‘dream’
<i>tubbu</i>	[ˈtub.bu]	‘sugarcane’
<i>bittis</i>	[ˈbit.tis]	‘leg’
<i>ngaddap</i>	[ˈŋad.dap]	‘to wink’
<i>likkas</i>	[ˈlik.kas]	‘fast’
<i>ngaggak</i>	[ˈŋag.gak]	‘to burp’
<i>kammus</i>	[ˈkam.mus]	‘blanket’
<i>pannoʼ</i>	[ˈpan.nɔʔ]	‘full (not empty)’
<i>ngangngus</i>	[ˈŋaŋ.ŋus]	‘to moan’
<i>lassom</i>	[ˈlas.sɔm]	‘sour’
<i>kallong</i>	[ˈkal.lɔŋ]	‘neck’

4.3.2.2 Vowels

4.3.2.2.1 Distribution of Vowels

Any vowel may occur in all syllable positions.

Initial

<i>ambow</i>	[ˈam.bo]	‘rat’ or ‘mouse’
<i>inyawa</i>	[in.ˈja:.wa]	‘soul’
<i>empon</i>	[ˈɛm.pɔn]	‘tooth’

Medial

<i>man</i>	[ˈma:n]	‘to walk’
<i>kok</i>	[ˈkɔ:k]	‘head’
<i>saʼ</i>	[ˈsaʔ]	‘wrong’

Final

<i>muha</i>	[ˈmu:ha]	‘face’
<i>kayu</i>	[ˈka:ju]	‘wood’ or ‘tree’
<i>bu</i>	[ˈbu:]	‘fur’ or ‘feather’

4.3.2.2.2 Vowel Combinations

Vowel combinations in Southern Sinama only occur across syllable boundaries. Vowel combinations may be represented as CVVC, CVV, or VVC. Each of the permitted vowel sequences may cluster either with itself or with another vowel. The table below shows the possible vowel combinations in roots and in affixed forms:

Table 4. Vowel Combination

	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u
i	<i>piingga</i>	---	---	<i>kabilahian</i>	---	---	---
e	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
ɛ	---	---	---	<i>kasehean</i>	---	---	---
a	<i>tinai</i>	<i>taentom</i>	---	<i>bagaang</i>	---	---	<i>bahau</i>
ɔ	---	---	---	<i>atoa</i>	<i>toongan</i>	---	---
o	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
u	---	---	---	<i>uan</i>	---	---	<i>tuut</i>

Based on the table above, it is evident that vowel sequence is not permitted for phonemes [e] and [o]; neither with themselves nor with other vowel phonemes. Only the combinations of [i] with itself and [a]; [ɛ] with [a]; [a] with itself, [i], [ɛ], and [u]; [ɔ] with itself and [a]; and [u] with itself and [a] are permitted in Southern Sinama language.

4.4 Morphophonology

This section focuses on the morphophonological processes that transpire in Southern Sinama. It specifically discusses the sound changes that take place in morphemes when they are combined in order to form words. In addition, it presents series of constraints that predict sound changes arising in the morphemes of Southern Sinama. Specifically, it describes the replacement, addition, and elision of segments. Loan words are also discussed in this section.

4.4.1 Replacement of Segments

Replacement of segment in Southern Sinama is evident through the nasal fusion. Its manifestation is governed by the place of articulation in root-initial consonants to which the nasal prefixes. That is, voiced and voiceless bilabial plosives [p] and [b] are assimilated by nasal [m]; voiceless alveolar fricative [s] and voiceless alveolar plosive [t] are assimilated by nasal [n]; voiced and voiceless velar plosives [k] and [g] are assimilated by nasal [ŋ]. Below are examples of the realization of nasal prefix (N-) combined with the first letter of the base:

N- + [p] or [b] → m-

N- + <i>piili</i>	[pi.'i:li]	→ <i>mili</i>	[mi.'i:li]	'to go'
N- + <i>pole'</i>	[pɔ:.'lɛʔ]	→ <i>mole'</i>	[mɔ:.'lɛʔ]	'to go home'
N- + <i>balli</i>	[bal.li]	→ <i>malli</i>	[mal.li]	'to buy'
N- + <i>bowa</i>	[bɔ:.'wa]	→ <i>mowa</i>	[mɔ:.'wa]	'to bring'

N- + [s] or [t] → n-

N- + <i>sigā</i>	[si:.'ga]	→ <i>nigā</i>	[ni:.'ga]	'to smoke'
N- + <i>siyum</i>	[si:.'jum]	→ <i>niyum</i>	[ni:.'jum]	'to kiss'
N- + <i>tugsuk</i>	[tug.'suk]	→ <i>nugsuk</i>	[tug.'suk]	'to prick'
N- + <i>tilow</i>	[ti:.'lo]	→ <i>nilow</i>	[ti:.'lo]	'to ask'

N- + [k] or [g] → ng-

N- + <i>keket</i>	[kɛ:.'ket]	→ <i>ngeket</i>	[ŋɛ:.'ket]	'to bite'
N- + <i>kuskus</i>	[kus.'kus]	→ <i>nguskus</i>	[ŋus.'kus]	'to rub'
N- + <i>guyud</i>	[gu:.'jud]	→ <i>nguyud</i>	[ŋu:.'jud]	'to drag'
N- + <i>gaggak</i>	[gag.'gak]	→ <i>ngaggak</i>	[ŋag.'gak]	'to burp'

In addition, rhotacization occurs in Southern Sinama. That is, voiced alveolar plosive [d] in initial position of root is changed to voiced alveolar flap [r] when attached to a prefix that ends with low central unrounded vowel [a].

Examples:

pa-	+ <i>dagan</i>	[da:.'gan]	→ <i>paragan</i>	[pa'ra:.'gan]	'to run'
ta-	+ <i>dupang</i>	[du:.'paŋ]	→ <i>tarupang</i>	[ta'ru:.'paŋ]	'being fooled'
ka-	+ <i>danda</i> + han	[dan.'da]	→ <i>karandahan</i>	[ka.ran.'da:.'han]	'women'

4.4.2 Addition of Segments

Addition of segment is also apparent in Southern Sinama. That is, nasal [ŋ] can be added to vowel phonemes [a], [ɛ], [i] or [u].

Examples:

N- + [a] → ng-					
N- + <i>anda'</i>	['an.daʔ]	→ <i>nganda'</i>	['ŋan.daʔ]	'to view'	
N- + <i>atu</i>	['a:tu]	→ <i>ngatu</i>	['ŋa:tu]	'to fight'	
N- + <i>amu'</i>	['a:mu']	→ <i>ngamu'</i>	['ŋa:mu']	'to solicit'	
N- + [ɛ] → ng-					
N- + <i>entom</i>	['ɛn.tɔm]	→ <i>ngentom</i>	['ŋɛn.tɔm]	'to remember'	
N- + <i>engkot</i>	['ɛŋ.kɔt]	→ <i>ngengkot</i>	['ŋɛŋ.kɔt]	'to tie'	
N- + <i>ettom</i>	['ɛt.tɔm]	→ <i>ngettom</i>	['ŋɛt.tɔm]	'to darken (skin)'	
N- + [i] → ng-					
N- + <i>intan</i>	['in.tan]	→ <i>ngintan</i>	['ŋin.tan]	'to hold'	
N- + <i>itung</i>	['i:tuŋ]	→ <i>ngitung</i>	['ŋi:tuŋ]	'to count'	
N- + <i>inum</i>	['i:num]	→ <i>nginum</i>	['ŋi:num]	'to drink'	
N- + [u] → ng-					
N- + <i>utang</i>	['u:taŋ]	→ <i>ngutang</i>	['ŋu:taŋ]	'to loan'	
N- + <i>ulan</i>	['u:lan]	→ <i>ngulan</i>	['ŋu:lan]	'to rain'	
N- + <i>ukab</i>	['u:kab]	→ <i>ngukab</i>	['ŋu:kab]	'to open'	

4.4.3 Elision of Segments

Elision in Southern Sinama is evident when roots ending with a glottal plosive [ʔ] are suffixed with *-an* or *-in*.

Examples:

with <i>-an</i>				
<i>sehe'</i>	['sɛ:hɛʔ]	'companion'		+ <i>-an</i>
→ <i>sehean</i>	[sɛ.'hɛ:an]	'to accompany (someone)'		
<i>kose'</i>	['kɔ:sɛʔ]	'to wash'		+ <i>-an</i>
→ <i>kosean</i>	[kɔ.'sɛ:an]	'to wash (for someone)'		
with <i>-in</i>				
<i>soho'</i>	['sɔ:hɔʔ]	'to command'		+ <i>-in</i>
→ <i>sohoin</i>	['sɔ:hɔ:in]	'to ask (someone) to command (someone else)'		
<i>anda'</i>	['an.daʔ]	'to see (something or someone)'		+ <i>-in</i>
→ <i>andain</i>	['an.da:in]	'to ask (someone) to see (something or someone)'		

4.4.4 Loan Words

Loan words in Southern Sinama mostly come from Sinug. Speakers of Simunul variety of the language pronounce them according to their own sound system. The most apparent is that alveolar lateral-approximant [l] in Sinug becomes alveolar trill [r] in Sinama. However, this is only true in the final position of the word. Consider the following examples below:

Sinug		Sinama		
<i>sayul</i>	['sa:jul]	→ <i>sayur</i>	['sa:jul]	'vegetable'
<i>pagal</i>	['pa:gal]	→ <i>pagar</i>	['pa:gar]	'fence'
<i>Kubul</i>	['ku:bul]	→ <i>kubur</i>	['ku:bur]	'grave'

4.5 Orthography

The orthography of the Southern Sinama Language is established out of the Roman script. Its glottal plosive, however, is written with apostrophe ('). Phonetically, the close mid front unrounded vowel [e] and the close mid back rounded vowel [o] are inscribed as *ey* and *ow*, respectively. *Ng* is considered as a unit. Thus, in the order of the Southern Sinama Alphabets, it comes after *n* and before *o*. The table below shows the current state of the basics of the language's orthography:

Table 5. Southern Sinama Language Orthography

Consonant				Vowel	
Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme
[p]	p P	[n]	n N	[i]	i I
[b]	b B	[ŋ]	ng Ng	[e]	ey
[t]	t T	[r]	r R	[ɛ]	e E
[d]	d D	[s]	s S	[a]	a A
[dʒ]	j J	[h]	h H	[ɔ]	o O
[k]	k K	[j]	y Y	[o]	ow
[g]	g G	[w]	w W	[u]	u U
[ʔ]	'	[l]	l L		
[m]	m M				

5. Morphology

In this section, the morphology of Southern Sinama language is presented. Specifically, morphemes, morphological processes, and word classes of the language are described.

5.1 Morphemes

5.1.1 Affixes

Southern Sinama language affixes consist of prefixes, infixes, suffixes, and circumfixes. Different morphemes that share the same affix form are distinguished by a subscript number. For example, the prefix *pa-* encompasses two different morphemes: *pa₁-* derives indicative and contemplative action; and *pa₂-* points out indicative and imperfective action. With the prefix *ng-*, if the root word starts with a consonant, the prefix inserts an *a* at the ending to become *nga-*. Likewise, with the suffixes *-an* and *-in*, if the root word ends in a vowel, *h* is inserted at the beginning of the suffix to become *-han* and *-hin*. These insertions aim to make speaking more natural. Tables 6, 7, and 8 below show the main verbal affixes with information on the different categories of verbs: voice, mood, and aspect. In addition, examples in sentences for each of the verbal affixes in the tables are given in (5.39) to (5.56).

5.1.1.1 Prefixes

The most common prefixes in Southern Sinama are given in the table below:

Table 6. Southern Sinama Prefixes

Prefix	Category			Meaning
	Voice	Mood	Aspect	
ka-	Actor	indicative	perfective	to do (something) accidentally or unintentionally
maka-	Actor	potential	contemplative	to be able to do (something)
mag ₁ -	Actor	indicative	contemplative	to do (something)
mag ₂ -	Actor	imperative	imperfective	to ask (someone) to do (something)
magpa ₁ -	Actor	indicative	contemplative	to do (something) to (someone)
N ₁ -	Actor	indicative	contemplative	to do (something)
N ₂ -	Actor	imperative	imperfective	to have (someone) do (something)
ng-/nga-	Actor	indicative	imperfective	to do (something)
ni-	undergoer	Indicative	perfective	to do (something) to (someone)
nipa ₁ -	undergoer	causative	perfective	to have (someone else) do (something)
nipa ₂ -	undergoer	indicative	perfective	to do something to (someone)
pa ₁ -	Actor	indicative	contemplative	to do (something) or to do (something) to (someone or something)
pa ₂ - (denominal verb)	undergoer	indicative	imperfective	to become or to get to be
paN- (nominal)	-	-	-	to yield instrument of action
ta-	undergoer	indicative	perfective	(something) is done to (something)
tapa-	undergoer	causative	perfective	to be able to make (someone) do (something) to (someone or something)

5.1.1.2 Infix

In this investigation, only one infix form was found in the language under study, and that is *-in-*. It occurs as an allomorph of *ni-* which can be affixed before base forms beginning with voiceless alveolar plosives [t], voiceless velar plosives [k] and voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. The *-in-* stems to do something to a person or a thing. The infix *-in* suggests undergoer voice; furthermore, it points out indicative mood, and perfective action.

5.1.1.3 Suffixes

The table below are the suffix forms found in the language under study.

Table 7. Southern Sinama Suffixes

Suffix	Category			Meaning
	Voice	Mood	Aspect	
-an/-han ₁	undergoer	indicative	contemplative	to do (something to (someone))
-an/-han ₂ (nominal)	-	-	-	to express a nominal instrument or place of action
-in/-hin ₁	undergoer	imperative	imperfective	to have (someone) do (something)

5.1.1.4 Circumfix

Table 8 shows the circumfix forms found in Southern Sinama.

Table 8. Southern Sinama Circumfixes

Circumfix	Category			Meaning
	Voice	Mood	Aspect	
ka-...-an/-han (nominal)	-	-	-	to form abstract and collective nouns
mag-...-an/-han	Actor	indicative	contemplative	to do (something) together simultaneously or reciprocally
N(s)-...-an	undergoer	indicative	Perfective	to do (something) to (someone) or (something)
pa-...-in/-hin	undergoer	imperative	Imperfective	to let or make (someone) do (something) or to make (something) to get bigger, faster, more beautiful, etc.

5.2 Morphological Processes

5.2.1 Inflection

Inflection occurs when affixes are attached to a base word in order to form grammatical variety. The table below are examples of inflection in the language under study.

Table 9. Examples of Inflection in Southern Sinama

Affix	Base Word	Meaning	Word Formed	Change in Grammatical Meaning
ka-	<i>towa'</i>	to hit	<i>katowa'</i>	base form to perfective aspect of verb
pa-	<i>kakan</i>	to eat	<i>Pakakan</i>	base form to contemplative form of verb
N-	<i>balli</i>	to buy	<i>Malli</i>	base form to imperfective form of the verb

5.2.2 Derivation

Derivation occurs when affixes are attached to a base word in order to change its syntactic category or change one lexical entry into another. It is discussed further in §5.3.1.3 and §5.3.3.1.2. The table below shows examples of derivation.

Table 10. Examples of Derivation in Southern Sinama

Affix	Base Word	Meaning	Word Formed	Meaning	Change in Syntactic Category
paN-	<i>Kugut</i>	to grate	<i>pangugut</i>	grater	verb to noun
nipa-	<i>Manis</i>	beautiful	<i>nipamanis</i>	to beautify	adjective to verb
-an	<i>tingko'</i>	to sit	<i>tingkoan</i>	chair	verb to noun

5.2.3 Compound

Compounds occur when two entirely different words are concatenated to form a new word with its own meaning. In Southern Sinama orthography, possible compounds are N-N, N-V, and N-A. They are usually written as two separate words. In the language under study, I identified two types of compounds: head-dependent compounds and coordinative compounds.

5.2.3.1 Head-dependent Compounds

Under this type of compound, a semantic head is combined with its dependent or modifying element wherein the head occurs first. Below are examples:

(5.1)	<i>aa babono'</i>	'warrior'	(<i>aa</i> 'man' + <i>babono'</i> 'warrior')
	<i>bohe' mata</i>	'tear'	(<i>bohe'</i> 'water' + <i>mata</i> 'eye')
	<i>bu mata</i>	'eyelashes'	(<i>bu</i> 'hair' + <i>mata</i> 'eye')
	<i>engkot kallong</i>	'necklace'	(<i>engkot</i> 'lace' + <i>kallong</i> 'neck')
	<i>saddop llow</i>	'sunset'	(<i>saddop</i> 'set' + <i>llow</i> 'sun')

It was also noted that there are head-dependent compounds used as kinship terms. Below are examples:

(5.2)	<i>anak lalla</i>	'son'	(<i>anak</i> 'child' + <i>lalla</i> 'man')
	<i>anak danda</i>	'daughter'	(<i>anak</i> 'child' + <i>danda</i> 'woman')
	<i>anak ingipat</i>	'adopted child'	(<i>anak</i> 'child' + <i>ingipat</i> 'to raise')
	<i>siyaka toongan</i>	'firstborn'	(<i>siyaka</i> 'old' + <i>toongan</i> 'really')
	<i>anak mula'</i>	'baby'	(<i>anak</i> 'child' + <i>mula'</i> 'delicate')

Another example of head-dependent compounds can be observed in idiomatic compounds. Under this, the component parts cannot predict the meaning of the whole. I noted one example for this in my data:

(5.3)	<i>tey' baliyu</i>	'cloud'	(<i>tey'</i> 'feces' + <i>baliyu</i> 'wind')
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5.2.3.2 Coordinative Compounds

Coordinate compounds comprise more than one semantic head. Usually in Southern Sinama, they have opposite meanings. Below are examples:

(5.4)	<i>llow-sangom</i>	day-and-night	(<i>llow</i> 'day' + <i>sangom</i> 'night')
	<i>dingin-panas</i>	hot-and-cold	(<i>dingin</i> 'cold' + <i>panas</i> 'hot')
	<i>lendom-danta'</i>	bright-and-dark	(<i>lendom</i> 'dark' + <i>danta'</i> 'bright')

5.2.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process in which a word (full reduplication) or part of it (partial reduplication) is repeated. While full reduplication is common in Southern Sinama, partial reduplication is rare. The only three examples that are found in my data are given in (5.5). Hence, in this study, the term 'reduplication' is referred to full reduplication.

(5.5)	<i>kabong-bong</i>	cockroach
	<i>mamahi</i>	star
	<i>pasasa</i>	falling

5.2.4.1 Types of Reduplication

Reduplication in Southern Sinama has two types. These are inherent structural feature of words and word-formation process.

5.2.4.1.1 Reduplication as an Inherent Structural Feature

Under this type of reduplication, a root word is necessarily doubled. The root word in this sense is actually the doubled form. Below are examples:

(5.6)	<i>tuktuk</i>	'forehead'
	<i>papa</i>	'cheek'
	<i>ding-ding</i>	'wall'
	<i>bukbuk</i>	'termite'
	<i>susu</i>	'milk'

<i>kagkag</i>	'thin'
<i>kaba'-kaba'</i>	'butterfly'
<i>ndor-ndor</i>	'worm'
<i>gana-gana</i>	'later'
<i>imbun-imbun</i>	'top of the head'

5.2.4.1.2 Reduplication as a Word-Formation Process

Under this type, the root word is doubled in order to form a new word. The meaning of the new formed word is, however, related to the root word. Examples are given below:

(5.7)	<i>manuk-manuk</i>	'bird'	(cf. <i>manuk</i> 'chicken')
	<i>anak-anak</i>	'child or young person'	(cf. <i>anak</i> 'son/daughter')
	<i>kayu-kayu</i>	'stick of wood'	(cf. <i>kayu</i> 'wood')
	<i>dikow'-dikow'</i>	'one at a time'	(cf. <i>dikow</i> 'one')
	<i>duwa-duwa</i>	'two at a time'	(cf. <i>duwa</i> 'two')
	<i>tallu-tallu</i>	'three at a time'	(cf. <i>tallu</i> 'three')
	<i>tengge-tengge</i>	'stand repeatedly'	(cf. <i>tengge</i> 'stand')

5.2.4.2 The Interaction of Reduplication and Affixation

In southern Sinama, affixation occurs along with reduplication. Sometimes reduplication of the root word happens first before affixation.

(5.8)	<i>tengge</i> 'stand' + reduplication	→ <i>tengge-tengge</i>	'stand repeatedly'
	<i>pa-</i> + <i>tengge-tengge</i>	→ <i>patengge-tengge</i>	'(someone) stands repeatedly'
	<i>tallu</i> + reduplication	→ <i>tallu-tallu</i>	'three at a time'
	<i>mag-</i> + <i>tallu-tallu</i>	→ <i>magtallu-tallu</i>	'to request (a group) to be three at a time.'

There are also utterances where affixation occurs first before reduplication.

(5.9)	<i>pa-</i> + <i>manis</i> 'beautiful'	→ <i>pamanis</i>	'to become beautiful'
	<i>pamanis</i> + reduplication	→ <i>pamanis-pamanis</i>	'to become more beautiful'
	<i>kakan</i> + <i>-in</i>	→ <i>kakanin</i>	'to have someone eat'
	<i>kakanin</i> + reduplication	→ <i>kakanin-kakanin</i>	'to hastily make someone finished eating'

5.2.4.3 Meanings Associated with Reduplication

Reduplication suggests meaning that is different from the root word. In Southern Sinama, there are interrogatives when reduplicated, they form indefiniteness.

(5.10)	<i>eyyan</i> 'what'	→ <i>eyyan-eyyan</i>	'whatever'
	<i>seyyan</i> 'who'	→ <i>seyyan-seyyan</i>	'whoever'
	<i>mingga</i> 'where'	→ <i>mingga-mingga</i>	'wherever'
	<i>sumilan</i> 'when'	→ <i>sumilan-sumilan</i>	'whenever'

Some root words can be reduplicated, in which case they relate to the meaning of the root form (5.7). Likewise, reduplication can express a weakened or diminutive sense of some quality (5.11).

(5.11)	<i>hap</i> 'good'	→ <i>hap-hap</i>	'not that good'
	<i>heya</i> 'big'	→ <i>heya-heya</i>	'not that big'
	<i>bahau</i> 'new'	→ <i>bahau-bahau</i>	'not that new'
	<i>tuwas</i> 'hard'	→ <i>tuwas-tuwas</i>	'not that hard'
	<i>kosog</i> 'strong'	→ <i>kosog-kosog</i>	'not that strong'
	<i>nipis</i> 'thin'	→ <i>nipis-nipis</i>	'not that thin'
	<i>lendom</i> 'dark'	→ <i>lendom-lendom</i>	'not that dark'

5.3 Word Classes

Word classes are classified as open or closed. Open classes, which include nouns, verbs and adjectives can always obtain new members. Whereas, closed classes, which include pronouns, preposition and conjunctions cannot acquire new members. In the language under study, it is noted that nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions are present.

5.3.1 Nouns

5.3.1.1 Markers

In Southern Sinama, nouns are not inflected for case, gender, or number. But instead, they are usually preceded (case and number) or followed (gender) by marking particles.

5.3.1.1.1 Case of Nouns

Southern Sinama nouns, specifically personal nouns and non-personal nouns in the indirect and oblique cases are headed by case-marking particles. These particles help to show the role of nouns in a sentence, with respect to the voice of the verb. There are three basic cases of nouns: direct case, indirect case, and oblique case. Direct case is when the actor is the focus of the verb in a sentence. On the other hand, the indirect case is when the object is the focus of the verb. Whereas, the oblique case is referred to the location where the action will be taken place, or the object of the preposition.

It is noted that personal nouns share the same marker in the direct case and the indirect case. However, in order to form indirect case in personal nouns, the preposition *le'* is appended to *si/disi*. Whereas, in non-personal the preposition *le'* serves as the case marker for both singular and plural. In the oblique case, the preposition *ma* is used as a case marker. Specifically, *ma* heads directly non-personal noun, while in personal nouns, *ma* is added to *si/disi*. Below is a table showing the noun case markers in the language:

Table 11. Noun Case Markers in Southern Sinama

		Direct	Indirect	Oblique
Non-Personal	SG	-	<i>le'</i>	<i>ma</i>
	PL	-		<i>ma banan</i>
Personal	SG	<i>Si</i>	<i>le' si</i>	<i>ma si</i>
	PL	<i>Disi</i>	<i>le' disi</i>	<i>ma disi</i>

(5.12) *Pa-kakan si Maria mpallam.*
 AV.CONT-eat DIR PN mango
 'Maria will eat mango.'

In (5.12), the verb *pa-kakan* is an AV making Maria (the subject of the sentence) the core argument of the sentence. In this case, the subject is introduced by the direct case marker *si*.

(5.13) *Bey ta-kakan le'=si Maria mpallam.*
 PFV UV.PAST-eat PREP=NDIR PN mango
 'The mango was eaten by Maria.'

In (5.13), the verb *ta-kakan* is a UV making *mpallam* (the object of the sentence) the core argument of the sentence. In this case, the subject (Maria) is introduced by the indirect case marker (i.e. preposition *le' + si*).

(5.14) *Ley iya tuli ma luma'.*
 IPFV 3SG.II INF-sleep PREP house
 '(S)he sleeps in the house.' or '(S)he is sleeping in the house.'

In (5.14), *ma* functions as the case marker for the object of the preposition *luma'*.

5.3.1.1.2 Gender of Nouns

Most of the Southern Sinama nouns do not have a grammatical gender. That is, they are gender-neutral. For instance, 'my sister' is *danakan ku*, but 'my brother' is *danakan ku*, too. If clarification is needed, the speaker can exactly say *danakan ku danda*, which is literally translated as 'my female-sibling' or *danakan ku lalla* 'my male-sibling'. Thus, in the language, gender is usually specified through the addition of *lalla* for masculine or *danda* for feminine after the biological noun. On the other hand, although limited, there are nouns that have words for biological gender for people (e.g. *bapa'* 'uncle', *babu'* 'aunt', *mma'* 'father', *ina'* 'mother', etc.).

Pronouns are more complicated because they are all gender-neutral. The native speakers use *iya* or *na* to refer to a biological noun. There is no he/she or him/his/her. In order to establish gender, additional indicators in a sentence are needed to let the listeners or readers know the gender of person in question like name, title, genderized nouns, etc.

(5.15)	Masculine		Feminine	
	<i>anak lalla</i>	'son'	<i>anak danda</i>	'daughter'
	<i>mbo' lalla</i>	'grandfather'	<i>mbo' danda</i>	'grandmother'
	<i>ipar lalla</i>	'brother-in-law'	<i>ipar danda</i>	'sister-in-law'
	<i>mattoa lalla</i>	'father-in-law'	<i>mattoa danda</i>	'mother-in-law'
	<i>manuk lalla</i>	'rooster'	<i>manuk danda</i>	'hen'

5.3.1.1.3 Number of Nouns

Southern Sinama does not use inflection to form plural. Instead, the language pluralizes by adding the marker *banan*. It is always placed directly before the word to be pluralized. For example, the word *sumping* 'flower' when pluralized becomes *banan sumping* 'flowers'.

There are other indicators of plurality. Of which is the use of cardinal numeral quantifiers (e.g. *duwa kabog* 'two bats', *lima down* 'five leaves', *pitu sapa* 'seven rivers', etc.). There are also words that essentially express plurality which make the use of *banan* needless (e.g. *tumpukan manusiya* 'group of people').

5.3.1.2 Subclasses of Nouns

Nouns are open class. It has several subclasses that can be grammatically distinguished in Southern Sinama. These are common nouns, pronouns, locative nouns, and identificational nouns.

5.3.1.2.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns in Southern Sinama are usually unaffixed. Most of common noun roots consist of two syllables and three syllables.

(5.16)	<i>tana'</i>	'soil'
	<i>bagey</i>	'friend'
	<i>langar</i>	'chin'
	<i>tepo</i>	'mat'
	<i>ulan</i>	'rain'
	<i>mamahi</i>	'star'
	<i>sattuwa</i>	'animal'
	<i>daggaha</i>	'chest'
	<i>tangkorak</i>	'skeleton'
	<i>galangga'</i>	'spider'

There are also common nouns that are affixed. They are derived from other word classes like verb adjective and another noun. These derived common nouns are usually more than two syllables. See (5.19), (5.21), (5.25), and (5.26) for examples.

5.3.1.2.2 Pronouns

Pronouns are more precisely a subclass of noun phrases (NP) rather than noun. The reason for this is that they are reciprocally substitutable with NPs but not nouns. That is, they do not take nominal modifiers like other nouns do. However, for ease of presentation, pronouns are included as a subclass of nouns. With that, it is categorized as a close subclass and is further divided into personal, and interrogative pronouns.

5.3.1.2.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are different from other subclasses of nouns in a manner that they express the syntactical classifications of person, number, and case. Personal pronouns in Southern Sinama are distributed into three sets in order to distinguish grammatical categories. Set I are pronominal enclitics, which encodes the possessive function, and also the non-subject actor. Set II are independent personal pronouns that encode all other direct core arguments of the clause. Set III are pronouns which encode oblique elements. In order to form set III, preposition *ma* is added to the independent pronouns. It is noted that the third person plural *sigala* can be shortened to *sig*. The table below show the three pronoun sets:

Table 12. Personal Pronoun Sets

		set I (enclitic; possessive form)	set II (independent pronouns)	set III (oblique pronouns)
1 st person	singular	<i>Ku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>ma aku</i>
	dual	<i>ta</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>ma kita</i>
	plural	incl <i>Tabi</i> exc <i>Kami</i>	<i>kitabī</i> <i>kami</i>	<i>ma kitabī</i> <i>ma kami</i>
2 nd person	singular	<i>Nu</i>	<i>kau/kow</i>	<i>ma kau</i>
	plural	<i>Bi</i>	<i>kaam/kam</i>	<i>ma kaam</i>
3 rd person	singular	<i>Na</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>ma iya</i>
	plural	<i>sigala (siga)</i>	<i>sigala (siga)</i>	<i>ma sigala (siga)</i>

5.3.1.2.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Southern Sinama language has two interrogative pronouns: *seyyan* 'who' and *eyyan* 'what'. When these interrogative pronouns are reduplicated, they form indefiniteness (see §5.2.4.3).

5.3.1.2.3 Locative Nouns

Adverbs of place are framed as a subclass of noun rather than adverb for the reason that they form the complements of locative preposition *ma* that express further location information (5.18). In consequence, adverb of place is termed locative noun in Southern Sinama language. Below is a list of some locative nouns in the language:

<i>diyo'</i>	'beneath'
<i>diyom</i>	'inside'
<i>luwas</i>	'outside'
<i>mundaan</i>	'front'
<i>bukut</i>	'back'
<i>bihing</i>	'beside'
<i>tangnga'</i>	'middle'
<i>dambila'</i>	'other side'
<i>kowan</i>	'right'
<i>gibang</i>	'left'

Note the following examples of locative nouns (in bold) as used in a sentence.

(5.18) **ma** *riyata'* *sapow*
PREP above roof
'above the roof'

Ili *siga* **ma** *bihing* *sowang*.
DEM 3PL.II PREP beside river
'They are beside the river.'

ma *luwas* *luma'*
PREP outside house
'outside the house'

5.3.1.2.4 Identificational nouns

Identificational nouns in Southern Sinama language can be terms of address as well as terms of reference. They comprise of titles (e.g. *guru* 'teacher' as in *guru Malik* 'teacher Malik'), place names (*bud* 'mountain' as in *bud Makiling* 'mount Makiling'), and kin terms and affinal relationships (e.g. *babu'* 'aunt' as in *babu' Salama* 'aunt Salama').

5.3.1.3 Affixed Nouns

Most affixed nouns in Southern Sinama are derived from verbs and adjectives and are therefore nominalizations. The nominalizing affixes consist of the *paN-* prefix, *-an* suffix, and *ka-...-an* and *pag-...-an* circumfixes. Only the *ka-...-an* circumfix appears to attach primarily to noun roots.

5.3.1.3.1 *With paN-*

The *paN-* prefix derives nominals mostly from transitive verbs to yield 'instrument of action'. It should be noted that the *paN-* can only be prefixed to the verbs that begin with [p k s t].

(5.19)	<i>balli</i>	'buy'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>pamalli</i>	'currency'
	<i>bullow</i>	'rinse'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>pamullow</i>	'instrument to rinse'
	<i>kuskus</i>	'rub'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>panguskus</i>	'instrument to rub'
	<i>kugut</i>	'grate'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>pangugut</i>	'grater'
	<i>pong</i>	'break'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>pamong</i>	'instrument to break'
	<i>putus</i>	'wrap'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>pamutus</i>	'wrapper'
	<i>saggow</i>	'arrest'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>panaggow</i>	'instrument to arrest'
	<i>sambut</i>	'catch'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>panambut</i>	'instrument to catch'
	<i>tiyup</i>	'blow'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>paniyup</i>	'instrument to blow'
	<i>tunow</i>	'melt'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>panunow</i>	'solvent'

Likewise, the *paN-* prefix derives nouns to yield the action expressed by the verb base.

(5.20)	<i>tilow</i>	'to question'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>panilow</i>	'question'
	<i>sayu</i>	'to know'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>panayu</i>	'knowledge'
	<i>pikir</i>	'to think'	+	<i>paN-</i>	→	<i>pamikir</i>	'thought'

5.3.1.3.2 *With -an*

The *-an* suffix derives nouns often express a nominal instrument or place of action.

(5.21)	<i>kugut</i>	'grate'	+	<i>-an</i>	→	<i>kugutan</i>	'coconut grater'
	<i>tingko</i>	'sit'	+	<i>-an</i>	→	<i>tingkoan</i>	'chair'
	<i>ongka</i>	'play'	+	<i>-an</i>	→	<i>ongkaan</i>	'instrument to play'

-an is likewise suffixed to verbs in order to produce a similar-meaning nominal.

(5.22)	<i>tulak</i>	'to travel'	+	<i>-an</i>	→	<i>tulakan</i>	'travel'
	<i>tagna</i>	'to start'	+	<i>-an</i>	→	<i>tagnaan</i>	'start'

5.3.1.3.3 *With ka...-an*

The *ka...-an* circumfix is added to adjectives in order to form abstract (5.23). It is also circumfixed to animate nouns in order to form collective nouns (5.24). *-an* is suffixed when the base ends with a consonant sound while *-han* is suffixed to base ending in vowel sound.

(5.23)	<i>lissin</i>	'clean'	+	<i>ka...-an</i>	→	<i>kalissinan</i>	'cleanliness'
	<i>lagi</i>	'need'	+	<i>ka...-an</i>	→	<i>kalagihan</i>	'necessary'
	<i>sigak</i>	'happy'	+	<i>ka...-an</i>	→	<i>kasigakan</i>	'happiness'
(5.24)	<i>mma</i>	'father'	+	<i>ka...-an</i>	→	<i>ka-mmaan</i>	'group of fathers'
	<i>lalla</i>	'man'	+	<i>ka...-an</i>	→	<i>kalallahan</i>	'group of men'
	<i>nakura</i>	'leader'	+	<i>ka...-an</i>	→	<i>kanakuraan</i>	'group of leaders'

5.3.1.3.4 *With pag...-an*

The *pag...-an* circumfix derives nominal from verbs, which yield to instrument of action (5.25), or place of action (5.26).

(5.25)	<i>laga</i>	'to boil'	+	<i>pag...-an</i>	→	<i>paglagaan</i>	'instrument to boil'
	<i>tiyup</i>	'to blow'	+	<i>pag...-an</i>	→	<i>pagtiyupan</i>	'instrument to blow'
	<i>bullow</i>	'to rinse'	+	<i>pag...-an</i>	→	<i>pagbullowan</i>	'instrument to rinse'
(5.26)	<i>kose</i>	'to wash'	+	<i>pag...-an</i>	→	<i>pagkosean</i>	'place to wash'
	<i>tuli</i>	'to sleep'	+	<i>pag...-an</i>	→	<i>pagtulihan</i>	'place to sleep'
	<i>timan</i>	'to throw'	+	<i>pag...-an</i>	→	<i>pagtimanan</i>	'place to throw'

It is important to note that, when *pag-...-an* is circumfixed to a verb, the latter can either mean as instrument of action or place of action. For example, when *pag-...-an* is circumfixed to the verb *laga'* 'to boil', it can mean as instrument of action (5.27), or place of action (5.28).

(5.27) *Eyyan paglagaan=tabi sapi'?*
 what instrument to boil=1PL.I cow
 'What utensil will we use to boil the beef?'

(5.28) *Mili ma kusina paglagaan sapi'.*
 there PREP kitchen place to boil cow
 'The space to boil the beef is there in the kitchen.'

5.3.2 Verbs

The Southern Sinama verbs are complex in terms of morphology. They are conjugated through the convention of different affixes to create subtle meaning, more so, to reflect verb aspect, voice, mood, classes, and other categories.

In order to understand the discussion under this section, it is important to note that with the prefix *ng-*, *a* is added if the base begins with consonant. Similarly, with the suffix *-an*, *h* is added if the base ends with vowels. In addition, the punctuation mark hyphen indicates the type of affix. That is, a hyphen before a bound morpheme points out prefix, a hyphen after the bound morpheme shows suffix, whereas, if the bound morpheme is placed in between two hyphens, it is infix. On the other hand, an ellipsis represents the base in circumfix.

5.3.2.1 Verbal Aspect

The Southern Sinama language is inflected in order to convey aspects or tenses. The aspects in the language are perfective aspect (action started and terminated), imperfective aspect (action started but not yet completed or action still in progress), and contemplative aspect (action not yet started).

However, when used in a phrase, or clause, the aspect of verb in the language can be suggested through the use of aspect markers *bey* (perfective) and *ley* (imperfective). In consequence, the aspect markers designate the aspect of the verb, regardless of the actual aspect of the verb itself as suggested by verbal affixes. For example, *makatunu'* 'will be able to burn' is a contemplative form of the verb *tunu'* 'burn'; however, in the sentence *Bey iya makatunu' luma'*. 'S/he was able to burn a house.', the marker *bey* points that the sentence is in the perfective aspect. (see tables under §5.1.1.1 for the list of conjugations under the three aspects of verbs). If evident in a phrase, clause, or sentence, the verb is instead termed as present tense (PRES), past tense (PAST), or Future tense (FUT) in order to avoid confusion. Consider the following examples:

(5.29) *Bey ng-aggak ingkanda.*
 PFV PRES-burp maiden
 'The maiden burped.'

(5.30) *Ley ng-aggak ingkanda.*
 IPFV PRES-burp maiden
 'The maiden burps.'

(5.31) *Mag-baan ingkanda.*
 CONT-burp maiden
 'The maiden will burp.'

5.3.2.2 Voice

The voice of the verb defines the connection between the action and the participants which are known by its arguments such as the subject, object, etc. Because of the complex system of affixes in Southern Sinama, I used the terms actor voice (AV) and undergoer voice (UV) to refer to the voice system of the language. The former suggests that the subject is the doer of the action; whereas, the latter proposes that the subject is the object, target or beneficiary of the action. Examples below show AV (5.32) and UV (5.33) in a sentence. See tables under §5.1.1.1 for the list of conjugations under the voice of the verbs in Southern Sinama.

(5.32) *Bey siga ka-tunu' luma'.*
 PFV 3PL.II AV.PAST-burn house
 'They (accidentally) burned a house.'

(5.33) *Mpallam ya ley ta-kakan=na.*
 mango ENCL IPFV UV.PAST-eat=3SG.I
 'It is mango that (s)he eats.'

Buwan-in anak-anak kende.
 give-UV.IMP.IPFV child candy
 'Give the child candy.'

Buwan-an=ku iya buwas.
 give-UV.CONT=1sg.I 3sg.II rice
 'I will give him/her rice.'

5.3.2.3 Verbal Mood

The moods of the Southern Sinama verbs are indicative, which expresses assertion, denial, and question (5.34); imperative, which expresses request or command (5.35); potential, which expresses possibility (5.36); and causative, which indicates that a subject cause someone else to do something (5.37).

(5.34) *Pa-kakan si Maria.*
 AV.CONT-eat DIR PN
 'Maria will eat.'

(5.35) *N-engge kam!*
 AV.IPFV-stand 2PL.II
 '(You) stand!'

(5.36) *Maha iya bey maka-labey miti.*
 NEG 3SG.II PFV FUT-pass here
 '(S)he was not able to pass by here.'

(5.37) *Bey nipa-tunu' le' si=Maria basura ma si=Celso.*
 PFV AV.PAST-burn PREP DIR=PN garbage PREP OBL=PN
 'Maria had the garbage burned by Celso.'

5.3.2.4 Verb Classes

The verb classes in Southern Sinama are subjectless and objectless verbs, intransitive verbs, and transitive verbs. They were identified on the basis of nominal complements they combine with.

5.3.2.4.1 Subjectless and Objectless Verbs

There are verbs that never have a subject and an object in a sentence. These verbs are typically conveying weather-related conditions. The prefix *ng-* is used to conjugate the base.

(5.38) *ulan 'rain' + ng- → ngulan*

Ng-ulan na
 IPFV-rain ENCL
 '(It) rains already.'

5.3.2.4.2 Intransitive Verbs

There are verbs that have a subject, but no object. The circumfixes *mag-...-an*, and *N₂-* are used to conjugate the verb.

(5.39) *langi 'swim' + mag-...-an → maglangihan*

Bey mag-langi-han banan anak-anak.
 PFV AV.FUT-swim-IND PL child
 'The children swam.'

(5.40) *pole' 'go (home)' + N₂- → mole'*

M-ole' *kow!*
 AV.IPFV.IMP-go (home) 2SG.II
 'You go home!'

5.3.2.4.3 Transitive Verbs

While there are verbs that do not require objects, there are also verbs that require subjects and objects. The affixes used to conjugate the verbs are: prefixes *ka-*, *maka-*, *mag₁₋*, *mag₂₋*, *magpa-*, *N-*, *ng-*, *ni-*, *pa-*, *ta-*, and *tapa-*; the infix *-in-*; the suffixes *-an*, and *-in*; and the circumfixes *N(s)-...-an* and *pa-...-in*. The meaning of the affixes is discussed in tables under §5.1.1.

(5.41) *tunu'* 'burn' + *ka-* → *katunu'*

Bey *sigá* *ka-tunu'* *luma'*.
 PFV 3PL.II AV.PAST-burn house
 'They accidentally burned a house.'

(5.42) *kalut* 'dig' + *maka-* → *makakalut*

Bey *iyá* *maka-kalut* *bulawan*.
 PFV 3SG.II AV.FUT-dig gold
 '(S)he was able to dig gold.'

(5.43) *saggow* 'catch' + *mag₁₋* → *magsaggow*

Mag-saggow *banan* *ingkalla* *kagang*.
 AV.CONT-catch PL bachelor crab
 'The bachelors will catch crab.'

(5.44) *kakan* 'eat' + *mag₂₋* → *magkakan*

Mag-kakan *kam* *mpallam*.
 AV-IPFV-eat 2PL.II mango
 'You eat mango.'

(5.45) *tunow* 'melt' + *magpa-* → *magpatunow*

Ley *magpa-tunow* *banan* *danda* *banan* *lansuk*.
 IPFV AV.FUT-melt PL woman PL candle
 'The women melt the candles.'

(5.46) *balli* 'buy' + *N₁₋* → *malli*

Bey *m-alli* *si=Pedro* *deyng*.
 PFV AV.FUT-buy DIR=PL fish
 'Pedro bought fish.'

(5.47) *adjar* 'cook' + *ng-* → *ngadjar*

Ley *ng-adjar* *si=Maria* *mistang*.
 IPFV AV.PRES-cook DIR=PN porridge
 'Maria cooks porridge.'

(5.48) *inum* 'drink' + *ni-* → *niinum*

Ni-inum *le'* *ingkanda* *kola=ku*.
 UV.PFV-drink PREP maiden cola=1SG.I
 'My cola was drunk by the maiden.'

(5.49) *tunu* 'burn' + *pa*₁₋ → *patunu*

Pa-tunu *si*=Pedro *katas*.
 AV.CONT-burn DIR=PN paper
 'Pedro will burn a paper.'

(5.50) *kakan* 'eat' + *ta*- → *takakan*

Ta-kakan *le*' *disi*=Pedro *maka* *Juan* *banan* *tinapey*.
 UV.PFV-eat PREP DIR.PL=PN CONJ PN PL bread
 'The breads were eaten by Pedro and Juan.'

(5.51) *tiyup* 'blow' + *tapa*- → *tapatiyup*

Bey *tapa-tiyup* *le*' *si*=Celia *humbu*.
 PFV UV.PAST-blow PREP DIR=PN smoke
 'The smoke was made blown by Celia.'

(5.52) *tibow* 'visit' + *-in*- → *tinibow*

Tinibow *le*' *anak-anak* *mma*'=*tabi*.
 UV.PFV-visit PREP child father=1PL.I
 'Our father was visited by the child.'

(5.53) *balla* 'cook' + *-an* → *ballahan*

Balla-han=*ku* *si*=Celia *buwas*.
 Cook-UV.CONT= 1SG.I DIR=PN rice
 'I cook rice for Celia.'

(5.54) *balli* 'buy' + *-in* → *ballihin*

Balli-hin *anak-anak* *kende*.
 Buy-UV.IMP.CONT child candy
 'Buy the child candy.'

(5.55) *sulat* 'write' + *N(s)-...-an* → *nulatan*

N-nulatan=*na* *ongka*' *si*=Maria.
 UV-PFV-write=3SG.I song DIR=PN
 '(S)he wrote song for Maria.'

(5.56) *indam* 'borrow'+ *pa*-...-*in* → *paindamin*

Pa-indam-in *kammos* *banan* *mastar*.
 UV.IPFV-borrow-IMP blanket PL teacher
 'Lend the blanket to the teachers.'

5.3.3. Adjectives

Just like the English adjectives, the Southern Sinama adjectives modify a noun and its pronoun sub-class. In this section, the forms, sub-class, degrees of comparison, and degrees of description are discussed.

5.3.3.1 Forms of Adjective

There are four adjective forms in Southern Sinama: simple, affixed, repeating, and compound.

5.3.3.1.1 Simple Adjectives

The simple adjectives are made up of the root word. Below are examples:

- (5.57) *hap* 'good'
talom 'sharp'
tuwas 'hard'
taha' 'long'
laat 'bad'

5.3.3.1.2 Affixed Adjectives

Affixed adjectives consist of the root words, which are derived from other word classes and suffix *-an/-han* that is added to a root. The *-an/-han* suffix derives adjectives from nouns.

- (5.58) *pongot* 'beard' + *-an* → *pongotan* 'full of beards'
sakki 'sickness' + *-han* → *sakkihan* 'sickly'
tolek 'earwax' + *-an* → *tolekan* 'full of earwax'
bigi 'seed' + *-han* → *bigihan* 'full of seeds'
tuktuk 'forehead' + *-an* → *tuktukan* 'broad forehead'

5.3.3.1.3 Repeating

Repeating adjectives are formed by repetition of the entire or portion of the root word. These adjectives express a weakened or diminutive sense of quality.

- (5.59) *kosog* 'strong' → *kosog-kosog* 'not that strong'
Hap 'good' → *hap-hap* 'not that good'
taha' 'long' → *taha'-taha'* 'not that long'
kiput 'narrow' → *kiput-kiput* 'not that narrow'
lalom 'deep' → *lalom-lalom* 'not that deep'

5.3.3.1.4 Compound

Compound adjectives are combination of two root words; that is, adjective and noun.

- (5.60) *hap* 'good' + *pamaranan* 'body' → *hap pamaranan* 'healthy'
toho' 'dry' + *kallong* 'neck' → *toho' kallong* 'thirsty'

5.3.3.2. Sub-class of adjectives

There are two sub-classes of Southern Sinama adjectives identified in this study: descriptive and possessive adjectives.

5.3.3.2.1 Descriptive Adjectives

Descriptive adjectives provide information about nouns and pronouns by describing it or expressing its quality.

- (5.61) *sa'* 'wrong'
kapar-kapar 'not that thick'
talom 'sharp'
dalowa 'same'
luha 'wide'

5.4.2.2.3 Possessive Adjectives

Possessive adjectives are identical to Set I of personal pronouns; however, semantically, possessive adjectives demonstrate a relationship of ownership. The table below illustrates the comparison of Southern Sinama pronouns and possessive adjectives.

Table 13. Comparison of Possessive Pronoun and Possessive Adjective

	Pronoun	Adjective
<i>Ku</i>	<i>Bey buwanan ku.</i> 'I gave.'	<i>katas ku</i> 'my paper'
<i>ta</i> (you and me)	<i>Bey buwanan ta.</i> 'We gave.'	<i>katas ta</i> 'our paper'
<i>tabi</i> (INCL)	<i>Buwanan tabi.</i>	<i>katas tabi</i>

	'We will give.'	'our paper'
<i>kami</i> (EXCL)	<i>Buwanan kami.</i> 'We will give.'	<i>katas kami</i> 'our paper.'
<i>nu</i> (sg)	<i>Bey buwanan nu.</i> 'You gave.'	<i>katas nu</i> 'your paper'
<i>Bi</i>	<i>Buwanan bi.</i> 'You will give.'	<i>katas bi</i> 'your paper'
<i>Na</i>	<i>Ley buwanan na.</i> '(S)he gives.'	<i>katas na</i> 'his/her paper'
<i>sigala</i> (<i>sig</i>)	<i>Ley buwanan sig.</i> 'They give.'	<i>katas sig</i> 'their paper'

5.3.3.3 Degrees of Comparison

The Southern Sinama language, just like English, has three degrees of comparison: positive, comparative, and superlative degrees. The last two degrees of comparison, just like the Tagalog language, are demonstrated by appending the words *mas* and *pinaka*, respectively. The table below shows some examples of adjectives in the positive, comparative and superlative degrees:

Table 14. Degrees of Comparison

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>diki</i> 'small'	<i>mas diki</i> 'smaller'	<i>pinaka diki</i> 'smallest'
<i>lammi</i> 'dirty'	<i>mas lammi</i> 'dirtier'	<i>pinaka lammi</i> 'dirtiest'
<i>indang</i> 'old'	<i>mas indang</i> 'older'	<i>pinaka indang</i> 'oldest'
<i>hamut</i> 'fragrant'	<i>mas hamut</i> 'more fragrant'	<i>pinaka hamut</i> 'most fragrant'
<i>buhat</i> 'heavy'	<i>mas buhat</i> 'heavier'	<i>pinaka buhat</i> 'heaviest'

5.3.3.4 Degrees of Description

There are three degrees of description in the language under study. These are positive, moderate, and intensive; these degrees have no comparison. Moderate degree is when the adjective is repeated or duplicated. On the other hand, intensive degree is when the adjective is modified by the adverb '*toongan*'. The table below shows some examples of adjectives in the three degrees of description:

Table 15. Degrees of Description

Positive	Moderate	Intensive
<i>diki</i> 'small'	<i>diki-diki</i> 'not that small'	<i>diki toongan</i> 'really small'
<i>lammi</i> 'dirty'	<i>lammi-lammi</i> 'not that dirty'	<i>lammi toongan</i> 'really dirty'
<i>indang</i> 'old'	<i>indang-indang</i> 'not that old'	<i>indang toongan</i> 'really old'
<i>hamut</i> 'fragrant'	<i>hamut-hamut</i> 'not that fragrant'	<i>hamut toongan</i> 'really fragrant'
<i>buhat</i> 'heavy'	<i>buhat-buhat</i> 'not that heavy'	<i>buhat toongan</i> 'really heavy'

5.3.4 Adverbs

The adverbs in Southern Sinama language have different types which can be described in agreement to their semantic function. Both deictic adverbs of location and deictic adverbs of directed motion are discussed in §5.3.7.2.1 and §5.3.7.2.2; thus, they are not tackled in this section. In here, adverbs of frequency, adverbs of manner, and adverbs of time are discussed. Adverbs of place in the language under investigation is considered locative nouns because they occur as object of the preposition in PP (see §5.3.1.2.3).

5.3.4.1 Adverbs of Frequency

Below are commonly used adverbs of frequency in Southern Sinama:

- (5.62) *daran-daran* 'always'
daran 'often'
jalang 'rarely'
sumaan 'sometimes'

5.3.4.2 Adverbs of Manner

Adverbs of manner tell us how the action is executed. Usually, they primarily express speed (e.g. *likkas* 'fast') or vigor (e.g. *kosog* 'strongly' or 'powerfully').

5.3.4.3 Adverbs of Time

Adverbs of time describes the time when the action happened or will happen. They usually include relative time and times of the day.

5.3.4.3.1 Relative Time

The following are examples of relative time:

(5.63)	<i>dinsini'</i>	'earlier'
	<i>gana-gana</i>	'later'
	<i>bate' naan</i>	'now'
	<i>diilow</i>	'yesterday'
	<i>pahalu</i>	'tomorrow'

5.3.4.3.2 Time of the Day

The following are examples of times of the day:

(5.64)	<i>lattu' llow</i>	'noon'
	<i>kohap</i>	'afternoon'
	<i>subu</i>	'morning'
	<i>sangom</i>	'night'
	<i>llow</i>	'day'

5.3.5 Preposition

Southern Sinama has locative (5.65) and non-locative (5.66) prepositions.

(5.65)	<i>ni</i>	'to'
	<i>ma</i>	'in', 'at', or 'on'
	<i>min</i>	'from'

(5.66)	<i>sampey</i>	'until'
	<i>pasar</i>	'about' or 'because of'
	<i>le'</i>	'by'
	<i>maka</i>	'with'
	<i>bate'</i>	'like'

A locative preposition usually takes an NP as its complement, which is often a noun.

(5.67)	<i>ma</i>	<i>sapa'</i>
	PREP	river
		'at/in the river'

(5.68)	<i>ni</i>	<i>tabu'</i>
	PREP	market
		'to the market'

(5.69)	<i>min</i>	<i>Manila</i>
	PREP	PN
		'from Manila'

A locative preposition *ma* can take the set II personal pronoun as its complement. The entire set of oblique pronoun is resulting from the combination of locative preposition *ma* and set II personal pronouns (see table 12). Likewise, a locative preposition *ma* can also take locative noun as its complement. When this happens, it expresses further location information. Consider the examples below:

(5.70)	<i>ma</i>	<i>reyo'</i>	<i>kayu</i>
	PREP	beneath	tree
		'under the tree'	

ma *bukut* *dinding*
 PREP back wall
 'behind the wall'

ma *gibang* *na*
 PREP left 3SG.I
 'on his/her left side'

5.3.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers provide information about the number of something. Syntactically, they fill the measure portion of an NP. They may transpire as a number phrase that include numeral and indefinite showing an element of uncertainty.

5.3.6.1 Numerals

5.3.6.1.1 Cardinal Numerals

The Southern Sinama has a customary set of cardinal numbers. It is noted that there is a regular system of forming numbers above ten. The lists of Southern Sinama numerals are shown in (5.71) to (5.76). For above ten, listing them all is not essential because of the regular system in the formation.

For counting one to ten, the form is enumerated below. It is observed that both *issa* and *dikow'* express the number 'one'; however, these two are used differently. The numeral *issa* is only used for counting. It is never used to quantify something. On the other hand, the numeral *dikow'* is used to quantify.

(5.71)	<i>issa/dikow'</i>	'one'
	<i>duwa</i>	'two'
	<i>tallu</i>	'three'
	<i>mpat</i>	'four'
	<i>lima</i>	'five'
	<i>nnom</i>	'six'
	<i>pitu</i>	'seven'
	<i>walu</i>	'eight'
	<i>siyam</i>	'nine'
	<i>sangpu'</i>	'ten'

For counting from 11 through 19, the base word is *sangpu'* 'ten' with the insertion of *ka* followed by the respective numeral.

(5.72)	<i>sangpu' ka issa</i>	'eleven'
	<i>sangpu' ka duwa</i>	'twelve'
	<i>sangpu' ka lima</i>	'fifteen'
	<i>sangpu' ka nnom</i>	'sixteen'
	<i>sangpu' ka siyam</i>	'nineteen'

For multiples of ten, the word *pu'* is added to the appropriate numeral that ends with consonant sound. For number that ends with vowels sounds, *m* is added before the *pu'*, which becomes *mpu'*.

(5.73)	<i>duwampu'</i>	'twenty'
	<i>mpatpu'</i>	'forty'
	<i>nnompu'</i>	'sixty'
	<i>walumpu'</i>	'eighty'
	<i>siyampu'</i>	'ninety'

For counting from 21 through 29, 31 through 39, 41 through 49, and so on, the form in (5.73) serves as the base with the insertion of the word *ka* followed by the respective number.

(5.74)	<i>duwampu' ka isa</i>	'twenty-one'
	<i>tallumpu' ka duwa</i>	'thirty-two'
	<i>mpatpu' ka lima</i>	'forty-five'
	<i>pitumpu' ka walu</i>	'seventy-eight'

siyampu' ka siyam 'ninety-nine.

The prefix *da-* is used for the number 'one' in 'one hundred', 'one thousand', and 'one million' (5.75). Whereas, the rest of the numbers are not changed (5.76). On the other hand, the word *hatus* is for 'hundred', *ngibu* is for 'thousand', and *laksa'* is for 'million'.

(5.75) *dahatus* 'one hundred'
dangibu 'one thousand'
dalaksa' 'one million'

(5.76) *duwa hatus* 'two hundred'
tallu hatus 'three hundred'
mpat ngibu 'four thousand'
nnom ngibu 'six thousand'
walu laksa' 'eight million'
siyam laksa' 'nine million'

5.3.6.1.2 Ordinal Numerals

In Sothern Sinama, ordinal numbers are formed through prefixing the *ika-* to each individual number. This is not, however, applicable to the ordinal 'first'. Below is a list of ordinal numbers:

(5.77) *dahu* 'first'
ika duwa 'second'
ika tallu 'third'
ika mpat 'fourth'
ika lima 'fifth'
ika sampu' 'tenth'
ika sampu' ka siyam 'nineteenth'
ika limampu' 'fiftieth'
ika dahatus 'one hundredth'
ika dangibu 'one thousandth'

5.3.6.2 Indefinite Quantifiers

Indefinite quantifies nouns by showing an element of uncertainty. The most common indefinite quantifiers in Southern Sinama are *heka* 'many', *dikiit* 'few', *satiyap* 'each' or 'every' and *kamemon* 'all'. It was noted that only *satiyap* does not take plural marker *banan*.

(5.78) *heka banan anak-anak*
 QUANT PL child
 'many children'

(5.79) *dikiit banan anak-anak*
 QUANT PL child
 'few children'

(5.80) *satiyap anak-anak*
 QUANT child
 'each child' or 'every child'

(5.81) *kamemon banan anak-anak*
 QUANT PL child
 'all children'

5.3.7 Demonstratives and Other Deictic Elements

5.3.7.1 Demonstrative

Demonstrative constructions in Southern Sinama make four-way distinction. Typically, there is a difference between proximal (objects near to the speaker), medial (objects near to the listener), mesioproximal (away from both speaker and listener but rather

near), and distal (objects far from both the speaker and the listener). Demonstratives in the language are presented in the table below:

Table 16. Demonstratives in Southern Sinama

Distinction	Demonstrative	Meaning
Proximal	<i>Iti</i>	'this' (can be touched by speaker)
Medial	<i>Ilu</i>	'that' (can be touched by listener)
Mesioproximal	<i>Naan</i>	'that' (far from speaker and listener but rather near)
Distal	<i>Ili</i>	'that' (far from speaker and listener)

The demonstratives shown in table 16 can function as adnominal and as pronominal. Only that pronominal does not modify anything and can stand on its own as a subject in the sentence. Whereas, adnominal modifies something. It is noted that *naan* can only be used as adnominal not as pronominal. The table below shows the difference between the two:

Table 17. Pronominal and Adnominal Demonstratives

	Pronominal	Adnominal
<i>iti</i> (proximal)	<i>Iti</i> <i>uan' si Jose.</i> 'This is the pillow of Jose.'	<i>uan iti</i> 'this pillow'
<i>ilu</i> (medial)	<i>Ilu</i> <i>pana' si Jose.</i> 'That is the arrow of Jose.'	<i>pana' ilu</i> 'that arrow'
<i>naan</i> (mesioproximal)	-	<i>luma' naan</i> 'that house'
<i>ili</i> (distal)	<i>Ili</i> <i>tepo na.</i> 'That is his/her mat.'	<i>tepo ili</i> 'that mat'

5.3.7.2 Deictic Elements

5.3.7.2.1 Deictic Adverbs of Location

The demonstratives in the table 16 have adverbial equivalents to express location. It can be formed by prefixing *m-* (for demonstratives that begins with vowel sounds) and *mi-* (for *naan* as it begins with consonant) to the original form. The deictic adverbs of location are shown in table below:

Table 18. Southern Sinama Deictic Adverbs of Location

Deictic Adverbs of Location	Derived from:	Meaning
<i>Miti</i>	<i>iti</i>	'here'
<i>Milu</i>	<i>ilu</i>	'there'
<i>Minaan</i>	<i>naan</i>	'there'
<i>Mili</i>	<i>ili</i>	'over there'

5.3.7.2.2 Deictic Adverbs of Directed Motion

Deictic adverbs of directed motion are used when denoting motion directed toward or away from the speaker. These are formed by the prefixing *p-* to the original form. It is observed that there is no corresponding counterpart for *naan* in this type of deictic. Below are the deictic adverbs of directed motion in the language under study:

Table 19. Southern Sinama Deictic Adverbs of Directed Motion

Deictic Adverbs of Directed Motion	Derived from:	Meaning
<i>Piti</i>	<i>iti</i>	'to here'
<i>Pilu</i>	<i>ilu</i>	'to there'
<i>Pili</i>	<i>ili</i>	'to over there'

5.3.7.2.3 Similitive Deictic *bate'*

There is one similitive deictic in Southern Sinama, that is *bate'* + demonstrative (*iti*, *ilu*, *naan*, and *ili*) 'like this'/'like that'. It is used by the speaker to compare someone or something to another. It can also be used when speaker is drawing attention to something that he himself or someone else is doing. Normally, it occurs as an adverb. In the case when *bate'* is added to *naan*, aside from expressing similarity it can also denote 'at the present time or moment' (i.e. *bate' naan* 'now').

Table 20. Southern Sinama Similitive Deictic

Similitive Deictic	Derived from:	Meaning
<i>bate' iti</i>	<i>Iti</i>	'like this' (the actor is that in set II first person personal pronouns or object near the speaker)
<i>bate' ilu</i>	<i>ilu</i>	'like that' (the actor is that in set II second person personal pronoun or object near the listener)
<i>bate' naan</i>	<i>naan</i>	'like that' (the actor is that in set II third person personal pronoun or object in mesioproximal position)
<i>bate' ili</i>	<i>Ili</i>	'like that' (the actor is that in set II third person personal pronoun or object that is not visible to speaker and listener)

5.3.7.2.4 Summary

The table below is a summary of the three non-similitive types of deictic discussed above. It is noted that the deictic adverbs of location and of directed motion are morphologically based from pronominal demonstrative.

Table 21. Summary of the Three Non-Similitive Types of Deictic

Pronominal Demonstrative	Deictic adverbs of location	Deictic adverbs of directed motion
<i>Iti</i>	<i>Miti</i>	<i>piti</i>
<i>Ilu</i>	<i>Milu</i>	<i>pilu</i>
<i>Naan</i>	<i>Minaan</i>	-
<i>Ili</i>	<i>Mili</i>	<i>pili</i>

5.3.8 Conjunction

The southern Sinama language has numerous conjunctions. Each may belong to different functions: separate non-contrasting ideas, separate contrasting ideas, give explanations, provide circumstances, or provide reasons.

Basically, the southern Sinama has two types of conjunction: coordinating and subordinating. Coordinating conjunction is used to attach elements that are grammatically equivalent (i.e. two words, two phrases, or two independent clauses). The examples of coordinating conjunction in the language are *maka* 'and', *atawa* 'or' and *suga* 'but'. The conjunction *maka* separates non-contrasting ideas; the conjunction *atawa* is used to indicate an alternative; whereas, the conjunction *suga* separates contrasting ideas is.

In contrast to coordinating conjunction, the subordinating conjunction introduces a dependent clause. The two commonly used subordinating conjunction in Southern Sinama are *bang* and *pasar*. The conjunction that gives explanation or provides circumstances is *bang* 'if' or 'when', respectively; while the conjunction that provides reasons is *pasar* 'because'.

5.3.9 Enclitic Particles

Southern Sinama has enclitic particles which are significant in transmitting various shades in meaning.

ba

The enclitic *ba* is a question marker that is used to properly form yes-no questions.

- (5.82) *Ma kau ba bag iti?*
 PREP 2SG.II ENCL bag DEM
 'Is this bag yours?'

na

The enclitic *na* can be translated to English as 'already' or 'now' and is used to: imply that it is time already (5.83); express command (5.84); express an indicative statement or declaration (5.85); or imply that it is so soon or too soon (5.86).

- (5.83) *Waktu na!*
 Time ENCL-already
 'It is time already.'

- (5.84) *Manek na kow!*

- AV.IMP.IPFV-climb ENCL-now 2SG.II
'Climb now!'
- (5.85) *Pa-kakan* *na* *aku.*
AV.CONT-eat ENCL-now 1SG.I
'I will eat now.'
- (5.86) *Pahalu* *na* *kawin* *si=Celia.*
tomorrow ENCL-already wedding DIR=PN
'The wedding of Celia is already tomorrow.'

gi'

The enclitic *gi'* which can mean 'still', 'yet', 'not until', or 'since' is used to: imply that it is still some time away (5.87); indicate that something has been the case since some time ago (5.88); infer that something is still happening (5.89); or denote that something has never happened yet (5.91).

- (5.87) *Pahalu* *gi'* *kawin* *si=Celia.*
tomorrow ENCL-not until wedding DIR=PN
'The wedding of Celia is not until tomorrow.'
- (5.89) *DiiLOW* *gi'* *bey* *lungey* *sawan.*
yesterday ENCL-since PFV INF-lose glass
'The glass was lost since yesterday.'
- (5.90) *Ley* *ulan* *gi'*.
IPFV INF-rain ENCL-still
'It still rains.'
- (5.91) *Maha* *gi'* *sigA* *tuli.*
NEG ENCL-yet 3PL.II INF-sleep
'They have not slept yet.'

kono'

The enclitic *kono'* is a reporting particle that specifies the prior information as secondhand.

- (5.92) *Bey* *nipa-mung-an* *kono'* *iya* *le'* *mastar.*
PFV UV.PAST-reprimand-CAUS ENCL-reportedly 3SG.II by teacher
'(S)he was reportedly reprimanded by the teacher.'

marey'

The enclitic *marey'* expresses uncertainty.

- (5.93) *Pahalu* *marey'* *sigA* *pa-takka.*
tomorrow ENCL-probably 3PL.II AV.CONT-arrive
'They will probably arrive tomorrow.'

Muramurahan

The enclitic *muramurahan* expresses hope.

- (5.94) *Muramurahan* *ulan* *pahalu.*
ENCL-may INF-rain tomorrow.
'May it rain tomorrow.'

Ya

The enclitic particle *ya* is used to emphasize an argument. In (5.95), the subject, which is the personal noun *Pedro* is being emphasized while in (5.96), the object, which is *sumping* is being emphasized.

- (5.95) *Si=Pedro* *ya* *bey* *n-engge.*
DIR=PN ENCL-it is PFV AV.CONT-stand up

'It is Pedro who stood up.'

- (5.96) *Sumping ya bey kattu' anak-anak.*
 flower ENCL-it is PFV UV-INF-pick child
 'It is a flower that was picked by the child.'

5.3.10 Negation

There are three negation words in Southern Sinama: *daa*, *maha*, and *sikeya*.

Daa is used to express negative commands.

- (5.97) *Daa kow istowa.*
 NEG. 2SG.II IMP.INF-laugh
 'Don't laugh!'

- (5.98) *Daa kow man milu.*
 NEG 2SG.II IMP.INF-walk there
 'Don't walk there.'

Maha negates verbs and equations.

- (5.99) *Maha istowa ingkalla.*
 NEG INF-laugh bachelor
 'The bachelor will not laugh.'

- (5.100) *Maha niya' aa ma luma'.*
 NEG EXIST-there is man PREP house
 'There is no one in the house.'

Sikeya is used to negate the noun that it heads, which means something or someone else is being referred to in an utterance.

- (5.101) *Anak-anak ya bey nengge, sikeya ingkalla.*
 child ENCL PFV AV-stand NEG bachelor
 'The child is the one who stood, not the bachelor.'

- (5.102) *Sikeya ma Sabtu' kawin si=Celia, ma Ahad.*
 NEG PREP Saturday wedding DIR=PN PREP Sunday
 'The wedding of Celia is not on Saturday, on Sunday.'

5.3.11 Modality

Modality is a category of linguistic meaning which is characterized by expressions of possibility and necessity. In this study, the modal *subey* was noted. This modal is used to express both strong and weak obligations. Strong obligation in this sense is that actions are considered compulsory (5.103). On the other hand, weak obligation is referred to the action that what one thinks is best for the concerned subject (5.104).

- (5.103) *Subey ni-saggow le' pulis panangkow.*
 MOD UV.PFV-catch PREP police thief
 'The police must apprehend the thief.'

Subey kow ng-inum tambar para maha kow m-atey.
 MOD 2SG.II AV.IPFV-drink medicine CONJ NEG 2SG.II CONT-die
 'You must take medicine so that you will not die.'

- (5.104) *Subey kow mandi mboho' kow man.*
 should 2SG.I AV.CONT-bathe before 2SG.II walk
 'You should eat first before you go.'

Subey bowa=nu payung=nu para maha kow base' bang ngulan.

Should INF-bring=2SG.I umbrella=2SG.I CONJ NEG 2SG.II wet if IPFV-rain
 'You should bring your umbrella so that you will not get wet when it rains.'

5.3.12 Interrogative Words

Interrogative words or question words in Southern Sinama language are *eyyan* or the shortened *ey* 'what', *sumilan* 'when', *ingga* 'which', *mingga/piingga* 'where', *seyyan* or the shortened *sey* 'who', *angey* 'why', *dangey* 'how much' or 'how many'. It also includes the *bate' ingga* 'how'. It is important to note that *mingga* is used to ask for the location of a person, thing, or animal, while *piingga* is used to ask for the location of the action. These two are not interchangeable.

- (5.105) *Eyyan bey pa-jatu diilow?*
 what PFV FUT-happen yesterday
 'What happened yesterday?'
- (5.106) *Sumilan kow bey magpa-tambar ni ospital?*
 when 2SG.II PFV AV.FUT-treat PREP hospital
 'When did you get treatment at the hospital?' (Literal: 'When were you treated in the hospital?')
- (5.107) *Inggā miti kabilahian=nu?*
 which here desire=2sg.I
 'Which one here do you like?'
- (5.108) *Mingga banan anak=ku?*
 where PL child=1SG.I
 'Where are my children?'
- (5.109) *Piingga kow man?*
 where 2SG.II walk
 'Where are you going?'
- (5.110) *Seyyan mastar=nu ma English?*
 who teacher=2SG.I PREP English
 'Who is your teacher in English?'
- (5.111) *Angey bey ng-istowa ingkalla?*
 Why PFV AV.PRES-laugh bachelor
 'Why did the bachelor laugh?'
- (5.112) *Dangey harga' banan manuk iti?*
 how much price PL chicken DEM
 'How much are these chickens?'
- (5.113) *Dangey bilahi nginum?*
 how many like IPFV-drink
 'How many would like to drink?'
- (5.114) *Bate' ingga ng-adjar adobo?*
 how IPFV-cook adobo
 'How to cook adobo?'

6. Syntax

As a member of Austronesian language family, the Southern Sinama is a head marking language with verb-subject-object (VSO) word order. Under this section, the phrases, clauses, sentences and syntactic movements in the language are discussed.

6.1 Phrases

In this section, noun phrase, verb phrase and prepositional phrase are explored. Nouns, verbs and and prepositions were discussed in §5.3.1, §5.3.2, and §5.3.5, respectively. The NP is described according to its different slots such as measure, head, possessive, descriptive, and determiner slots. The elements in VP are likewise discussed. On the other hand, the PP includes locative and non-locative prepositions.

6.1.1 Noun Phrase

Noun phrase (NP) is either a word or a group of words headed by a noun, and plays the role of a noun in a sentence. In Southern Sinama language, NP is found to have a number of slots: head, quantifier, possessive, descriptive, and determiner.

6.1.1.1 Head Slot

Head, which is the only mandatory constituent in the NP, comprises a noun (6.1). Noun can be, however, substituted by a pronoun (6.2). Noun is discussed in §5.3.1 while pronoun is in §5.3.1.2.2.

- (6.1) *Ley pa-kakan [anak-anak]_{NP}.*
 IPFV AV.CONT-eat child
 'The child eats' or 'The child is eating'

Pa-laan [si=Maria]_{NP} pahal.
 AV.CONT-leave DIR=PN tomorrow
 'Maria will leave tomorrow.'

- (6.2) *Ley [iya]_{NP} pa-kakan.*
 IPFV 3SG.II AV.CONT-eat
 '(S)he eats.' or '(S)he is eating.'

Pa-laan [kow]_{NP} pahal.
 AV.CONT-leave 2SG.II tomorrow
 'You will leave tomorrow.'

6.1.1.2 Quantifier Slot

Quantifier slot in NP is optional. It can be occupied by a quantifier phrase such as the numeral phrase or an indefinite phrase. Numerals in Southern Sinama were discussed in §5.3.6.1 while indefinite were discussed in §5.3.6.2

6.1.1.2.1 Numeral Phrase

A numeral phrase or a number phrase in NP precedes the head. The number phrase can be a cardinal (6.3) or ordinal number (6.4). Cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers are discussed in §5.3.6.1.1 and §5.3.6.1.2, respectively. Note the following examples:

- (6.3) *Ley mag-bono' [duwa]_{NUM} anak-anak]_{NP}.*
 IPFV AV.CONT-fight QUANT child
 'The two children fight.'

- (6.4) *Bey n-angis [ika mpat]_{NUM} anak-anak]_{NP}.*
 PFV AV.CONT-cry QUANT child
 'The fourth child cried.'

6.1.1.2.2 Indefinite Phrase

An indefinite phrase, just like the numeral phrase occurs before the head in NP. The following are examples:

- (6.5) *[Heka]_{NDEF} mastar]_{NP} bey pa-hadir.*
 QUANT teacher PFV AV.CONT-attend
 'Many teachers attended.'

- (6.6) *Bey ni-sumbali' [kamemon]_{NDEF} kambing]_{NP}.*
 PFV UV.PAST-slaughter QUANT goat
 All goats were slaughtered.

6.1.1.3 Possessive Slot

Possessive slot in NP is also optional. Possessive in this case is referred to a possessive adjective (see §5.4.2.2.3 for the discussion of possessive adjectives). Within NP, it follows the head.

- (6.7) *Bey ta-kakan [mpallam=[ku]_{POSS}]_{NP}*
 PFV UV.PAST-eat mango=1SG.I
 'My mango was eaten.'

- (6.8) *Bey ka-tulak [mma'=[siga]POSS]NP*
 PFV AV.PAST-travel father=3PL.I
 'Her father was able to travel.'

6.1.1.4 Descriptive Slot

The descriptive slot in NP may be filled with descriptive adjective, relative clause, or prepositional phrase. Descriptive adjective is discussed in §5.3.3.2.1. Within NP, descriptive phrase (6.9), relative clause (6.10), and prepositional phrase (6.11) follow the head. Apart from these, descriptive slot may also be filled with complement clauses. Nouns that can take complement clauses are *lahat* 'place' and *waktu* 'time' (6.12). Complement clauses are further discussed in §6.2.3.2.1.

- (6.9) *Ley nipa-luwas [danda [manis]DESCR]NP.*
 IPFV UV.PAST-send out woman beautiful
 'The beautiful woman is sent out.'

Bey tunu' [badju' [indang]DESCR]NP.
 PFV INF-burn shirt old
 'The old shirt was burned.'

- (6.10) *[Bag [ya bey balli=na dinsini']RC]NP bey ta-tangkow.*
 bag ENC PFV INF-buy=3sg.I earlier PFV UV.PAST-steal
 'The bag that he bought earlier was stolen.'

[Anak-anak [ya bey ng-amu' sin ma mma'=[na]RC]NP ley n-angis
 Child ENCL PFV AV.PRES-ask money PREP father=3sg.I IPFV FUT-cry
 'The child who asked money from his father cries.'

- (6.11) *Ley labu' [singsing [ma anak-tangan si=Jose]PP]NP.*
 IPFV INF-fall Ring PREP finger DIR=PN
 'The ring on Jose's finger falls.'

Mag-beyla [bisita [min Manila]PP]NP.
 AV.CONT-dance Visitor PREP PN
 'The visitor from Manila will dance.'

- (6.9) *[Lahat [bang minggu bey ta-balli=na tana'=[sigala]CC]NP.*
 place SUBCONJ where PFV UV.PAST-buy=3SG.I soil=3PL.I
 'The place where he bought their lot.'

[Waktu [bang sumilan tambanan si=Maria halla=na]CC]NP.
 time SUBCONJ when leave-UV.CONT DIR=PN husband=3SG.I
 'The time when Maria will leave her husband.'

6.1.1.5 Determiner Slot

The determiner slot in NP is filled by adnominal demonstrative (see §5.3.7.1). Likewise, determiner slot is preceded by the head. It was noted that when the head noun is modified by a possessive adjective, the determiner slot is unfilled. The following examples are repeated from table 17 (adnominal demonstrative).

- (6.10) *Lamma' [uan [iti]DET]NP*
 soft pillow DEM
 'This pillow is soft.'

Bey na tanda'=ku [pana' [ilu]DET]NP.
 PFV ENCL INF-see=1SG.I arrow DEM
 'I already saw that arrow.'

6.1.2 Verb Phrase

The verb phrase (VP) is the core constituent of the predicate in a clause. In Southern Sinama, VP contains verb which is optionally preceded by a negator and/or an adverb of frequency or adverb of manner. It can likewise be preceded by an aspect marker *bey* or *ley* and be followed by PP. Adverb and negation are discussed in §5.3.4 and §5.3.10, respectively. Whereas, aspect markers and PP are tackled §5.3.2.1 and §5.2.3 in that order. Consider the following examples of VP in a clause:

- (6.11) [[Daa]_{NEG} ta-hiin]_{VP} badju'.
 NEG UV.IMP.IPFV-sew shirt
 'Don't sew the shirt.'
- (6.12) [[Daran]_{ADV} ka-kakan]_{VP} mpallam ingkanda ma Cebu.
 often AV.PFV-eat mango maiden PREP PN
 'The maiden often ate mango in Cebu.'
- (6.13) [[Maha]_{NEG} [kosog]_{ADV} pa-hallang]_{VP} anak-anak.
 NEG loud AV.CONT-shout child
 'The child does not shout loud.'

In (6.11), the VP is comprised of negator *daa* and the verb *tahiin* while in (6.12) the VP consists of adverb of frequency *daran* followed by the verb *kakakan*. Whereas in (6.13), the VP is composed of negator word *maha*, adverb of manner *kosog*, and the verb *pahallang*. The adverb of frequency *daran* in (6.12) conveys the recurrence of the action while the adverb of manner in (6.13) corresponding to *kosog* tells us how the action is executed.

On the other hand, the aspect markers *bey* and *ley* mark the aspect of the verb, therefore, a constituent of VP. See examples below which are repeated from (5.29) and (5.30):

- (6.14) [Bey ng-aggak]_{VP} ingkanda.
 PFV AV.PRES-burp maiden
 'The maiden burped.'
- (6.15) [Ley ng-aggak]_{VP} ingkanda.
 IPFV AV.PRES-burp maiden
 'The maiden burps.'

As a constituent of VP, PP is positioned immediately after the verb. The PP in this case modifies the action of the verb. Consider the example below:

- (6.16) [M-isita [ni dambila' luma']_{PP}]_{VP} ingkanda.
 AV.CONT-visit PREP other side house maiden
 'The maiden will visit the neighbor'. (Literal: 'The maiden will visit to the other side of the house.')

In (6.16), VP is composed of the verb *misita* and the PP *ni dambila' luma'*. As a constituent of VP, PP modifies the verb. Furthermore, it was noted that complex VP is possible in Southern Sinama. Complex VP in this sense is the inclusion of more than two optional constituents in one phrase (6.17).

- (6.17) [[Likkas]_{ADV} bey pa-ragan [ni bihing tahik]_{PP}]_{VP} ingkalla.
 fast PFV AV.FUT-run PREP beside sea bachelor
 'The bachelor runs fast towards the seashore.' (LITERAL: 'The bachelor runs fast to beside the sea.')

6.1.3 Prepositional Phrase

Prepositional phrase (PP) comprises of a preposition either locative or non-locative and the object it governs including any words that modify the object. Locative and non-locative and their samples are discussed in §5.3.5. PP modifies either a noun or a verb in a sentence. It has a preposition as its head and an NP or VP as dependent constituent. The examples below show PP that modifies a noun (6.18) and PP that modifies a verb (6.19).

- (6.18) Bey ta-saggow bisita [min Manila]_{PP}.
 PFV UV.PAST-catch visitor PREP PN
 'The visitor from Manila was caught.'

In (6.18), PP corresponding to *min Manila* modifies the noun *bisita*. The head in PP is the preposition *min* and the dependent constituent, which is the NP is the proper noun *Manila*.

(6.19) *Ley pa-ragan [ni tabu']_{PP} anak-anak*
 IPFV AV-FUT-run PREP market child
 'The child runs to the market.'

In (6.19), PP which corresponds to *ni tabu'* modifies the verb *paragan*. The head in PP is the preposition *ni* while the dependent constituent is the NP corresponding to *tabu'*.

6.2 Clause

The Southern Sinama clause encompasses from one to three arguments (actor, object, and benefactor) depending on the number required by its predicate. However, ambient clause is an exception to the rule. Though it has predicate but it takes no argument. Nonetheless, under this section, the order of constituents in Southern Sinama clauses, other possible word order, forms of clause, and ambient clause are discussed.

6.2.1 Order of Constituents in Clauses

Word order is the order of syntactic constituents, which may vary in every language. Tomlin (1986) asserts that half of the languages of the world have subject-object-verb orders; one-third is subject-verb-object; and the smaller portion is verb-subject-object. The order of constituent is arranged in terms of the combination of verb and the two arguments: subject and object (Rijkhoff, 2004). It is observed in the data that Southern Sinama follows the V-S order for intransitive clauses (6.20) and V-S-O for transitive clauses (6.21).

(6.20) **V S**
Bey nengge anak-anak.
 PFV AV.FUT-stand child
 'The child stood up.'

V S
Ley magbono' disi=Juan maka Tomas.
 IPFV AV.FUT-fight DIR.PL=PN CONJ PN
 'Juan and Tomas fight.'

(6.21) **V S O**
Ka-keket ero'=siga kambing.
 AV.PFV-bite dog=3PL.I goat
 'Their dog bit a goat.'

V S O
Magpa-bangun danakan=ku luma'.
 AV.CONT-build sibling =1SG.I house
 'My sibling will build a house.'

6.2.2 Other Possible Word Orders

Basically, as explained in §6.2.1, the language under study deploys the verb-subject-object (VSO) order. However, it also carries structural evidence through inflection that permits more flexible word arrangement in order to express pragmatic information. For instance, the V-S-O clause can be reordered into S-V-O (6.22) by adding the enclitic particle *ya*. Likewise, the V-S-O can be transformed into V-O-S (6.23) without any change in the constituents of the clause. In the language, however, the latter is often used in transitive clauses.

(6.22) **S V O**
Anak-anak ya bey ng-akkow tepo.
 child ENCL PFV AV.FUT-scratch mat
 'It is the child who scratched the mat.'

S V O
Inkanda ya bey pakakan tinapey.

maiden ENCL PFV AV.FUT-eat bread
 'It is the lady who ate the bread.'

- (6.23) **V** **O** **S**
Pa-panek bud ingkalla.
 AV.CONT-climb mountain bachelor
 'The man will climb a mountain.'

V **O** **S**
Ley ngose banan ley si=Maria.
 IPFV AV.wash PL plate DIR=PN
 'Maria washes the dishes.'

6.2.3 Forms of Clause

Just like any other language, the Sinama clause has two forms: the main clause and the subordinate clause. Main clause has a complete thought that primarily contains a subject, a verb phrase and other elements. It can stand alone as a complete sentence (6.24). On the other hand, the subordinate clause is dependent and forms part of the main clause. The pattern under this form is typically the subject, and the verb phrase are preceded by subordinating conjunction (see §5.3.8 for the discussion of subordinating conjunction). In (6.25), the dependent clause is in bold.

- (6.24) *Ley mag-bono' duwa anak-anak.*
 IPFV AV.FUT-fight QUANT child
 'The two children fight.'

Bey siga ka-kakan mangga ma Cebu.
 PFV 3PL.II AV.PAST-eat mango PREP PN
 'They (unintentionally) ate mango in Cebu.'

- (6.25) **Bang** **ley** **kow** **ni-lango,** *ningko' gi' kow miti.*
 SUBCONJ IPFV 2SG.II UV.PAST-dizzy AV-sit ENCL 2SG.II here
 'If you feel dizzy, you sit here.'

Bey siga mag-bono', pasar maha siga bey mag-towwa'.
 PFV 3PL.II AV.FUT-fight SUBCONJ NEG 3PL.II PFV AV.FUT-agree
 'They fought because they did not agree.'

6.2.3.1 Types of Main Clause

In this study, I noted four types of main clause: the intransitive, the transitive, ditransitive, and the verbless clauses.

6.2.3.1.1 Intransitive

Structurally, main verb phrase intransitive and nominal or pronominal subject are the only units needed in this type of main clause (6.26). Likewise, adverbial (relative time) can serve as complement for this clause (6.27), but not necessarily required.

- (6.26) *Bey pa-ragan ingkalla.*
 PFV AV.FUT-NTR.run NSUBJ.bachelor
 'The bachelor ran.'

- (6.27) *Pa-laan siga pahal.*
 AV.CONT-NTR.run 3PL.II tomorrow
 'They will leave tomorrow.'

6.2.3.1.2 Transitive

Transitive type of clause requires three elements: nominal or pronominal subject, main verb phrase, and nominal object.

- (6.28) *Nga-laga' bohe' ingkanda.*
 AV.IPFV-boil NOBJ.water NSUBJ-maiden
 'The maiden boils water.'

Ngattu' *iya* *banan sumping.*
 AV.CONT-pick 3SG.II PL NOBJ-flower
 'She will pick flowers.'

6.2.3.1.3 *Ditransitive*

Ditransitive is actually a transitive verb. However, the former takes four elements: nominal or pronominal subject, main verb phrase, nominal object and nominal or pronominal indirect object.

(6.29) *Bey* *buwan-an=na* *si=Maria* *banan* *mpallam.*
 PFV give-UV.CONT=3sg.I DIR=NIOBJ.PN PL mango
 'S/he gave Maria mangoes.'

Balli-han *le' si=Jose* *bagey=na* *kende.*
 buy-UV.CONT PREP.NDIR=PN friend=3SG.I candy
 'Jose will buy his/her friend candy.'

6.2.3.1.4 *Verbless*

Verbless clauses are comprised of nominal predicate, adjectival statement, locative predicate, and wh-clauses.

6.2.3.1.4.1 *Nominal Predicate*

The clause in Southern Sinama is verbless when the subject is identified by another noun or its equivalent.

(6.30) *Bagey=ku* *disi=Juan* *maka* *Tomas.*
 friend=1SG.I PL.DIR=PN CONJ PN
 'Tomas and Juan are my friends.'

On=ku *si=Juan.*
 name=1SG.I DIR=PN
 'My name is Juan.'

For identity or presentative statement which introduces an entity conveying it to the attention of the listener, the structure is headed by pronominal demonstratives.

(6.31) *Iti* *ya* *luma'=kami.*
 DEM ENCL House=3PL.I
 'This is our house.'

Ili *mma'=na.*
 DEM ather=3sg.I
 'That is his father.'

6.2.3.1.4.2 *Adjectival Statement*

Adjectives can be used as predicate, combining with subject NPs or subject pronouns.

(6.32) *Manis* *si=Maria.*
 beautiful DIR=PN
 Maria is beautiful.

Dupang=kita.
 crazy=1DI.II
 'We (you and I) are crazy.'

NPs with predicative adjectives introduces the reference of comparison. It is marked with the preposition *min*.

(6.33) *Mas* *lassom* *kalamunding* *min* *mpallam.*
 CMPR.more sour lime PREP.than mango

'Lime is more sour than mango.'

Mas manis anak-anak min ingkanda.
 CMPR.more beautiful child PREP.than maiden
 'The child is more beautiful than the maiden.'

6.2.3.1.4.3 Locative Predicate

Locative predicate expresses location. Clauses with locative predicates are also molded by collocation of the subject and the predicate.

(6.34) *Ili siga ma riyata'.*
 DEIC 3PL.II PREP above.
 'There they are upstairs.' (Literally: 'There they are in upstairs.')

Iti iya ma bukut.
 DEIC 3SG.II PREP back
 'Here s/he is at the back.'

6.2.3.1.4.4 Wh Clause

Southern Sinama interrogative words usually occur in situ, however, there is also a clause type that runs an equivalent of wh-fronting in the sense that the interrogative constituent takes the first position. In adjectival statement, for example, the subject is fronted in order to form wh-question.

(6.35) *Manis si Maria.* (adjectival statement)
Sey manis?
 WH.Q.who beautiful
 'Who is beautiful?'

Buhat bag na. (adjectival statement)
Eyyan buhat?
 WH.Q.what heavy
 'What is heavy?'

Clause with noun complement in Southern Sinama requires zero copula; thus, verbless. When the subject is fronted, it forms wh-question.

(6.36) *Mastar si Jose.*
Seyyan mastar?
 WH.Q.who teacher
 'Who is a teacher?'

Bagey ku iya.
Seyyan bagey=ku?
 WH.Q.who friend=1SG.I
 'Who is my friend?'

6.2.3.1.4.5 Existential Clause

Existential clause is referred to the existence or presence of something. Southern Sinama language forms existential clause with zero copula plus the subject being the NP, which is meant as the entity whose existence is declared. The clause is introduced by the existential term *niya'* 'there'. In this sense, *niya'* plays the role of dummy subject which articulates the existence of the logical subject which appears as a complement.

(6.37) *Niya' panguwa'.*
 EXIST ghost
 'There is a ghost.'

Niya' *aa* *ma* *luma'*.
 EXIST person PREP house.
 'There is a man in the house.'

In forming the negative of existential clause, the negation marker precedes the existential term *niya'*.

(6.38) *Maha niya'* *panguwa'*.
 NEG EXIST ghost
 'There is no ghost.'

Maha niya' *aa* *ma* *luma'*.
 NEG EXIST person PREP house
 'There is no man in the house.'

6.2.3.1.4.6 Possessive Clause (with *niya'*)

The existential term *niya'* can have a possessive meaning (i.e. *niya'* means has/have).

(6.39) *Niya'* *sumping* *ingkanda*.
 POSS flower maiden.
 'The lady has a flower.'

Niya' *na* *tunang=na*.
 POSS ENCL lover=3SG.I
 'S/he has already a lover.'

Niya' with possessive meaning also expresses negation by preceding it with *maha*.

(6.40) *Maha niya'* *sumping* *ingkanda*.
 NEG POSS flower maiden
 'The lady does not have flower.'

Maha niya' *tunang=na*.
 NEG POSS lover=3SG.I
 'S/he does not have a lover.'

In order to identify whether the function of *niya'* is existential or possessive, one must deal with semantic relation of the lexicons in the clause.

6.2.3.2 Types of Subordinate Clauses

6.2.3.2.1 Complement Clauses

Complement clause is a subordinate clause that functions to complete the meaning of a noun and a verb in a sentence. The clause is generally introduced by complementizers *na* 'that'. It should be noted that *na* in this case has intralingual homographs which mean enclitic 'already' or the set I pronoun 'his/her'. Consider (6.41) where the homographs of *na* are utilized. The subordinate clause is in bold.

(6.41) *Bey nga-haka danakan=na **na bey** na matey mma'=na*.
 PFV AV.PRES-say sibling=3SG.I COMP PFV ENCL die father=3SG.I
 'His/her sibling said that his/her father has already died.'

(6.42) *Maha bey ta-sayu si=Jose **na bey** iya nangis*.
 NEG PFV UV.PAST-know DIR=PN COMP PFV 3SG.II cry
 'Jose did not know that s/he cried.'

6.2.3.2.2 Goal Clauses

Goal clause is defined as a particular relation between two events. The first one is coded by the main clause whereas the second is coded by the subordinate clause. The main strategy of marking goal clauses is through the use of complementizers *para* 'for/to'.

- (6.43) *Mandi* *kow* ***para hap*** ***parasahan=nu.***
 AV.IPFV.IMP-bathe 2SG.II COMP good feeling=2SG.I
 'You bathe for you to feel better.'
Pili *aku* *ni* *tabu'* ***para*** ***malli*** ***deyng.***
 INF-go 1SG.II PREP market COMP AV.CONT-buy fish
 'I will go to the market to buy fish.'

6.2.4 Ambient Clause

Ambient clause or Avalency is devoted to have a predicate but takes no logical arguments. In this sense, the verb can appear alone (Barbosa, 2011). In Southern Sinama, ambient clauses are evident in weather verbs.

- (6.44) *Ng-ulan.*
 IPFV-rain
 '(It) rains.'
- Nga-baliyu.*
 IPFV-wind
 '(It) winds'
- Nga-banjir.*
 IPFV-flood
 '(It) floods.'

6.3 Syntactic Movement

This section discusses how syntactic elements move anywhere within the structure in Southern Sinama. Syntactic movement is a traditional means of a break in a sentence. In this study, movements such as wh-fronting, topicalization, and inversion in the language are explained.

6.3.1 Wh-Movement

The first of the movements that were explored here is the wh-movement, which is also known as wh-fronting. It is a formation of canonical word order into non-canonical one comprising interrogative words. Interrogative words are discussed in §5.3.12. In the examples below, bold scripts mark the expression that is moved, and the underscore marks the position from which constituent movements have transpired.

- (6.45a) *Bey* *ta-kale=na* ***suwara si=Maria.***
 PFV UV.PAST-hear=3SG.I voice DIR=PN
 '(S)he heard the voice of Maria.'

- (6.45b) ***Sey*** ***suwara*** *bey* *ta-kale=na* ___?
 who voice PFV UV.PAST-hear=3SG.I
 'Whose voice did (s)he hear?'

(6.45a) shows canonical word order, whereas (6.45b) demonstrates the discontinuity that movement seeks to detail. *Suwara si Maria*, which is the object of the verb *takale*, is the expression that is moved. Since Southern Sinama follows a V-S-O pattern, the constituent *suwara si Maria* in (6.45a) immediately follows the pronoun (set I) *na*. In (6.45b), the constituent *sey suwara* also functions as the direct object of the verb *takale*; however, it appears in the beginning of the sentence rather than in its original position succeeding the subject.

In (6.46a), the adverb of relative time corresponding to *pahalu* 'tomorrow' has been wh-fronted as the wh-word *sumilan* 'when' in (6.46b).

- (6.46a) *Pa-laan* *si=Jose* ***pahalu*** *ni* *Cebu.*
 AV.CONT-leave DIR=PN tomorrow PREP PN
 'Jose will leave tomorrow to Cebu.'
- (6.46b) ***Sumilan*** *pa-laan* *si=Jose* ___ *ni* *Cebu?*
 when AV.CONT-leave DIR=PN PREP PN
 'When will Jose leave to Cebu?'

The prepositional phrase in (6.47a) corresponding to *ma luma' sigala* 'in their house' has been wh-fronted as the wh-word *mingga* 'where' in (6.7b).

(6.47a) *Pa-tuli ingkanda ma luma' sigala.*
 AV.CONT-sleep maiden PREP house 3PL.I
 'The maiden will sleep in their house.'

(6.47b) **Mingga** *pa-tuli ingkanda __?*
 where AV.CONT-sleep maiden
 'Where will the maiden sleep?'

The direct object in (6.48a) corresponding to *sumping* 'flower' has been wh-fronted as the wh-word *eyyan* 'what' in (6.48b).

(6.48a) *Bey hali=ku sumping.*
 PFV INF.smell=1SG.I flower
 'I smelled the flower.'

(6.48b) **Eyyan** *bey hali=ku __?*
 what PFV INF-smell=1SG.I
 'What did I smell?'

Examples (6.45) through (6.48) show that wh-fronting occurs when a constituent being questioned appears to the right of the verb in the respective declarative sentences. However, there are also wh-expressions without movement. These are evident in echo questions, wherein a speaker confirms what he thought he heard. (6.49a) is the declarative sentence, while (6.49b) is the wh-expression where the direct object corresponding to *kambing* 'goat' is not fronted.

(6.49a) *Bey aku malli kambing.*
 PFV 1SG.II AV.FUT-buy goat
 'I bought a goat.'

(6.49b) *Bey aku malli __ eyyan?*
 PFV 1SG.I AV.FUT-buy what
 'I bought what?'

6.3.2. Topicalization

Topicalization encompasses a phrasal movement of adjunct and adnominal demonstrative to sentence-initial position (Sportiche, et al. 68). In (6.50) through (6.51), a-sentences are in the canonical word order, while the b-sentences are representations of topicalization. Adjunct in (6.50a) corresponding to *pasar maha siga bey magtowwa'* is topicalized and thus moved to sentence-initial position in (6.50b).

(6.50a) *Bey siga mag-bono' pasar maha siga bey mag-towwa'.*
 PFV 3PL.II AV.FUT-quarrel because NEG 3PL.II PFV AV.FUT-agree
 'They quarreled because they did not agree.'

(6.50b) **Pasar maha siga bey mag-towwa',** *bey siga mag-bono'.*
 because NEG 3PL.II PFV AV.FUT-agree PFV 3PL.II AV.FUT-quarrel
 'Because they did not agree, they quarreled.'

Adnominal demonstrative, which is also a part of object argument in (6.51a) corresponding to *tepo ili* is topicalized and thus moved to sentence-initial position in (6.51b).

(6.51a) *Bey balli si=Maria tepo ili.*
 PFV INF.buy DIR=PN mat DEM
 'Maria bought the mat.'

(6.51b) **Tepo ili** *ya bey balli si=Maria.*
 mat DEM ENCL PFV INF.buy DIR=PN
 'It is that mat, Maria bought.'

6.3.3 Inversion

Inversion or switching is a construction of grammar in which an exchange of canonical order of appearance occurs between two expressions; that is, they switch. In the Southern Sinama language, inversion is apparent in verb—subject, verb—adverb of relative time, and subject—object. In verb—subject inversion, the verb changes position with its subject with the enclitic particle *ya* placed in between the subject and the verb (6.52b).

(6.52a) *Bey pa-kakan si=Maria mpallam.*
 PFV AV.FUT-eat DIR=PN mango
 'Maria ate mango.'

(6.52b) *Si=Maria ya bey pa-kakan mpallam.*
 DIR=PN ENCL PFV AV.FUT-eat mango
 'It is Maria who ate mango.'

The default word order of expression in Southern Sinama is verb—subject. For instance, in (6.52a), the verb *pa-kakan* precedes the subject *Maria*. However, meaning-associated differences stimulate the verb and the subject to switch so that the verb will now follow the subject (6.52b).

On the other hand, in verb—adverb of relative time inversion, the verb in the sentence corresponding to *palaan* exchanges position with adverb of relative time *pahalu* (6.53). This type of inversion is only possible if the verb is intransitive; thus, does not applicable in sentences having constituent object.

(6.53a) *Pa-laan anak=na pahalu.*
 AV.CONT-leave child=3SG.I tomorrow
 'His/her child will leave tomorrow.'

(6.53b) *Pahalu palaan anak=na.*
 tomorrow AV.CONT-leave child=3SG.I
 'His/her child will leave tomorrow.'

In subject—object inversion, the subject constituent exchanges position with object constituent. Consider the example below, which is repeated from (6.52a):

(6.54a) *Bey pa-kakan si=Maria mpallam.*
 PFV AV.FUT-eat DIR=PN mango
 'Maria ate mango.'

(6.54b) *Bey pa-kakan mpallam si=Maria.*
 PFV AV.FUT-eat mango DIR=PN
 'Maria ate mango.'

It can be noted that the subject *Maria* in the canonical word order precedes that object *mpallam* (6.54a). However, after the inversion (6.54b), the subject and the object exchanged position, in which the subject is now placed in final-position of the sentence.

6.4 Sentence Type

In this section, I describe the different structures and characteristics of sentence in Southern Sinama. I used the term sentence type to refer to the type of sentence according to use: indicative, imperative, and interrogative.

6.4.1 Indicative

Indicative, which is also known as the declarative type of sentence is strongly V-S-O although syntactic movement in the form of subject—object inversion is possible (see §6.3.3). In the language under study, indicative sentence is conveyed through the indicative mood of the verb. Indicative verbal mood is discussed in §6.3.2.3. Though indicative verbal mood can be used in sentences that asked questions, I describe interrogative sentence separately (see §6.4.3).

(6.55) *Ley nanom maghuhuma panggi'.*

IPFV AV.FUT-plant farmer cassava
 'The farmer plants cassava.'

- (6.56) *Maha ley istowa ingkalla.*
 NEG IPFV INF.laugh bachelor
 'The bachelor does not laugh.'

6.4.2 Imperative

Imperative sentence is, likewise V-S-O. However, unlike in the indicative sentence, the subject and the object cannot undergo inversion movement. Imperative sentences give direct command to second person in set I and set II pronouns. These pronouns are stated in the sentence with the exception of the pronoun *nu* in which it can either be implied or stated. An implied pronoun *nu* occurs when root form of the verb is suffixed by *-in* (6.59). In contrast, it is stated in instance where the root form of the verb is used in the sentence (6.60).

- (6.57) *Pa-kakan kow buwas.*
 AV.CONT-eat 2SG.II rice
 'Eat rice!'

- (6.58) *Kose'=bi banan ley.*
 INF.wash=2PL.I PL plate
 'Wash the plates.'

- (6.59) *Daa intan-in tangan si=Maria.*
 NEG UV.CONT-hold hand DIR=PN
 'Don't hold the hand of Maria.'

- (6.60) *Kattu'=nu sumping!*
 INF.IMP.pick=2SG.I flower
 'You pick the flower!'

6.4.3 Interrogative

6.4.3.1 Yes-No Questions

The yes-no questions in Southern Sinama is easily distinguishable for the reason that it is marked by the yes-no enclitic *ba*. Enclitic *ba* is discussed in §5.3.9. It also has a rising intonation like that of the yes-no question pattern of English.

6.4.3.1.1 Ba in Simple Predicative Sentences

The yes-no question marker *ba* in simple predicative sentence comes after the predicate. Consider the examples below, (6.61) is indicative while (6.62) is interrogative:

- (6.61) *Mastar ingkalla ma iskur naan.*
 teacher bachelor PREP school DEM
 'The bachelor is a teacher in that school.'

- (6.62) *Mastar ba ingkalla ma iskur naan?*
 Teacher ENCL bachelor PREP school DEM
 'Is the bachelor teacher in that school?'

6.4.3.1.2 Ba in Existential Sentences

In existential sentences, *ba* follows existential particle *niya'*. In the examples below, (6.63) is in the indicative form while (6.64) is in the interrogative form.

- (6.63) *Niya' danakan=nu.*
 EXIST sibling=2SG.I
 'You have a sibling.'

- (6.64) *Niya' ba danakan=nu?*
 EXIST ENCL sibling=2SG.I

'Do you have a sibling?'

6.4.3.1.3 *Ba* in Negative Sentences

The enclitic *ba* immediately follows the negative particles *maha* and *sikeya*. These negations are discussed in §5.3.10. However, in negative existential sentences, *ba* may also be positioned subsequent to the existential particle *niya'* (6.67).

- (6.65) *Maha ba aku manis?*
 NEG ENCL 1SG.II beautiful
 'Am I not beautiful?'
- (6.66) *Sikeya ba ingkalla ya bey istowa?*
 NEG ENCL bachelor ENCL PFV INF-laugh
 'Is it not the bachelor who laughed?'
- (6.67) *Maha niya ba danakan=nu?*
 NEG EXIST ENCL sibling=2SG.I
 'Don't you have a sibling?'

6.4.3.1.4 *Emphatic Questions*

In emphatic sentences, the enclitic particle *ba* follows an emphasized element. In this sense, the emphasized elements are referred to as time indicator (6.68) or location (6.69). In the examples below, a-sentences are in indicative mood and b-sentences are in interrogative.

- (6.68a) *Pahalu, malli si=Celia luma'.*
 tomorrow AV-buy DIR=PN house
 'Tomorrow, Celia will buy a house.'
- (6.68b) *Pahalu ba malli si=Celia luma'?*
 tomorrow ENCL AV.buy DIR=PN house
 'Is it tomorrow that Celia buys a house?'
- (6.69a) *Ma riyata' bey mag-kakan disi=Celia maka Maria mpallam.*
 PREP above PFV FUT-eat DIR.PL=PN CONJ PN mango
 'Upstairs, Celia and Maria ate mango.' (LITERAL: 'In above, Celia and Maria ate mango.')
- (6.69b) *Ma riyata' ba bey mag-kakan disi=Celia maka Maria mpallam?*
 PREP above ENCL PFV FUT-eat DIR.PN=PN CONJ PN mango
 'Is it upstairs where Celia and Maria ate mango?'

6.4.3.1.5 *Tag Questions*

In Southern Sinama, tag questions are expressed by the phrase, *maha ba* 'is not it, does not it, or 'has not it'.

- (6.70) *Bey na kam ka-piili ni luma'=na, maha ba?*
 PFV ENCL 2PL.II AV.PRES-go PREP house=3SG.I NEG ENCL
 'You have been to his/her house, haven't you?'
- (6.71) *Bey pokpok=nu karbow=ku, maha ba?*
 PFV INF.beat=2SG.I water buffalo=1SG.I NEG ENCL
 'You beat my water buffalo, didn't you?'

6.4.3.2 *Wh-Questions*

Wh-questions use interrogative words or wh-words to ask questions. Interrogative words are discussed in §5.4.12.

7. Conclusion

This study focused on the documentation and description of the Southern Sinama language, specifically that of the Simunul variety in the form of sketch grammar. In this concluding section, I summarize some of the features of Southern Sinama that are cross-linguistically unusual. In addition, I also remark on this study's implications for practice and future research.

7.1 Significant Features of Southern Sinama

A notable feature of the language is observed in its verbal aspect. Although the language is inflected in order to convey aspects or tenses, when used in a phrase or clause, the aspect of the verb in the language can be suggested through the use of aspect markers *bey* (perfective) and *ley* (imperfective). In consequence, the aspect markers designate the aspect of the verb, regardless of the actual aspect of the verb itself, as suggested by verbal affixes. Likewise, a report on affixes is of vital importance because it interrelates with other features of the language, such as aspects, moods, and the voice system of the verbs, which in consequence, affects the meaning of the utterance. Likewise, the word order of the clause is also affected by the affixation of root verbs.

It was also noted that no consonant clusters occur within the syllable. However, word-initially, [m], [n], and [l] can occur as phonetically lengthened to the extent that they form a geminate cluster. Nasal fusion is another feature observed in the language. Its manifestation is governed by the place of articulation in root-initial consonants to which the nasal prefixes. That is, voiced and voiceless bilabial plosives [p] and [b] are assimilated by nasal [m]; voiceless alveolar fricative [s] and voiceless alveolar plosive [t] are assimilated by nasal [n]; voiced and voiceless velar plosives [k] and [g] are assimilated by nasal [ŋ].

7.2 Implication for Practice

The results of this study, specifically on phonology and morphology, have implications for language teaching, particularly in the Sama community in the context of Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTBLE). They can instill metalinguistic awareness in learners along the four macro skills of language: listening, speaking, reading and writing.

The results on phonology, specifically on phonemes, non-segmental phonology and phonemic distribution, help learners to reflect on the Southern Sinama language in contrast to the more actual practice of the language in daily verbal exchange. The phonological information provided in this study, when taught in school, helps young Sama learners discriminate their increasing vocabulary of phonologically similar words (Duncan, 2018). On the other hand, morphology, specifically morphemes, play an important role in the spelling as well as reading development of young learners (Pacheco and Goodwin, 2013). Thus, the morphemes described in this study provide Sama learners understanding of difficult academic vocabulary, especially words with more than one syllable.

7.3 Implication for Future Research

Documentation of a language affords a stable basis for linguistic analysis because it generates materials in the language being documented. However, since this investigation is merely a sketch of the grammar of the Southern Sinama language, they have implications for future research on the language. For instance, because of the boundary set by the instrument and the method of data collection, there are important structures of the Southern Sinama grammar, particularly in the aspect of phonology, morphology, and syntax, were not explored.

For example, the interpretation of ambiguous vowel sequences such as phonetically long vowels, sequences beginning with a high vowel, and/or sequences of a non-high plus high vowel was not described. Likewise, comprehensive documentation and subcategorization of the Southern Sinama verbal affixes were not realized. Furthermore, sentential complementation was not examined. However, the establishment and institution of the language's vowel phonemes; aspect, voice and mood, as suggested by affixation; and the description of clauses in Southern Sinama will aid future investigators in exploring the mentioned gaps only that they must utilize other instruments and methods of data collection, like the recording of native speakers' actual speech.

It is also important to note that this investigation focused specifically on the Southern Sinama Simunul variety. Consequently, it does not completely access the geographic scope of the language in the study, and possible distinctions in linguistic features were not undertaken. So, researchers investigating other varieties may instead utilize the results of this paper for comparative studies.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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