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THEMATIC CONTINUITY AND DEVELOPMENT
IN LANGUAGES OF SABAH

edited by
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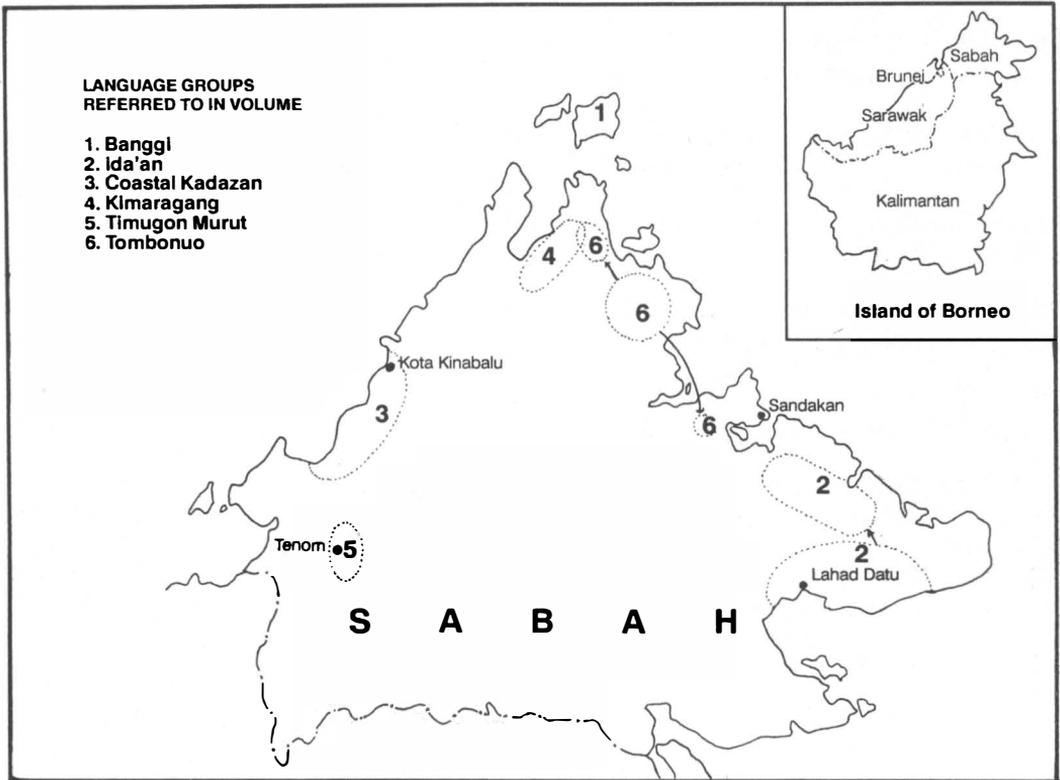
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INTRODUCTION

STEPHEN H. LEVINSOHN

Two major areas of interest to discourse analysts may be discerned in the papers of this volume on representative languages of Sabah, Malaysia: (1) thematic continuity and development; (2) tense-aspect and grounding.

The languages described in this volume all belong to the north-western Austronesian superstock (Dyen 1965:31). Coastal Kadazan and Kimaragang belong to the Dusunic family (or subfamily), Tombonuo to the Paitanic, and Timugon to the Murutic (Prentice 1970:378-386; Smith 1984:17). All these languages belong to the Bornean stock (Smith 1984:17). Banggi and Ida'an, however, are isolates (Moody 1984:336). The classifications have been based on lexicostatistical comparison. Extensive comparative and reconstructive studies have yet to be done for these languages, but the distinctions are generally recognised as being significant at some level. The Ida'an language as represented in the volume should not be confused with the term *Idahan* which was used by Appell (1968:9), Prentice (1970:369) and Hudson (1978:20) to refer to all languages within the Dusunic and Murutic groups. It is rather the language spoken by the group of people who refer to themselves and their language by that name.

In addition to the linguistic range represented by the languages discussed in this volume, they also represent very diverse areas geographically within the state of Sabah (see Map).

Phonological descriptions of the languages appear in Prentice (1971) and Pekkanen and Boutin (forthcoming). Studies on the grammatical system of the Kadazan/Dusun language have been written by Clayre (1966, 1967, 1970) and Antonissen (1958) and a detailed description of Timugon by Prentice (1971). Studies of Banggi, Ida'an, Tombonuo and Timugon have been published in Peck (1988). Additional information about Tombonuo, Kadazan, Banggi, and Timugon may be found in King and King (1985), Miller and Miller (1985), Boutin (1988) and Brewis (1988).

THEMATIC CONTINUITY AND DEVELOPMENT

In his introduction to a quantitative cross-language study of topic continuity in discourse, Givón recognises that topic continuity is but one aspect of a broader discourse continuity, which complements the classical Greek theatre's unity of time, place and action (1983:36, fn.4). Behind these is a nebulous "thematic continuity", "the hardest to specify, yet it is clearly and demonstrably there" (1983:8). Tomlin (1987:457f.) concurs with Givón: "critical theoretical linguistic notions" such as thematic paragraph and episode "are weakly defined

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and generally resistant to empirical analysis”, although “episodes are defined ultimately by the sustaining of attention on a particular paragraph level theme, a pragmatic instantiation of a rhetorical act”.

Fortunately, the concepts of “action continuity” and continuity of topic, time and place are less abstract.

Action continuity pertains primarily to *temporal sequentiality* within [a] thematic paragraph, but also to temporal *adjacency* therein ... actions are given primarily in the natural sequential order in which they actually occurred, and most commonly there is small if any temporal gap ... between one action and the next. (Givón 1983:8)

Action discontinuities then occur when actions are not given in natural sequential order, and when there is a significant temporal gap between one action and the next. (However, action discontinuities which are signalled by the topicalisation of references to temporal settings (e.g. “At mid-day”) are treated in this volume as discontinuities of ‘situation’; see below.) Changes in the TYPE of action may also be discerned as action discontinuities, for example, when narrative moves from the reporting of a conversation to events that lead from that conversation, or vice versa (see the J.K. King paper on Tombonuo, section 2.2).

Givón’s “topic/participant continuity” (1983:36) is better generalised as “continuity of situation” (Levinsohn 1987:66), in order to include continuity of time and place. “Continuity of situation” implies that the topic and “participants remain unchanged, as does the spatio-temporal situation and any other pertinent circumstances” (1987:66). Significant discontinuities of situation, in the languages described in this volume, are often signalled by topicalisation, the left-dislocation of arguments referring to topics, participants, spatio-temporal references, etc. (Crystal 1985:311). Such topicalised arguments are anaphoric (see the Brewis & Levinsohn paper on Timugon Murut, section 3).

“Thematic continuity is the overall matrix for all other continuities in the discourse” (Givón 1983:8). Consequently, there may be action discontinuity, and topics, participants and spatio-temporal situations may change “without *necessarily* changing thematic continuity” (1983:8). Several of the papers in this volume demonstrate the validity of this claim. J.K. King (section 2.2.1) and Moody (section 4.3) respectively describe how Tombonuo and Ida’an employ sentence introducers to mark maintenance of thematic continuity, when there is action discontinuity. Brewis and Levinsohn (section 3) show how Timugon Murut indicates that thematic continuity is maintained, when topicalisation signals a discontinuity of situation. What is noteworthy is that the language not only signals the maintenance of thematic continuity; it also indicates the nature of that continuity.

In connection with topic/participant continuity, King and Levinsohn describe the system of participant reference in Tombonuo and identify factors which are significant for the application of Givón’s (1983:18) iconicity principle, “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more *coding material* must be assigned to it”. Factors recognised include the number of major participants on stage and whether or not they are interacting (cf. Fox 1987:162), the role that they occupy, whether or not they occupy the same role as before, the highlighting of the event to which they relate and the presence of thematic boundaries (Tomlin 1987:457). A further factor is grounding; references to known participants are more weakly coded in material which is preliminary to the main events of a thematic paragraph. The thematic status of the participant concerned is also significant,

being reflected particularly in the choice of determiner. For example, one determiner is used in connection with references to the “thematic participant” (Levinsohn 1978:75) – “the participant *most crucially involved* in the action sequence running through the paragraph ... most closely associated with the higher level ‘theme’ of the paragraph” (Givón 1983:8). Changes of thematic participant either coincide with action discontinuities, or else are anticipated by choosing the appropriate determiner.

Related to thematic continuity, though not discussed by Givón, is thematic development (cf. Levinsohn 1987:83ff. for a discussion of developmental conjunctions in Koine Greek). A developmental marker typically communicates two facts about the event presented in connection with it. On the one hand, it indicates that this event develops from an earlier event presented in the discourse. At the same time, it indicates that the event concerned represents a significant new development in the discourse. In the case of Tombonuo (King, J.K., section 3.2), a set of particles indicates development from an earlier event and at the same time marks the current action as perfective, imperfective, or perfective but anticipating a further significant event. See also the Millers' paper on Coastal Kadazan (section 5), which additionally indicates whether the current event related to a punctual action or to one performed over a period of time. A further marker in Tombonuo highlights those events and situations which are particularly significant for the outcome of the story.

In other languages represented in this volume, similar particles to the developmental markers of Coastal Kadazan and Tombonuo indicate that the event concerned has “current relevance to some particular Reference Time” (Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982:22), namely in the context of narrative, to that of an action or purpose stated or implied earlier in the discourse. In both Banggi (Boutin, section 6.1) and Ida'an (Moody, sections 5.2, 4.1), markers of current relevance are different from those indicating thematic development per se.

TENSE-ASPECT AND GROUNDING

Several papers consider the relationship between tense-aspect and grounding in languages spoken in Sabah. In all the languages represented in this volume, there occurs a set of verb prefixes which prototypically reflect different degrees of inherent transitivity. In Banggi, for instance, four major verb classes or situation types are distinguished morphologically: states, achievements, activities and accomplishments (Boutin, section 3, cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984:39). Stative clauses (states) invariably express background information in narrative; background clauses “support, amplify, or COMMENT ON the narration” (Hopper 1979:215). The other verb classes all encode events. Most event clauses are morphologically unmarked for grounding (see further below). Typically, they “denote the discrete, measured events of the narrative” (Hopper 1979:215), and are therefore considered to be presenting ‘unmarked foreground events’. (Foreground events are also referred to, in this volume, as ‘mainline events’.) However, each language has devices for grounding events. In other words, they may be foregrounded (presenting highlighted foreground events) or backgrounded (presenting events downgraded in importance). One common device whose rhetorical effect is grounding is the past tense marker.

Tense, in all the languages represented in this volume, is relative. The reference time or ‘deictic centre’ for a tense in narrative is typically the time of the last event described, or the point in time referred to by a temporal adverb or an adverbial clause of time. Past tense is a marked form, used to ‘detach’ events from their context (see Waugh & Monville-Burston's

1986 analysis of the simple past in French). The rhetorical effect of this detachment is varied; it included the separation of 'boundary' events at the beginning or end of a discourse or episode from the body of the same unit (Waugh & Monville-Burston 1986:856ff.), the highlighting of climactic or unexpected events, and the signalling of an event as a flashback in relation to its context. See the papers on Banggi (Boutin, section 6.2), Coastal Kadazan (Miller & Miller, section 3.3.1), Kimaragang (Kroeger, section 4.2) and Tombonuo (King, J.K., section 2.3).

In Banggi, an unmarked non-past tense contrasts with the marked past, while auxiliaries indicate the aspectual viewpoint adopted with respect to the event presented (Boutin, section 4). In Ida'an, an unmarked non-past contrasts both with the marked past and with a verbal form which is not cross-referenced to an argument, this 'neutral tense' indicating continuity of situation with the context (Moody, section 5.1). In both languages, the non-past form or forms encode unmarked foreground events in narrative.

In the Bornean languages represented in this volume, the unmarked non-past contrasts both with a marked past and with a verbal form with 'reduced-focus' markers (Prentice (1971:219f.) calls this form "atemporal"). This 'reduced form' is the one which encodes unmarked foreground events in narrative, often in conjunction with the developmental markers referred to in section 1 (cf. the papers on Coastal Kadazan (Miller & Miller, section 3.2), Kimaragang (Kroeger, section 3) and Tombonuo (King, J.K., section 3.1)). The non-past with 'full-focus' markers is rarely used in narrative in these languages.

With the exception of Banggi, the languages represented in this volume are verb initial. Verbs carry affixes which signal what is commonly referred to as the focus of the clause. Focus corresponds roughly to voice though, as Kroeger (1988:217) points out, "the grammatical and pragmatic functions of the two systems are quite different" (cf. Schachter's 1976 discussion of focus affixes in Tagalog). The verb morphology of these languages is normally cross-referenced to and signals the semantic relationship or macrorole of a particular argument, namely the 'pivot'.

With the exception of Ida'an, which distinguishes only actor and undergoer focus, the focus system for these languages yields a richer set of possibilities than is typical of voice systems. Typically, four morphological focus distinctions are made, other focus types being derived in connection with causative and/or transitivity prefixes (see, for example, Kroeger 1988).

The markers, particularly of actor focus, may depend on the class of the verb to which they are attached (see Boutin, section 3). 'Full-focus' markers of actor focus generally include an *m* as the underlying prefix or infix. Typical 'full-focus' markers of the other basic foci in Kimaragang, Timugon Murut and Tombonuo are: *-on*, *-an*, and *i-* or *-in* (the semantic roles encoded by these last two vary from language to language). Banggi and Coastal Kadazan both have *-on* and *-an* as focus markers (*-Vdn* and *-adn*, in the case of Banggi, *d* being an epenthetic consonant), but *i-/in* does not occur as a distinct focus marker in either language. For languages with 'reduced-focus' forms, the final nasal of these affixes is typically absent or replaced.

One non-verbal argument in most clauses in these languages is marked as the "pivot" of the clause (Foley & Van Valin 1984:108), which may be thought of as a "clause-internal topic" (1984:143; cf. also Prentice 1971:30ff.). Other terms used include "subject" (e.g.

Bell 1976, 1983) and “trigger” (e.g. Wouk 1986). As mentioned above, the verbal-focus marker cross-references the pivot, and signals its semantic relationship to the predicate.

All languages have pivot and non-pivot forms of the pronouns. We describe the pivot form of the pronoun as being in the nominative case. Pronouns whose referent is a non-pivot actor are encoded in the same case (genitive) as possessive pronouns. Pronouns whose referent is a non-pivot non-actor are encoded in a different case again. In some of the languages, this three-way distinction between pivot, non-pivot actor and non-pivot non-actor is reflected also in the marking of full noun phrases. In the case of Banggi, the pivot versus non-pivot actor distinction is found only in connection with nouns whose referent is human; non-pivot non-actors are separated into core (unmarked) and oblique (marked).

In languages of the Philippines like Tagalog and Sama, definite or specific undergoers are almost invariably selected as pivots (Foley & Van Valin 1984:139f.). This is true also of Timugon Murut, but not of the other languages. In the other languages, different factors correlate with the selection of undergoer pivot. In Ida'an, for example, clauses with undergoer pivot typically provide the setting for subsequent foreground events encoded with actor pivot, and also present the results of those events (Moody, section 4.2), but otherwise are rare in narratives. In both Coastal Kadazan (Miller & Miller, section 3.3.1) and Tombonuo (King, J.K., section 1.1), marked past tense forms without an overt-focus marker are inherently in patient focus. Furthermore, it is the norm in Tombonuo for past tense forms to be cross-referenced to an undergoer pivot (King, J.K., section 3.1.1).

With the exception of Kroeger's paper on Kimaragang, the papers in this volume were produced during a three-month workshop held in 1988 in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia.

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ASPECT AND TEMPORAL REFERENCE IN BANGGI

MICHAEL E. BOUTIN

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the ways in which temporal reference is structured in Banggi. Temporal reference is encoded in the language in three ways: 1) by a system of temporal deixis; 2) by a system of sentential aspect which characterises the relationship of a predicate to the time interval over which it occurs (Chung & Timberlake 1985:213); and 3) by a system of linkage and discourse tense-aspect which indicates relationships between events.

Table 1 provides an overview of the temporal reference system in Banggi. The four grammatical levels are from Chung and Timberlake (see section 2). Since I provide evidence for four types of formal marking and four types of temporal function, the presentation in terms of four grammatical levels is quite convenient.

It is common for formal markers to code semantic features from more than one level. Table 1 and the analysis that follows do not deny this possibility. I do maintain, however, that the table reflects the primary relationship between the formal markers and semantic features in the Banggi temporal system. In other words, there is a strong correspondence between linguistic form and semantic function (see Bybee 1985:7).

TABLE 1: BANGGI TEMPORAL REFERENCE SYSTEM OVERVIEW

| Grammatical level | Formal marking | Temporal function |
|---------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1) verb | derivational morphology | situation aspect |
| 2) predicate (verb + auxiliary) | auxiliary verbs | viewpoint aspect |
| 3) proposition | deictic temporal adverbs | location of situation in time |
| 4) discourse | inflectional morphology, free morphemes, temporal linkage | discourse-pragmatic tense-aspect |

I begin with some preliminary remarks on aspect (section 2), which is followed by discussion of the four temporal functions given in Table 1: situation aspect (section 3), viewpoint aspect (section 4), location of situation in time (section 5), and discourse-pragmatic tense-aspect (section 6).

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2. PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON ASPECT

This paper introduces and illustrates a model of tense-aspect in which such features are treated at different grammatical levels within a single language. The model is based on the work of Smith (1983), Chung and Timberlake (1985), and Waugh and Monville-Burston (1986). I present evidence from Banggi to show that tense-aspect is not simply a local feature of sentences; nor is it simply a global feature of discourse from which sentential tense-aspect is merely derived.

Part of the confusion which sometimes surrounds the use of the term aspect arises from a failure to distinguish: 1) the grammatical levels at which aspect is relevant; 2) the formal means for encoding aspect; and 3) the semantic functions signalled by the formal markings.

In Banggi, tense-aspect is encoded in three ways: derivational morphology (e.g. *meg-lahi* 'always chase men', see section 4.5), free grammatical morphemes (e.g. *kahal* 'still', see section 4.1) and inflectional morphology (e.g. *-in-*, see section 6.2). In the analysis of tense-aspect that follows, I show that there is a correlation between the formal means for encoding tense-aspect, the semantic function of the tense-aspect concerned and the grammatical level at which it occurs.

Different linguists state that aspect is relevant at different levels. I adopt Chung and Timberlake's (1985:214) position that tense-aspect is relevant at four different levels: 1) the verb and its inherent aspectual properties; 2) the predicate, which includes the verb and any auxiliary verbs; 3) the proposition, which is the predicate in relation to the situation frame; and 4) the discourse, which is the proposition in relation to other propositions. Their view of aspect combines the incomplete views of other linguists.

Comrie's view of aspect is sententially based. For him, aspect represents different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of an event (1976:3).

Specialists in Slavic languages take a similar view to Comrie and have traditionally made a distinction between *Aktionsart* which refers to the inherent features of the meaning of a predicate, and aspect which refers to a temporal grammatical category subdivided into notions like perfective and imperfective (see Foley & Van Valin 1984:377). (Incidentally, for Bybee (1985:21), *Aktionsart* refers to aspectual distinctions which are lexicalised (e.g. English 'know' versus 'realise'), and have a greater semantic effect on the verb than aspect which occurs as an inflectional category on verbs. Thus there is a correspondence between form and function.)

Grimes's view of aspect is discourse based. He states (1975:232f.) that there are two kinds of information communicated by aspect systems: 1) shape of a particular action; and 2) relationship between one proposition and the next.

Smith (1983) recognises two components of sentential aspect: 1) situation aspect which involves the type of situation; and 2) viewpoint aspect which involves the perspective or viewpoint from which the situation is considered. That is, situation aspect is inherent in the situation itself, while viewpoint aspect results from the author's choice of perspective which is outside the situation. Smith assigns both of these types of aspect to the sentential level for English, whereas I assign situation aspect to the verb level and viewpoint aspect to the predicate level for Banggi.

Hopper (1982:4) claims that aspect is highly abstract and draws upon context for its interpretation. He states (p.5) that the fundamental notion of aspect is not sentential but

discourse-pragmatic. A similar view is held by the other authors in the work edited by Hopper (1982).

It is sometimes assumed that the discourse and the sentential view(s) of aspect are incompatible. Hopper attempts to reconcile the two views by assigning priority to discourse. He claims (1979:217) that aspectual distinctions in French DERIVE FROM discourse. The position taken in this paper is that the discourse and the sentential views of tense-aspect complement each other and there is no reason to assign primacy to either.

3. SITUATION ASPECT

This section describes how the semantic function of situation aspect is formally marked at the grammatical level of the verb in derivational morphology. Situation aspect is comparable to *Aktionsart* or inherent aspect (see section 2). It involves the aspectual features which are inherent in situations.

Situation is a term which includes both events and states (see Smith 1983:481). Four major types of situations are encoded in Banggi: 1) states; 2) achievements; 3) activities; and 4) accomplishments (see Foley & Van Valin 1984). These four types of situations correspond to major verb classes which are signalled in the verbal morphology of Banggi.

States are static situations which are ongoing. Stative verbs are morphologically marked by *m-*. Before the consonants /g,l,r/, an epenthetic vowel is inserted following *m-*. Before vowels, *m-* is realised as /m-/; otherwise *m-* assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant. The following illustrates stative verbs (see section 5 for a discussion of deictic temporal adverbs such as *kirab* 'yesterday' and *nehaa' na* 'now'):¹

- (1) *Kirab ng-kotul [m-kotul], nehaa' na mu-lumak [m-lumak].*
 yesterday ST-hard now - ST-soft
 Yesterday it was hard, now it is soft.

Achievements are dynamic situations which are inception-orientated. They refer to non-volitional changes of state. Achievement verbs which are derived from adjective roots are morphologically marked by *kVm-*. Those which are derived from verb roots are marked by *mV-*. Before vowels and the consonants /p,b/, *kVm-* is realised as /kVm-/ and *mV-* is realised as /m-/; otherwise *kVm-* is realised as /-Vm-/ and *mV-* is realised as /mV-/. The following examples illustrate achievement verbs derived from an adjective root (2) and from a verb root (3):

- (2) *Molok ou l-um-umak [kVm-lumak].*
 afraid I *-ACH-soft
 I am afraid it will get soft.
- (3) *Molok ou me-loput [mV-loput].*
 afraid I ACH-break
 I am afraid it will get broken.

Activities are dynamic situations which are activity-orientated. They refer to events which involve a volitional actor and which often have no clear endpoint (i.e. atelic events). Activity

¹Abbreviations used are as follows: ACH – achievement verb, ACM – accomplishment verb, ACY - activity verb, CON - contrast, IN – infix, NPV – non-pivot, NV – non-volitional, PAT – patient, PFT – perfect, PIV – pivot, SP – subject pivot, ST – stative verb, * – part of stem when preceding an infix.

verbs are morphologically marked by *g-* or *-Vm-*. Before the consonants /l,r,s,t/, *-Vm-* is realised as /-Vm-/ and *g-* is realised as /gV-/. Before vowels, *-Vm-* is realised as /m-/ and *g-* is realised as /g-/. Before the consonants /p,b,k,g/, the contrast between *-Vm-* and *g-* is neutralised and realised as a homorganic combination of nasal and stop. Before /d/, the contrast is neutralised and realised as /-Vm-/. The following examples illustrate activity verbs:

- (4) *Ingat bilun nu l-em-oput [-Vm-loput].*
look.out balloon your *-ACY-break
Look out so your balloon does not break.
- (5) *Ng-gi-liput [N-g-liput] ou Banggi suub.*
SP-ACY-circle I Banggi tomorrow
I am going around Banggi Island tomorrow.
- (6) *Nehaa' na m-buat [-Vm-buat] ou bali.*
now ACY-make I house
Now I am making a house.

Accomplishments are dynamic situations which are orientated with reference to the final endpoint (i.e. they are telic). They refer to changes of state which are brought about by a volitional actor. Actor-pivot accomplishment verbs are morphologically marked by *ng-*. Before the consonants /g,d,l,r/, an epenthetic vowel is inserted following *ng-*. Before vowels, *ng-* is realised as /ng-/; otherwise *ng-* and the stem-initial consonant are replaced by a nasal which is homorganic to the consonant. Patient-pivot accomplishment verbs are morphologically marked by *-Vdn*. The following examples illustrate accomplishment verbs:

- (7) *Dolok ngu-lumak [ng-lumak] tana'.*
rain ACM-soft ground
Rain softens the ground.
- (8) *Nge-loput [ng-loput] ou tali gulu.*
ACM-break I rope first
I will break a string first.
- (9) *Luput-udn [loput-Vdn] ku gulu.*
break-PAT.ACM me first
It will be broken by me first.

Four types of situation aspect correspond to the four situations described above. Table 2 characterises the salient features of situation aspect which distinguish the four situation types:

TABLE 2: SALIENT FEATURES OF SITUATION ASPECT

| | state | achievement | activity | accomplishment |
|-----------|-------|-------------|----------|----------------|
| dynamism | - | + | + | - |
| telicity | - | + | - | + |
| inception | - | + | - | - |

Activities are activity-orientated while achievements and accomplishments are telic or endpoint-orientated (see Smith 1983:488; Foley & Van Valin 1984:371). However, achievements are orientated to the initial endpoint whereas accomplishments are orientated to

the final endpoint. Thus achievements and accomplishments may be distinguished on the basis of \pm inception.²

Duration is not a salient feature of situation aspect. (States by definition are durative and this is reflected within the feature dynamism.) Achievement and accomplishment verbs are not limited to punctual situations or to situations of short duration (e.g. (2), (7)). Some verbs can be viewed as inherently punctual (e.g. 'break' (8)), whereas others are inherently durative (e.g. 'soften' (7)), but this distinction is not encoded in Banggi.

Bybee (1985) argues that the common morphological distinction between derivational and inflectional affixes is not a dichotomy but a continuum (see also Corbett 1987). For instance, with Banggi verbs which are derived from noun roots (e.g. *sapu* 'broom' --> *n-apu* [*ng-sapu*] 'sweep'), the verb class marker appears to be derivational. However, with verbs which are derived from verb roots (e.g. *seidn* --> *n-eidn* [*ng-seidn*] 'change clothes'), the verb class marker appears to be more like a traditionally defined inflectional affix. Verb class markers are considered derivational and not inflectional because they have a transitivity role (see (1), (2), (7); see also Givón (1984:234) who states that the most common derivational morphemes on verbs are those affecting transitivity). Therefore, situation aspect is marked in derivational and not inflectional morphology.

4. VIEWPOINT ASPECT

This section describes how viewpoint aspect is marked by auxiliary verbs which occupy first position in the predicate. This paper is not concerned with the syntactic status of auxiliaries, only their semantic functions.

Situations can be viewed from different points in order to highlight different phases of the situation. Auxiliary verbs are used to indicate the point of view which the speaker takes with respect to a situation. Table 3 summarises possible viewpoints in Banggi.

TABLE 3: VIEWPOINT ASPECT SUMMARY

| Viewpoint | Formal marking | | | |
|------------|----------------|---------|-----------------|--------|
| continuous | <i>kahal</i> | still | | |
| perfective | <i>bas</i> | already | <i>punga na</i> | finish |
| | <i>beranti</i> | stop | <i>adak</i> | almost |
| inceptive | <i>mulai</i> | begin | | |
| potential | <i>pa</i> | yet | | |
| habitual | <i>selalu</i> | always | | |
| iterative | <i>malik</i> | again | | |

The viewpoint(s) available for referring to a particular type of situation (section 3) depend on the properties of that situation (Smith 1983:491). Situation aspect constrains the possibilities for viewpoint aspect; thus, the range of viewpoint aspects which combine with

²This paper uses the aspectual features of Table 2 to distinguish verb classes. A wider view of Banggi indicates that volitionality, rather than inception, is actually the distinguishing feature. Volitionality is characteristic of nominal arguments and is important for verb classification but not for aspect. Nominal arguments are part of the logical structure associated with situations.

situation aspects are not the same.³ Furthermore, the viewpoint aspect may be understood differently according to the situation (Smith 1983:492; see also Lamiroy (1987) who discusses this notion in terms of syntactic constraints in French between aspectual verbs (viewpoint aspect in this paper) and embedded predicates (situations)).⁴

4.1 CONTINUOUS VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Comrie (1976:12), Bybee (1985:196) and Chung and Timberlake (1985:219) distinguish progressive and continuous aspect. They claim that progressive aspect is restricted to dynamic verbs (non-statives). I therefore use the term continuous instead of progressive because this aspect may occur with stative verbs in Banggi as well as with activity and accomplishment verbs.

Continuous aspect presents an interior perspective on a situation, which ignores its endpoints (see Smith 1983:482). This perspective makes reference to a moment or interval of a situation that is not an endpoint. This is schematised in Figure 1:

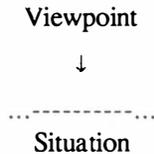


FIGURE 1: CONTINUOUS VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Continuous viewpoint aspect is incompatible with achievement verbs because this perspective views a situation from a point after its inception, whereas the point at which achievements are realised (i.e. inception) is punctual.

Continuous viewpoint aspect is marked by *kahal* 'still'. *Kahal* occurs as an auxiliary with stative (e.g. (10)), activity (e.g. (11)) and accomplishment (e.g. (12), (13)) verbs:

- (10) *Sia kahal ng-korikng [m-korikng].*
is still ST-dry
It is still dry.
- (11) *Sia kahal m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn] babi.*
he still ACY-eat pork
He still eats pork.
- (12) *Sia kahal ng-orikng [ng-korikng] piasu.*
he still ACM-dry coconut
He still dries coconut.

³Talmy (1985:78) states that intrinsic aspect (situation aspect in this paper) determines how the verb interacts with grammatical elements that also have aspectual meaning (viewpoint aspect).

⁴It could legitimately be argued that inceptive viewpoint aspect is a subtype of perfective viewpoint aspect and that five auxiliaries are used to mark perfective viewpoint aspect. Continuous, potential and habitual would then subdivide imperfective aspect (see Bybee 1985:163). Iterative would be peripheral to the system since its syntactic function is different (see section 4.6). Such an arrangement would yield two basic viewpoint aspects: perfective and imperfective.

- (13) *Piasu kahal kiring-in [korikng-Vdn] ku.*
 coconut still dry-PAT.ACM me
 Coconut is still dried by me.

4.2 PERFECTIVE VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Perfective aspect presents the situation as a whole. This perspective includes both the initial and final endpoints; the internal structure of the situation is ignored (Smith 1983:482). This is schematised in Figure 2:

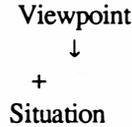


FIGURE 2: PERFECTIVE VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Four auxiliaries mark perfective viewpoint aspect in Banggi, each with a different meaning. The first perfective viewpoint aspect auxiliary is *bas* 'already'. *Bas* occurs as an auxiliary with stative (e.g. (14)), achievement (e.g. (15)), activity (e.g. (16)) and accomplishment (e.g. 17)) verbs.⁵ (See section 6.2 for a discussion of *-in-*. When perfective viewpoint aspect occurs with achievement verbs (e.g. (15)), the verb must be inflected with *-in-*):

- (14) *Sia bas na ng-korikng [m-korikng].*
 it already PFT ST-dry
 It has been dry.
- (15) *Sia bas na k-i-m-orikng [-in-kVm-korikng].*
 it already PFT *-IN-ACH-dry
 It has already become dry.
- (16) *Sia bas na m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 he already PFT ACY-eat
 He has already eaten.
- (17) *Sia bas na ng-orikng [ng-korikng] piasu.*
 he already PFT ACM-dry coconut
 He has already dried coconut.

However, the interpretation of perfective viewpoint aspect varies to some extent with the type of situation involved (Smith 1983:482). With stative verbs (e.g. (14)), *bas* indicates that the state was terminated, the implication being that the present (time of utterance) state of the entity involved is different from that state. With achievement verbs (e.g. (15)), *bas* indicates that the state was achieved, the implication being that the present (time of utterance) state of the entity involved is different from that state which was achieved. With activity verbs (e.g. (16)), *bas* indicates that the situation was terminated. With accomplishment verbs (e.g. (17)), *bas* indicates that the situation was completed. Terminated situations are atelic, whereas completed situations are telic.

⁵*Bas* usually co-occurs with the perfect marker *na*. The perfect is discussed in section 6.1.

The second perfective viewpoint aspect auxiliary is *punga* 'finish'. *Punga* only occurs as an auxiliary with activity (e.g. (18)) and accomplishment (e.g. (19)) verbs, and is always accompanied by the perfect (*na*; see section 6.1):

- (18) *Sia punga na m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 he finish PFT ACY-eat
 He has finished eating.
- (19) *Sia punga na ng-orikng [ng-korikng] piasu.*
 he finish PFT ACM-dry coconut
 He has finished drying coconut.

With activity verbs (e.g. (18)), *punga* indicates that the situation was terminated. With accomplishment verbs (e.g. (19)), *punga* indicates that the situation was completed. *Punga* only occurs in volitional situations (i.e. activities and accomplishments; see also fn.2), whereas *bas* may occur in non-volitional situations. *Punga* is concerned with the situation whereas *bas* is concerned with the state produced by the situation.

The third perfective viewpoint aspect auxiliary is *beranti* 'stop' which is borrowed from Malay. *Beranti* only occurs as an auxiliary with activity (e.g. (20)) and accomplishment (e.g. (21)) verbs, and is usually accompanied by the perfect (*na*; see section 6.1):

- (20) *Sia beranti na m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 he stop PFT ACY-eat
 He has stopped eating.
- (21) *Sia beranti na ng-orikng [ng-korikng] piasu.*
 he stop PFT ACM-dry coconut
 He has stopped drying coconut.

With both activity (e.g. (20)) and accomplishment verbs (e.g. (21)), *beranti* indicates that the situation was terminated.

The fourth perfective viewpoint aspect auxiliary is *adak* 'almost'. *Adak* is used to refer to a situation, prior to time of utterance, that the speaker believes was possible but that did not actually occur. *Adak* may occur with achievement (e.g. (22)), activity (e.g. (23)) and accomplishment (e.g. (24)) verbs:

- (22) *Adak ku me-dabu' [mV-dabu'].*
 almost I ACH-fall
 I almost fell.
- (23) *Adak ku m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 almost I ACY-eat
 I almost ate it (and was not supposed to).
- (24) *Adak ku ng-orikng [ng-korikng].*
 almost I ACM-dry
 I almost dried it (and was not supposed to).

The implication associated with *adak* is that, had the situation happened, it would have had a negative consequence. The implication in (23), for instance, is that the food which the actor almost ate was not intended for him; had the actor eaten it, there would have been

negative consequences for the person for whom the food was intended. That is, the actor unknowingly almost did something that he was not supposed to do.⁶

4.3 INCEPTIVE VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Inceptive aspect views a situation from its initial endpoint. This is schematised in Figure 3:

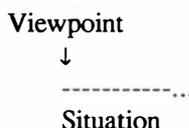


FIGURE 3: INCEPTIVE VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Inceptive viewpoint aspect is incompatible with states, because the endpoints of states are not part of the state. This perspective is also incompatible with achievements, which are inherently inceptive.

Inceptive viewpoint aspect is marked by *mulai* 'begin' which is borrowed from Malay. *Mulai* is the only auxiliary verb which exhibits inflectional morphology in that it may be inflected with *-in-* (see section 6.2). Bybee (1985:147f.) points out that inceptive aspect is rarely an inflectional morpheme. The Banggi data support this claim. The following examples illustrate inceptive viewpoint with activity (e.g. (25)) and accomplishment (e.g. (26)) verbs:

- (25) *Sia mulai m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 he begin ACY-eat
 He began to eat.
- (26) *Sia mulai ng-orikng [ng-korikng] piasu.*
 he begin ACM-dry coconut
 He began to dry coconut.

4.4 POTENTIAL VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Potential aspect views a situation as not having occurred yet, that is, as anticipatory or potential. This is schematised in Figure 4:

⁶If the actor would have been affected by the negative consequences (e.g. if what he almost ate was poison), the verb would have been affixed with non-intentional *kV-*, as illustrated below (see Boutin 1988):

Adak ku i-k-ohodn [-in-kV-ohodn].
 almost I IN-NV-eat

I almost ate it (and it could have killed me).

Adak has both a temporal and a modal function. The auxiliary verbs described in this paper primarily have a temporal function. However, as many people have argued (e.g. Wallace 1982), tense, aspect and mode are not discrete categories. Auxiliaries which primarily have a modal function and therefore are not described in this paper are: *kaap* 'can (permission)', *mistii* 'must (obligation)' and *kali* 'maybe (possibility)'. The permission and obligation modal auxiliaries can be negated (e.g. *nda'kaap* 'cannot', *nda' mistii* 'do not have to') but the possibility modal cannot.

- (32) *Sia meg-ganti-ganti diaadn.*
 he always-replace-replace me
 He always replaces me.

4.6 ITERATIVE VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Iterative aspect is different from habitual, in that it indicates that a situation is repeated one or more times (Comrie 1985a:343). This perspective refers to the current situation but recognises the existence of one or more similar situations in the past. This is schematised in Figure 6:

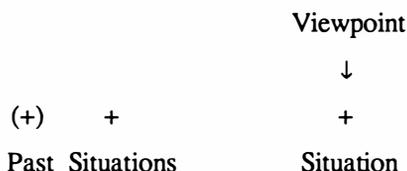


FIGURE 6: ITERATIVE VIEWPOINT ASPECT

Iterative aspect is marked by *malik* 'again'. The other auxiliaries are pre-verbal, but *malik* is post-verbal and has the whole proposition in its scope. It occurs with activity (e.g. (33)) and accomplishment (e.g. (34)) verbs:

- (33) *Sia m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn] louk malik.*
 he ACY-eat fish again
 He is eating fish again.
- (34) *Sia ng-orikng [ng-korikng] piasu malik.*
 he ACM-dry coconut again
 He is drying coconut again.

Banggi speakers may thus choose a perspective or viewpoint (semantic function) and signal this perspective through the use of a set of auxiliary verbs (formal marking) which, with one exception, occur pre-verbally in predicate first position (grammatical level).

5. LOCATION OF SITUATION IN TIME

This section describes how deictic temporal adverbs whose referent is a point in time (formal marking) are used in propositions (grammatical level) to locate situations in time (semantic function).

A system which locates situations in time is referred to as a deictic system. Temporal adverbs (e.g. *suub* 'tomorrow' and *kirab* 'yesterday') have a deictic function, as does tense (see section 6.2).

Deictic expressions relate to specific points in the communication event. The unmarked deictic centre or anchorage point for temporal deixis is time of utterance (Levinson 1983:64; see also Lyons 1977:685, Givón 1984:273, Comrie 1985b:14), and is lexicalised as *nehaa' na* 'now'. However, the deictic centre may be shifted to some other point. In narrative, the deictic centre typically is the time of the last main event presented in the discourse. Temporal

references which refer to points other than the deictic centre are either anterior or posterior with respect to the deictic centre.

Demonstratives can occur with some temporal adverbs, for example, *odu nti* 'today' (lit. 'day this') and *minggu nti* 'this week'. These demonstratives are related to spatial demonstratives. Anderson and Keenan (1985:297) claim that temporal demonstratives are usually imported from the spatial domain. Temporal deictic expressions which include the demonstratives *nti* 'this' and *diti* 'here' refer to time of utterance, for example, *ringa' diti* 'before now' and *minggu ringa' diti* 'week before now'. Temporal deictic expressions which include the demonstrative *ina* 'that' have a deictic centre other than time of utterance, for example, *odu ina* 'that day'.

Temporal references can be characterised as either specific or vague. For example, under certain circumstances, *odu nti* 'today' is a vague reference to the unmarked deictic centre, in the context of which *nehaa' na* 'now' is specific. However, the degree to which temporal references are specific is contextually dependent. Thus, *odu nti* 'today' is specific in the context of 'this week'. Even *nehaa' na* 'now' is not always specific. Sometimes *nehaa' na* can refer to a point anterior to time of utterance, as in the following (both speaker and hearer knew that Mual came from Kudat the day before time of utterance):

- (35) *Nehaa'na si Mual ti-dii Kudat.*
 now PIV Mual from-there Kudat
 Very recently Mual has come from Kudat.

Sometimes *nehaa' na* can refer to a point posterior to time of utterance, as in the following:

- (36) a. *Mipa' a min-dii Kudat?*
 when you to-there Kudat
 When are you going to Kudat?
 b. *Nehaa'na.*
 now
 Very soon.

Table 4 illustrates examples of typical anterior temporal references.

TABLE 4: EXAMPLES OF ANTERIOR REFERENCES

| | Vague | | More Specific |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>hina</i> | earlier (earlier today) | <i>rigiodu hina</i> | earlier this morning |
| | | <i>gibiidn hina</i> | earlier this afternoon |
| | | <i>kirab</i> | yesterday |
| | | <i>kerobi</i> | last night |
| | | <i>kisinggirab</i> | day before yesterday |
| <i>ringa' diti</i> | before now (recent past) | <i>kisinggerobi</i> | two nights ago |
| <i>ringa' na</i> | before (remote past) | <i>minggu ringa' diti</i> | week before this |
| <i>ringa' bu'</i> | long ago | <i>minggu ringa' na</i> | last week |
| <i>ringa' bu'-bu'</i> | long long ago | <i>buaidn ringa' na</i> | last month |
| | | <i>toudn ringa' na</i> | last year |

Table 5 illustrates examples of typical posterior temporal references.

TABLE 5: EXAMPLES OF POSTERIOR REFERENCES

| Vague | | More Specific | |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>tina</i> | later (today) | <i>tina rigiodu</i> | later this morning |
| | | <i>tina gibiidn</i> | later this afternoon |
| | | <i>tina robi</i> | later tonight |
| | | <i>suub/subu'</i> | tomorrow |
| | | <i>suub robi</i> | tomorrow night |
| <i>mipa'-mipa'</i> | whenever | <i>kesobodn</i> | day after tomorrow |
| | | <i>minggu malik</i> | next week |

The temporal expression *gulu* 'first/before' is posterior with respect to time of utterance but anterior with respect to some other deictic centre. The following illustrates the temporal expression *gulu*:

- (37) *Angat n Domon, "Dei uhu panu; modop ou gulu".*
 said NPV Domon don't you walk sleep I first
 Domon said, "Don't go anywhere; I am going to sleep first".

Deictic temporal expressions are placed at the beginning of a sentence to establish the initial temporal setting of a discourse (e.g. (38a)) and to provide new temporal settings (e.g. (38f); see Levinsohn (1987:44). Deictic temporal expressions are post-verbal when they refer to a previously established temporal setting (e.g. 38c):

- (38) a. *Kina si Mekul ikuli' ga melik.*
 earlier PIV Michael had.to.return CON again
 EARLIER (today) Michael had to return home.
- b. He followed me to settle a dispute in Batu Layar Darat.
- c. *Ou meleid dii iguhubm kina.*
 I long.time there settle.dispute earlier
 I was a long time there settling the dispute EARLIER.
- d. I settled the dispute between Sumping and her husband.
- e. Michael had followed me there.
- f. *Gipad puhul satu ga sia mili'.*
 near time 1 CON he returned
 ABOUT ONE O'CLOCK he returned home.

Thus deictic temporal adverbs (formal marking) are used to locate events in time (semantic function). The syntactic position of temporal adverbs in a proposition (grammatical level) indicates whether the temporal setting is new or the same as the previous setting.⁷

⁷Some temporal expressions are non-deictic in the sense that they contain no point of reference within the expression itself. These expressions usually refer to the duration of an action (e.g. *meleid* 'long time', *dua ntoudn* 'two years') or to its frequency (e.g. *odu-odu* 'daily', *minggu-minggu* 'weekly'). They relate to a deictic centre established in the discourse. Temporal expressions of duration and frequency are sometimes pre-verbal and other times post-verbal. The assumption is that the contrast in position is meaningful, even though the reasons for the contrast have not been established. My assumption is based on Bolinger (1972:71) who says, "Every contrast a language permits to survive is relevant, some time or other". Levinsohn (1987:44) claims that temporal expressions of duration and frequency in Koine Greek precede the verb in order to emphasise that aspect of the event.

6. DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC TENSE-ASPECT

In sections 3 and 4, I discussed what could be called sententially based (situationally based) aspect. This was presented in terms of situation and viewpoint aspect. I now discuss the form and function of the perfect, since it involves more than one situation and thus falls between sentential and discourse tense-aspect (section 6.1). I then consider the semantic functions in discourse of the inflectional affix *-in-* (section 6.2), and show that Waugh and Monville-Burston's 1986 analysis of simple past in French as 'detached' is applicable also to *-in-*.

6.1 PERFECT

The perfect in Banggi describes situations that have current relevance (Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982), this being the prototypical feature of the perfect. The perfect indicates the continuing current relevance of a past situation.

Some linguists doubt whether the perfect should be considered an aspect. Bybee (1985:159), for instance, states that the perfect signals a situation that is relevant to another situation. She treats the perfect as a tense because its meaning deals with the time of a situation relative to another time. Li, Thompson and Thompson (p.21) point out that, in conversation, the perfect has a deictic function.

In Banggi, situations with two types of viewpoint aspect (perfective and imperfective) may be construed as having current relevance. Situations which have current relevance and are viewed perfectly are marked by *na*, whereas those that are viewed imperfectively are marked by *pa* (see also J.K. King's paper, in this volume, which describes a three-way marking of current relevance). Current relevance is usually with respect to time of utterance. The following example illustrates the perfect with a situation which is viewed perfectly:

- (39) a. *Bas nu m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn]?*
 already you ACY-eat
 Did you already eat?
- b. *Bas ku na m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 already I PFT ACY-eat
 I have already eaten.

The use of the perfect implies a current relevance which does not otherwise occur. Thus, in response to the question 'Did you already eat?', (39b) implies that the respondent already ate and is not interested in eating. On the other hand, (40) implies that the respondent already ate, but nevertheless may be interested in eating again:

- (40) *Bas ku m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 already I ACY-eat
 I already ate.

The following example illustrates the perfect with a situation which is viewed imperfectively:

- (41) *Sia kahal m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn] pa.*
 he still ACY-eat yet
 He is still eating.

The use of the perfect in (41) implies a current relevance which does not otherwise occur. Compare (11) which is repeated here as (42):

- (42) *Sia kahal m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn] babi.*
 he still ACY-eat pork
 He still eats pork.

Situations which are viewed imperfectively are often negated. The use of *nda' pa* 'not yet' (e.g. (43)) results in situations that are presumed to be more certain to occur than those described using *pa* by itself (e.g. (44)). The following examples illustrate the perfect with situations which are viewed imperfectively:

- (43) *Sia nda' pa m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 he not yet ACY-eat
 He has not eaten yet.
- (44) *Sia m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn] pa.*
 he ACY-eat yet
 He has yet to eat.

The perfect can occur with all four situations: statives (e.g. (14)), achievements (e.g. (15)), activities (e.g. (16), (18), (20), (39b), (41), (43), (44)) and accomplishments (e.g. (17), (19), (21)). The perfect has a different syntactic behaviour than the auxiliaries used to mark viewpoint aspect. Auxiliaries are pre-verbal, but the perfect occurs in second position in the verb phrase except when *pa* (imperfective-perfect) co-occurs with the auxiliary *kahal* 'still' (e.g. (41)). *Na* (perfective-perfect) never co-occurs with *kahal* 'still' (imperfective viewpoint) because they are logically incompatible. Similarly, *pa* (imperfective-perfect) never co-occurs with *bas* 'already' (perfective viewpoint) because they too are logically incompatible.

6.2 *-in-*: 'DETACHMENT'

This section describes the semantic functions associated with *-in-* which is an inflectional affix, as opposed to viewpoint aspect and the perfect which are encoded as free grammatical morphemes. The affix *-in-* occurs with events (achievements, activities and accomplishments) but not with states. The manner in which *-in-* is phonologically realised depends upon the verb class, type of root (verb, noun or adjective) and type of pivot (actor or patient).

The affix *-in-* is realised as /i-/ in achievement verbs derived from adjectives (e.g. *l-i-m-umak [-in-kVm-lumak]* 'got soft'; see (2)); as /i-/ or /n-/ in achievement verbs derived from verbs (e.g. *i-loput [-in-loput]* 'broke'; see (3); *n-dabu' [-in-dabu']* 'fell'; see (22), (56b)); as /i-/ in activity verbs marked by *-Vm-* (e.g. *m-i-ohodn* 'ate'; see (16)); as /i-/ in activity verbs marked by *g-* (e.g. *i-gi-liput [-in-g-liput]* 'circled'; see (5)); as /i-/ in actor-pivot accomplishment verbs (e.g. *i-ngu-lumak [-in-ng-lumak]* 'softened'; see (7)); and as /i-/ , /-in-/ , or /in-/ in patient-pivot accomplishment verbs (e.g. *l-i-oput* 'broke'; see (9); *l-in-aak [-in-laak]* 'dried'; see (47b); *in-it [-in-it]* 'carried'; see (48d)).

A cursory examination of isolated utterances with *-in-* suggests that it marks past tense:

- (45) *Onu in-ohodn [-in-ohodn] nu?*
 what IN-eat you
 What did you eat?
- (46) *Mipa' sia m-i-li'[-in--Vm-uli']?*
 when he ACY-IN-return
 When did he return home?

Many examples in narrative fit the past tense hypothesis, if past tense is interpreted to mean past with respect to deictic centre. Deictic centres other than time of utterance are usually established with temporal deictic adverbs (see section 5). Once a deictic centre has been established in narrative, it continually shifts, with sequenced events receiving their deictic centre from the preceding clause (see Givón (1984:275, fn.8). The most natural way to present a sequence of events is in the chronological sequence in which they originally occurred (Givón 1984:282). When this strategy is pursued, as in (47) below, the past tense hypothesis predicts that the events will not be marked with *-in-*⁸

- | | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| \emptyset | <i>-in-</i> | |
| (47) a. | Then we split (<i>mela'</i>) it (coconut). | |
| b. | Then we put-out-to-dry (<i>ngelaak</i>) it. | |
| c. | Then we scoop (<i>nunggit</i>) it out. | |
| d. | Then we insert (<i>nuga'</i>) it in gunnysacks. | |

The past tense hypothesis also predicts that out-of-sequence events (i.e. events occurring prior to the deictic centre) will be coded by *-in-*. This is illustrated in the following (coconut is weighed at the warehouse, not on the boat or at the dock):

- | | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| \emptyset | <i>-in-</i> | |
| (48) a. | Then we went (<i>mindii</i>) straight to Kudat. | |
| b. | Then we came (<i>matakng</i>) to Kudat. | |
| c. | Then we weighed (<i>nimbakng</i>) it (coconut). | |
| d. | It had been carried (<i>in-it</i>) by us to Sukim's warehouse. | |
| e. | I received (<i>tirima</i>) \$250. | |

Although the past tense hypothesis can account for (45)-(48), many examples cannot be explained in terms of past tense. For instance, (49) cannot be interpreted as past with respect to the time of utterance, even though *-in-* occurs:

- (49) *Sia nda' pa m-i-ohodn [-in--Vm-ohodn].*
 he not yet ACY-IN-eat
 He has not eaten yet.

⁸For brevity, a free translation of the immediate context is provided with only the verbs given in Banggi. Clauses are divided into two columns, those without *-in-(\emptyset)* and those with *-in-*.

Waugh and Monville-Burston's analysis of simple past in French as 'detached', however, also fits all cases of *-in-* in Banggi. I now show how their analysis satisfactorily explains both those examples accounted for by the past tense hypothesis and those examples for which the past tense analysis is inadequate.

The primary function of *-in-* is to detach a figure (one or more events) from its context (other events; see Waugh & Monville-Burston 1986:853). The effect of detaching events by marking them with *-in-* is typically to ground them, that is, to highlight or downgrade them, over against the other events.

Since *-in-* represents a formally marked category, it is perceptually and iconically more salient than the corresponding morphologically unmarked category. The unmarked mainline events are morphologically unmarked as well. In terms of the Gestalt principles of figure and ground, *-in-* marks figure (one or more events) as opposed to ground (other events which are formally unmarked; see Wallace 1982:215). However, because figure implies importance over against ground, I use the more neutral term 'detachment', since events which are detached may be either highlighted or downgraded. I recognise a continuum of related functions of *-in-* in discourse, the common denominator being detachment (see Waugh & Monville-Burston pp.852f.).

One function of *-in-* is to detach an event from the expected deictic centre, namely, time of utterance in conversation (e.g. (45), (46)), and time of preceding event in narrative (e.g. (48)). Example (43), repeated below as (50), and (49) above, are both viewed imperfectly but they are used in different circumstances. Example (50) is used prior to the expected time of eating. Example (49) is used after the expected time of eating, however, and suggests contra-expectation. It may be translated 'He has not eaten yet (even though I expected he would have at an earlier time)'. Example (51) similarly suggests contra-expectation. Both (49) and (51) are detached from the time of utterance and refer to a different deictic centre previous to time of utterance, namely, the earlier expected time of performing the act concerned:

(50) *Sia nda' pa m-ohodn [-Vm-ohodn].*
 he not yet ACY-eat
 He has not eaten yet.

(51) *Sia nda' pa m-i-li' [-in--Vm-ohodn].*
 he not yet ACY-IN-return
 He has not returned yet (but I thought he would have at an earlier time).

Sometimes sequenced events (i.e. events in chronological sequence with the last event described) are marked with *-in-*. In (52), for instance, climactic events ((52d), (52e), (52g)) are detached from non-climactic events (ground). This function of *-in-* may be interpreted as a rhetorical device for signalling and highlighting climax (see Longacre 1981:349).

∅

-in-

- (52) a. Then his spouse pulled-back
 (*mungas*) the cover on the ark.
- b. She immediately saw (*pegliid-liid*)
 a plant.
- c. "Don't take it", said (*kaadn*) her
 sister-in-law.

- d. Well, she went (*i-ngua'*).
- e. She took (*i-ngai*) the plant.
- f. There she took (*ngai*) it.
- g. Well, she was swallowed up
(*t-i-meronos*).
- h. She was no more (*ndaardn na*).

At other times, sequenced events are marked with *-in-* to detach 'boundary events' which move participants to or from locations. (See Waugh & Monville-Burston pp.856f.; they state that the simple past in French is a boundary signal, marking the formal limits of texts and sections of texts.) Compare, for example, (53b) and (53e):

- | \emptyset | <i>-in-</i> |
|--|---|
| (53) a. For five months I stayed (<i>metak</i>) with them. | |
| b. | Then Linda came (<i>m-i-atakng</i>) from Tawau. |
| c. Then Rakil introduced (<i>petondu'</i>) me to Linda. | |
| d. Then Linda and I were friends (<i>mpangan</i>). | |
| e. | Linda took (<i>i-git</i>) me to Luyang. |
| f. She got (<i>pusuak</i>) me a job with a Chinese. | |

Boundary events are detached from non-boundary events at the beginning of a story, as in (54a) and (54b) below.⁹ In this example, the first two sentences are inflectionally marked. They begin the story and establish the setting for the rest of the story. These two sentences draw attention to the main topic of the story that follows:

- | \emptyset | <i>-in-</i> |
|--|---|
| (54) a. | Nairi was litigating (<i>i-guhubm</i>) yesterday. |
| b. | She was litigated (<i>in-uhubm</i>) by Laum. |
| c. But she opposed (<i>megloon</i>) him. | |
| d. She did not follow (<i>miaa'</i>) what he said to do. | |

Boundary events are also detached at the end of a story, as in (55b), (55e), (55f) below. In this example, the speaker originally ends the story with (55a), but then resumes and finally finishes with (55g):

⁹Compare the use of simple past in French for marking the beginning and end of texts (Waugh & Monville-Burston 1986:857).

- | | |
|---|--|
| ∅ | - <u>in</u> - |
| (55) a. That is all (<i>ndaardn na</i>). | |
| b. | Then we returned (<i>m-i-li'</i>). |
| c. We purchased (<i>moli</i>) rice. | |
| d. We purchased (<i>moli</i>) some betel leaves and some clothes. | |
| e. | The Ubian man brought (<i>i-ngatad</i>) us to the dock over there. |
| f. | Then we returned (<i>m-i-li'</i>) to our house. |
| g. That is all (<i>ndaardn na</i>). | |

A further function of *-in-* in connection with sequenced events is to detach an event which is contrary to what is expected (e.g. (56); see (49), (51) for the same function in conversation). The unexpected event (56b) is detached from the other events. (The expectation was that, following Mual's return from Kudat, he would litigate the dispute):

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| ∅ | - <u>in</u> - |
| (56) a. Now Mual is back from (<i>tidii</i>) Kudat. | |
| b. | It did not happen (<i>n-dedi</i>), |
| c. that he litigated (<i>nguhubm</i>) the dispute between Bok and Noon, | |
| d. about washing (<i>masa'</i>) hands. | |

Sometimes two sentences refer to the same event, with the second sentence elaborating on the first, often involving the repetition of the verb. If the second sentence is marked with *-in-*, the rhetorical effect is to highlight the additional information conveyed. In (57), for instance, (57b) elaborates on the event described in (57a). By detaching (57b) from its context, the speaker may have wanted to emphasise to others that he did not make his son-in-law (Likig) do all the heavy work (i.e. carrying coconut to the dock; (57e) could also be viewed as an elaboration of (57b), but the absence of *-in-* indicates that it is not given special prominence).

- | | |
|---|---|
| ∅ | - <u>in</u> - |
| (57) a. Then we carried (<i>nggahut</i>) it to the landing place there. | |
| b. | We two, Likig and I, carried (<i>i-gahut</i>) it to the dock there. |
| c. We two went back (<i>balik</i>). | |
| d. We each went back again and again (<i>igbalik-balik</i>). | |
| e. We carried (<i>nggahut</i>) gunnysacks. | |

Sometimes the verb which is reiterated is the unmarked form, in the context of events which are detached (i.e. inflectionally marked by *-in-*). This occurs in (52), in which the

verb in (52e) is reiterated in (52f). In (52), the reiterated event (52f) is not detached and highlighted, but occurs simply for clarification.

A single text can employ detachment in different ways. This is illustrated in (58) which contains five detached events. Example (58d) is a boundary event which brings a participant (water) to the scene of the previous events. Example (58h) is also a boundary event, setting the scene in time for the following events. Example (58l) is likewise a boundary event, effectively removing the participant from the scene by having him sleep while the story continues. Examples (58m) and (58p) are out of sequence with respect to (58l) and are detached from the expected deictic centre:

- | \emptyset | <u>-in-</u> | |
|---|-------------|---|
| (58) a. Having finished making (<i>ngamad</i>) the boat, | | |
| b. Domon called (<i>bitaan</i>) it, "Ark". | | |
| c. Having finished making (<i>ngamad</i>) it, | | |
| d. | | then the water came (<i>m-i-atakng</i>). |
| e. The land was no more (<i>ndaardn na</i>). | | |
| f. All at once this island was dissolved (<i>ansur</i>). | | |
| g. Domon was left (<i>tetak</i>) on the ark with his wife and sister. | | |
| h. | | After the earth was destroyed (<i>i-binasa</i>), |
| i. Domon said (<i>angat</i>), | | |
| j. "Don't you two go (<i>panu</i>) anywhere. | | |
| k. I am going to sleep (<i>modop</i>) first". | | |
| l. | | Domon fell asleep (<i>i-kodop</i>). |
| m. | | For three days he had not slept (<i>i-kodop</i>). |
| n. He was watching over (<i>ngijaga</i>) the village. | | |
| o. He was watching over (<i>ngijaga</i>) the ark. | | |
| p. | | Before he had yet fallen asleep (<i>i-kodop</i>), |
| q. then his spouse pulled-back (<i>munggas</i>) the cover on the ark. | | |

To summarise, *-in-* detaches events from other events. Detachment has the following functions: (a) to detach out-of-sequence events from the expected deictic centre (e.g. (45), (46), (48), (51), (58m), (58p)); (b) to detach climactic events (e.g. (52)); (c) to detach boundary events, including the movement of participants to or from the location of unmarked

foreground events (e.g. (53), (54), (55), (58d), (58h), (58I)); (d) to detach events which are contrary to expectation (e.g. (49), (51), (56)); and (e) to detach an event in order to elaborate on it (e.g. (57)). The diversity of functions associated with detachment arises from the fact that they are context dependent (see Waugh & Monville-Burston p.872).

7. CONCLUSION

Temporal reference is a cohesive device. The formal markers which encode temporal reference and have been discussed in this paper include: derivational morphology, auxiliary verbs, deictic temporal adverbs, free morphemes and inflectional morphology. One temporal cohesive device which has not been considered in this paper is linkage (for a discussion of linkage, see King, J.K., this volume, section 2.2). Linkage or juncture is a device for signalling relationships between situations (Beaugrande & Dressler 1981:71). Beaugrande and Dressler (p.69) claim that, when the verb system does not make tense-aspect distinctions explicit, modifiers or junctives must be used. Examination of temporal junctives is the next step beyond the current study.

The following is a simplified production model of what appears to be the temporal reference strategy in Banggi.

In each discourse, the speaker first establishes a deictic centre which is dependent on the nature of the discourse (see Marchese 1978:71). Once the deictic centre is established, the speaker chooses a situation with its inherent aspect, together with a viewpoint or perspective on the situation. He may also state whether the situation has current relevance. If the speaker wishes to highlight or downgrade an event, he detaches it from the other events.

The model of tense-aspect presented in this paper is not restricted to either a sentential view or a discourse view. Detachment is discourse derived but other tense-aspect distinctions are not derived simply from discourse. Situation aspect limits both viewpoint aspect (section 4) and detachment, since stative verbs cannot be detached (section 6.2). To summarise, some tense-aspect distinctions are discourse derived and others are situation derived.

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TOPIC AND EMPHASIS IN TIMUGON MURUT

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1. INTRODUCTION

Timugon Murut has been classified by Smith (1984:41f.) as a North-western Austronesian language of Bornean stock belonging to the Murutic family. There are two dialects, Poros and Kapagalan,¹ corresponding to the two main rivers that flow through the Tenom Valley, in which the Timugon inhabit an area of approximately 100 square miles. They are centred around the town of Tenom, in the state of Sabah, Malaysia. The estimated number of speakers is 8-9,000.

Most clauses in Timugon Murut begin with a verb.² Prentice identified three types of clauses which do not: non-verbal “identificational clauses”, verbal “thematic clauses” and verbal “subordinate clauses” (1971:106, 229, 224).³ We interpret these last to be a subtype of thematic clause in which the maximum domain of the topic is the sentence in which it appears (section 3).

Superficially, thematic and identificational clauses are “potentially homophonous” (Prentice 1971:231; section 2 of this paper). However, we show that they may be distinguished on the basis of Werth's TCA (Topic-comment articulation) constraint (1984:220). Thematic clauses begin with an anaphoric topic and obey the TCA constraint that anaphoric material precede non-anaphoric (section 3). Identificational clauses tend to disobey the TCA constraint, in that they are commonly “emphatic” constructions (Werth 1984:240f.) in which the initial element is highlighted (section 4). An additional “emphatic”

¹We would like to acknowledge the excellent work of D.J. Prentice in his 1971 volume *The Murut languages of Sabah*. The help we have received from his work has been substantial and we refer to that work throughout the paper. The paper itself is based primarily upon three texts, two from Prentice's book and one from a collection of texts recorded and transcribed by Richard and Kielo Brewis. We referred also to three (much longer) texts to substantiate the findings, but all the examples quoted are from the first three texts.

Special thanks are due also to Jampoi binti Lunsayan, who at over 80 years of age continues to provide us with outstanding stories, and to Majius bin Rundi and Silipah binti Majius who have helped us to understand the texts.

²The three texts on which this paper is based contain 261 clauses (excluding quotation margins, clauses consisting only of exclamations and fragments): 65% (169) begin with a verb; in 20% (52), the verb is preceded by an argument, usually the topic (section 2); 15% (40) are non-verbal identificational clauses, beginning with the predicate complement.

³We do not discuss Prentice's (p.220f.) “Atemporal Declarative Clauses” which begin with an adjunct such as *kua* ‘why’ or *induo* ‘twice’. Question words and the negative are obligatorily pre-verb and the frequentive adverbs are probably front-shifted for emphasis (cf. Levinsohn 1987:52). Also cf. further in section 3.

construction fits neither of Prentice's types, since the initial element is non-anaphoric and highlighted, yet the overall clause is verbal (section 4).

Not only are topics anaphoric in thematic clauses; in addition, they may be accompanied by particles that indicate that there is "thematic continuity" (Givón 1983:7), notwithstanding the discontinuity reflected in the change of topic (section 3).

Three features of Timugon Murut grammar are of particular importance to an understanding of this paper: case marking of nominal arguments (section 1.1), verbal cross-referencing to the pivot (section 1.2), and the unmarked order of constituents in the clause (section 1.3). These are now discussed in turn.

1.1 CASE MARKING OF NOMINAL ARGUMENTS

Timugon Murut is a language with both case marking and verbal cross-referencing. Case markers indicate the relationship of nominal arguments to the verb. The prepositions used are not as extensive as in other Philippine-type languages such as Ivatan (Prentice 1971:31).

Arguments are divided into common and personal sets.

TABLE 1: CASE MARKERS OF ARGUMENTS

| | PIVOT | NON-PIVOT | |
|----------|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| | | Actor (Genitive) | Non-actor (Oblique) |
| Common | \emptyset | <i>ru</i> | <i>ra</i> |
| Personal | <i>i-</i> | <i>ri</i> | <i>ri</i> |

Timugon Murut has four sets of pronouns that are used as follows:

TABLE 2: PRONOUN SETS

| | EMPHATIC | PIVOT | NON-PIVOT | |
|---------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| | | | Actor (Genitive) | Non-actor (Oblique) |
| 1SG | <i>aku</i> | <i>aku</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>raki'</i> |
| 2SG | <i>okou</i> | <i>kou</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>rirun</i> |
| 3SG | <i>io</i> | <i>io</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>riso</i> |
| DUAL | <i>ito</i> | <i>ito</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>rito</i> |
| 1PL.INC | <i>itakau</i> | <i>takau</i> | <i>takau</i> | <i>ritakau</i> |
| 1PL.EXC | <i>akai</i> | <i>akai</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>ramon</i> |
| 2PL | <i>akau</i> | <i>kau</i> | <i>min</i> | <i>ramuyun</i> |
| 3PL | <i>ilo</i> | <i>ilo</i> | <i>nilo</i> | <i>risilo</i> |

There are also two referent pronouns for second person singular and plural, *tokou* and *takamin*. These are pronouns for first person singular actor with second person singular and plural non-actor. Pivot pronouns only occur following the verb. If the pivot is topicalised (cf. section 2), the emphatic pronoun set is used. However, the emphatic pronoun set may also be used post-verbally, instead of the pivot pronoun set.

1.2 VERBAL CROSS-REFERENCING TO THE PIVOT

Timugon Murut has a pivot-marking system similar to other Philippine-type languages. The verb is inflected to show the semantic role of the pivot. The two macroroles suggested by Foley and Van Valin (1984:29), actor and undergoer, have been expanded to four to show the main divisions as marked by the morphology.

As in the other Bornean languages described in this volume, full-focus and reduced-focus forms of these markers exist (cf., for example, Kroeger, this volume).

TABLE 3: MARKING OF VERBAL CROSS-REFERENCING

| Macrorole | Marking Semantic Role | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| | Full | Reduced | |
| Actor | <i>m-/-um-</i> | ∅ | initiator, actor |
| Patient | <i>-on</i> | <i>-o'</i> | goal |
| Referent | <i>-in</i> | <i>-i'</i> | direction |
| Associate | <i>-an</i> | -- | time, location, affinity, reason |

So when actor is pivot, the verb takes the affix *m-* or *-um-*; any reference to the actor is marked as pivot and any other arguments are marked as non-pivot. (Overt reference to the pivot may be omitted when the context permits it.)⁴

- (1) *T-um-aam aku riso.*
 *-ACT-reply I.PIV he.OBL
 I will reply to him.

As in the other North-western Austronesian languages described in this volume, a marked past tense contrasts with the unmarked non-past tense (with full-focus or reduced-focus cross-referencing markers). The past tense is marked by *-in-* or *n-*, and occurs with the full-focus markers. When the pivot is actor, *n-* replaces *m-* and the combination *-in- -um-* is realised as *-imin-* (e.g. in (26b)), or as *min-* if the stem begins with a vowel (e.g. in (3)).

The identification of *m-* as the full-focus marker with the actor pivot, and the absence of *m-* as the equivalent reduced-focus marker, follows Kroeger's (1988) analysis of Kimaragang verb affixation. This analysis is an advance on Prentice's (pp.129ff.) analysis of verb inflection in terms of "hypermorphemes". Prentice recognised sets of "subject focus inflections", which included the following (ignoring morphophonemic changes):

| | | | | |
|----------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| Non-past | | | | |
| | full-focus | <i>-um-</i> | <i>mag-</i> | <i>mang-</i> |
| | reduced-focus | ∅ | <i>pag-</i> | <i>pang-</i> |
| Past | | <i>-imin-</i> | <i>nag-</i> | <i>nang-</i> |

Following Kroeger (1988), we divide these hypermorphemes into two morphemes, the portmanteau tense-focus marker and a set of verb class markers, the initial *p* of which is not

⁴Abbreviations used are as follows: ACT – actor, ASC – associate, EMP – emphatic, EXPL – explanatory, GEN – genitive, INC – inclusive, OBL – oblique, PAT – patient, PIV – pivot, REF – referent, REL – relative pronoun, REP – reportative, ST – stative, TOP – topic, * – part of stem when preceding an infix.

realised when *m-* or *n-* occur. We thus analyse *nangkiwa'* 'climbed' (see (29)) as *n-pang-kiwa'* (ACT.PAST-VERB.CLASS-climb).

1.3 UNMARKED CONSTITUENT ORDER IN THE CLAUSE

The unmarked order of constituents for verbal clauses is verb – arguments. Particles occurring immediately after the verb are adverbial modifiers and the reportative *kunu'* 'they say'. These may be separated from the predicate only by a pronoun. Full phrases occur after the modifiers, with the pivot usually first and then other non-pivot elements following.

The following factors determine constituent order in Timugon (cf. also Prentice, pp.154-157):

1. The overall order is: verb – pronoun – modifiers – reportative – full phrases.
2. If there is more than one pronoun or if the roles of the oblique phrases are ambiguous, then the order is according to the following hierarchy: actor – patient – referent – instrument – associate.
3. Long phrases are usually final, especially when modified by a relative clause.
4. With full phrases, pivot precedes non-pivot, except where the pivot of the last sentence is restated.

The order of constituents in clauses which do not begin with a verb is discussed in section 2.

2. SUPERFICIAL HOMOPHONY OF IDENTIFICATIONAL AND THEMATIC CLAUSES

In this section we describe the relevant features of identificational and thematic clauses, as defined by Prentice, and note why he finds them "potentially homophonous" (p.231).

IDENTIFICATIONAL clauses in Timugon Murut are characterised by a two-part structure in which the predicate complement precedes the pivot (Prentice's (p.231) "topic"). In the following information question, for instance, the pivot form of the pronoun is used:

- (2) PREDICATE COMPL PIVOT
Osoi *kou?*
 who you.PIV
 Who are you?

We concentrate in this paper on identificational clauses in which the pivot is a headless relative clause (Prentice's (p.225) "nominal clause"), the verb of which is cross-referenced to agree with the predicate complement:

- (3) PREDICATE COMPL PIVOT
Ruandu' i [*min-ongoi ra kadai*].⁵
 woman the ACT.PAST-go OBL shop
 The woman was the one who went to the shop.

⁵Relative clauses are enclosed in square brackets throughout this paper.

If *ruandu'* were the head of the relative clause, the oblique case marker *ra* would introduce the rest of the clause (Prentice, p.225).⁶

- (4) *ruandu' [ra min-ongoi ra kadai] i*
the woman who went to the shop

Identificational clauses may be distinguished from basic verbal clauses, in that the latter open with the verb. *Ruandu' i* is the pivot of the following basic clause:

- (5) *Min-ongoi ruandu' i ra kadai.*
The woman went to the shop.

A further distinctive feature of identificational clauses involves particles such as *ayuk/ak* 'only', *kunu'* 'reportative' and *poyo/pi/po* 'also'. These particles follow the verb in basic clauses. In identificational clauses, they immediately follow the predicate complement. Contrast the position of *ak* in the basic clause (6) and in the identificational clause (7):

- (6) *Min-ongoi ak ruandu' i ra kadai.*
The woman just went to the shop (and did nothing else) (lit. Just the woman went to the shop).
- (7) *Ruandu' i ak [min-ongoi ra kadai].*
It was just the woman who went to the shop.

THEMATIC clauses in Timugon are verbal constructions in which an argument precedes the verb. We follow Foley and Van Valin in referring to these left-shifted arguments as TOPICS (Prentice (p.229) calls them "themes"); any argument may be topicalised. For example:

- (8) (Basic Clause)
Pimping-on mai kou.
thrash-PAT we.GEN you.PIV
We will thrash you.
- (9) (Thematic Clause)
Okou, pimping-on mai.
you thrash-PAT we.GEN
We will thrash you. (As for you, we will thrash you.)

The topic is optionally linked to the rest of the clause by the coordinative particle *am* 'and'. The reason for this is discussed in section 3. In addition, if the topic is a headless relative clause, then the relative pronoun *ondo'* optionally precedes it.

- (10) (*Ondo'*) *pimping-on mai (am), okou.*⁷
REL thrash-PAT we.GEN and you.EMP
As for the one we are going to thrash, you are the one.

The topic may be followed by the same particles as those which follow the predicate complement of identificational clauses:

⁶*Ra* is not used if a participial clause (Prentice, pp.83ff.) modifies the verb which precedes it. Deictics *-ti*, *-no*, *-i* always occupy final place in a phrase (Prentice, pers. comm.).

⁷If both *am* and *ondo'* are absent, (10) would be superficially homophonous with (8) if *okou* were present and not *kou* (cf. section 1.1). However, topics are phonologically separated from the rest of the clause. Since no cases like (10) have been found in the texts examined, such superficial homophony is not considered in this paper.

- (11) *Okou ak, pipping-on mai.*
 you just thrash-PAT we.GEN
 We will thrash just you. (As for just you, we will thrash you.)

Clause-initial pronouns are of the emphatic set (see section 1.1), in both identificational and thematic constructions. For thematic clauses, compare the form of 'you' in (8) and (9) above. For identificational clauses, compare the following:

- (12) (Basic Clause)
Min-ongoi kou ra kadai.
 ACT.PAST-go you.PIV OBL shop
 You went to the shop.
- (13) (Identificational Clause)
Okou [min-ongoi ra kadai].
 you ACT.PAST-go OBL shop
 You are the one who went to the shop.

Phrases which are not pronominal take the same case marker as the pivot, when clause initial (see section 1.1), in both constructions. For example, non-pivot temporal phrases are introduced by *ra* in basic clauses (14). When the temporal phrase begins the sentence, however, *ra* is omitted (15), (16):

- (14) (Basic Clause)
Min-ongoi io ra mai' i.
 ACT.PAST-go he.PIV OBL afternoon the
 He went yesterday.
- (15) (Thematic Clause)
Mai' i, min-ongoi io.
 afternoon the ACT.PAST-go he.PIV
 Yesterday he went.
- (16) (Identificational Clause)
Mai' i [inangay-an no].
 afternoon the PAST.go-AST he.GEN
 Yesterday was when he went.

Identificational and thematic clauses have homophonous forms when: (a) the optional elements associated with the topic (*am* and *ondo'*) are absent; and (b) the topic of the thematic clause is also the pivot of the clause. For example:

- (17) (Basic Clause)
Min-ongoi ra giu' i-apa'.
 ACT.PAST-go OBL there PIV-dad
 Dad has gone over there.
- (18) (Thematic Clause)
I-apa', min-ongoi ra giu'.
 PIV-dad ACT.PAST-go OBL there
 As for Dad, he went over there.

- (19) (Identificational Clause)
I-apa' [min-ongoi ra giu].
 PIV-dad ACT.PAST-go OBL there
 Dad is the one who went over there.

Impressionistic testing suggests that (18) and (19) may be distinguished on phonological grounds. No appreciable phonological break separates the two parts of identificational clauses whereas a discernible break separates the topic from the rest of the thematic clause. However, the two constructions may also be distinguished on contextual grounds, by whether or not they obey Werth's TCA constraint. This is discussed in sections 3 and 4.

3. TOPICS AND THEMATIC CONTINUITY

We now examine thematic clauses (including Prentice's (p.224) "subordinate clauses") and claim that, whenever an element is topicalised, it not only establishes a topic for the material that follows, but is also anaphoric.⁸ As Beneš puts it, it is the "basis" which, "serving as a point of departure for the communication, is directly linked to the context" (translation in Garvin 1963:508). In particular, it "indicates the primary relationship of the sentence to its context" (Levinsohn 1987:178). We further claim that topics may be accompanied by particles that indicate "thematic continuity" (Givón 1983:7), even though the topic itself may have changed.

Werth identifies a "Topic-comment articulation" (TCA) constraint on sentences, which provides the motivation for various movement rules proposed for grammars of English and other languages. This states that "Semantic material is deployed in a discourse so as to respect the order: Anaphoric – Non-anaphoric" (1984:220). Such a constraint is similar to Tomlin's "Theme First Principle" (1986:37), and may be traced back to Prague School claims that, in unmarked sentences, "theme" precedes "rheme" (Vachek 1966:89).

For sentences which obey the TCA constraint, "In context, we would expect left-shifted ... elements to be anaphoric" (Werth 1984:220). Such an expectation holds consistently for Timugon Murut thematic constructions, as does the TCA constraint itself, since the rest of the sentence always contains some non-anaphoric information (contrast (34), in section 4).

All topics in Timugon Murut impressionistically are "set off from the rest of the sentence by a pause" (Foley & Van Valin 1984:125). Unlike English, though, the pause is more definite following peripheral elements than core ones.

Peripheral elements such as spatio-temporals are typical non-pivot topics in Timugon Murut narratives. They not only set "a spatial, temporal or individual domain within which the main predication holds" (Chafe 1976:50); they also relate the sentence to its context. This may be by replacing an earlier (implied or stated) setting, or by reiterating some element of the immediate context. Both relationships are anaphoric; replacement is "contrastive" or "negative coherence" (Werth 1984:87); reiteration is "positive coherence" (1984:83).

For example, Timugon stories commonly begin with a temporal expression, which replaces the time of narration by the setting for the story:

⁸Barlaan (1986:124) rejects topicalisation for Isnag. However on p.132 he interprets his example (14) as a topicalised clause.

(20) (Prentice 1971:242)

Galing i kunu' m-a-suang ulun ru tana' ti.
 before the REP ACT-ST-many person GEN earth this
 In the old days, the people of the earth were many.

Temporal expressions continue to be topicalised in narrative, as the setting is changed. In (21), the topicalised temporal expressions are underlined.⁹

(21) (Prentice 1971:244f.)

a. *Katalu ra orou, ratu-i'* *no bo kunu' ra gili.*
 third OBL day drop-REF he.GEN then REP OBL that
 On the third day, he threw that thing down (into the mud).

b. It did not bury itself.

c. The old coconut fruit bounced.

d. *Gili bo, tuun* *kunu' bo buayoi i.*
 that then ACT.descend REP then youth the
 At that time the youth descended.

e. *Buoi no ak kunu' [n-okosonor ra tana'] ti,*
 time he.GEN just REP ACT.PAST-reached OBL earth this

pusat kunu' ru ruandu' lusungon i.
 poof! REP GEN woman ringworm the

At the time when he had just reached the ground, there suddenly appeared the woman with ringworm.

Spatial topics have a similar function to temporal ones. In (22) below, the previous sentence has moved the listener's attention to the goal of the motion verb, the location of the fruitbird. The speaker then changes the setting back to 'right here' (cf. below on the function of *am* in connection with this topic):

(22) a. If you want, let's go and get the fruitbird!

b. *Giti ak am m-a-luus anak takau rati...*
 here just and ACT-ST-destroy child our they
 Right here our children are wasting away ...

Contrast the position of the spatial adverb in (23c), when it does not change the setting:¹⁰

(23) a. "Where is his residence?" he asked.

b. "There (out of sight)!" was the reply, "Downstream again!"

c. *Ongoy-o' kuat-i' ra giu'.*
 go-PAT ask-REF OBL there
 "Go and ask there for him!"

⁹The rhetorical significance of establishing settings related to the time of the immediately preceding action (21d), (21e) is not considered in this paper. Factors involved include the slowing down of the story, immediately prior to a significant new development ((21e); cf. Longacre 1976:217f.).

¹⁰No attempt is made here to demonstrate exhaustively that, when potential topics do not open a clause, there is topic continuity with respect to such elements. For a detailed discussion of this matter in connection with Koine Greek, cf. Levinsohn 1987, part I, especially pp.65ff.

The topicalisation of reiterated material (often done by reducing the reference to a demonstrative pronoun) makes that material the specific basis or ground for the main predication:¹¹

- (24) (Prentice 1971:250)
- a. You didn't pay attention to my words.
 - b. *Ba ginio am andu-on mu ak i-ali' ti.*
 well that and marry-PAT you.GEN just PIV-younger.sibling this
 Well, since that is the case, you'll have to marry this younger sibling.

Topics may be pivots. In (25) below, 'the woman with ringworm' (both topic and pivot)¹² replaces 'the youth' (thematic participant¹³ of the preceding episode) as thematic participant:

- (25) (Prentice 1971:247)
- a. *Buayoi no min-ugar kunu' ra buoi ti,*
 youth that ACT.PAST-travel REP OBL time this
 - b. *ruandu' lusungon ti, pambaal kunu' ra sinungkalalaing ra tana'.*
 woman ringworm this ACT.make REP OBL doll.figure OBL earth
 During the time that that youth was travelling, the woman with ringworm was making a figure out of earth.

¹¹Prentice is not consistent in his interpretation of the demonstrative pronouns *gitio* 'this' and *ginio* 'that'. Usually, he considers them to be predicate complements of identificational clauses (e.g. 1971:250, 31.1, in which *ginio* (24) is translated '(if) it is that'). However, he also interprets them as spatio-temporal adverbs (e.g. p.251, 35.1, in which *gitio* is translated 'at this time'). Whichever interpretation is followed, the argument of this section is unaffected, viz. that the expression is topicalised with respect to what follows.

¹²See (29b) and accompanying discussion for why we consider the preposed pivot of (25a) to be topicalised.

¹³By 'thematic participant' we mean "the participant most crucially involved in the action sequence running through the paragraph ... most closely associated with the higher-level 'theme' of the paragraph" (Givón 1983:8; see also Levinsohn 1978:75). In Timugon Murut, the thematic participant in narrative is prototypically "most likely to be coded as the primary" ACTOR "of the vast majority of sequentially ordered clauses/sentences comprising the thematic paragraph" (Givón 1983:8). We say actor, rather than pivot (the element most closely corresponding to Givón's "topic - or grammatical subject"), because of the strong tendency in Timugon Murut for any specific undergoer to be the pivot. Compare J.K. King (this volume, section 1.3) for a discussion of thematic paragraphs in Tombonuo.

As in Tombonuo, changes of thematic participant are achieved in connection with the use of that demonstrative which denotes "spatial or temporal proximity to the speaker" (Prentice 1971:167). In the case of Timugon Murut, the demonstrative is *ti* 'this' (25b).

Concerning the claim that the youth is thematic participant in the episode preceding (25), and the woman with ringworm in the next episode, the statistics are as follows:

| (Prentice 1971) | number of sequentially ordered clauses | Actor: | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--------|-------|-------|
| | | youth | woman | other |
| pp.245-247, sentences 10-18 | 7 | 5 | 2 | |
| pp.247-250, sentences 19-24 | 10 | 3 | 6 | 1 |

(The first episode begins with the appearance of the woman with ringworm. The second terminates with her departure.)

Commonly, however, if the topic is also the pivot of the next clause, it is reiterated in that clause. In (26), for instance, reference to 'I' (replacing the addressee as topic) is reiterated, following the verb:

- (26) (Prentice 1971:255f.)
- a. When it is dark presently, get into this ricebin; the number of mosquitos is not trivial.
- b. *Aku am t-imin-utup aku ak ra tunturing ti.*
 I and *-ACT.PAST-shut.self I just OBL ricebin this
 As for me, I just shut myself up in this ricebin.

Sometimes a narrator breaks the flow of his story by inserting a background COMMENT. Such comments often have their own topicalised pivots, temporarily replacing the topic of the narrative (cf. Levinsohn 1991, section 2).

In the Timugon story of the Flood, for instance (Prentice, pp.241-252), the narrator halts his tale at one point to explain the significance for his audience of the creation of the figure out of earth (cf. (25)). This comment is linked to the narrative by the topicalised demonstrative pronoun *gitio* 'this', and the clause subordinated by *ra* then has its own topic 'we':

- (27) (Prentice 1971:248)
- a. *Gitio ga¹⁴ bo ra [itakau m-a-pandai m-(p)atoi] ti.*
 this TOP then OBL we.INC ACT-ST-able ACT.die this
 This then is why we are able to die.
- b. Immediately afterwards, the youth arrived. He looked at this (figure).

Prentice (p.224) sets up a subordinate clause type, to account for examples like (27a), and claims that the pivot of such clauses has to be topicalised. He cites the case of "meteorological" verbs "which do not normally have a Topic" (pivot). When subordinated, such clauses require a pre-verbal pivot pronoun. Compare the independent and subordinate meteorological clauses of (28a):

- (28) (Prentice 1971:257)
- a. *Tawang pi bo kunu' ra [io suabon],*
 light again then REP OBL it dawn
 (When) it was again daylight when it dawned,
- b. the man was now dead.

In fact, the pivots of subordinate clauses do not have to be topicalised. See (29b), for example, in which the pivot *io* follows the verb of the clause subordinated by *ra*:

- (29) (Prentice 1971:243)
- a. Just one person survived, the youth,
- b. *ra n-(p)angkiwa' io ak kunu' ra layou ru piasau.*
 OBL ACT.PAST-climb he just REP OBL tall GEN coconut
 because he climbed up a tall coconut tree.

Rather, the pivots of subordinate clauses are topicalised when attention immediately switches or returns to a major participant in the story. This is true of each of the 15 clauses

¹⁴See fn.16 for a discussion of *ga* following a topic.

which Prentice classifies as subordinate and in which the pivot is topicalised. In every case, the pivots of the subordinate clause and the following clause are different. Furthermore, these topicalised pivots do not feature in the following events.

For example, following the comment of (27), the narrative returns to events involving the major participants in the story, in which 'we' do not feature. Similarly, following subordinated meteorological clauses, the pivot of the next clause is always a major participant in the story (e.g. (28)). Even when the pivot of a subordinated clause is a major participant (typically in the same role as in the previous clause), attention immediately switches from him or her to another major participant.¹⁵ See (25a), for instance, which Prentice classifies as subordinate, even though the clause does not differ structurally from other thematic constructions in which the pivot is topicalised (e.g. (25b)).

The front-shifting of pivots in Prentice's subordinate clauses may thus be interpreted as a specific type of topicalisation in which the domain of the topic is restricted to the sentence concerned.

We return now to the presence or absence of *am*, in connection with topics. *Am* is used when the information related to the new topic is to be associated with the information given before the topic was stated. In other words, it is used when there is "thematic continuity" (Givón 1983:7), in spite of a change of topic. (Compare discussion in Levinsohn 1991, section 2.)

In (22) above, for instance, the information related to the change of location ('our children are wasting away') is to be associated with the information related to the previous location ('let's go and get the fruitbird!'). There is global thematic continuity between the two statements, in spite of the spatial discontinuity related to the change of topic.

Similarly, in (26), the information related to the new topic ('I just shut myself up in the ricebin') parallels that related to the previous topic, the addressee ('Get into this ricebin!').

Turning to passages in which *am* is absent, *am* is not generally used in narrative in connection with temporal settings (see (21)). This is presumably because chronological linkage is the norm for narratives (Longacre 1976:200), and there is therefore no need to mark thematic continuity, when the normal linkage for the text genre is employed. When the new topic is other than a temporal setting (i.e. when it provides other than the normal linkage for the text genre) and *am* is absent, the change of topic is accompanied by other thematic changes. In (25), for instance, the actions performed by the new thematic participant (the woman with ringworm) are completely distinct from those performed by the previous thematic participant (the youth); he had rejected her proposal of marriage and set off in search of survivors of the flood (see Prentice, pp.246f.).

If the topic is followed by *poyo* 'also', instead of *am*, this specifies the nature of the thematic continuity between the information given before and after the topic change. One common relationship specified by *poyo* is that of 'stimulus-response' (for the same relationship specified by Malay *pun*, cf. Levinsohn 1991, fn.1, p.130). For instance, what

¹⁵Rhetorical devices such as the topicalisation of the reference to a participant in the same role as before commonly anticipate "a change of initiative" (Levinsohn 1987:70).

the dragonfly says in (30a) acts as stimulus for the fruitbird's response ((30b); the fruitbird had not previously wished to comply with the dragonfly's request for help):¹⁶

(30) a. "Yes, if you're not with me when I return, I'm certain to get a beating", said the dragonfly.

b. *Ba ginio poyo bubul-in tokou ak ra bulu kuno...*
 well that also pluck-REF you only OBL feather my
 "Well, if that is the case, I'll just pluck out one of my feathers for you..."

We therefore conclude that, in thematic constructions in Timugon Murut, topics not only serve "as a point of departure for the communication"; they are also "directly linked to the context". This anaphoric relationship may be a simple one of replacement (contrastive coherence) or reiteration (reduction). Alternatively, it may be supplemented by an indication that, notwithstanding the discontinuity reflected in the change of topic, thematic continuity is maintained.

4. EMPHATIC CONSTRUCTIONS

In the type of identificational clause considered in this paper (see section 2), "emphasis is placed upon the exponent of the Predicate" complement (Prentice, p.107). This is because identificational clauses in Timugon Murut typically do not obey Werth's TCA constraint that anaphoric precede non-anaphoric information (cf. also Barlaan 1986:116 for Isnag). Rather, the predicate complement of such clauses precedes the pivot (section 2), and it is the pivot which typically and primarily contains anaphoric information (see below). In turn, constructions which do not obey the TCA constraint are "emphatic" and have "heightened rhetorical effect", "in that they are used to highlight" the initial element, namely, the predicate complement (Werth 1984:240, 253f.).

That it is the pivot rather than the complement which primarily contains anaphoric material is seen most clearly in information questions. For instance, the pivot of (31b) ('place of this fruitbird') relates back to the fruitbird mentioned in (31a). The predicate complement 'where', however, seeks new information:

(31) a. I am asking for the fruitbird.

b. PREDICATE COMPL PIVOT

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>Ati</i> | <i>intok ru</i> | <i>sikakaput ti?</i> |
| where | place GEN | fruitbird this |
| Where is the place of this fruitbird? | | |

¹⁶It is possible that *ga* 'vocative' and *nga* 'explanatory' have related functions to *am* and *poyo*, when following a topic. In (27), for instance, the presence of *ga* may indicate that the following material relates to the listeners, rather than to the ongoing story.

Similarly, the combination *gitio nga* is used to introduce an explanation for the previous assertion. For example:

a. We will thrash you.

b. *Gitio nga m-a-luus ak anak takau rati.*
 this EXPL ACT-ST-destroy just child our these
 The explanation for this is that our children are being destroyed.

- c. *Ati* *in-ayan-an nali?*
 where PAST-live-ASC he.GEN
 Where is it that he lived?

Many Timugon identificational clauses are translated most naturally into English by “specification P-clefts” (Werth, p.254), that is, pseudocleft sentences in which the “presupposition” is introduced by “what” or some other relative (pp.252, 240). What is noteworthy is that the equivalent of the “what-phrase” (the pivot) always follows the highlighted predicate complement in Timugon Murut (contrast Werth’s (pp.240ff.) analysis of English P-clefts). For example:

- (32) (Prentice 1971:243)
 a. Just one person survived, the youth, because he climbed up a tall coconut tree.
 b. And while the water was receding,
 PREDICATE COMPL PIVOT
piasau ayuk kunu' [n-a-(b)ayag-an ru buayoi] i.
 coconut just REP PAST-ST-live-ASC GEN youth the
 just coconuts was what the youth lived on.

In (33) below, the pivot is anaphoric in that the headless relative (‘who survived’) has contrastive coherence with ‘were destroyed’. (In the equivalent non-cleft sentence ‘just one person survived’, ‘survived’ is not an accented item.)

- (33) (Prentice 1971:242f.)
 a. When the flood came, the people who lived on the earth were destroyed.
 b. According to the old men,
 PREDICATE COMPL PIVOT
sangulun ak kunu' bo [buayoi i n-a-(b)ayag]...
 one.person just REP then youth the PAST-ST-live
 just one person, the youth, was who survived ...

Identificational clauses not only highlight non-anaphoric material, as in (32) and (33); they also highlight anaphoric material, in sentences in which all the information is anaphoric. In Werth’s terms, these are “intermediate structures”, in that the arrangement is neither anaphoric – non-anaphoric nor the reverse. For example:

- (34) (Prentice 1971:247f.)
 a. ... she was making a figure out of earth. The woman who had ringworm chewed betelnut; she spat it out onto it (the figure); it became a human being; and it was a beautiful maid.
 b. This then is why we are able to die, because
 PREDICATE COMPL PIVOT
tana' [b-in-aal ra ulun] ti.
 earth *-PAT.PAST-made OBL person this
 earth was what was made into this human being.

Identificational clauses therefore either break Werth’s TCA constraint, that the arrangement of information be anaphoric – non-anaphoric, or at best are “intermediate” structures.

There remain a few residual sentences in which the initial element is highlighted and is non-anaphoric, being followed by an anaphoric pivot, but which cannot be analysed as identificational constructions. This is because the verb in what is otherwise interpreted as a headless relative (see section 2) is not cross-referenced to agree with the initial element of the clause.

In the following example, various creatures are requested to travel downriver on an errand. Three refuse. The fourth explains why he would be willing to accept. No reference or allusion to 'the end of a stick' has occurred, and the verb is cross-referenced to agree with the actor 'I'.

(35) I am willing, because ...

saputul ak pana polompor ru tataun t-um-ampak aku.
 piece just even end GEN stick *-ACT-rest.on I
 ... even just on the end of a stick I can rest.

The presence in the above sentence of *pana* 'even', suggests that the phrase it follows has indeed been left-shifted for emphasis. It is unusual for a non-anaphoric element to be front-shifted without the verb being cross-referenced to agree with it. However, such front-shifting is found in at least one other North-western Austronesian language of Sabah, as the following example from Banggi (Boutin, this volume) illustrates:

(36) (*Kirab-odu ... m-bunu', pasal*) *gambar m-areit!*
 yesterday ACT-fight because picture ACT-tear
 (Yesterday ... fought, because) she tore a picture!

(The tearing of the picture, an event not previously mentioned in the story or known to the addressee, is a very serious act in Banggi society; a curse is thereby put on the person who features in the picture. Hence the motivation for highlighting the reference to it.)

It is possible that such front-shifting occurs by analogy with the position of emphatic elements in identificational clauses, in that non-anaphoric precedes anaphoric. Be that as it may, this arrangement of information is consistent with Werth's prediction that constructions which do not obey the TCA constraint (anaphoric – non-anaphoric) are used for heightened rhetorical effect.

Identificational clauses (and indeed the residual examples just discussed) are thus characterised by two features: 1) the initial element (the predicate complement, in the case of identificational clauses) is highlighted; 2) the non-initial element, the pivot, is typically anaphoric. As such, they differ from superficially homophonous thematic clauses in that it is the initial element of thematic clauses, the pivot, which is anaphoric. Typically, thematic clauses obey Werth's TCA constraint, whereas identificational clauses do not, the arrangement of information at best having an "intermediate" structure.

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THEMATIC CONTINUITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN TOMBONUO NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

JULIE K. KING

1. INTRODUCTION

Various syntactic devices are employed in Tombonuo¹ narratives to provide discourse continuity (Givón 1983:7ff.). In the broad area of thematic continuity, topic/participant continuity (participant reference) is the device most widely discussed cross-linguistically (Givón 1983; Hinds 1978). This is considered for Tombonuo in a separate paper by King and Levinsohn (this volume), and so is mentioned only briefly here. In this paper I present the function of various other syntactic and morphological devices which are involved in continuity or discontinuity in Tombonuo narrative discourse. In particular, I consider the use of tense-aspect markers and verb morphology, the use of connectives, and the topicalisation of NPs.

I also propose that, in addition to the notion of thematic continuity (or discontinuity), the notion of thematic development must be addressed (see the introduction to this volume). Thematic development is not well developed in the literature to date, although the matter is touched on or alluded to by a number of writers. Longacre (1976:213), for instance, talks in terms of plot as the deep structure counterpart in discourse to case relations on the clause level.

It is true that discourse is held together by certain means and that episodes are separated from each other by certain other means. That is all well and good as far as it goes. There is also the fact that, within the episode, there must be thematic development. Sentences in a discourse are not arranged randomly, but rather follow logically so as to facilitate maximum intelligibility for the addressee. Take the following example from English:

¹The language described in this paper is spoken by roughly 10,000 people living along the Sugut and Paitan rivers of the Labuk-Sugut District in Sabah, Malaysia. Tombonuo (formerly 'Tambanua') is a North-western Austronesian language of the Paitanic language family (Smith 1984:18f.). Speakers of this language go by various ethnonyms. Tombonuo is used mostly by those who are 'pagan', to use their term. When these people become Muslims, they most often refer to themselves as Orang Sungai 'river people'. However, the ethnonym Tombonuo was chosen for this paper so that the language under discussion here would not be confused with Orang Sungai languages of the Dusunic or Ida'anic families.

I would like to express my appreciation to the people of Menungan village in Sabah for their cooperation in recording the texts used for this analysis and also to Moumin Moijin and Justin Sansalu of Lubang Buaya, Paitan for help with the text material.

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- (1) So, she ran away for fear of her life. That wolf chased the girl. In the woods she met a wolf. A little girl set out on her own to her grandmother's house.

Because of the random ordering of the sentences, this excerpt from an English discourse does not cohere semantically or syntactically. The result is minimal or complete lack of communication. This is because, in English discourse, topicality (processing of new and old information) and logical, sentential and clausal connectives are used to bring coherence to the discourse, as well as to indicate that the overall discourse theme is developing. Simple rearrangement of the sentences in (1) makes the passage perfectly intelligible and maximum communication is achieved in (2):

- (2) A little girl set out on her own to her grandmother's house. In the woods she met a wolf. That wolf chased the girl. So, she ran away for fear of her life.

In Tombonuo narratives also, there are syntactic features which indicate that the theme of the discourse is moving forward (developing), rather than remaining static or looking backwards. I propose here that a discussion of thematic development is essential to an overall theory of discourse analysis.

Section 2 of this paper deals with features of Tombonuo narratives which give continuity to the whole discourse and to its subunits (episodes and thematic paragraphs) and with features which separate subunits or signal discontinuity at episode or thematic paragraph boundaries in the discourse. I argue here that connectives in Tombonuo narrative discourse encode logical semantic relationships, and at the same time mark thematic continuity at points of action discontinuity (e.g. *jadi*; section 2.2.1) or topic/participant discontinuity (e.g. *nga*; section 2.2.2). Topicalisation (L-dislocation) of spatio-temporal references is also discussed; such references signal topic-situational discontinuity at episode boundaries and establish new temporal or local settings in the discourse (section 2.1). The use of past tense is featured, which in Tombonuo functions typically as a boundary feature and also as a highlighting device (section 3.3).

Section 3 looks in more detail at the discourse and its subunits to describe how thematic development and lack of thematic development are signalled. Foreground versus background enters in here, as well as development of or towards the climax(es) of the discourse. I demonstrate that verbal cross-referencing to the pivot (section 1.1), aspectual morphology (section 1.1) and post-verbal aspectual markers (section 3.2) contribute to marking foreground and the development of the discourse theme in Tombonuo narrative.

Finally, in section 4 I discuss the matter of highlighting or foregrounding, in particular, the raising of clauses from less significant status within the discourse to a position of prominence. This is accomplished in Tombonuo narrative by the use of *sono* 'now'.

1.1 OVERVIEW OF TOMBONUO VERB MORPHOLOGY

Word order in Tombonuo is basically VSO; however, front-shifting (L-dislocation) for topicalisation is relatively common (cf. section 3.1.2). Tombonuo has a system of verbal affixation similar to other Philippine-type languages. Verbs in Tombonuo are typically cross-referenced with the "pivot" NP of the clause (Foley & Van Valin 1984:153). For the purposes of this paper this system is referred to as the pivot cross-referencing system. The pivot NP in Tombonuo may be viewed as the grammatical subject of the clause (King, J.K., forthcoming). Four basic types of pivot cross-referencing are distinguished in Tombonuo; to

actor as pivot,² marked typically with the prefix *m-*,³ to patient as pivot, marked with *-on* in present tense and unmarked in past tense; to referent as pivot, marked with *-an*; and to theme as pivot, marked with *i-*. In addition, there are three types of cross-referencing to derived pivots: to instrument as pivot, to location as pivot and to setting as pivot. The following examples demonstrate the basic pivot cross-referencing system in Tombonuo:⁴

- (3) *Momaal[m-poN-waal] aku nu walo.*
 ACT-TRAN-make I.PIV NPV house
 I am making the house.
- (4) *Waal-on ku walo tu.*
 make-PAT I.NPV house this.PIV
 This house is being made by me.
- (5) *Waal-an mu ya aku nu walo.*
 make-REF you.NPV TDM I.PIV NPV house
 For me, you are making the house.
- (6) *I-waal ku papan iri nu walo.*
 THM-make I.NPV wood(PIV) that NPV house
 That wood I'm using to make the house.

Tense in Tombonuo is relative rather than absolute, that is, the deictic centre or time axis is fixed relative to other events and may be specified by peripheral temporal phrases or adverbials (cf. Boutin, this volume, section 5). The only tense-marking morphology in Tombonuo is for the simple past tense (see section 2.3 for a discussion of its function).

Past tense in Tombonuo is marked by *n-*.⁵ When the simple past affix combines with the stative prefix *o-*, the resulting past stative verb form functions almost like a perfect. Having the element of 'stativity' and so being relatively low in transitivity, verbs marked with *no-* typically cross-reference patient pivot. On verbs inherently low in transitivity, a verb prefixed by *no-* typically lacks an actor. On verbs inherently high in transitivity, the prefix combination *no-* effects what functions like an English passive. The semantics of the verb is modified to indicate lack of intention or volition to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the inherent transitivity of the verb root. This feature of verbs prefixed with *no-* distinguishes them from their active counterparts which receive the past tense marker *n-* without the stative *o-*.

- (7) *No-bolou asu ono.*
 PAST.ST-blind dog DISTANT
 The dog was blinded.

²Abbreviations used are as follows: ACT – actor, INT – intensifier, NPV – non-pivot, PAT – patient, PERF – perfective, PIV – pivot, PM – person marker, QUES – question marker, RED – reduced-focus marker (cf. Ida'an NL), REF – referent, ST – stative, TDM – thematic developmental marker (cf. Ida'an DEV), THM – theme, TRAN – transitiviser.

³Some verbs cross-reference actor pivot with the infix *-um-*, which is realised as *mu-* on vowel-initial roots.

⁴Whenever there is an infix in an example or a morphophonemic change obscuring the affixes or the root which is relevant to the matter being exemplified, the component parts of the verb and its affixes are repeated in brackets following the example.

⁵In active sentences, past tense is marked by the infix *-in-* (prefix *in-* on vowel-initial roots). *N-* is used in conjunction with the stative prefix *o-*.

- (8) *Na-ambai[no-ambai] nai likud ku no nu rui.*
 PAST.ST-hit there back my DISTANT NPV thorn
 The thorn hit my back.
- (9) *Nosipak ku iri watu ri.*
 PAST.ST.kick I that rock that
 The rock was kicked accidentally by me.

Example (7) demonstrates the use of the past tense and stative prefix *no-* on a single-argument clause with low transitivity and lacking an actor. Example (8) illustrates the use of the same prefix on a two-argument clause, higher in transitivity but still lacking an actor. In (9), *no-* is attached to a verb high in transitivity but still lacking an intentional actor. The 'pastness' of verbs marked with *no-* (including those prefixed with *noko-* (considered below)) is discussed in section 2.3.

A verb marked with the timeless perfective prefix *ko-* presents an event viewed as a whole. The event is perfective in that it is complete in the mind of the speaker. It is timeless in that the verb itself gives no temporal (deictic) orientation. Verbs with *ko-* are therefore context independent to the extent that they are not attached to the deictic centre of any preceding event. Verbs with this prefix often have nuances of 'recentness', 'potentiality', 'intention', 'wilfulness' or 'future'. Such nuances are either inherent to the clause, given the cognitive universe of speaker and hearer, or can be made explicit using post-verbal aspectual markers (see section 3.2) or temporal adverbials. Verbs marked with *ko-* are high in transitivity and so typically cross-reference actor pivot. Examples:

- (10) a. *Ko-sigup aku sisuna.*
 PERF-cigarette I just.now
 I just now smoked (but I'm not smoking now).
- b. *Monigup [m-poN-sigup] aku.*
 ACT-TRAN-smoke I
 I am smoking.
- (11) a. *Ko-siou aku yo sono nu lobu.*
 PERF-see I TDM now NPV person
 I can now see the people (I couldn't before).
- b. *Mon-siou aku nu lobu.*
 ACT-see I NPV people
 I am looking at the people.

Timeless perfective verbs can receive the past and stative prefix combination *no-*. When this occurs, *noko-* encodes past plus perfective. The event prefixed with *noko-* is viewed as a whole, completed at some point and effecting a result (stative). Verbs prefixed with *noko-* are high in transitivity by virtue of *ko-*; typically they are accomplishment verbs, expressing a result and cross-referencing actor pivot.

As in the case with verbs prefixed by *no-*, those roots inherently low in transitivity lack an intentional actor. Those verbs inherently high in transitivity have an intentional actor, but the nuance conveyed by the combination of *no-* and *ko-* indicates that the agent was not confident (s)he would succeed when (s)he acted. In other words, the combination *noko-* prefixed to a verb high in transitivity, means that the agent 'managed' or 'happened' to accomplish something. Examples:

- (12) *No-ko-siit* *baju ku no* *so kayu.*
 PAST.ST-PERF-catch shirt I DISTANT to tree
 My shirt got caught on the tree.
- (13) *No-ko-sagid* *akod ku no* *nu rui.*
 PAST.ST-PERF-prick foot I DISTANT NPV thorn
 My foot was pricked by a thorn.
- (14) *No-ko-solamat* *aku nu lolaing sisuna.*
 PAST.ST-PERF-save I NPV child just.now
 I managed to save the child just now.

1.2 THE DISCOURSE

Tombonuo narrative discourse typically consists of a setting and a number of episodes which lead up to and include a climax and a resolution. Longacre (1976:199ff.) describes narrative discourse as being "... rooted in real time; it recounts events supposed to have happened somewhere, whether in the real or in an imaginary world. What is recounted is considered to be accomplished". He further describes narrative discourse as being "+ 1st/3rd person", "+ agent orientation", "+ accomplished time" and "+ chronological linkage".

In Tombonuo narrative discourse, the setting is very stative and is where major participants are introduced for the first time. The discourse conflict or theme is also introduced in the setting. An episode may be relatively simple and comprise a single thematic paragraph (see section 1.3), or it may be complex and comprise one or more 'embedded discourses', each of which may in itself be complete with setting and episodes (including climax and resolution). These embedded discourses appear most commonly in long Tombonuo folktales. A break between embedded discourses is effected when there is a major shift in the discourse location and that location shifts for all major participants relevant to that embedded discourse. The following example shows the embedded discourse boundaries in one Tombonuo folktale approximately 300 propositions in length.⁶ (See example (24) for a fuller summary of the folktale.)

- (15) (Sultan: 1) There were two orphaned brothers. They decided to try to seek a wife at the Sultan's (5-9).
- (Sultan: 10) The two brothers went together to the Sultan. The Sultan asked for help clearing his fields (21-24).
- (Sultan: 25) The elder brother went to clear a field for the Sultan. He got hit in the back with an axe (80).
- (Sultan: 94) The next day the younger brother went to clear the field for the Sultan. The Sultan died, killed by the younger brother (248).
- (Sultan: 259) In the afternoon the maiden came to get the young man. The Sultan was brought back to life (295).

At sentences 10, 25, 94 and 259 of 'Sultan', there is a major locational shift for all major participants in the following embedded discourses. Each of these propositions begins a new

⁶Examples in this paper come from various discourses. Where possible, however, they are taken from a text entitled, 'The Sultan, the youth and the maiden' (hereafter 'Sultan'). In (15), (24) and Table 1, the original sentence numbers from the transcribed text are included to orientate the reader.

episode or embedded discourse. That the use of major locational shifting with respect to all major participants in a discourse indicates a more significant break than one between thematic paragraphs is clear from the use of marked past tense as a boundary feature (see section 2.3) and topic/participant discontinuity involving a significant change in the cast of major participants who interact in the different episodes or embedded discourses.

Episodes, including the build-up, climax and resolution of the discourse, are marked for continuity and discontinuity where appropriate. The devices used to effect continuity and discontinuity in Tombonuo are presented in section 2.

1.3 THE THEMATIC PARAGRAPH

A thematic paragraph, as perceived by Givón (1983:7) and as understood throughout this paper, is a chain or sequence of clauses which combine into larger thematic units. Givón discusses three aspects of discourse continuity which are manifested through the thematic paragraph: thematic continuity, action continuity, and topic/participant continuity (see the introduction to this volume). In Tombonuo these three categories of continuity receive structural expression within the sentence by the use of connectives, expanded spatio-temporal and participant references and the use of marked past tense.

Tomlin (1987) recognises the thematic paragraph or episode as a significant unit in discourse. He relates participant referencing in discourse to thematic paragraph or episode boundaries. According to him, and in the experiments conducted by him, the speaker uses full nominal reference when reinstating a reference across episode boundaries and pronominal reference within episodes.

Rather than a bipartite distinction between nominal and pronominal referencing, Givón (1983:17ff.) proposed an iconicity hierarchy for the encoding of the topic identification domain which is similar to that operating in Tombonuo. In Tombonuo, there is a hierarchy from zero anaphora to full expanded participant reference, with intermediate distinctions as well (cf. King & Levinsohn, this volume, section 1). As was noted by Tomlin, expanded forms of reference to major participants in the narrative generally occur at boundaries between thematic paragraphs or episodes, as in (16b) below.

- (16) a. So the youth threw the betelnut out of the basket.
 b. *Noowi'an-a iri ingkakung iri nu buyu.*
 finished-also that basket that NPV betelnut
 The basket was completely emptied of the betelnut.
 c. The youth grabbed the basket and threw it to the ground. When it hit the ground, the Sultan died.

In Tombonuo, such expanded references also occur at highly significant points within an episode such as the build-up to a climax. This is demonstrated in (17). (Expanded forms of participant reference in Tombonuo involve the full form of the appropriate demonstrative, after as well as before the noun.)

In (17b) the youth continues as the major participant in the narrative but he is referred to with the expanded form of reference which follows a thematic paragraph break. In other words, topic/participant continuity is maintained but action continuity is disrupted.

- (17) a. When he got to the basket, the youth kicked it and rolled it away. The basket reached the betelnut tree.
- b. *Nokologa' ya itu omulok itu so puun nu buyu tu.*
 arrived TDM this youth this to tree NPV betelnut this
 This youth also arrived at the betelnut tree.
- c. He didn't just pick the betelnut but snatched it all down from the tree and stuffed the basket full.

In (17b) there are no syntactic markings of a shift in the discourse theme except the expanded participant reference. The expanded participant reference functions to shift the topic from the basket (a prop) to the young man, prior to his climactic action of snatching down the betelnut and branches and stuffing it all into the basket.

In (18b) below, the expanded participant reference signals a break in action continuity. In addition, the connective *na* indicates overall thematic continuity (see section 2.2.1), while the overt temporal margin *nu susuab tu* 'this morning' indicates a discontinuity of temporal situation. That the time margin is not L-dislocated indicates that the shift from speech to action is primary and the temporal-situational shift only secondary.

- (18) a. After the Sultan attacked the youth, he went home and reported to his brother that he had done all that the Sultan had asked and still the Sultan attacked him. So the younger brother said that he would take his place and do the clearing and be the one seeking a wife at the Sultan's.
- b. *Na minian oyo sono itu adi' itu nu susuab tu.*
 so went TDM now this younger.brother this NPV morning this
 So the younger brother went in the morning.

2. CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY

Givón (1983:36, fn.4) observes the three unities of time, place and action, recognised already by the Greek playwrights, and adds the unities of theme and topics/participants. He observes further that, when these unities are maintained, the unity or thematic continuity of the discourse remains intact. However, where there are shifts in one or more of these features, discontinuity of a greater or lesser degree occurs.

Levinsohn (1987:xiv) relates these five unities to thematic, topic/participant and action continuity (see the introduction to this volume). Because topicalisation includes front-shifted spatio-temporal references (Foley & Van Valin 1984), he broadens topic/participant unity to cover "continuity of situation" or spatio-temporal continuity (1987:66).

In Tombonuo there are devices for maintaining and for causing shifts in the five unities. In section 1.3, I considered the use of expanded participant reference when there is discontinuity of topics/participants. In this section I discuss the use of front-shifted spatio-temporal references which indicate a change of spatial or temporal setting (section 2.1), the use of connectives which generally indicate thematic continuity (section 2.2), and the use of tense to cause 'detachment' of the clause from discourse time at discourse boundaries, and in connection with out-of-sequence events and climactic portions of the narrative (section 2.3).

2.1 FRONT-SHIFTED SPATIO-TEMPORAL REFERENCES

The use of front-shifted spatio-temporal references in Tombonuo narratives is a high level discourse feature which most often signals a boundary between episodes or thematic paragraphs. For example:

- (19) a. The youth arrived and cleared not only the trees but also all the coconuts.
 b. *Tonga runat tu nokologa' yo sono su' roraa,*
 mid day this arrived TDM now the maiden
 At noon the maiden arrived,
 c. following with the food (for the youth).

Front-shifted spatio-temporal references typically signal action discontinuity, since their function is to replace a corresponding earlier setting (Levinsohn 1987:xiv).

2.2 CONNECTIVES

Givón (1983:8) says that “thematic continuity is most commonly coded via conjunction ... particles in the SVO or VSO typologies”. Connectives in Tombonuo narrative discourse are used at points of action discontinuity to indicate thematic continuity and also thematic development. Their primary function, to indicate thematic continuity, is dealt with first; their secondary function, in connection with thematic development, is dealt with at the end of the section.

Connectives in Tombonuo are discussed here in terms of both their overall discourse pragmatic function (continuity/discontinuity) and their local clause/sentence level function (encoding semantic relationships). In section 2.2.1, I discuss how sequentiality is encoded in Tombonuo via ZERO (the absence of a connective) and the connectives *om*, *jadi* and *na*. In Tombonuo, “natural sequential order” (Givón 1983:8) is typically unmarked in narrative. The associative *om* at the discourse level marks a close association between the two events it connects. *Jadi* marks action discontinuity for groups of sequential events with sometimes large time gaps in between. *Na* marks sequential events if the relationship between them is primarily logical, or more specifically resultative. In section 2.2.2, I discuss the function of the adversative or contra-expectation connective *nga*.

2.2.1 SEQUENTIAL CONNECTIVES: ZERO, *om*, *jadi*, *na*

According to Givón (1983) action continuity is maintained as events are presented in a discourse in natural sequence with little time gap between each event. Action discontinuity typically occurs when a new temporal setting is established, as the effect of the new setting generally is to extend the time gap between events. Action discontinuity also occurs when there is a change in the NATURE of the action, such as when the narrative shifts between conversation and action, or when it shifts between a background comment and action.

In Tombonuo, natural sequence is unmarked (see examples (20c) and (20d) below).

- (20) a. Not long afterwards Inuwung heard a sound afar off, like the voice of Woyon.
 b. *Indadi tinarak sono ni Inuwung.*
 so went.toward now PM NAME
 So Inuwung went toward (the sound).

- c. *Nokologa' ya*
arrived TDM
(She) arrived,
- d. *Dinium so tontong pinuut giniakan-i,*
sought to place followed shouting-that
(and) sought the place, following the shouting,
- e. but there was nothing there.

There are two uses of the associative *om* 'and'. In both, *om* connects two events and indicates that the latter event is more important than the former. The first use of *om* is to effect simple sequentiality of events controlled or performed by a single actor, and to draw the audience's attention to the second of the events. Example:

- (21) a. The youth took the axe
b. *om laaso su' pinoianan nu okanon ...*
and chopped the container NPV rice
and chopped open the rice container ...

With the second use of the associative *om*, a closer than natural connection is effected between two clauses with different actors. Even the normal clause-level pause for breath is absent when *om* is employed in this way to indicate the close association of the clauses.

- (22) a. "*Au nokuro ka dai ko mongokan?*" *koo roraa tu*
oh why QUES not you eat said maiden this
"Oh, why aren't you eating?" said the maiden.
b. *om "owasug aku po" koo omulok tu.*
and full I still said youth this
AND "I'm still full", said the youth.

This discourse function of the associative is often used prior to a direct conversation, giving the impression that the latter clause (the content of the conversation) is more important than the former clause:

- (23) a. So the maiden returned and arrived at the house.
b. *Ko-loga' yo so walo*
PERF-arrive TDM to house
She arrived at the house
c. *om "ado ya ka norusak nu iri niou-i?"*
and not.have TDM QUES destroyed NPV that coconut-that
koo itu Sulutan tu.
said this sultan this
and, "None of the coconuts were destroyed, were they?" asked the Sultan.

*Jadi*⁷ and *na*, in their discourse pragmatic function, occur at points in the narrative where there is action discontinuity (see above), to indicate that there is thematic continuity (and development) through the linking of one section of the narrative to the next. Neither *jadi* or *na* occur sentence medially. In highly stylised folktales where a second person provides an affirmative response to the storyteller, *jadi* and *na* only occur after such a response, indicating a significant break.⁸ *Jadi* and *na* are then used to indicate maintenance of thematic continuity in the light of such a break or discontinuity.

The use of *jadi* and *na* often coincides with other features which also may reflect the existence of a discontinuity (e.g. expanded participant references; section 1.3), or which themselves signal a discontinuity (front-shifted spatio-temporal references, use of past tense to detach boundary events from unmarked mainline events; section 2.3).

The functions of *jadi* and *na*, and their coincidence with other features which reflect discontinuities, are illustrated in the following summary of 'Sultan':

- (24) There were two orphaned brothers who hunted and trapped. One day they decided, in a conversation, that it was time to seek a wife at the Sultan's.
- 10 – *Jadi* (conversation > action)
The brothers went to the Sultan. They used to take him things like pigs or whatever they caught in their traps.
- 17 – *Jadi* (new temporal setting)
When the Sultan figured out that the young men were looking for a wife, he asked them to clear his field. He said it had to be done in a certain way so that no coconut trees were harmed.
- 25 – *Jadi* (conversation > action)
The older brother went to go. The Sultan added that the youth didn't need to return at noon for lunch but that the maiden would bring his lunch out to him. The youth agreed.
- 31 – *Jadi* (conversation > action)
The youth went and saw how huge the trees were in the area that he had to clear.
- 36 – *Jadi* (perception > action)
He started to clear it and saw that some coconuts were withered from being sheltered by the overgrowth, so he cleared those away as well.
- 42 – *Jadi* (new temporal setting)
At noon the maiden came bringing his lunch. He saw it but didn't know how to open the container, so sent her back home. She saw his work and reported back to the Sultan that the youth hadn't cut down any coconuts but had cleared away ones that were withered from being sheltered by overgrowth. So the Sultan ordered that the youth be brought back for his disobedience.

⁷There are dialectal and idiolectal variants of the connective *jadi* which include *adi*, *dadi*, *nadi* and *indadi*.

⁸Tombonuo folktales often must be told by one person with a second person providing the response 'oo' at appropriate places in the story.

71 – ZERO (new temporal setting)

In the afternoon, the youth returned and, on his way, stopped by and ate at the Sultan's. When he turned his back to leave, the Sultan hit him in the back with an axe.

81a – *Na* (stationary interaction > movement)

From there he bled all the way home.

81b – *Na* (action > conversation)

His younger brother asked what had happened and he gave his report. This made the younger brother tell his older sibling that he would replace him.

94 – *Na* (conversation > action)

He went the next day and told the Sultan the new plan. The Sultan gave him the same orders about clearing and about the maiden coming out at noon with his lunch. He agreed.

105 – ZERO (conversation > action)

The youth arrived at the field and cleared not only the overgrowth from it but all the coconuts as well.

112 – ZERO (new temporal setting)

At noon the maiden came with his lunch. Since he couldn't figure how to open the container, he just slashed at it and some spilt out. Then he sent the maiden home, saying that he was full anyway.

124 – *Na* (conversation > action)

The maiden returned and, when her father asked her what had happened, she reported that the youth had chopped down everything. "Send him back here!" said the Sultan. "How could he do this to me?"

134 – ZERO (conversation > action)

The youth returned and the Sultan lay in wait for him with an axe. The youth didn't go up to the Sultan's but rather went home and reported to his injured older brother about what he had done.

153 – *Jadi* (new temporal setting)

After a couple of days the maiden came to the youth and said the Sultan needed his help picking betelnut. The youth agreed.

163 – *Jadi* (conversation > action)

The youth went. The Sultan had hidden in the basket, waiting to stab him when he put the basket on his back.

169 – *Jadi* (flashback > action)

The youth arrived but, rather than putting on the basket, he kicked it and rolled it to a betelnut tree, where he cut down the nuts, leaves and branches and stuffed them all in the basket. When the basket was stuffed full, he hit the basket and started rolling it home. As he rolled it home, he would hear groaning inside. When he would threaten to slice up the basket, the groaning would stop. He finally threatened to kill what was inside and, when he got to the house, he emptied the betelnut from the basket.

244 – ZERO

The contents were all out; he then grabbed the basket and threw it to the ground. The Sultan died. “So you got just what you deserved for your evil deeds, Sultan!” The youth went home.

259 – *oongo*⁹ (new temporal setting)

That afternoon the maiden came to the youth at her mother's request, and asked that he give the Sultan his life back. The youth said he would.

268 – ZERO (new temporal setting)

After a while the youth came and described all that he wanted if he were to restore the Sultan to life (riches, the Sultan as his slave, and the maiden for his wife). The Sultan's wife agreed.

282 – ZERO (conversation > action)

He restored the Sultan to life and told him what had been agreed. He threatened to kill him again if he didn't agree. The Sultan agreed.

295 – *Na* (conversation > action/result)

The Sultan lived and the youth became king. He had all the riches and the maiden for his wife.

Example (24) above shows that *jadi* and *na* occur at points of action discontinuity (when there are shifts from conversation or perception to action, or vice versa) and of situational discontinuity (reflected in the presence of front-shifted temporal expressions to establish new temporal settings).

TABLE 1: FUNCTIONS OF *jadi* AND *na*

| Part 1 | | |
|--------|-------------|---|
| 10 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 17 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 25 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 31 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 36 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 42 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 71 | ZERO | climactic episode (climax of cycle 1) |
| 81a | <i>Na</i> | result/build-up |
| 81b | <i>Na</i> | result/build-up |
| 94 | <i>Na</i> | result/build-up |
| 105 | ZERO | climactic episode (1st climax of cycle 2) |
| 112 | ZERO | climactic episode (2nd climax of cycle 2) |
| 124 | <i>Na</i> | result/build-up |
| 134 | ZERO | climactic episode (3rd climax of cycle 2) |

⁹The form *oongo* has been found to date only in folktales and is used to effect a pause within a clause.

| Part 2 | | |
|--------|--------------|-------------------|
| 153 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 163 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 169 | <i>Jadi</i> | build-up |
| 244 | ZERO | climactic episode |
| 259 | <i>oongo</i> | climax pause |
| 268 | ZERO | climactic episode |
| 282 | ZERO | climactic episode |
| 295 | <i>Na</i> | result |

} (Climax of part 2)

Although both *jadi* and *na* occur at points of discontinuity, their functions are different, as Table 1 shows. *Jadi* is used to indicate thematic continuity and development as the episodes build up to a climax. The climactic episodes themselves typically are not introduced by sentence connectives. Episodes which result from the climax typically are introduced by *na*.¹⁰

2.2.2 ADVERSATIVE CONTRA-EXPECTATION CONNECTIVE: *nga*

The discourse function of the connective *nga*, which locally denotes contrast or contra-expectation, is to signal a shift of action or topic. It can therefore be said to signal discontinuity of actions and/or topics/participants. It is often found at the end of a major episode. Typically, the information following *nga* is more important than the information preceding it, whether the shift is from a comment or action to a resultant decision or state (25, 26, 27), or is from a topic to a comment (28).¹¹ Consequently, a similarity of function between *nga* and the associative *om* (see section 2.2.1) can be seen.

Examples (25), (26) and (27) demonstrate the function of *nga* to indicate a shift in action. In (25), the shift is from a discussion of past actions (*nga*) to a resultant present decision.

- (25) a. The Sultan was angry and said, "How could he do this when I told him I didn't want any coconuts to be cleared away?"
- b. *Nga pouli'on po omulok-i.*
SHIFT send.back also youth-that
"Get that youth back here!"

In (26) and (27), the shift is from the action (*nga*), to the resultant state:

- (26) a. The youth took the axe.
- b. *om laaso su' pinoianan nu okanon*
and chopped the container NPV rice
and chopped open the rice container
- c. *nga minonompias.*
SHIFT scattered
and it was scattered all around.

¹⁰In Ida'an (Moody, this volume, section 4.3), *na* is used not only at points of discontinuity but also to relate events in natural sequential order, if the relationship between them is primarily logical.

¹¹In Coastal Kadazan (Miller & Miller, this volume, section 5.4), *nopo nga* is highly productive and used also to signal a shift in topic.

(27) a. So in the afternoon the youth returned. He stopped by at the Sultan's to eat. As he turned to go, the Sultan hit him with his axe.

- b. *Nga nororai su' likud.*
 SHIFT was.torn the back
 So his back was torn open (by the axe).

In (28b) and (28d), *nga* is used in conjunction with topicalisation (L-dislocation) to effect a shift of topics. In both sentences, it separates the topic and the comment.

(28) a. So when the youth raised the Sultan back to life, he told the Sultan the agreement he had made with his wife if he healed him.

- b. *Roraa ri nga pilion nio*
 maiden that SHIFT chose he
 As for that maiden, he chose her
- c. *nu' olapo nu sawo.*
 which take NPV spouse
 and he took her for his wife.
- d. *Itu tontong itu nga io monjadi nu raja.*
 this place this SHIFT he became NPV king
 As for this place, he became the king.

The common feature in both of these discourse functions of *nga* is that it indicates a shift (in topic or action). This feature may be viewed as a logical extension of its local adversative function of expressing contrast or contra-expectation.

2.3 PAST TENSE

Waugh and Monville-Burston (1986) explain the simple past in French as functioning to bring 'detachment' within a discourse. The notion of detachment is similar to that of ground and figure, with the detached form being the figure or marked form. The term detachment is preferable here, however, as figure implies increased importance, whereas the effect of detachment in Tombonuo may at times be downgrading in importance.

In Tombonuo narrative, tense is most often unmarked and so derived from the discourse context. As was stated in section 1.1, tense is relative in Tombonuo; the deictic centre in narrative is not the time of utterance but 'discourse time' that is, the time of the last mainline event. The function of the form with the past tense marker is to detach that clause from its discourse context. The effect of detachment is to make the clause context-independent. In other words, it is not chronologically or deictically attached to the previous event; rather, the presence of the past tense marker detaches the event from discourse time (see Boutin, this volume, section 6.2, for further discussion of detachment).

I now discuss three different circumstances in which detached clauses are used in narrative discourse: 1) to present boundary events; 2) to present climactic events; and 3) to present out-of-sequence events.

The first use of past tense is to detach boundary events from the body of the episode, whether they are preliminary to or following unmarked mainline events, and whether or not they are subordinated. Though the event is detached from the episode in which it occurs,

thematic continuity can be maintained by means of connectives (section 2.2) and the thematic development marker *yo* which ties the event to the prior events (see section 3.2.1). This is illustrated in (29):

- (29) a. The younger brother said he would take the injured older brother's place seeking a wife and working for the Sultan.
- b. *Na m-in-ian oyo sono itu adi' tu nu susuab tu.*
so ACT-PAST-go TDM now this younger.brother this NPV morning this
So the younger brother went in the morning.
- c. *Ko-loga' ya,*
PERF-arrive TDM
He arrived,
- d. (and he explained the new arrangements and asked where the place was that he was to clear).

In this example, the presence of the past tense marker detaches (29b) from the body of the episode to follow, although the sentence still coheres with the prior episode semantically ('he said he would go and he went') and structurally, because of the resultative connective *na* and the marker *oyo*. Then, in (29c), the time of the body of the episode is established by virtue of the perfective form of the verb 'arrive' (section 1.1).

This same type of boundary event detachment is illustrated in (30a-c), but in a subordinate rather than independent construction.

- (30) a. The youths would bring the Sultan whatever they caught in their traps. So, after a long time,
- b. *pogka no-ilaan-o sono nu Sulutan-i nu' mononsawo*
when PAST.ST-realise-TDM now NPV sultan-that that betrothed
itu omulok itu di so nosiro,
this youth this there to them
when the Sultan realised that the youth wanted to marry (his daughter),
- c. there came a time when the Sultan asked for help clearing his fields.

This type of boundary detachment is most clearly illustrated on verbs of motion as in (29b) but, as can be seen from (30) above, detachment of boundary events which do not involve motion occurs as well.

The second use of past tense is to detach climactic events or states resulting from a climactic action. In this usage, which is very frequent in Tombonuo narrative, the marked events are typically upgraded relative to the immediately prior context. This use of the past tense is similar to the first, in that detached climactic information may often be interpreted also as boundary information. This is illustrated in (31 b-e), (32c-d) and (33b-c).

- (31) a. Inuwung saw something that looked like fruit hanging from a tree.
- b. *Indadi minongalap[-in-m-poN-alap] sono si Inuwung nu*
so PAST-ACT-TRAN-take now PM NAME NPV
tumbolang
pole
So Inuwung took a pole.

- c. *om winaal[-in-waal] nu bolibu,*
and PAST-make NPV harvesting.stick
and made a harvesting stick,
- d. *om in-indakod nio kororong-i mongalap*
and PAST-climb she tree-that take
and she climbed that tree with it
- e. *om pinigis [-in-pigis].*
and PAST-cut
and cut (the fruit).
- (32) a. ... and the youth went up a while, ate with the Sultan and then went home. (The youth) turned to leave
- b. *om bolingo nu Sulutan tu nu kapak,*
and hit NPV sultan this NPV axe
and the Sultan hit him with the axe,
- c. *nga no-rorai su' likud,*
SHIFT PAST.ST-tear the back
and his back was torn,
- d. *no-suat nu kapak,*
PAST.ST-hit NPV axe
being hit by the axe,
- e. and from there he bled all the way home to his brother.

The climactic action in (32b) is followed in (32c-d) by two clauses with verbs detached with the past tense plus stative prefix *no-* (see section 1.1), indicating the resultant states of the climactic action.

- (33) a. "You can have everything that you want", said the maiden; "just bring the Sultan back to life!"
- b. *Winiau[-in-wiau] oyo itu nu omulok tu.*
PAST-live TDM this NPV youth this
The Sultan was revived by the youth.
- c. *No-wiau su' Sulutan*
PAST.ST-live the sultan
The Sultan was alive
- d. and the youth told the Sultan the agreement they had made.

In (33a-c) again, the past tense functions at a climactic point in the narrative to detach and upgrade the event in the narrative. Both the act of reviving the Sultan (33b) and the resultant state, 'the Sultan was alive' (33c), receive the past tense marker.

The third use of detachment is to mark out-of-sequence events. In (34), the past tense is used in connection with supplementary information. The information of (34c-d) is detached from the flow of the discourse, using the past plus perfective *no-ko-*.

- (34) a. *Aw-aw tu ya muli' oyo itu omulok itu.*
afternoon this TDM return TDM this youth this
That afternoon the youth returned (home).

- b. *Ko-loga' ya so waloi*
 PERF-arrive TDM to house
 He arrived at the house (of the Sultan)
- c. *om no-ko-indakod sontagal omulok tu,*
 and PAST.ST-PERF-go.up a.while youth this
 and the youth went up a while,
- d. *no-ko-okan di so Sulutan-i*
 PAST.ST-PERF-eat there to sultan-that
 ate at the Sultan's
- e. *om muli' oyo.*
 and return TDM
 and returned.

Examples (34a) and (34e) refer to the same event. The events marked with the past tense marker, (34c) and (34d), are detached, as they took place before (34a).

In the following example, both an out-of-sequence event and a subordinate occurrence of the past tense are in evidence in a single sentence:

(35) a. The youth chopped down the trees. There was not even one fallen coconut.

- b. *Na pogka m-in-osa' iri niou iri nu' no-tongob*
 so when ACT-PAST-rot that coconut that which PAST.ST-shelter
nu oba'on-i,
 NPV jungle-that
 Now when there were coconuts that had rotted, that had been sheltered by the
 jungle,

c. he was throwing away the withered leaves.

In (35), the presence of the past tense marker detaches downgraded (in this case, background) information from the flow of the events in the narrative. The events are not in chronological sequence; rather, the narrator is providing information about the situation that the young man found. With respect to the time of 'was throwing away' (35c), 'had rotted' (35b) is out of sequence. Similarly, with respect to the time of 'had rotted' (35b), 'had been sheltered' (35b) is out of sequence.

3. THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT

In Tombonuo narratives, thematic development is manifested in connection with foreground actions, that is, "events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse" or "which are on the main story line" (Hopper 1979:213). By contrast, background provides information to the narrative which is "subsidiary or supportive" (Hopper, p.213) and which does not pertain to thematic development. Background by definition encodes information of less importance to the overall discourse theme than foreground or mainline actions.

Cross-linguistic evidence abounds to show that languages possess ways of distinguishing, syntactically as well as semantically and sometimes morphologically, between information that is foreground and that which is background (Hopper 1979; Wallace 1982:208). Jones and Jones (1979) go even further and claim that, for some meso-American

languages, the bipartite distinction into foreground and background should be further subdivided to allow for a hierarchy of five or six levels or degrees of grounding.¹² Though there is currently some debate as to the validity of the binary distinction between foreground and background (Givón 1987:175ff.), this two-way distinction seems most appropriate for discussing Tombonuo narrative, and several devices contribute to the marking of the distinction. In particular, foreground events in Tombonuo narrative discourse may be recognised from verb morphology (section 3.1) and from the distribution of thematic development markers (section 3.2). Background information is typically encoded in subordinate (dependent) clauses, in stative verbal clauses (in contrast with active clauses) and in clauses whose verbs carry full cross-referencing to a non-actor pivot, when they are found under conditions other than those designated in section 3.1.

3.1 VERB MORPHOLOGY AND THE FOREGROUND-BACKGROUND DISTINCTION

Foreground events in Tombonuo narrative discourse are coded morphologically in three ways: verbs cross-referenced to an actor pivot ('actor-focus verbs') plus verbs with reduced cross-referencing to a non-actor pivot ('reduced-focus forms') (section 3.1.1); verbs with full cross-referencing to a non-actor pivot ('full-focus forms') when these verbs occur at climactic points (and) in connection with topicalisation of non-actor (section 3.1.2); and verbs marked for simple past tense and/or perfective aspect (section 3.1.3).

3.1.1 UNMARKED FOREGROUND – FORMS CROSS-REFERENCED TO ACTOR AND REDUCED FORMS

Tombonuo is an actor-prominent language where, in the unmarked case, attention is directed from the actor to the patient. Strong preference is shown in Tombonuo for encoding mainline events in narrative discourse either with cross-referencing to actor pivot or with reduced forms (cross-referenced to a non-actor pivot), rather than with full forms. Full forms (cross-referenced to a non-actor pivot) typically are detached with the past tense marker (see section 2.3) or else occur in topicalised clauses (see section 3.1.2). Of the 247 two-argument clauses with definite patients from six texts which were surveyed for verbal cross-referencing, two forms predominated. Among forms unmarked for tense (-Past), those cross-referenced to actor pivot predominated (83 out of 136, or 61 per cent). Among forms marked for past tense (+Past), those cross-referenced to non-actor pivot predominated (90 out of 111, or 81 per cent). See Table 2 (reduced forms never occur in past tense).

TABLE 2: VERBAL CROSS-REFERENCING OF TWO-ARGUMENT CLAUSES WITH DEFINITE PATIENTS

| verbal cross-referencing to: | ACTOR | NON-ACTOR (full forms) | NON-ACTOR (reduced) |
|------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| -Past | 83 | 28 | 25 |
| +Past | 21 | 90 | – |

¹²Jones and Jones interpret markers of thematic development as foregrounding devices (cf., for example, -tz in Aguateca; 1979:100). In the present volume, thematic development and grounding are considered to be different variables; cf. section 4.

The correlation between the choice of cross-referencing to non-actor pivot and the function of past tense to detach the clause from the discourse flow is outside the scope of the present study. It is significant to note, however, that there appears to be a strong correlation between them, which should be investigated in the future.

Tombonuo narrative discourse has a strong tendency to begin subunits cross-referencing to actor pivot and for the subunit to shift back to cross-referencing to actor pivot within the subunit. At episodic boundaries, both the closing verb of the first episode and the opening clause in the new episode are typically cross-referenced to actor pivot. In between, major participants and minor participants (including props) interact and so there occur instances of verbal cross-referencing to non-actor pivot.

The use of reduced forms implies topic continuity, since full forms occur when there is topic/participant shift or topic discontinuity (see section 3.1.2). In the following example, reduced forms occur in (36b) and (36f).

- (36) a. *Mom-panou oyo sono iri omulok-i.*
 ACT-go TDM now that youth-that
 The youth went.
- b. *Siowi nu omulok-i itu ipoinduas itu-no*
 RED.see NPV youth-that this to.be.cleared this-DISTANT
 The youth saw the land to be cleared
- c. *su' soro soko ono kukutuu nu itu kayu itu.*
 which much as this big NPV this tree this
 where the trees were so large.
- d. *Iri yo su' i-poinduas di so niou nio-ri.*
 that TDM which THM-to.be.cleared there to coconut his-that
 That was what was to be cleared, at the coconuts.
- e. *Dai mongo nu otungan iri niou-i.*
 not want NPV fallen that coconut-that
 (The Sultan) did not want any coconuts to fall.
- f. *Jadi, togadi yo sono itu omulok tu.*
 so RED.cut.down TDM now this youth this
 So, the youth cut down (the trees).
- g. *Ado ya bo nima otungan iri niou iri.*
 not.have TDM INT even fallen that coconut that
 There was not even one fallen coconut.
- h. *Na pogka minosa' yo iri niou-i nu' notongob*
 so when rotted TDM that coconut-that which sheltered
nu oba'on-i,
 NPV jungle-that
 When there were coconuts that had rotted, that had been sheltered by the jungle,
- i. *oiduan-o po sono nu gouton lumingoi-o raun-i.*
 throw.away-TDM also now NPV jungle withered-TDM leaves-that
 he was throwing away those withered leaves into the jungle.

- b. *om okon-a ko iniba su' ingkakung;*
and not-also even carry the basket
(but) he did not put the aforementioned basket on his back (as expected);
- c. *somito yo*
grab TDM
rather he grabbed it
- d. *om pilayo yo so tana'.*
and throw TDM to ground
and threw it to the ground.

(In a construction such as (38b-d), each event of the climax is marked with the thematic development marker; see section 3.2)

Front-shifting (L-dislocation) has two functions in Tombonuo narrative discourse: 1) for topicalisation, most commonly in connection with background information (the topicalised NP is always anaphoric); and 2) for emphasis. These functions are illustrated respectively in (39) and (40).

- (39) a. At noon the maiden arrived and brought the youth's food. He saw it but didn't know how to open it.
- b. *Omulok itu wilton.*
youth this hungry
The youth was hungry.
- c. So the youth took the axe and slashed at the food container and the food spilt.
- (40) a. *Okon-a ko kayu rus tinogad[in-togad],*
not.just even wood immediately PAST-cut.down
(He did) not just cut down the (other) trees;
- b. *muad niou-i su' in-awi'*
but coconuts-that the PAST-finished
(he also cut down) all the coconut palms.

(NPs front-shifted for emphasis commonly occur at climaxes, in conjunction with the simple past.)

3.1.3 VERBS MARKED FOR PERFECTIVE ASPECT

Section 2.3 described how the past tense functions in Tombonuo narrative discourse, and suggested that such verbs, unless occurring in subordinate clauses, also encode mainline events. Verbs marked for perfective aspect also encode mainline events. Perfectiveness is often not the only criterion for marking mainline events. Tombonuo has several categories of mainline event marking, of which perfective is only one.

The timeless perfective aspect (see section 1.1) in Tombonuo narrative discourse functions to: 1) designate the event as definitely completed, even though the actual time of completion is indefinite with respect to the time of the last event; and 2) reattach the events of the ongoing narrative to discourse time, following the use of the past tense marker which functions to detach the event with which it is associated from discourse time (see section 2.3). In other words, the use of the timeless perfective marker *ko-* re-establishes discourse

time as the deictic centre for the ongoing discourse, the relationship of this centre to the time of the last event being left indefinite. Example (41b) illustrates this use of the timeless perfective aspect.

- (41) a. So, at noon the maiden went bringing the food to the youth.
 b. *Ko-loga' yo sono iri*
 PERF-arrive TDM now that
 The maiden actually arrived (after an indefinite time)
 c. and gave the food to the youth.

3.2 THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT MARKERS

As can be seen from the above discussion, verbs encoding mainline events in Tombonuo narrative are those which are cross-referenced to actor pivot and are not subordinate, together with reduced forms, plus those full forms which are marked with simple past and/or occur at climactic points with or without topicalisation.

In Tombonuo, mainline events can be marked to indicate development of the discourse theme with the use of the post-verbal aspectual markers *-o/yo*, *-a/ya*, and *po*.¹³

3.2.1 COMPLETIVE *-o/yo*

Whether in conversation or in narrative, *yo* always ties the event with which it is associated to a corresponding part of the context, whether verbal or non-verbal, and presents the current event as completed. Examples (42) and (43) demonstrate the function of *yo* as a completive aspect marker in conversation.

- (42) *Na-aas mai yo owa' ri.*
 PAST.ST-check we TDM trap that
 The traps were checked by us.
- (43) *No-solamat ku yo ono lolaing-o.*
 PAST.ST-save I TDM DISTANT child-DISTANT
 The child was saved by me.

Example (42) might be used in response to some query as to whether the traps had been checked.

The function of *yo* in narrative is to tie the event so marked to the event preceding it, to indicate that the current event represents a development from the previous one. It functions also to indicate that the current event is viewed as completed, with respect to the event which in turn will develop from it.

In narrative, the first occurrence of this thematic development marker typically occurs after the introduction of the participants in the narrative and the presentation of the “inciting moment” which gets the story going (Longacre 1976:214f.). This is illustrated in (44).

- (44) a. There were two people. The two brothers were orphans; they had no parents. Their work was farming and trapping.

¹³The basic forms of the thematic development markers *yo* and *ya* have variants *oyo* or *-o* and *-a*, respectively.

- b. So one time the older brother said, "So far it's been okay that we haven't gone to marry at the Sultan's, but now it is better that we go and try to marry at the Sultan's". "Okay", said the younger brother.
- c. *Dadi minian-o sono iri nosiro di so Sulutan-i.*
 so went-TDM now that they there to sultan-that
 So they then went to the Sultan.

In (44c) the TDM -o relates back to the presentation of the inciting moment in (44b), when the brothers discussed going to the Sultan. It also indicates that they followed through with their stated intention to go and that (44c) is viewed as completed, with respect to the performance of the next event in the discourse. The same function of *yo* can be seen in (45), which is from the opening episode of another discourse.

- (45) a. So it was like this for Woyon and Inuwung. Woyon had seven baskets of rice and livestock. He had a lot of livestock like buffalo, cattle and chickens. Once Woyon spoke to Inuwung, "Do this, Inuwung! At dawn prepare me some yams, because I'm going on a journey", said Woyon. "Okay", said Inuwung.
- b. *Jadi kodung duruk sumuab minongoluu yo*
 so when dawn become.morning prepared TDM
iri Inuwung-i.
 that NAME-that
 So when morning dawned Inuwung prepared (yams).

After the first occurrence of the TDM, each subsequent event manifesting thematic development is marked with the completive marker *yo*, the anticipatory marker *ya* or the continuative/incompletive marker *po*.

The discourse function of the completive marker *yo*, as stated above, is thematic development. Inasmuch as thematic development presupposes thematic continuity, *yo* accomplishes both. In addition, in ongoing discourses, *yo* not only ties the current event to the preceding event (development); it also prepares for the subsequent event by indicating that the current one is viewed as completed. Subsequent events then build on the current one.

The following example from 'Sultan' illustrates the discourse pragmatic function of *yo* to tie each current event to a prior one and to pave the way for the following event by presenting the current one as completed.

- (46) a. "When I empty out this basket and see what's inside (making all that groaning noise), I'm going to kill it", said the youth.
- b. *Idui yo nu omulok tu nu kapit so ingkakung*
 throw.out TDM NPV youth this NPV tie to basket
 The youth got rid of the tie on the basket.
- c. *om sintako yo su' buyu mongidu.*
 and took.out TDM the beletnut throw.away
 and took out the betelnut and threw it away.
- d. *Somito yo nu omulok-i su' ingkakung koimbagu.*
 grab TDM NPV youth-that the basket again
 The youth grabbed the basket again.

- e. *Popilayo yo nga duui so tana'*
 throw TDM SHIFT there to ground
 He threw it to the ground.
- f. When it hit the ground, the Sultan died. "You're the one, Sultan, who did those bad things to my older brother and tried to get me", said the youth.

3.2.2 ANTICIPATORY -a/ya

The overall meaning of the post-verbal aspectual marker *-a/ya* is to indicate intention or anticipation.

- (47) *Mian aku ya ong oopod mongokan.*
 go I TDM when finish eat
 I intend to go when I finish eating.
- (48) *Piniidan mu ya ka ono nu tuala?*
 wipe you TDM QUES it NPV towel
 Were you intending to wipe that with the towel?

In narratives, *-a/ya* replaces *-o/yo* to anticipate further information relevant to the development of the theme of the discourse. The functions of *yo*, to tie the current event to the preceding event and to view the current event as completed for the performance of the next event, are still in effect when *ya* is used, but the notion of anticipation is added. By replacing *yo* with *ya*, the narrator tells the hearer/reader to expect some further information of importance. In some cases this further information adds an unexpected twist to the plot. In other words, the event is viewed as complete in itself, but *ya* directs the reader's/hearer's attention to the subsequent event which may not be expected but which will nevertheless further develop the theme in a significant way.

An example of the distinction between the function of *-o/yo* and *-a/ya* can be seen in the following example from 'Sultan':

- (49) a. After the older brother was injured, the younger brother said that he would take his place as the one seeking a wife at the Sultan's and the one clearing the Sultan's fields.
- b. *Na mian oyo sono itu adi' tu nu susuab tu.*
 so go TDM now this younger.brother this NPV morning this
 So the younger brother went on his way in the morning.
- c. *Ko-loga' ya om...*
 PERF-arrive TDM and
 He arrived (anticipation) and ...
- d. "Where, Sultan, is the land that you want cleared?" said the youth. The Sultan said, "It's over there and do it just the right way!" "Okay", said the youth, "and I'm the one seeking a wife now". "That's fine", said the Sultan. "The maiden will bring your lunch to you at noon".

In (49b), *yo* is used to tie the event to the previous one ('he said he would go to take the injured brother's place' and 'he went'). Example (49c) ('he arrived') develops from this event, but *ya* functions to direct the audience's attention to what took place upon his arrival,

namely, his discussion with the Sultan in (49d). In (50a), which immediately follows (49d) in the text, the same use of *ya* to direct the audience's attention to (50b) is in evidence. This is the case also with (50c-d).

- (50) a. *No-loga' ya itu no nu omulok tu,*
 PAST.ST-arrive TDM this DISTANT NPV youth this
 (When) the youth was there (anticipation),
- b. he saw how big the trees were in the place he had to clear.
- c. *Ko-loga' ya omulok itu no.*
 PERF-arrive TDM youth this DISTANT
 The youth arrived (anticipation).
- d. He cleared not only the trees but also all the coconuts.
- e. *Tonga runat tu no-ko-loga' yo sono su' roraa.*
 mid day this PAST.ST-PERF-arrive TDM now the maiden
 At noon the maiden arrived.

The sentences in (49) and (50) demonstrate that *ya*, while relating the current event to the one that precedes and marking the current event to be completed with respect to the following event, also anticipates a significant following event. Each of the verbs marked with a TDM is important to the development of the overall theme. However, (49c), (50a) and (50c), which are marked with *ya*, though independent in one sense, are also dependent, inasmuch as they anticipate the action of each subsequent clause. Something more relevant to the theme has yet to be presented, when clauses are marked by *ya*.

3.2.3 CONTINUATIVE *po*

The overall function of the marker *po* is to indicate that an event or state is viewed as incomplete. It can thus be translated locally as 'still', 'yet' or 'also'.

- (51) a. "Take the food home!" said the youth.
- b. *Ingku po oingin owasug aku po.*
 not yet want full I yet
 "I don't want it yet; I'm still full".

In its discourse pragmatic function as a TDM, *po* indicates both development of the overall theme and that the event so coded is viewed as incomplete, with respect to the performance of the following event.

- (52) a. So the youth cut down the trees and not the coconuts. But there were some that were withered from having been sheltered from the sun.
- b. *Oiduan-o po sono nu gouton lumingoi-o roun-i.*
 throw.away-TDM also now NPV jungle withered-TDM leaf-that
 He was throwing away those withered leaves into the jungle.
- c. The maiden came with his food ...

The event in (52b) is incomplete with respect to the event in (52c), in the sense that the youth was still throwing away withered coconuts when the girl came.

4. THEMATIC HIGHLIGHTING WITH *sono* 'now'

In Tombonuo narratives, *sono* 'now' is used as a highlighting device to mark events which are particularly significant to the overall theme of the discourse. *Sono* places the mainline events it marks at centre stage in the narrative as events crucial to the narrative theme. *Sono* can also mark background information, with one of two functions: 1) a contrastive function with respect to a previous occurrence, in which case it still highlights the clause it marks; and 2) a reiterative function which does not effect highlighting.

This highlighting function of *sono* could also be viewed as denoting a third and fourth level of grounding (Jones & Jones 1979). However, I prefer to deal with *sono* separately, as highlighting appears to be an independent variable, raising both foreground events to a position of greater prominence and background information to the main-event line of the discourse.

The past tense marker has already been discussed with regard to its highlighting function in narrative (see section 2.3). In detaching both climactic and boundary events, its function relates closely to the overall structure of the discourse.

As a discourse level highlighting device in Tombonuo narratives, *sono* places mainline events into a temporal framework. Since tense in Tombonuo is relative rather than absolute (see section 1.1), the point of reference or deictic centre for most foreground events is discourse time, the time of the last foreground event. In its highlighting function in Tombonuo, the use of *sono* 'now' makes explicit that the event so marked took place at the deictic centre. In other words, *sono* places the event at centre stage.

The first actual movement in time affecting the major participant(s) in the discourse, or rather the shift to specific time from non-specific time, is typically highlighted with *sono*. This is illustrated in (44), which is repeated here as (53).

- (53) a. There were two people. The two brothers were orphans; they had no parents.
Their work was farming and trapping.
- b. *Nadi koo sono itu ongko ...*
so said now this older.brother
So one time the older brother said ...
- c. "So far it's been okay that we haven't gone to marry at the Sultan's, but now it is better that we go and try to marry at the Sultan's". "Okay", said the younger brother.
- d. *Dadi minian-o sono iri nosiro di so Sulutan-i.*
so went-TDM now that they there to sultan-that
So they then went to the Sultan.

In (53b), *sono* is used when the narrative moves from general, stative setting information to the first actual event which occurs at a specific (though unspecified) time, the 'now' of the discourse. Thereafter, *sono* is used to highlight significant developments in the narrative which are crucial to the overall discourse theme, as in (53d) above. The development is most often physical, but can also be cognitive as in coming to a realisation about something (cf. (54b) below). The significant point is that the proposition containing *sono* is crucial to the theme.

- (54) a. So, after a long time,
 b. *pogka noilaan-o sono nu Sulutan-i*
 when realised-TDM now NPV sultan-that
 when the Sultan realised
 c. *nu' mononsawo itu omulok itu di so nosiro ...*
 that betrothed this youth this there to them
 that the youth wanted to marry ...

When the discourse theme has developed to the point where the central conflict and the part played in the overall theme by the major participants are revealed, *sono* drops out while the conflict continues, sometimes through several climaxes. This is especially the case in long, well-told Tombonuo folktales. It is as though extra highlighting is unnecessary, once the momentum of the story has been established, so the action continues with little or no temporal gap between the events.

Sono typically occurs with the thematic development markers described in section 3.2, as in (53) and (54) above, where *sono* functions in combination with *yo*. *Yo sono* marks a significant development in the narrative, which is viewed as completed with respect to the performance of the next event (e.g. (55a-c) below). (Compare below on *yo sono* in (55d).) *Ya sono*, as illustrated in (55e), marks a significant development in the narrative which, though viewed as completed, also anticipates further significant information.

- (55) a. *Mompanou kai yo sono.*
 go we TDM now
 So we went.
 b. *Olanggau-langgau runat kai mompanou.*
 all.the.long day we go
 All day long we went.
 c. *Nokorongou kai yo sono nu bongut nu agung.*
 heard we TDM now NPV voice NPV gong
 We now heard the sound of a gong.
 d. *Nopung-lopung nopung-lopung yo sono agung-i.*
 gong-gong gong-gong TDM now gong-that
 The gongs went "gong-gong" "gong-gong".
 e. *Jadi torako mai ya sono agung iri,*
 so chase we TDM now gong that
 So we chased after the gong,
 f. *siombo iri kai-kai nu agung iri.*
 where that noise NPV gong that
 where the noise of the gong was coming from,
 g. *dii kai tumarak mai yo sono.*
 there we chase we TDM now
 there we chased after it.

The function of *ya sono* in (55e) is to highlight the event, while anticipating and directing the hearer's attention to the next event.

Po sono is slightly more rare than *yo sono* or *ya sono*. It marks a significant development which is viewed as incomplete with respect to the information presented next. Example (56c-d) illustrates the use of *po sono* in contrast with *yo sono*.

- (56) a. *Indadi naawi' yo sono ongo mookan ni Inuwung-i.*
 so finished TDM now all food PM NAME-that
 So now all of Inuwung's food was finished up.
- b. *Na mongokan-o sono nu lokou nu ropuan.*
 so eat-TDM now NPV coals NPV kitchen
 So she ate only the coals in the kitchen.
- c. *Minukai po sono pimpikau-i*
 call TDM now bird-that
 The bird kept calling
- d. *om ado yo sono.*
 and not.have TDM now
 (but) there was nothing left.

In (56), all four clauses are marked with *sono* as crucial to the discourse theme. Example (56c), marked with *po sono*, indicates that 'the bird was still calling' – the event is viewed as incomplete, against the state described in (56d).

Only five instances of *ko sono* were found in discourses with a total of more than 600 propositions. This use of the timeless perfective *ko* (cf. section 1.1) with the highlighting device *sono* reflects chronological sequence with an indefinite time gap, and thus action discontinuity. The translation 'then', indicating an indefinite time later, reflects this. *Sono*, in turn, indicates that the event concerned is crucial to the discourse theme. Example (57b), for instance, presents a significant new stage in the preparation for a sacrifice. In a separate discourse, the event of (58b) immediately leads to a crisis which produces the climactic event of (31) above (cf. section 2.3).

- (57) a. We got a lot of rice and a lot of chickens ...
- b. *Minomasok ko sono nu langgar.*
 set.pilings PERF now NPV altar
 We then set the pilings for the altar.
- (58) a. Woyon said, "Look for something that has grown back!"
- b. *Minokiulit ko sono si Inuwung.*
 seek.something PERF now PM NAME
 Inuwung then sought something that had grown back.

As was stated above, *sono* also functions both contrastively and reiteratively, in connection with background information. In both of these functions, the deictic centre to which *sono* relates is either the time of utterance (e.g. (59b) below) or the time of the last foreground event, in which case that event also is typically marked with *sono* (e.g. (56b-c) above). This may be understood to mean that, when the story has not developed from the event marked with *sono*, the presence of *sono* in connection with background information indicates that that information is applicable to the 'now' of the last development.

When *sono* is used contrastively, in connection with background information, the event or state applicable at the deictic centre to which it refers contrasts with a corresponding earlier

event or state. In (59b) below, for instance, the way the younger brother is behaving 'now' is contrasted with the way the older brother had behaved:

- (59) a. "Were there any broken coconuts out in the field, daughter?" said the Sultan.
 b. *Au na sondiang sono apa' ponginduas,*
 oh so different now father cutting
 "Oh, it is different this time the way he is cutting, Father,
 c. because he's cutting down not only the trees but also the coconuts", said the maiden.

In its reiterative function, in connection with background information, *sono* relates the information to the deictic centre which is the same 'now' as that of the previous clause marked with *sono*. This reiterative use is illustrated in (55d) and in (60c).

- (60) a. *Dadi minian-o sono iri nosiro di so Sulutan-i.*
 so went-TDM now that they there to sultan-that
 So they went to the Sultan.
 b. They went to the Sultan and brought him as much as a pig.
 c. *Mompanou sono iri nosiro mian di so Sulutan-i*
 go now that they went there to sultan-that
 They walked, going to the Sultan
 d. and took him whatever had been caught in their traps.

5. CONCLUSION

Tombonuo employs L-dislocation and a system of sentential connectives to mark discontinuity of situation and maintenance of thematic continuity. Marking for past tense in narrative discourse detaches the event concerned from its context, for the purposes of highlighting or downgrading it. In addition, in this actor prominent language, there is a strong correlation between the choice of verbal cross-referencing to non-actor pivot and the marking of past tense to detach events.

Thematic development is different from both thematic continuity and the traditional foreground-background distinction in discourse. Tombonuo indicates development of the discourse theme using post-verbal aspectual markers. Foreground events and background information can both be marked or unmarked for development.

Finally, highlighting is also considered to be a variable separate from the foreground-background distinction. Foreground events and background information in Tombonuo narrative discourse can both be highlighted or 'brought to centre stage' using *sono* 'now'.

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PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN TOMBONUO
JOHN WAYNE KING AND STEPHEN H. LEVINSOHN

1. INTRODUCTION

Givón (1983) and Fox (1987) provide a basis for understanding the system of participant reference in Tombonuo.¹ Givón (1983:18), in speaking of an “iconicity principle”, claims that “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it”. Fox (1987:162) demonstrates the necessity of considering the “functional, hierarchical structure of narratives” as these affect participant reference. She argues (p.168) that “full NP’s are used to demarcate new narrative units”, even when minimal coding material would otherwise be required. This point is made also in some of the articles in Hinds (1978; e.g. Bloom & Hayes pp.55f., Levinsohn p.99). The same articles point out that additional coding material is used, in connection with climactic events (e.g. Bloom & Hayes p.56, Levinsohn pp.125ff.).

What we find in Tombonuo is that Givón’s iconicity principle works well, with the modifications proposed by the above writers, except at certain specific points. Additional parameters come into play, notably preliminary material versus the body of a paragraph and theme versus non-theme. These parameters affect both the choice of determiner (section 3) and, to a lesser extent, the amount of coding material employed (section 4).

Of particular interest in Tombonuo are the handling of participant reference in reported conversational exchanges (section 3.1) and the use of full rather than reduced forms of post-nominal determiners in connection with the highlighting of events or episodes (sections 4.3.2, 4.5).

Tombonuo has no written tradition. Most texts are oral discourses. The few written texts available represent first efforts at ‘native authored’ stories and strongly reflect the style of the oral tradition from which they come. As a written tradition develops, we can expect changes in written style.²

¹See J.K. King, this volume, for details about the Tombonuo language and people.

²For a discussion of the difference between oral and written styles of Coastal Kadazan, cf. Miller and Miller, this volume, section 4.

Fox (1987:160) comments that “anaphoric patterning in narratives ... based on the global status of the characters ... does not seem to transfer well to popular written English narratives”. In other words, the use of determiners to indicate the thematic status of the referents (see section 3) seems to be a phenomenon restricted to oral and informally written texts. Fox’s observation largely carries over to more formally written narratives in other languages, since these are characterised by a dearth of the determiners which abound in texts such as those considered for this paper.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE SYSTEM OF DETERMINERS

There are three sets of determiners in Tombonuo: the *itu* set, the *iri* set and the *ono* set. While any of these sets may occur in connection with either pivot or non-pivot arguments in a narrative discourse, the *ono* set in fact is rarely used. It does not form a part of the system of participant reference in discourse the way that the *itu* and *iri* sets do (see below).

Each set of determiners has a range of forms from pronoun (section 4.2), through noun plus reduced post-nominal determiner (section 4.3.1) to noun plus full double determiners (section 4.5), as illustrated in the table below. (Reduced forms of the post-nominal determiner lack the initial vowel.)

TABLE 1: DETERMINER SETS IN TOMBONUO

| | | | |
|----------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| pronoun: | <i>itu</i> | <i>iri</i> | <i>ono</i> |
| | N+ <i>tu</i> | N+(<i>r</i>) <i>i</i> | N+(<i>n</i>) <i>o</i> |
| | N+ <i>itu</i> | N+ <i>iri</i> | N+ <i>ono</i> |
| | <i>iru</i> +N+ <i>tu</i> | <i>iri</i> +N+(<i>r</i>) <i>i</i> | <i>ono</i> +N+(<i>n</i>) <i>o</i> |
| | <i>itu</i> +N+ <i>itu</i> | <i>iri</i> +N+ <i>iri</i> | <i>ono</i> +N+ <i>ono</i> |

The person marker *si*, without any other determiner, replaces the *itu* set, when a name is used instead of an ordinary noun. It precedes the name.

The subordinate conjunction *su* 'which' functions as a determiner when used before a noun. It replaces the *iri* set and occurs without any other determiner. The determiner *su* occurs only when the referent is a pivot or is a vocative in direct quotations. (It has been observed with vocatives in text only and not in daily conversational usage.)

In conversation, *itu* has reference to an object near the speaker, *iri* refers to an object far from the speaker, while *ono* is less definite and often refers to an object a moderate distance from the speaker or nearer the addressee. *Ono* may also refer to something out of the speaker's range of vision. The discourse usage of the *itu* and *iri* sets are discussed in section 3. The *ono* set retains its spatial connotations in discourse and does not appear to adopt special discourse functions. The determiner *ono* may occur following determiners of the *itu* and *iri* sets (e.g. (1b)).

3. DETERMINER CHOICE IN DISCOURSE

The crucial factor in determiner choice in Tombonuo narrative is not whether or not the referent is pivot, but whether or not the referent is the 'thematic participant' of a thematic paragraph (see King, J.K., this volume, section 1.1 on 'pivot' and section 1.3 on 'thematic paragraph'). By thematic participant we mean "that participant most crucially involved in the action sequence running through the paragraph" or "the participant most closely associated with the higher-level theme of the paragraph" (Givón 1983:8; cf. also Levinsohn 1978:75). The thematic participant is most often actor, regardless of whether or not it is the pivot or subject of the clause. (The pivot/focus system common to Philippine-type languages frequently makes some argument other than actor the grammatical subject, so that Givón's comment (p.8) that the thematic participant is most frequently subject does not strictly apply.) The actor frequently alternates between pivot and non-pivot in clauses, without

affecting the determiner set. It is the change of thematic participant, rather than the change of pivot, that affects the choice of determiner set.

One of the forms of the *itu* set marks the thematic participant(s) or prop in a thematic paragraph (section 3.1). A participant or prop marked with one of the forms of the *iri* set, on the other hand, indicates either that the participant or prop is non-thematic (section 3.2.1) or that it is occurring in connection with preliminary material (section 3.2.2).

3.1 *itu* AND *si*

Normally, when two major participants³ interact, only one of them is identified with the *itu/si* set of determiners as thematic. Occasionally, props may be central to an episode and take *itu* as a determiner, marking the prop as thematic.

Within an episode, the thematic participant may change, as illustrated in (1) below. At the beginning of this episode, the youth, though the only animate participant on stage, is non-thematic (example (1a); cf. discussion of *iri*; section 3.2.1). The land he is to clear, and the big trees growing there, are marked as thematic (examples (1b) and (1c)). The Sultan is alluded to in an aside, with zero referent (example (1e)). Then the main events resume with the youth, now marked as thematic participant, cutting down the trees (example (1f)). (Thematic participants and props are given in capital letters in the free translation of the examples.)⁴

- (1) a. *Mompanou oyo sono iri omulok-i.*
 go TDM now that youth-that
 The youth went.
- b. *Siowi nu omulok-i itu ipoinduas itu-no,*
 see NPV youth-that this to.be.cleared this-DISTANT
 The youth saw WHAT WAS TO BE CLEARED,
- c. *su' soro soko ono kotou nu itu kayu itu.*
 which much as this big NPV this tree this
 where THE TREES were so large.
- d. *Iri yo su' ipoinduas di so niou nio-ri.*
 that TDM which to.be.cleared there to coconut his-that
 That is what was to be cleared, at the coconuts.
- e. *Dai mongo nu otungan iri niou-i.*
 not want NPV fallen that coconut-that
 (The Sultan: ZERO) did not want any coconuts to fall.
- f. *Jadi togadi yo sono itu omulok tu.*
 so cut.down TDM now this youth this
 So THE YOUTH cut down the trees.

³For a discussion of the distinction between major participants and props, see Levinsohn (1978:75). The same article considers the roles occupied by participants (pp.69f.).

⁴Abbreviations used are as follows: INT – intensifier, NPV – non-pivot, PM – person marker, QM – quotation marker, QUES – question marker, TDM – thematic developmental marker (cf. Ida'an DEV), VOC – vocative.

- g. *Ado ya bo nima otungan iri niou iri.*
 not.have TDM INT even fallen that coconut that
 There was not even one fallen coconut.

In a thematic paragraph in which there are two major participants who are not interacting, attention may shift from one to the other, so that both of them may be marked with *si* or a member of the *itu* set. Because “another character begins planning and performing an action, and there is no immediately projected interaction between the two characters, the subsequent mention of the first character will be done with a full NP” (Fox 1987:162).

In the following example, the youth begins as the thematic participant (2a). Then the Sultan is reintroduced in some background material (2b). In the second mention of the Sultan, a pronominal reference suffices (2c). His carrying the knife is highlighted, however, and so he is referred to by a full NP and the determiner *itu* (example (2d); cf. section 4.3.2). The second mention of the youth also requires a full NP (2f), as predicted by Fox. Because the Sultan's intention is highlighted, both the youth and the basket take the full post-nominal determiner *itu* in (2f), however, the two participants are potentially interacting, so that the final reference to the Sultan is pronominal.

- (2) a. *Jadi mian oyo sono itu omulok itu.*
 so go TDM now this youth this
 So THE YOUTH went.
- b. *Minonodia' iri laid Sulutan-i nu ingkakung;*
 prepared that long.time sultan-that NPV basket
 The Sultan had already prepared a basket;
- c. *inosowan nio*
 entered he
 he entered it
- d. *om minongowit Sulutan itu nu lading.*
 and carried sultan this NPV knife
 and THE SULTAN was carrying a knife.
- e. *Maksud nu Sulutan itu*
 intention NPV sultan this
 The intention of THE SULTAN
- f. *mongiba itu omulok itu nu ingkakung itu,*
 carry this youth this NPV basket this
 was that THE YOUTH would carry THE BASKET,
- g. *tobokon nio.*
 stab he
 (and that) he (the Sultan) would stab HIM.

Another exception to the generalisation that only one participant is thematic in a given paragraph occurs in reported conversational exchanges. Both parties in turn become thematic participants and take a full NP with a member of the *itu* set or the person marker *si*, following the quotation marker *koo*. This is in contrast to Fox's (1987:165) prediction, “If the two characters are involved in a fast-paced confrontation or interaction, such as a fight, a chase, or a conversation, the mention of one does not cause the next mention of the other to be done with a full NP”. Tombonuo INSISTS on full NPs following the quotation marker,

unless the speaker is specified immediately BEFORE the recorded speech. This also contrasts with other languages where the thematic STATUS of the participants determines the manner of reference in reported conversational exchanges (e.g. Levinsohn 1978:109).

- (3) a. *Om "Ado ya ka norusak nu iri niou-i?"*
and not.have also QUES destroyed NPV that coconut-that
koo itu Sulutan tu.
QM this sultan this
And "None of the coconuts were destroyed, were they?" said THE SULTAN.
- b. *"Au, ado bo nima ...", koo itu rora tu.*
oh not.have INT even QM this maiden this
"Oh, not even ...", said THE MAIDEN.

The determiner *itu* occurs as a pronoun to refer to a prop that is continuing in the same role as in the previous clause, if the new event is highlighted. For example, (4b) is highlighted because the arrival of the basket at the betelnut trees anticipates the next significant development in the story (the youth stuffing the basket with betelnut until the Sultan is forced to cry out).

- (4) a. *Otuad-bali' su' ingkakung*
over.and.over the basket
The basket rolled over and over
- b. *sampai nokologa' itu di so puun nu buyu ri.*
until arrived this there to tree NPV betelnut that
until IT arrived at a betelnut tree.

3.2 *iri*

Determiners from the *iri* set typically refer to participants and props on stage that are not thematic (section 3.2.1) or that occur in material which is preliminary to the body of a paragraph (section 3.2.2).

3.2.1 NON-THEMATIC REFERENTS

In narrative discourse, non-thematic participants normally take one of the forms of the *iri* set, though in conversation all proper names take the person marker *si*. This restriction points up the specialised discourse functions of the determiners, as distinct from their use in simple conversation.

- (5) a. Once Woyon spoke to Inuwung. "Do this, Inuwung! At dawn prepare me some yams, because I'm going on a journey", said Woyon. "Okay", said Inuwung.
- b. *Jadi kodung duruk sumuab, minongoluu' yo iri Inuwung-i*
so when dawn become.morning prepared TDM that NAME-that
om niasou so bolaid nu Woyon-i.
and put.in to basket NPV NAME-that
So when morning dawned, Inuwung (non-thematic participant) prepared (yams)
and put them into Woyon's basket.

- c. Before Woyon set out, he left a message with Inuwung, "Inuwung, when you hear the sound of the pimpikau-bird calling 'Pim-pi-kau': when you hear this, take it some good food!"
- d. WOYON (thematic participant) set out.

In this example, Inuwung is the actor, but she is marked as the non-thematic participant of the episode by the *iri-N-i* construction. Woyon does not receive distinct marking as the thematic participant (with *si*) until the final clause of the episode (5d).

3.2.2 PRELIMINARY MATERIAL

Any participant in preliminary material takes a determiner of the *iri* set, even if the participant is marked as thematic later in the same sentence or paragraph. Example (6) contains two occurrences of the *iri* set, in connection with preliminary material. The first is in connection with a flashback ((6a) and (6b)). The second is collateral information, describing what the youth did not do ((6c) and (6d)), before presenting what he actually did ((6e)). The youth is not marked as thematic participant until (6e). However, the use of the full post-nominal determiner in (6c) highlights what he did not do, because he thus frustrated the Sultan's plan!

- (6) a. *Minongalap olaid Sulutan-i nu kapak.*
got long.time sultan-that NPV axe
The Sultan had taken his knife a long time before.
- b. *Pongobaling-o.*
throw-TDM
He was going to throw it.
- c. *Jadi dai ya minindakod iri omulok iri.*
so not also went.up that youth that
So the youth did not come up.
- d. *"Ingku po itu nokaambai-o su' Sulutan. Dii aku yo", koo (#).*
not yet this stop.by-TDM VOC sultan there I TDM QM ZERO
"I'm not going to stop by this time, Sultan. I'm going over there", (he) said.
- e. *Jadi muli' oyo itu omulok tu.*
so returned TDM this youth this
So THE YOUTH returned home.

(Zero anaphora following the quotation marker *koo* is discussed in section 4.1.)

In preliminary material, the reduced form of the *iri* set, *-(r)i*, may be found in connection with reference both to an actor who is later marked as a thematic participant and to the non-thematic participant(s). Thus, there appears to be NO THEMATIC PARTICIPANT in preliminary material.

- (7) a. *Kowai ido iya minutangar Woyon-i nu Inuwung-i nu',*
there.was one time spoke NAME-that NPV NAME-that that
Once Woyon spoke to Inuwung.
- b. *"Ono yo po su' Inuwung duruk sumuab luui aku*
this TDM yet VOC NAME dawn become.morning prepare me

nu bayag so' mongayou aku", koo si Woyon.

NPV yams because wander I QM PM NAME

"Do this, Inuwung! At dawn prepare me some yams, because I'm going on a journey", said WOYON.

In this example, the determiner *-i* is used in connection with both the actor in preliminary material (*Woyon-i*) and the non-thematic participant (*Inuwung-i*). Woyon does not clearly emerge as thematic participant until the quotation formula at the end of (7b).

The determiner *iri* functions as a pronoun in preliminary material (including the first part of a sentence) when its referent remains actor. Optionally, *iri* anticipates a switch of thematic participant.

- (8) a. *Jadi muli' oyo itu omulok tu.*
so returned TDM this youth this
So THE YOUTH returned home.
- b. *Nokologa' yo sono iri,*
arrived TDM now that
(When) he arrived,
- c. *"Kinomuro..."*, *koo itu ongko tu.*
how QM this elder.brother this
"How ...", said THE ELDER BROTHER.

In this example, the thematic participant (indicated by *itu*) is first the youth (8a), then the elder brother (8c). The presence of *iri* in (8b) anticipates the change.

3.3 *ono*

The spatial connotations that the *ono* set exhibits in conversation (e.g. in (9) below) are retained in discourse. This is illustrated in (10), where the reduced form *-(n)o* is used in conjunction with a member of the *itu* set.

- (9) *Odi ingkakung-o ipoiba nu Sulutan-o so ikau.*
there basket-DISTANT carry NPV sultan-DISTANT to you
Over there is the basket that the Sultan (not present) left for you to carry.
- (10) *Siowi nu omulok-i itu ipoinduas itu-no ...*
see NPV youth-that this to.be.cleared this-DISTANT
The youth saw WHAT WAS TO BE CLEARED (a distance away from him) ...

3.4 *su'*

The deictic *su'* 'the same, the aforementioned', typically reintroduces a non-thematic participant or prop to a scene. It occurs only in connection with the pivot. In the case of an animate participant, *su'* reintroduces him or her as non-thematic actor. In the case of an inanimate prop, *su'* reintroduces it and highlights its involvement in the episode. The deictic *su'* may also refer to a participant or prop already on stage, in the build-up to a climax. In this connection, *su'* is frequently used in a repeated cycle of events.

In (11), the bird has been mentioned earlier in the story and now is brought on stage as a non-thematic actor.

- (11) *Indadi tonga runat-i minukai-o su' pimpikau.*
 so mid day-that sounded-TDM the bird
 So at noon the bird called.

Further along in the story, the bird is reintroduced with the deictic *su'* at the climax of a repeated cycle of events.

- (12) a. *Indadi kowai po ongo insan mongapui nu wogas-i*
 so there.was yet only once cooking NPV rice-that
 There was only enough rice to cook one more time
- b. *om minukai-o su' pimpikau.*
 and sounded-TDM the bird
 and the bird called again.

In the following example, the maiden is reintroduced with *su'* (13a), as a non-thematic actor in a repeated cycle of events. The youth (13b) is the thematic participant.

- (13) a. *Tonga runat tu nokologa' yo sono su' roraa, suuti-o*
 mid day this arrived TDM now the maiden follow-TDM
nu okanon.
 NPV food
 Now at noon the maiden arrived (as she had done before), following with the food.
- b. *Siowi nu omulok tu ...*
 look.at NPV youth this
 THE YOUTH looked at it ...

The event in (14a), which immediately follows the speech of (9), starts the build-up to a climax. It is followed by repeated cycles of events, in which *su'* occurs frequently.

- (14) a. *Kologa' ya nu omulok-i om okon-a ko iniba su' ingkakung;*
 arrived also NPV youth-that and not-also even carried the basket
 The youth arrived, but he did not put the aforementioned basket on his back (as expected);
- b. *somito yo om popilaio yo so tana'.*
 grab TDM and throw TDM to ground
 rather he grabbed it and threw it to the ground.

4. CHOICE OF FORMS

According to Givón's iconicity principle (1983:18), a participant will be assigned more or less coding material, depending on the degree of difficulty in processing it in the discourse. As this coding scale works itself out in Tombonuo, a participant may receive zero reference (#) (section 4.1), may be referred to by a pronoun (section 4.2), may be referred to by a noun plus a single post-nominal determiner (section 4.3) or may be referred to by a determiner plus a noun plus a second determiner (section 4.4). The unmarked form of the post-nominal determiner is the reduced form (sections 4.3.1, 4.4). Full forms of the post-nominal determiner typically denote highlighting (sections 4.3.2, 4.5).

The scale is approximately as shown in Table 2, from minimal to maximal coding material.

TABLE 2: TOMBONUO CODING SCALE

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| ZERO | |
| Pronoun | |
| Noun-Determiner | (reduced) |
| Determiner-Noun-Determiner | (reduced) |
| Determiner-Noun-Determiner | (full) |

Section 3 argued that the choice of determiner is affected by the thematic status of the participant and by whether the reference occurs in preliminary material or in the body of a paragraph. This section shows that, though the amount of coding material employed depends mostly on Givón's iconicity principle, other factors do enter in. The factors discussed in section 3 also affect the amount of coding material employed. In addition, extra coding material is used at the beginning of episodes or thematic paragraphs and also in connection with highlighting.

Tables 3 and 4 summarise the principal factors which are identified in the rest of section 4 as affecting the coding of participant reference in Tombonuo. Table 3 indicates the coding of reference to a single major participant on stage. Table 4 indicates the coding of participant reference elsewhere, whether there is more than one major participant on-stage or whether the referent is a prop when a single major participant is on stage.

TABLE 3: REFERENT IS A SINGLE MAJOR PARTICIPANT ON STAGE

| Factors | Coding |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| pivot | ZERO |
| non-pivot, same role | pronoun |
| non-pivot, change of role | N + DET (reduced) |

TABLE 4: OTHER REFERENTS

| Factors | Coding |
|--|-------------------------|
| same actor, same sentence (complex) | ZERO |
| same actor, preliminary material | ZERO |
| same actor, not thematic | pronoun |
| becomes actor, preliminary and/or not thematic | N + DET (reduced) |
| non-actor and/or thematic | N + DET (reduced) |
| on stage + highlighting | N + DET (full) |
| new episode (including embedded topic) | DET + N + DET (reduced) |
| new episode and/or reintroduction + highlighting | DET + N + DET (full) |

4.1 ZERO ANAPHORA

When there is only one major participant on stage, this participant usually has no overt referent when it is the pivot. This is illustrated in (15a) and (15b). (Compare section 4.3.1 for the reference to Inuwung in (15c), in which the participant is not pivot in preliminary material.)

- (15) a. *Inopitan-o sono (#) turu noradi su' ingkookan.*
 carried-TDM now ZERO seven plates the food
 (Inuwung: pivot) then carried seven plates of this food.
- b. *Niapit (#) so pimpikau-i.*
 carried ZERO to bird-that
 (She: pivot) carried (them) to the bird.
- c. *Indadi kodung iri ong mukai, opitan-a nu Inuwung-i.*
 so when that if sound carry-also NPV NAME-that
 So, whenever it called, Inuwung (non-pivot) brought (it food).

The second part of a sentence complex frequently has zero anaphora when two major participants are on stage but the actor remains unchanged, if the second part of the sentence complex is a natural result of the first part. For example, Woyon (major participant) is reintroduced in (16a), but no overt reference to Inuwung is made in (16c) (contrast section 4.2).

- (16) a. Not long afterwards, Inuwung heard a sound afar off, like the voice of Woyon.
- b. *Indadi tinarak sono ni Inuwung.*
 so went.towards now NPV NAME
 So INUWUNG went towards (the sound).
- c. *Nokologa' ya (#) dinium so tontong pinuut giniakan-i,*
 arrived TDM ZERO sought to place followed shouting-that
nga ado yo sono dii.
 but not.have TDM now there
 (SHE) arrived (and) searched at the place, following the shouting, but there was nothing there.

If the event described in the first part of a sentence is PRELIMINARY and the actor remains unchanged, there is zero anaphora, even if the referent was a thematic participant (contrast section 4.3.1). This is illustrated in (17b) below. The events described in this sentence occur before that presented in (17a) (for a discussion of this point, see King, J.K., this volume, example (34), section 2.3). The first part of (17b) provides the setting for what follows, rather than describing the next event of the paragraph. (See section 4.3.1 on the reference to the thematic participant in the second part of (17b).

- (17) a. *Awi-awi tu ya muli' oyo itu omulok tu.*
 afternoon this TDM return TDM this youth this
 That afternoon THE YOUTH returned (home).
- b. *Kologa' ya (#) so waloi om nokoindakod sontagal*
 arrived also ZERO to house and went.up a.while

omulok tu.

youth this

(He) arrived at the house (of the Sultan) and THE YOUTH went up a while.

If the speaker is named before a direct quotation, there is zero anaphora in the quotation formula following it, as in (18).

(18) a. “Cook something for me, Inuwung!” said Woyon.

b. “Au”, *koo si Inuwung.*

oh QM PM NAME

“Oh”, said INUWUNG.

c. “*Ado yo opuyon, so’ naawi’ mu yo*
not.have TDM cooking.supplies because finished you TDM

mongokan ongoingkookan-i’. *koo (#)*

eat food-that QM ZERO

“There is nothing left to cook, because you ate all the food”, (SHE) said.

In addition, in non-initial clauses of a sentence in which the actor remains unchanged, typically there is zero anaphora. For example, see (22c) and (22d) in section 4.2.

4.2 PRONOUNS

Free pronouns are used only when the participant retains the same role as in the previous independent clause.

The non-pivot pronoun *nio* is used when there is only one participant on stage and (s)he remains actor but not pivot in a new independent clause (*nio* is also used in a possessive noun phrase). For instance, (19b) has zero anaphora because there is only one major participant on stage and she is pivot (section 4.1);⁵ in (19c), however, a pronoun is used because she is not pivot. (See also (20c) and (25c).)

(19) a. *Indadi minongalap sono si Inuwung nu tumbolang*

so took now PM NAME NPV pole

So INUWUNG took a pole

b. *om winaal (#) nu bolibu*

and made ZERO NPV harvesting.stick

and she made (it) into a harvesting stick

c. *om inindakod nio kororong-i ...*

and climbed she tree-that

and she climbed that tree (with it) ...

Pronominal reference also occurs when the participant retains the same role as non-pivot in a subordinate clause of the same sentence. This is illustrated in (20b).

(20) a. So the maiden arrived and gave the youth some food.

⁵When two or more interacting participants are designated ‘thematic’ by the *itu/si* set of determiners, this increases the highlighting of the material and may indicate that the events concerned are climactic. Levinsohn (1978:125, 134) observes that, in Inga (Quechuan), two participants are marked as thematic only in climactic paragraphs.

- b. *Siowi nu omulok-i so' osiou-a nio iri okanon-i*
 see NPV youth-that because visible-also to.him that food-that
 The youth (just) looked at (it), because he could see the food (pivot)
- c. *nga dai nio oilaan mongobuka.*
 but not he know.how open
 but he could not open (the container).

When a participant remains actor in a new sentence and two major participants are on stage, pronominal reference is expected, if the referent is not the thematic participant. This is illustrated in (21) below; the major participants are the maiden (referred to by *iri*; see section 3.2) and the youth.

(21) a. So, at noon the maiden set out, following with the food.

- b. *Kologa' yo sono iri, potaako yo di so omulok-i.*
 arrived TDM now that gave TDM there to youth-that
 (The maiden) actually arrived, (and) she gave (it) to the youth.

When a plural pronominal reference is needed, a plural pronoun such as *nosiro* 'they' is used in conjunction with the determiner. In (22), for instance, which involves two major participants, *iri nosiro* refers in each new sentence to the participants who continue as actor.

(22) a. The two brothers agreed to go to the Sultan's.

- b. *Dadi minian-o sono iri nosiro di so Sulutan-i.*
 so went-TDM now that they there to sultan-that
 So they went to the Sultan.
- c. *Kadang-kadang iri nosiro mompanou di so Sulutan-i*
 whenever that they go there to sultan-that
mongowit (#) soro ido wakas.
 carry ZERO as.much.as one pig
 Whenever they walked to the Sultan('s place), (they) carried as much as a pig.
- d. *Mompanou sono iri nosiro mian (#) di so Sulutan-i*
 walk now that they go ZERO there to sultan-that
mongowit-a (#) nu onu ya.
 carry-also ZERO NPV what also
 They would set out to the Sultan's, carrying whatever (they had caught).

4.3 NOUN PLUS DETERMINER

The noun-determiner structure with the reduced form of the determiner (section 4.3.1) appears to be the unmarked form of reference in Tombonuo. The full form of the post-nominal determiner is used in connection with highlighting (section 4.3.2).

4.3.1 NOUN PLUS REDUCED FORM OF THE DETERMINER

The combination noun plus *-i* (*-ri* following vowels) is the normal form when the referent is non-actor (e.g. (23b)) or when the participant becomes actor in preliminary material (see section 3.2.2; e.g. (25b)). Any reference to a participant in an episode involving a single

participant is most likely to consist of noun plus *-i*, if the referent is not the pivot, unless the participant remains in the same role (section 4.2).

Noun plus *tu* is the normal means of reference to the thematic participant (usually the actor), in connection with events in the body of a paragraph involving two major participants. This is illustrated in (23b) and (23c). (See section 4.4 on the reference to the youth at the opening of the paragraph (23a).)

- (23) a. *Awī-awī tu ya muli' oyo itu omulok tu.*
 afternoon this also return TDM this youth this
 That afternoon THE YOUTH returned (home).
- b. *Kologa' ya so waloi om nokoindakod sontagal omulok tu,*
 arrived also to house and went.up a.while youth this
nokookan di so Sulutan-i om muli' oyo.
 ate there at sultan-that and return TDM
 (He) arrived at the house (of the Sultan) and THE YOUTH went up a while and
 ate with the Sultan and then went home.
- c. *Tumolikud omulok tu muli' om ...*
 turn.one's.back youth this return and
 THE YOUTH turned to leave and ...

Example (24) illustrates the use of noun plus *tu* to designate a thematic participant who becomes actor but not pivot.

- (24) a. The Sultan sent the youth to clear his coconut grove.
- b. *Nologa' ya itu-no nu omulok tu.*
 arrived also this-DISTANT NPV youth this
 THE YOUTH arrived at that place.
- c. *Siowi nu omulok tu su' ongo kukutuu iri kayu ri.*
 see NPV youth this the very big that tree that
 THE YOUTH saw how big the trees were.

Example (25b) illustrates a non-thematic participant becoming actor, designated by noun plus *-i* in preliminary material. The event described in (25b) occurs before that presented in (25a) (compare example (2)).

- (25) a. *Jadi mian oyo sono itu omulok itu.*
 so go TDM now this youth this
 So THE YOUTH went.
- b. *Minonodia' iri laid Sulutan-i nu ingkakung;*
 prepared that long.time sultan-that NPV basket
 The Sultan had already prepared a basket;
- c. *inosowan nio ...*
 entered he
 he entered it ...

4.3.2 NOUN PLUS FULL FORM OF THE DETERMINER

Full forms of the post-nominal determiners are used to highlight important or surprising actions, new initiatives and key intentions or states of the actor when he is already on stage. In (26a), for instance, the full form of the determiner (together with the use of *ya* also; cf. King, J.K., this volume, section 3.2.2) alerts the listener to the surprising action which the youth then took ((26b); the listener would have expected the youth to behave like his brother had and avoid any damage to the coconut palms).

- (26) a. *Kologa' ya omulok itu-no;*
arrived also youth this-DISTANT
THE YOUTH arrived there;

b. he did not just cut down the (other) trees; he also cut down all the coconut palms!

In (27), the full form of the determiner highlights the intention of the Sultan and prepares the listener for the climactic outcome (given in (35)).

- (27) a. So the youth went. The Sultan had already prepared a basket and entered it, and the Sultan was carrying a knife.
- b. *Maksud nu Sulutan itu, mongiba itu omulok itu.*
intention NPV sultan this carry this youth this
The intention of THE SULTAN was that THE YOUTH would carry (the basket).

4.4 NOUN PLUS DOUBLE DETERMINERS

The determiners *itu* and *tu* in tandem before and after a noun are normally used to refer to a thematic participant at the opening of an episode (see (23a)). In reported conversational exchanges, attention shifts back and forth from speaker to speaker, with the result that the *itu+N+tu* combination is common in repartee (see (3)). (When a proper name is used instead of a noun, the determiner *si+NAME* is used instead of *itu+N+tu*.)

Example (28) is of interest because the combination *itu+N+tu* separates two speeches by the same participant. The second speech, in which the younger brother suggests that he replace the older brother, represents the turning point in the story. The use of the connective *jadi* (see King, J.K., this volume, section 2.2.1) confirms the analysis of this second speech as the opening event of a new episode.

- (28) a. (The older brother describes how the Sultan wounded him with an axe.)
- b. *"Au", koo itu adi' tu.*
oh! QM this younger.brother this
"Oh", said THE YOUNGER BROTHER.
- c. *Jadi, "Ono yo po, aka", koo itu adi' tu.*
so this TDM yet brother QM this younger.brother this
Then, "This is what we'll do, brother", said THE YOUNGER BROTHER.
- d. "You give up trying to marry into the Sultan's family; I'll replace you!"

The determiners *iri* and *-i/-ri* in tandem before and after a noun are used to refer to a non-thematic participant or prop in connection with foreground events at the opening of an episode, as in (29) (cf. also (5b)).

- (29) a. *Mompanou oyo sono iri omulok-i.*
 go TDM now that youth-that
 THE YOUTH set out.
- b. *Siowi nu omulok-i itu ipoinduas itu-no...*
 see NPV youth-that this to.be.cleared this-DISTANT
 The youth saw WHAT WAS TO BE CLEARED ...

The same combination may introduce an embedded non-thematic topic in a subordinate clause. In (20), for instance, which is repeated below as (30), *iri okanon-i* establishes the food as an embedded topic.

- (30) a. The maiden arrived and gave (it: the food) to the youth.
- b. *Siowi nu omulok-i so' osiou-a nio iri okanon-i,*
 see NPV youth-that because visible-also to.him that food-that
 The youth (just) looked at (it), because he could see the food,
- c. *nga dai nio oilaan mongobuka.*
 but not he know.how open
 but he could not open (the container).

4.5 NOUN PLUS FULL DOUBLE DETERMINERS

Full forms of the determiners are syntactically required when the 'N' being modified is really a nominalised clause, as in (31).

- (31) *"Oo", koo itu mononsawo itu.*
 yes QM this betrothed this
 "Yes", said THE BETROTHED ONE.

In (32) below, in contrast, *mongorod* is a gerund rather than a nominalised clause. Hence, the full form of the determiner is not required.

- (32) *Na, minkoyod-o itu mongorod tu.*
 so cease-TDM this moaning this
 Well, THE MOANING ceased.

Had the narrator wished to say, "The one who was moaning ceased (doing something else)", he would have used the full form, *itu mongorod itu*.

Full forms of the determiners are used to reintroduce major participants and important props at the beginning of episodes, when significant events or situations are to follow. This is illustrated in (33), in which *itu omulok itu* reintroduces one of the youths to the story and alerts the listener to the important events involving him that are about to occur. (Previously the youth had been referred to simply as a member of 'they'; cf. (22).)

- (33) *Jadi, olaid-o po itu, pogka noilaan-o sono nu*
 so long.time-TDM yet this when realised-TDM now NPV
Sulitan-i nu' mononsawo itu omulok itu di so nosiro,
 sultan-that that betrothed this youth this there to them
kowai yo sono iri ido masa...
 there.was TDM now that one time

So, after (they had been doing) this a while, when the Sultan realised that THE YOUTH wanted to marry his (daughter), there came a time ...

The Sultan's daughter becomes 'the maiden' through most of the text, and is reintroduced with expanded determiners (*itu roraa itu*) at the beginning of the episode below, to alert the hearers to the important developments to follow.

- (34) *Jadi koduaan so kotolu tu sinuu' sono nu Sulutan-i*
 so two.days to three.days this ordered now NPV sultan-that
itu roraa itu mian dii nu mokitulung mongotu' nu buyu.
 this maiden this go there that ask.for.help picking NPV betelnut
 So, two or three days after this, the Sultan ordered THE MAIDEN to go there to ask for help picking betelnut.

Full forms of the determiners are used at the beginning of climactic episodes, especially when the referent is pivot, to highlight the activity of the participants and props already on stage.

In the following example, the youth is already on stage and is mentioned in preliminary material in (35a) (cf. section 3.2.2). The full forms of the determiners in (35b) focus the hearer's attention on his subsequent actions.

- (35) a. *Kologa' ya nu omulok-i om okon-a ko iniba su'*
 arrived also NPV youth-that and not-also even carried the
ingkakung; somito yo om popilai yo so tana'.
 basket grab TDM and throw TDM to ground
 The youth arrived, but (he) did not put the basket on his back; rather, (he) grabbed it and threw it to the ground.
- b. *Om muntiba' yo itu omulok itu.*
 and descend TDM this youth this
 And THE YOUTH descended.
- c. He came to the basket, threw it down (and) kicked it; it rolled over and over.

The next episode begins in the same way.

- (36) a. *Nokologa' ya itu omulok itu so puun nu buyu tu.*
 arrived also this youth this to tree NPV betelnut this
 THE YOUTH also arrived at the betelnut tree.
- b. And he didn't just pick the betelnut but snatched it all down from the tree and stuffed the basket full.

(As this climactic episode continues, the youth is referred to with full forms of *itu* when pivot and with noun plus *-i* when not pivot.)

Even non-events, such as the Sultan's intentions in (27) (repeated below as (37)), can be highlighted by the use of full forms of the determiner to produce a sense of anticipation. As in (33), the maximum amount of coding material is used to reintroduce the youth to the story in a subordinate clause.

- (37) a. So the youth went. The Sultan had already prepared a basket and entered it, and the Sultan was carrying a knife.

- b. *Maksud nu Sulutan itu, mongiba itu omulok itu...*

intention NPV sultan this carry this youth this

The intention of THE SULTAN was that THE YOUTH would carry (the basket and that he (the Sultan) would stab him).

Example (38b) illustrates the use of maximum coding to refer to an important (non-thematic) prop, immediately prior to the climax of the story. The use of double determiners and of past tense (see King, J.K., this volume, section 2.3) suggests that (38b) is treated as the opening sentence of a climactic paragraph.

- (38) a. So the youth threw the betelnut out of the basket.

- b. *Noowi'an-a iri ingkakung iri nu buyu.*

finished-also that basket that NPV betelnut

The basket was completely emptied of the betelnut.

- c. The youth grabbed the basket and threw it to the ground. When it hit the ground, the Sultan died.

Example (39) demonstrates clearly the use of maximum coding when there is no topic/participant discontinuity. The younger brother states his intention of going (39a), then goes (39b)! The use of full determiners highlights the new episode (marked by the connective *na* and by past tense; see King, J.K., this volume, sections 2.2.1, 2.3), which leads immediately to a climax of the story.

- (39) a. The two brothers were talking. "I will take your place", said the younger brother.

- b. *Na minian oyo sono itu adi' itu nu susuab tu.*

so went TDM now this younger.brother this NPV morning this

So THE YOUNGER BROTHER went in the morning.

- c. He arrived and asked, "Where is the land you want cleared? ... I'm the one seeking a wife now".

Example (40) is similar to (39), in that there is no topic/participant discontinuity between (40a) (a preliminary event; see section 3.2.2) and (40b), yet the maximum amount of coding material is used to refer to the betelnut. As before, this highlights the following climactic events. (The effect of stuffing the basket so full is that, when the youth next throws it down, the Sultan inside is forced to cry out.)

- (40) a. *Om olapo yo nu omulok-i su' buyu.*

and get TDM NPV youth-that the betelnut

The youth got the betelnut.

- b. *Poinsoko yo kiawi' itu buyu itu so ingkakung.*

press.down TDM all this betelnut this to basket

(He) pressed down all of THIS BETELNUT into the basket.

Example (41) below differs from (39) and (40) only in that it presents the concluding speeches of the story, after Inuwung's husband had died. Once again, although there is no topic/participant discontinuity, the maximum amount of coding material is used in (41b) to refer to Inuwung.

- (41) a. *Onu po nga tumangi' sono si Inuwung.*
 what more but cries now PM NAME
 INUWUNG just wept.
- b. "*Nokuro ka itu su' soko itu gama mu*",
 why QUES this which like this manner your
koo si Inuwung.
 QM PM NAME
 "Why did you act like this?" said INUWUNG.
- c. Well, that's it! The end!

5. CONCLUSION

This paper does not pretend to have identified all the factors involved in the coding of participant reference in Tombonuo, or even to have considered all the combinations of factors that have been identified. What it does do is confirm the need to include, in any description of the coding of participant reference, not only Givón's iconicity principle, but also the thematic status of the participant and the place in the text where the reference occurs. As far as narrative structure is concerned, it has been necessary to refer to the boundaries of episodes or thematic paragraphs, and to differentiate between preliminary material and the body of paragraphs. It has also been noted that the highlighting of information often results in increased coding of reference to the participants or props involved.

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THE EVENT LINE IN KIMARAGANG NARRATIVE

PAUL R. KROEGER

1. INTRODUCTION

Some years ago, one of the most keenly debated topics in theoretical linguistics was whether semantic rules should be generative or interpretive. That is, given a particular semantic structure, should the rules be able to 'generate' the surface structure utterance which a speaker would use to express the intended meaning? Alternatively, should semantic rules merely 'interpret' pre-existing surface representations (e.g. strings generated by an autonomous syntactic component) by assigning to them the correct semantic representation?

Discourse analysis can be viewed as a branch of semantics, and the generative versus interpretive debate points up two possible approaches to the study of discourse. The generative approach would frame questions along the following lines: for some specific semantic feature of the discourse, for example, a particular type of information, what surface structure realisation will it take? The interpretive approach would reverse the question: given a particular feature of the surface structure, for example, a particular grammatical construction or particle, what is its semantic interpretation or discourse function?

Any hard and fast rules about the discourse structure of a particular language will almost certainly have to be of the interpretive type ('Given grammatical structure X in the following environments, assign semantic interpretation Y '). Because of the complexity of the processes involved in text production, the wide scope for speaker's choice and stylistic considerations, predictions of the generative type ('Given semantic structure or discourse function Y , select surface construction X ') can normally be stated only in terms of tendencies, prototypes or rules with exceptions. Nevertheless, the investigation of such generative hypotheses can sometimes offer much deeper insights into the discourse structure of a language than a purely interpretive approach.

This paper discusses an aspect of Kimaragang¹ narrative discourse. It focuses on the correlation between a particular grammatical construction – reduced verbs – and a particular type of information – mainline events in narrative.

¹Kimaragang is a Dusunic language spoken by roughly 8,000 people in the Kota Marudu and Pitas districts of Sabah, Malaysia. Data for this paper was collected during two and half years of fieldwork under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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In interpretive terms, this correlation can be expressed as an absolute rule:

- (A) All reduced verbs in Kimaragang narrative (excluding material in direct quotes) encode mainline events.

The converse, generative-type rule is also true, but only as a general tendency:

- (B) Mainline events in Kimaragang narrative are usually encoded as reduced verbs.

Investigation of the generative form of the hypothesis reveals several classes of systematic exceptions to rule (B): agentless events or events involving an unspecified agent (section 4.1); events at discourse or episodic boundaries (section 4.2); events which introduce new participants (section 4.3); topicalised NP constructions (section 4.4).

These exceptions suggest that the basic function of the reduced verbal forms is to encode thematic continuity. The mainline events in narrative are typically arranged in chronological sequence with little or no temporal gap between adjacent events (cf. Givón 1983:8 on “action continuity”). Reduced verb forms are used for events which maintain action, spatio-temporal and participant continuity. In contrast, agentless events generally involve topic discontinuity because the actor is the unmarked topic in Kimaragang. Episodic boundaries are points of temporal and/or spatial discontinuity (changes of scene). Topicalisation in Kimaragang is used to mark a change of topic, that is, topic discontinuity. Finally, introducing new participants with an “existential-presentative” clause (Givón 1983:25) is an obvious kind of participant/topic discontinuity.

Thus, if thematic continuity in narrative is the norm, the reduced verbal form is the unmarked coding device for mainline events.

2. NOTES ON VERB MORPHOLOGY

2.1 REDUCED VERBS

Kimaragang verbs can be classified as active or stative. Stative verbs are those which bear the stative prefix *o-*, as in the following examples:

| | |
|-----------------|---------|
| <i>o-kodok</i> | small |
| <i>a-ragang</i> | red |
| <i>o-kito</i> | be seen |

Active verbs take one of seven possible focus markings. The morphology and semantics of these focus types are discussed in Kroeger (1988). For the actor-, patient- and referent-focus types,² distinct reduced forms exist. These reduced forms correspond to forms found in various Philippine and Formosan languages which Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982:150) refer to as “dependent verbal inflections”.

The full (i.e. non-reduced) and reduced forms of these three focus markers are listed in the following table.

²Actor focus, patient focus and referent focus correspond to nominative focus, accusative focus and dative focus in the terminology of Kroeger (1988).

TABLE 1: FULL- AND REDUCED-FOCUS MARKERS

| Focus type: | Actor | Patient | Referent |
|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| full | <i>m-</i> | <i>-on</i> | <i>-an</i> |
| reduced | \emptyset | <i>-o</i> | <i>-ai</i> |

Reduced forms of active verbs, unlike non-reduced forms and statives, cannot be marked for tense or aspect. The main uses for the reduced forms are: 1) as imperatives; 2) following the rootless auxiliary verb *mangan* 'do' in periphrastic verbal constructions; and 3) to encode mainline events in narrative discourse.

The third of these uses is discussed in section 3 below. The first two, as imperatives and in periphrastic constructions, are illustrated in the following examples,³ reproduced from Kroeger (1988).

- (1) a. \emptyset -ULI *noh!*
 ACT.RED-return already
 Go home now!
- b. PODSU-O *poh ih* *tanak!*
 bathe-PAT.RED yet DEF.PIV child
 Give the child a bath!
- c. IMUAW-AI *poh itih* *walai, tu* *osupot.*
 sweep-REF.RED yet this.PIV house because messy
 Sweep out the house; it is messy.
- d. *Nan okuh* *TINDUK-O* *do* *wulanut.*
 did 1SG.NOM bite-PAT.RED INDEF snake
 I was bitten by a snake.

These same reduced forms of the focus-marking affixes are reported by Hurlbut (1987) for Labuk Kadazan, a Dusunic language closely related to Kimaragang. The imperative usage of reduced verb forms corresponds to what Hurlbut labels the "peremptory mode irrealis" (section 6.3.1) and the narrative usage (encoding mainline events) to Hurlbut's "dramatic present aspect" (section 3.5.4).

2.2 TENSE AND ASPECT

There is only one tense-marking morpheme in Kimaragang, the infix *-in-*, which signals past tense. The absence of this morpheme on non-reduced verbs signals non-past tense. As noted in section 2.1, past tense verbs cannot take reduced forms of the focus markers.

Kimaragang, like all Dusunic languages, has an extremely rich system of aspect markers. One aspectual distinction which relates closely to tense and is especially relevant to the present discussion is the distinction between DEFINITE time and INDEFINITE time. The

³Abbreviations used are as follows: ACC – accusative, ACT – actor-focus, CAU – causative, DEF – definite (cf. Kadazan DD), EMP – emphatic, GEN – genitive, IMPERF – imperfective, INDEF – indefinite, MASS – non-individuated object, NMS – nominaliser, NOM – nominative, PAT – patient-focus, PERF – perfective, PIV – pivot, RED – reduced-focus marker (cf. Ida'an NL), REF – referent-focus, ST – stative, THM – theme-focus, TOP – topicalised, TRAN – transitivity, * – part of stem when preceding an infix.

combination of indefinite time with past tense will be referred to as PERFECTIVE aspect, while indefinite time with non-past tense will be called IMPERFECTIVE aspect.

While non-past is the (morphologically) unmarked tense, definite time is the unmarked aspect. All seven focus types, as well as statives, can take the past tense infix *-in-*, but only actor-, patient-, referent- and locative-focus verbs may be marked for indefinite time. The specific marker used for indefinite time depends on whether the actor or undergoer is pivot.

When the undergoer is pivot (i.e. in patient, referent and locative focus), the indefinite aspect marker is identical to the stative prefix, *o-*. In perfective forms, the past tense infix becomes *n-* (as before any vowel), yielding *no-*. (The patient-focus marker, *-on*, reduces to \emptyset in forms marked for past tense and/or indefinite aspect.) When the actor is pivot, the normal actor-focus prefix *m-* is replaced by *noko-* for perfectives, *ko-* for imperfectives. These forms are summarised below:

TABLE 2: INDEFINITE ASPECT MARKERS

| Focus type: | Actor | Patient/Referent/Locative |
|--------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| Imperfective | <i>ko-</i> | <i>o-</i> |
| Perfective | <i>noko-</i> | <i>no-</i> |

Perfective aspect verbs refer either to an act which has been done or has happened at an indefinite point in the past, or to unintentional, involuntary or accidental actions. Imperfectives refer to an act which could happen, habitually happens or will happen at some unspecified time in the future. The non-volitional and potential senses (of perfectives and imperfectives, respectively) are more likely when the actor is selected as pivot. Indeed, potentiality is the preferred interpretation for many actor-focus imperfectives.

With some verbs, the choice of indefinite aspect signals reduced agency or volitionality, as in the following example:

- (2) a. *T-IN-UTUD-AN dih Jaiwan it tagad nuh.*
 *-PAST-burn-REF DEF Jaiwan DEF.PIV field 2SG.GEN
 Jaiwan set fire to your field (without permission).
- b. *N-O-TUTUD-AN dih Jaiwan it tagad nuh.*
 PAST-ST-burn-REF DEF Jaiwan DEF.PIV field 2SG.GEN
 Jaiwan burned off your field for you.

The simple past tense (2a) implies that the actor (Jaiwan) undertook the action on his own initiative, probably with malicious intent. The perfective (2b), however, implies that the actor performed the action in accordance with the desire (whether stated or implicit) of the owner of the field.

Both imperfectives and perfectives are also used in adverbial time clauses. Some examples of imperfective time margins are given here; perfective examples, which are more common in narrative, are pointed out in section 4.

- (3) a. *Ong KA-TAAK nuh noh, gumuli wagu sitih.*
 if IMPERF-give 2SG.GEN already return new here
 When you have given (it to him), come back here.

- i. *ko-root okuh*
IMPERF-tie.up 1SG.NOM
and, after I tied up their legs,
- j. *om SANDANG-O kuh noh.*
and sling.over.shoulder-PAT.RED 1SG.GEN already
I slung them over my shoulder.
- k. *Ø-ULI okuh noh.*
ACT.RED-go.home 1SG.NOM already
Then I started home.
- l. *Nela'an [n-o-ilo-an] kuh poh om*
PAST-ST-know-REF 1SG.GEN yet and
The next thing I knew (before I knew it?)
- m. *Ø-SAMBAT okuh noh do taanansad*
ACT.RED-meet 1SG.NOM already INDEF leopard
mongogusa [m-poN-gusa].
ACT-TRAN-chase
I met a leopard, who was chasing me.
- n. *Om PANANGKUS [Ø-poN-tangkus] okuh bala-ai dinoh*
and ACT.RED-TRAN-run 1SG.NOM also-EMP that
ditih
this
I started to run,
- o. *nga N-A-TATAK it s-in-andang-Ø*
but PAST-ST-fall.off DEF.PIV *-PAST-sling.over.shoulder-PAT
kuh,
1SG.GEN
but the monkeys I had slung over my shoulder slipped off,
- p. *N-O-LOO.*
PAST-ST-fall
and fell to the ground.
- q. *Om kokitanai [ko-kito-an-ai] dit taanansad irih,*
and IMPERF-see-?-REF.RED DEF leopard this.PIV
When the leopard saw them,
- r. *MAI AKAN-O irih;*
do.RED eat-PAT.RED this.PIV
he ate them up;
- s. *yokuh nga, aku noh n-o-gusa-Ø dirih.*
1SG.TOP but not.I already PAST.ST-chase-PAT this
he quit chasing me.
- t. *Irih poh kinoposiyon [-in-ko-pasi-an] kuh.*
this.PIV yet *-PAST-NMS-alive-REF 1SG.GEN
That's what saved my life.

- u. *Ong amu, a-akan-Ø okuh dit taanansad.*
 if not ST-eat-PAT 1SG.NOM DEF leopard
 If not, I would have been eaten by the leopard.

4. EVENTS MARKED BY FULL FOCUS FORMS

The text displayed above is so short that it consists almost entirely of mainline events, with very little background material. However, even this short text has examples of mainline events which are encoded with non-reduced forms.

In (4c, f, h, j, k, m, n and r), mainline events are encoded as reduced verbs, according to rule B. Examples (4a, b, l and t) are non-events; (4d, i and q) record events demoted to time margins, (4s) records an event which did not happen and (4u) an event which might have happened, but did not; (4g) reports the result of the event recorded in (4f). Such result margins typically employ perfective verb forms,⁴ as seen here. (The reduced patient-pivot form of the same root is used in (4h).)

This leaves the mainline events in (4e, o and p), which are discussed in section 4.1.

4.1 AGENTLESS EVENTS

Reduced verbs are used only for mainline events involving a definite agent. Mainline events which have no agent, or which involve an indefinite agent, are generally encoded with (non-reduced) past tense forms.

An example of a non-agentive event is taken from a written folktale, 'Majabou'.

- (5) *Kadung nokooli [noko-uli] nopoh it tatod,*
 when PERF-return only DEF.PIV soul
NOPOSIYAN [n-o-pasi-an] noh it koyuwan.
 PAST-ST-revive-REF already DEF.PIV body
 When the soul returned, the body came back to life.

The event encoded by the verb *noposiyan* 'revived', is clearly a mainline event. In fact, it is one of the crucial events in the story. However, because no agent is involved, a non-reduced past tense form is used rather than the reduced form. The use of the perfective here, rather than the simple past, also signals reduced agency (see section 2.2).

The following example, taken from a written folktale entitled 'The man who divided his life-span with his wife', illustrates an event with an indefinite agent.

- (6) *LINO'OU [*-in-lo'ou-Ø] noh it tanak do raja om*
 PAST-call-PAT already DEF.PIV child of king and
it tongondu sid piukuman.
 DEF.PIV woman to judgement.place
 The king's son and the woman were called to the judgement place.

Note the use of the full past tense form *lino'ou*. If a specific agent were stated, that is, the person who called them, the reduced patient-focus form *loowo* would have been used.

⁴Pekkanen (1984:4) notes the same pattern for Tatana: "Completive [forms are used for] ... verbs expressing logical consequences of preceding actions".

Many agentless events which would be lexicalised as intransitive verbs in English are expressed as statives in Kimaragang:

- o-lo'o* to drop (intransitive)
a-ratu to fall
o-sorob to burn down, burn up (intransitive)
o-liong to get lost (things)

For examples of such agentless events see (4o) and (4p) above. The stative verbs encoding these events are marked for past tense. A further example comes from a second text by the same speaker, 'Linggang and the bear'. A past tense stative form is used in (7c), *nogi'i* 'broke off', as the event is agentless.

- (7) a. *Om PANANGKUS* [*∅-poN-tangkus*] *okuh id tuwod*
 and ACT.RED-TRAN-run 1SG.NOM to dead.tree
 And I ran to a dead tree
- b. *om ∅-SINGKAKOD okuh,*
 and ACT.RED-climb 1SG.NOM
 and started to climb,
- c. *N-O-GII it ra'an.*
 PAST-ST-break.off DEF.PIV branch
 but the branch broke off.

Other events lexicalised as statives in Kimaragang are non-volitional sense acts like 'see' and 'hear' (as opposed to the volitional acts, 'look' and 'listen'). In Kimaragang these events are lexicalised with the object of perception in focus, rather than the experiencer:

- o-kito* to be seen
o-rongou to be heard

To express the equivalent of the English words 'see' and 'hear', putting the experiencer in focus, the indefinite aspect prefixes *ko-* (for non-past) or *noko-* (for past) must be added. An example (*noko-kito* 'saw') was seen in (4e). Even though this is a mainline event, a full (perfective) form must be used.

To summarise, the first class of exceptions to rule (B), i.e. mainline events which take non-reduced forms, includes 1) events which involve no agent, 2) events which involve an unspecified agent and 3) events which are lexicalised as stative verbs.

4.2 BOUNDARY EVENTS

The first and last events in a narrative are often, but not always, encoded as full past tense verbs. This can be illustrated by the opening two sentences of 'Linggang and the bear':

- (8) a. *Waro iso taddau,*
 exist one day
 One day,
- b. *MINONGUKAD* [*-in-m-poN-ukad*] *okuh do tampasuk.*
 *-PAST-ACT-TRAN-dig 1SG.NOM INDEF manioc
 I went to dig manioc.

- c. *Nopongo okuh nopoh mongukad do tampasuk,*
 finished 1SG.NOM only digging INDEF manioc
 When I had finished digging manioc,
- d. *Ø-PONG-OTOB okuh noh dit tangau dit pulut.*
 ACT.RED-TRAN-cut 1SG.NOM already DEF vine of rubber
 I cut off the vines from my rubber trees.

The first event in the story (8b) is expressed in the (non-reduced) past tense form *minongukad* 'dig'. Thereafter, mainline events are encoded with reduced verbs, beginning with *pongotob* 'cut' (8d).

In longer narratives, the first and last events in each episode are generally encoded as past tense verbs. Each successive episode begins with an explicit grammatical indication of change in participants, time and/or location⁵ (e.g. adverbial phrase of time or location, topicalisation), sometimes preceded by a particle such as *nah* 'well'.

In these longer narratives, there is usually a change of pace at the point where the main action of the narrative begins. The first few paragraphs or mini-episodes set the stage. A time span of many years may be covered in a few sentences, which means that the normal expectation of "temporal adjacency" (Givón 1983:8) between successive events must be suspended. Events reported in this introductory section generally take past tense forms, and so, unlike the reduced forms used in the body of the narrative, are not marked for action continuity. When the real action begins, the pace of the narrative picks up. A detailed, blow-by-blow account of events is given with little or no gap between successive events. The mainline events are therefore encoded with reduced verb forms.

Thus, full verb forms can be substituted for the expected reduced form to signal a discontinuity in the chain of events at episode boundaries, or a non-contiguous sequence of events in introductory material.

4.3 INTRODUCING NEW PARTICIPANTS

Another situation in which a mainline event is encoded as a full focus form is when the event serves to introduce a new participant, using an "existential-presentative" clause (Givón 1983:25).

The first example is taken from a written folktale about two brothers, 'Dondomon and Dandaman'.

- (9) a. *Waro noh sada tagayo R-IN-UM-IKOT*
 exist already fish big *-PAST-ACT-come
 A big fish came up
- b. *om MANGAI noh yalo TOLON-O.*
 and do.RED already 3SG.NOM swallow-PAT.RED
 and swallowed him (Dandaman).

⁵Hurlbut (1979:257) reports that in Labuk Kadazan narrative discourse, paragraph boundaries are marked by a "change of time setting and/or location setting".

Both clauses encode mainline events, but only the second employs the reduced form. The first event is encoded as a past tense presentative verb, *rinumikot* 'come', because a new character (the fish) is brought on stage.

The second example is taken from 'The man who divided his life-span with his wife':

- (10) *Waro noh iso kusai, tanak do raja,*
 exist already one man child of king
S-IN-UM-AKO do talud...
 *-PAST-ACT-mount INDEF boat
 There was a man, a king's son, who got into his boat ...

Again, the new participant (the king's son) is introduced in a construction containing an existential and a mainline event encoded as a past tense verb. As mentioned in section 1, the use of full-focus forms in these cases signals topic discontinuity, which is entailed when the primary function of a clause is to introduce a new participant.

4.4 TOPICALISED NOUN PHRASES

Kimaragang syntax is strongly predicate initial. However, the NP which is the pivot may be left-dislocated through a process of topicalisation; see Kroeger (1988) for examples.

Topicalisation is used very rarely in Kimaragang narrative. When it is used, it signals a CHANGE in topic, that is, a new participant is brought to centre stage as topic. The clause involved cannot contain a reduced verb, even when it encodes a mainline event, because of the topic discontinuity which is being signalled.

One example comes from a second version (a longer retelling) of 'Linggang and the bear':

- (11) (... I ran and started to climb a dead tree, but the branch broke.)
It bouwang nga L-UM-AGA sid dogon.
 DEF.PIV bear but *-ACT-come to 1SG.ACC
 As for the bear, he came after me.

In this example, the bear is not a new participant; he has been previously introduced. Rather, left-dislocation of the pivot NP is used to indicate that the bear has become the new topic, replacing the narrator himself. The non-reduced form of the verb (*Iumaga* 'come') reflects the topic discontinuity.

A second example comes from 'The man who divided his life-span with his wife':

- (12) (... The judge said, "If what you say is true, the king's son will be killed and all his goods will be yours to take". Well, the man looked up into the sky and said, "I take back the half of my life-span from my wife!" When he had spoken, the woman fell down from her seat, dead. When the judge saw this, he caught the king's son and hanged him until he died.)
Om kikiawi dit barang nga N-I-PA-ANU noh
 and all DEF goods but PAST-THM-CAU-take already
dit kusai.
 DEF man
 And all of the goods were given to the man (lit. caused to be taken by the man).

Again, the new topic is expressed by a pre-verbal (left-dislocated) NP, and the topic discontinuity is reflected in the non-reduced verb form, *nipaanu*.

5. CONCLUSION

This study has shown how reduced-focus verb forms are used in Kimaragang narrative to encode agentive mainline events which maintain thematic continuity with the context. The other two uses of reduced forms are consistent with these features of the narrative use. Imperatives are necessarily active (as opposed to stative) and agentive or volitional. The function of periphrastic verbal constructions (*mangan* + reduced verb) is to convey a sense of heightened agency in transitive verbs where the undergoer is in focus.

In an informal experiment, a short passage of translated narrative was presented to a native speaker in two forms; first with all events encoded with full-focus forms, then with mainline events encoded as reduced forms. The reaction of the native speaker was that the second version (with reduced forms) seemed like an eyewitness account, while the first version (no reduced forms) sounded like hearsay. The reduced forms seem to give a sense of vividness lacking with non-reduced forms.

The reduced form of the verb seems to be more active or dynamic, as well as more agentive, than equivalent non-reduced forms. The reduced construction is thus a natural choice to carry the event line of a narrative, to move the action along. At episodic boundaries, where there is a break in the chain of events and/or a shift in the action, less dynamic full forms are chosen. Similarly, in opening sections, which set the stage for the main action, and closing sections, which bring the action to a halt, reduced forms are avoided.

Pekkanen (1984) has come to a similar conclusion about narrative discourse in Tatana, a Dusunic language very different from Kimaragang. The verb forms she labels "timeless aspect forms" are equivalent to what are here called reduced forms, employing affixes clearly cognate with those listed in section 2.1. Pekkanen (p.4) writes:

Timeless aspect [i.e. reduced] forms express more significant events (than completive [past tense] forms) ... Timeless aspect verbs express actions that especially advance the theme of the story. Thus the events that are expressed by these forms are more significant in comparison with the events that are expressed by completive verbs.

Pekkanen (p.7) presents a "cline of dynamism" for Tatana narrative, a ranking of verb forms from most dynamic to least:

timeless aspect [reduced] > completive aspect [past] > non-completive aspect [non-past] > stative > adjectives > existentials > non-verbal clauses.

This ranking also fits very well with what is so far known about the use of these constructions in Kimaragang narrative.

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THEMATIC CONTINUITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN COASTAL KADAZAN NARRATIVES

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1. INTRODUCTION

Coastal Kadazan, sometimes called Kadazan Tangaa' or Penampang Kadazan, is one of the major dialects of the large language community known as Kadazan/Dusun. This language is a member of the Dusunic family of languages spoken in Sabah, Malaysia. It covers a larger area and includes more speakers than does any other language spoken in the state. The Coastal dialect is spoken in Papar and Penampang districts. Because of its proximity to the capital city of Kota Kinabalu and consequent early opportunities for education and development, it holds a prominent place among the various dialects of the language. More written material is available in this dialect than in any other. It is used in daily newspapers and in radio broadcasts.

The data base for this study consisted primarily of two narrative texts, one written and one oral. The written text is the folk story, 'I Lonsibog', written by Samuel Majalang and published in a 1962 volume of Kadazan folk stories by the Borneo Literature Bureau. The oral text, 'Pomogunan', is a story about the origin of the world told by Mrs Rosina Sogondu. Hypotheses were checked against other stories.¹

This paper discusses some general features of Coastal Kadazan discourse such as the introduction of participants (section 2) and the common use of tense and aspect (section 3). It presents some differences noted between oral and written narratives (section 4) and then discusses in greater detail the interplay of some of the discourse markers to highlight and background information as the story develops (section 5).

¹In the illustrative material included in the paper, examples taken from 'I Lonsibog' are marked by (L), giving first the page number from the printed volume and then the sentence number within the text (e.g. (L8, 132)). Sentences taken from 'Pomogunan' are marked by (P), with the sentence number from the transcribed text.

2. INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Like Eastern Kadazan (Hurlbut 1979), Coastal Kadazan uses existential (presentational) clauses to introduce participants and to present material important to the opening of the story.²

- (1) ... *kivaa do tanak do poinsuang do doiho', iso' o kusai om*
 exist DI child DI inside DI there one DI male ADD
iso' o tondu'. (P3)
 one DI female
 ... there were children inside there, one a boy and one a girl.

However, whereas Eastern Kadazan is reported to favour non-verbal 'equational' clauses to introduce major participants and existential clauses to introduce minor participants (Hurlbut calls them "subordinate participants"; 1979:259), Coastal Kadazan seems to prefer existential clauses to introduce major participants (see (1) above) as well as minor ones (2). Of twelve narrative texts, both written and oral, ten brought the initial participants on stage with existential clauses. In most cases these participants continued to play a major role in the story. 'I Lonsibog', where a topicalised construction is used to introduce the central character, is the sole exception (3) in the volume of seven stories by Samuel Majalang (1962).

- (2) *Kivaa tasu disido do tohu.* (L1,2)
 exist dog 3SG.M DI three
 He had three dogs.
- (3) *I Lonsibog nopo nga' magagasu o kalaja' dau.* (L1,1)
 DD Lonsibog START ADV hunter DI work 3SG
 Lonsibog was a hunter.

With the exception of 'I Lonsibog', where the central character is introduced by name (3), which requires the definite determiner (*d*)*i*, participants are brought into the story marked by the indefinite determiner (*d*)*o*.³ All later references occur with the definite determiner. For example, in 'Pomogunan' the stone which split to reveal the children and the children themselves are introduced with the indefinite determiner (1), while later references to the children and the stone are all introduced with a definite demonstrative or other determiner (4). Exceptions to this pattern are noted in section 4.4.

- (4) *Dadi' mazo-gazo dii ino tanak do doiho' nga' ii nopo*
 so grow-big ADEM DEM child DI there ADV ADEM START

²Abbreviations used are as follows: ACT – actor focus, ADD – additive, ADEM – marked anaphoric demonstrative, ADV – adversative, DD – definite determiner (cf. Kimaragang DEF), DEM – demonstrative, DI – indefinite determiner, EMP – emphatic, IADEM – marked anaphoric demonstrative (imperfect), IMPER – in-completive-imperfective marker, INDEF – indefinite time-aspect, INJ – interjection, INT – intensifier, LOC – locative, NPV – non-pivot, PADEM – marked anaphoric demonstrative (perfect), PAST – active past, PAT – patient focus, PERF – perfective past, PFT – completive-perfective marker, PIV – pivot, RED – reduced-focus marker (cf. Ida'an NL), REF – referent focus, ST – stative, START – starting point, TRAN – transitiviser, * – part of stem when preceding an infix.

³Determiners, demonstratives and third person pronouns beginning with *d* (e.g. *do, di*) introduce non-pivot constituents, including subordinate constructions (section 3.3.2) and possessed nouns. Those lacking the *d* (e.g. *o, i*) introduce pivot constituents. Consequently, only first and second person pronouns are glossed for their pivotal status in this paper.

id suang di vatu' dii, nga' kivaa do vaig, ka. (P5)
 LOC inside DD rock ADEM ADV exist DI water say
 So the children grew up there, but inside the rock there was water, they say.

3. FOCUS MARKING AND TENSE-ASPECT IN NARRATIVES

As with other Philippine-type languages, Coastal Kadazan marks syntactically the relationship between a verb and its noun pivot. This has been referred to by a number of authors as focus. Kadazan also has a number of syntactically marked tense-aspect possibilities. Several of these are discussed in this paper along with their function in narrative discourse.

3.1 FOCUS MARKING

The classification of verbs in Coastal Kadazan is very similar to that presented for Kimaragang by Kroeger (this volume, section 2). Verbs may be classified as either active or stative. Stative verbs generally bear the stative prefix *o-* or its morphophonemic variant *a-* (e.g. *agazo* 'big'). Active verbs may occur in one of three main focus types: actor focus, patient focus or referent focus. Translative focus as reported for Kimaragang is not found in Coastal Kadazan. Verbs of perception (*kito* 'see', *ongou* 'hear') function sometimes as active and sometimes as stative verbs (see section 3.2.1).

For each of the three focuses listed above, Coastal Kadazan verbs may occur in either full-focus or reduced-focus form (see section 3.2 for their function in narrative). Reduced-focus forms are similar to those described by Kroeger and function in the same ways as imperatives, as complements in an auxiliary plus complement construction and to present mainline events. They also occur in Coastal Kadazan narratives with indefinite time-aspect, with specialised uses which are discussed in section 3.2.1. Full-focus and reduced-focus forms are as follows:

TABLE 1: FULL- AND REDUCED-FOCUS MARKERS

| Focus type: | Actor | Patient | Referent |
|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| full | <i>m-</i> | <i>-on</i> | <i>-an</i> |
| reduced | | <i>-o'</i> | <i>-ai</i> |

(In the examples, verbs glossed without prefixes are reduced-focus forms in actor focus.)

Full-focus and reduced-focus forms of the three focus types are illustrated by the following sentences:

(5) Full focus

- a. Actor: *M-omohi zou di John diho' sada'.*
 ACT-buy 1SG.PIV DD John DEM fish
- b. Patient: *Bohiz-on ku di John iho' sada'.*
 buy-PAT 1SG.NPV DD John DEM fish

- c. Referent: *Bohiz-an ku i John diho' sada'.*
 buy-REF 1SG.NPV DD John DEM fish
 I am buying John those fish.

(6) Reduced Focus

- a. Actor: *Bohi no di John diho' sada'!*
 buy PFT DD John DEM fish
- b. Patient: *Bohiz-o' no di John iho' sada'!*
 buy-PAT.RED PFT DD John DEM fish
- c. Referent: *Bohiz-ai no i John diho' sada'!*
 buy-REF.RED PFT DD John DEM fish
 Buy those fish for John!

3.2 REDUCED-FOCUS FORMS

Kroeger (this volume, section 1) notes a marked preference in Kimaragang narratives for reduced-focus verb forms. While he states that not all mainline events are encoded by these forms, most are and, excluding embedded quotations of direct speech where imperative verbs may be encoded as reduced-focus forms, "All reduced verbs in Kimaragang narrative ... encode mainline events". A similar preference for reduced-focus forms is noted in the Coastal Kadazan written narrative. When encoding mainline events, these forms almost always occur with developmental or aspectual markers (see section 5).

Reduced-focus forms are consistently used as the complement of *ongoi* and *imang* constructions (see section 3.4). They also occur with the indefinite time-aspect marker (section 3.2.1) and with the continuing-action aspect (section 3.2.2).

3.2.1 INDEFINITE TIME

Occurring frequently with the reduced-focus verb forms is indefinite time-aspect. For active verbs, the combination is *ko-* in actor-focus (7), the stative prefix *o-* in patient-focus (8), and *ko-* *-ai* (9) in referent-focus. In the texts studied, actor-focus and referent-focus forms are frequently found in conjunction with a number of discourse markers which affect the meaning of the form (see section 4). When occurring without these markers, the meaning conveyed involves ability to perform the action of the verb.

- (7) ... *au' no isido ko-kito ...* (L8,132)
 not PFT 3SG.M INDEF-see
 ... he couldn't see ...
- (8) *Kakaal po do o-kito dau i savo dau ...* (L3,44)
 still IMPER DI ST-see 3SG DD spouse 3SG
 He could still see his wife ...
- (9) *Ko-igit-ai disido o tangkong di savo dau ...* (L3,40)
 INDEF-hold-REF.RED 3SG.M DI belt DD spouse 3SG
 He managed to hold onto his wife's belt ...

3.2.2 CONTINUING-ACTION ASPECT

Continuing-action aspect is used to present an action which began at some time prior to the point of reference but is viewed as continuing at the point of reference. It is formed by reduplication of the root. When this form is used to present a mainline event in 'I Lonsibog', it occurs in reduced focus:

- (10) *Iad-iad no isido...* (L7,105)
 weep-weep PFT 3SG.M
 He was weeping ...

3.3 FULL-FOCUS FORMS

Verbs which are marked for past tense occur in full-focus form, as do those which are used in subordinate constructions introduced by *do*.

3.3.1 PAST TENSE FORMS

As with Kimaragang, the unmarked tense for Coastal Kadazan narratives is non-past. 'Active past' and 'perfective past' forms occur with full-focus marking for all focus types. (In this volume, see Boutin, section 6.2 and King, J.K., section 2.3, for a discussion of 'past' forms as 'detaching' the events they mark from the context.)

Active past is marked by *-in-* (11) which does not occur with stative verbs. Past tense forms without an overt-focus marker are in patient focus (11b).

- (11) a. *Minomohi[-in-m-poN-bohi] zou di John diho' sada'.*
 PAST-ACT-TRAN-buy 1SG.PIV DD John DEM fish
 b. *Binohi[-in-bohi] ku di John iho' sada'.*
 PAST-buy.PAT 1SG.NPV DD John DEM fish
 c. *Binohizan[-in-bohi-an] ku i John diho' sada'.*
 PAST-buy-REF 1SG.NPV DD John DEM fish
 I bought John the fish.

Perfective past is marked by *noko-* for actor focus, *no-* for patient focus, and *no- -an* for referent focus (12). For some statives, *noko-* indicates a change of state which is caused by the action of an agent (13), *no-* indicates a change of state which is internally produced or for which an agent is not stated (14), and *no- -an* (*o- -an* in non-past) indicates the perception of a state by someone (15). In connection with *noko-* and *no-*, the pivot is that for which the state is indicated. In connection with *no- -an*, it is the one who perceives the state.

- (12) a. *Noko-bohi zou di John diho' sada'.*
 PERF.ACT-buy 1SG.PIV DD John DEM fish
 b. *No-bohi ku di John iho' sada'.*
 PERF-buy.PAT 1SG.NPV DD John DEM fish
 c. *No-bohiz-an ku i John diho' sada'.*
 PERF-buy-REF 1SG.NPV DD John DEM fish
 I have bought John the fish.

- (13) *Naka-gazo o tizan dau do minoginum.*
 PERF.ACT-big DI stomach 3SG DI drink
 His stomach has grown large from drinking.
- (14) *Na-gazo isido di odu' dau.*
 PERF.ST-big 3SG.M DD grandmother 3SG
 He was raised by his grandmother.
- (15) *(N)a-gaza-an zou di tanak dau.*
 (PERF).ST-big-REF 1SG.PIV DD child 3SG
 I see (saw) that his children are large.

Kroeger (this volume, section 4.2) notes a tendency in Kimaragang to use full-focus past tense in reporting "boundary events" such as introductory actions (cf. also Boutin, this volume, section 6.2). This seems also to be the case for the Coastal Kadazan written text where the central character sets out on the eventful trip into the canyon which brought him to the supernatural girl:

- (16) *Um-in-usuk isido doid pias tagazo...* (L1,8)
 ACT-PAST-roam 3SG.M LOC gorge big
 He roamed into a big gorge ...

This is one of very few occurrences in the entire text of the active past tense form used to present an event in natural sequential order. It is used again at the end to present a climactic 'boundary event' (17a), when the demise of the hero's opponent is presented by an active past form of the auxiliary verb *imang, nimaan* 'did'. This is followed by a perfective form *nokopisasavo* 'married', which is used to state the resolution for the hero and heroine (17b).

- (17) a. *li nopo tanak do raja', i m-in-omuaboi, nga'*
 DEM START child DI king DD *-PAST-engage ADV
nimaan patazo', (L8,137)
 did die
 The child of the king who had been engaged to her was put to death,
- b. *om zi Lonsibog nopo nga' noko-pisasavo vagu'*
 ADD DD Lonsibog START ADV PERF.ACT-marry again
di Landin. (L8,137)
 DD Landin
 and Lonsibog remarried Landin.

In the oral text, active past is used in an independent clause only once at the end of the story to recapitulate (18b). Its only other occurrence in an independent clause encodes an event in natural chronological sequence with the last event presented, but which seems to be detached as an aside (19b).

- (18) a. The man piled it up in order to cover what has been moulded ... All those hills originally did not exist.
- b. *Nga' nimaan i' kukupo' di kusai ka do mooi do*
 ADV did EMP pile.up DD male say DI go DI
otongkuban diho' s-in-upu'. (P37)
 to.cover DEM *-PAST-forge

However, the man gathered together that which was piled up in order to cover it with what he had forged.

- (19) a. The girl knew how to change herself into a bee. She had a dress that she wore that caused it to happen.

b. *Nga', ii nopo gaung dau, nga' p-in-ohosok di*
 ADV ADEM START dress 3SG ADV *-PAST-hide DD

Lonsibog ... (L2,22)

Lonsibog

Her gown, however, Lonsibog hid ...

- c. The girl begged to have her dress again, but Lonsibog would not give it back.

In 'I Lonsibog', a perfective form is used also to present a surprising or unexpected event. Again, the effect is to detach the event, thus effectively highlighting it:

(20) ... *om no-suvazan dii do noko-kito tu' tondu'*
 ADD PERF-surprise ADEM DI PERF.ACT-see for female

ii do tavanus. (L1,11)

ADEM DI beautiful

... he was surprised to see that it was a beautiful girl.

Elsewhere in the text, perfective verbs are used in connection with the setting (21) or with actions which occurred prior to the mainline events (22b).

(21) ... *noko-ontok kozo do pagadaan tu otuu o tana'...* (L1,7)
 PERF.ACT-happen INT DI drought for dry DI ground

... it so happened that it was drought time because the land was dry ...

(22) a. *Nga' au' i' poduli zi Lonsibog,*
 ADV not EMP care DD Lonsibog

Lonsibog didn't pay any attention, however,

b. *tu' noko-hosok no dau i gaung tosundu.* (L2,26)

for PERF.ACT-hide PFT 3SG DD dress supernatural

for he had already hidden the supernatural dress.

Compare also the sentence below. In (23a) the tank is filled with water. This is part of the sequence of mainline events and a reduced-focus form is employed. In (23b) the tank is noted to be already full at the time of the observation, and the perfective is used.

(23) a. ... *om au' i' gia naka-haahaid om koponu' no*
 ADD not EMP INJ PERF.ACT-time ADD fill PFT

i kulam. (L8,125)

DD tank

... and in very little time the tank was filled.

b. *Ongozo' no dau bi'o' om no-ponu' no i kulam*
 go PFT 3SG look ADD PERF-full PFT DD tank

do vaig. (L8,126)

DI water

He went to look and the reservoir was full (i.e. had already been filled) of water.

Full-focus past tense verbs are consistently used in an expanded quotation margin (24), one which contains more than just the tenseless verb *ka* 'say'. In this usage, the motivation would be that described by Boutin (section 6.2), namely, the elaboration of an event, in that the past tense verb refers to the same act as *ka*.

- (24) *"Mimang", ka di haahangai do sum-in-imba.* (L1,16)
 do say DD young.girl DI *-PAST-reply
 "Yes, I'd like to", said the young girl in reply.

3.3.2 SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *do*

Full-focus forms are consistently used in constructions which are subordinated by the marker *do*. Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) distinguish three types of subordinate clauses: "those which function as noun phrases (called complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (called adverbial clauses)"; *do* is used to introduce all of these constructions.

Example (25) illustrates the full-focus form used in the complement of a verb of cognition. It is also used in the complement of a verb of speaking (26).

- (25) *... noihaan nodii di savo dau do m-omudut*
 knew PADEM DD spouse 3SG DI ACT-lie
isido dii. (L3,36)
 3SG.M ADEM
 ... his wife knew that he was lying about it.

- (26) *Om koikot no i kouk om poboos no do:*
 ADD come PFT DD kouk ADD say PFT DI
"Maan ku iziau tuhungo' bo". (L6,95)
 do 1SG.NPV 2SG.PIV help INJ
 The kouk fish arrived and said, "I'm going to help you".

Do shares its function as a relative clause marker with the other forms of the determiner mentioned in section 1. Generally, *do* is used to mark relative clauses whose antecedent is non-specific (27), but it is also used in relative clauses whose antecedent is specific where the relative clause is non-restrictive (28).

- (27) *Ponokon nopo dau nga' pohod do hinavisan.* (L1,3)
 spear START 3SG ADV pohod DI sharpen
 His spear was a piece of pohod wood which had been sharpened.
- (28) *Trus do panangkus zi Lonsibog do guninusa di*
 straight DI ran DD Lonsibog DI chase DD
savo dau do huminabus do binalai. (L3,39)
 spouse 3SG DI outside DI kitchen.area
 Straightaway Lonsibog ran to chase his wife who was leaving the kitchen area.

The most common use of *do* in the 'I Lonsibog' text is that of introducing adverbial clauses or phrases. It is used to introduce time expressions whose referents are future (e.g. *do vuhan tiiso'* 'next month') and so less definite than those introduced by *di*, whose referents are past (e.g. *di vuhan nakatahib* 'last month'). It is also used in adverbial expressions such as *do gisom* 'in the meantime', *do ingkaa* 'thus', *do doiho* 'there' (29), and with subordinating expressions such as *sundung po tuu* 'although' (30).

- (29) *Kivaa do iso' raja' do doiho' ...* (L4,59)
 exist DI one king DI there
 There was a king there ...

- (30) *Sundung-po-tuu do notuvangan isido dii, nga' impio*
 although DI darkness 3SG.M ADEM ADV still
i' do mamananau. (L3,46)
 EMP DI walk
 Although darkness had come upon him, he continued to walk.

In many of its occurrences in 'I Lonsibog', the construction containing *do* approximates the adverbial, infinitival or verbal complement construction in English, although it is used more extensively than are these constructions in English. Almost always, *do* takes the full-focus form in the non-past (31), active past (32) or perfective (33), depending on the relationship of the action to the story-line.⁴

- (31) *Sangaangadau ino do m-iusuk-usuk do m-ogium*
 pass.whole.day DEM DI ACT-roam DI ACT-look.for
do pahanuk toi-ko' tambang. (L1,5)
 DI mousedeer or deer
 He spent the whole day roaming in the jungle looking for mousedeer or deer.

- (32) ... *om tanud no zosido do m-in-uhi'.* (L1,17)
 ADD follow PFT 3SG.F DI ACT-PAST-return
 ... and she followed [him] home.

- (33) ... *om no-suvazan dii do noko-kito tu' tondu'*
 ADD PERF-surprise ADEM DI PERF.ACT-see for female

⁴With *obuli* 'can' both full-focus and reduced-focus forms are found in the complement. Compare, for example:

- a. *Au' obuli' do popinsunud doid tuhun ...* (L2,32)
 not able DI tell LOC person
 You can't tell people ...

- b. ... *au' ko obuli' do m-onoonsunud ...* (L2,20)
 not 2SG.PIV able DI ACT-tell
 You can't tell ...

The same was found with *trus* 'straightaway' as in:

- a. *Trus do panangkus zi Lonsibog ...* (L3,39)
 straightaway DI run DD Lonsibog
 Straightaway Lonsibog ran ...

- b. ... *trus nodii disido do m-inanangkus ...* (L3,43)
 straightaway PADEM 3SG.M DI ACT-run
 ... straightaway he ran ...

ii do tavanus. (L1,11)
 ADEM DI beautiful
 ... he was surprised to see that it was a beautiful girl.

3.4 ASPECTUAL *ongoi* AND *imang* WITH COMPLEMENT

The aspectual predicates *ongoi* 'go' and *imang* 'do' are used extensively in both oral and written narratives. Both *ongoi* and *imang* may occur as independent verbs, with respective meanings 'go' and 'want' (34):

(34) a. "*M-imang ko i' do sovoon ku iziau?" ka'* (L1,15)
 ACT-want 2SG.PIV EMP DI marry 1SG.NPV 2SG.PIV say
vagu' disido.
 again 3SG.M
 "Do you want me to marry you?" he said again.

b. *Maai po dino kusai ka do mooi do otongkuban* (P36)
 do IMPER DEM male say DI ACT.go DI cover
po iti vinoun.
 IMPER DEM earth
 So the man was going to go to cover the earth.

In narratives, however, their most common usage is as auxiliaries in a phasal construction. Noonan (1985:129) notes that "phasal predicates are associated with reduced complements". This is true of these constructions in Kadazan. The verbal complement of *ongoi* and *imang* is always in reduced-focus form and is not introduced with *do* (contrast (34) above). As auxiliaries they may occur in full-focus (35) or reduced-focus (36) forms, as well as with the past tense marker (37) (cf. also (18), section 3.3.1), according to the principles described in sections 3.2 – 3.3.

(35) *Apandai do m-imang vahiu do potizukan i tondu'...* (L2,21)
 skilled DI ACT-do change DI bee DD female
 The girl knew how to change herself into a bee ...

(36) *Dadi', imang no iad i Lonsibog ...* (L5,72)
 so do PFT weep DD Lonsibog
 So Lonsibog began to weep ...

(37) ... *om ugad no ii do m-in-ooi pagahap do*
 ADD go PFT ADEM DI ACT-PAST-go invite DI
sodto suvai ... (L5,77)
 ant other
 ... and it went to go and invite the other ants ...

The phasal auxiliaries have only two focus forms, actor focus and patient-referent focus. As they are formed irregularly, the focus forms are given below:

TABLE 2: FORMS OF THE PHASAL AUXILIARIES

| Actor Focus | Patient-Referent Focus |
|---|---|
| Full Focus <i>mongoi/mooi</i> <i>mimang</i> | <i>ongozon/ngozon</i> <i>mangan/maan</i> |
| Reduced Focus <i>ongoi</i> <i>imang</i> | <i>ngozo'</i> <i>maai</i> |

The phasal construction *imang* plus complement is used to describe the onset of an action. For example, in ‘I Lonsibog’, where the central character fails on several occasions to accomplish a task, the onset of his weeping is marked by a phasal predicate (38a), in contrast to succeeding occasions (38b-c).

- (38) a. *Dadi' imang no iad...* (L5,72)
 so do PFT weep
 So he began to weep ...
- b. *Dadi' iad no vagu'...* (L6,94)
 so weep PFT again
 So he wept again ...
- c. *Iad-iad no isido...* (L7,105)
 weep-weep PFT 3SG.M
 He wept and wept ...

When the point of reference of the utterance is not discourse time but the time of utterance, the phasal construction refers to an action whose onset is purposed or intended:

- (39) “*Maan ku iziau tuhungo' bo*”, *ka dii.* (L6,95)
 do 1SG.NPV 2SG.PIV help INJ say ADEM
 “I’m going to help you”, he said.

The phasal construction *ongoi* in its various forms denotes action which is both purposeful and which involves spatio-temporal distance. For example, in (40) the use of the non-past form *mananud* ‘follow’ rather than the phasal *mooi tanud* would have implied that the person going was not part of the purposeful action of the expedition, but simply following along. The phasal construction in (41) implies that spatial distance had to be covered before the action of releasing could be carried out.

- (40) “*M-ugad ko nopo do mooi tandu do tuhun*
 ACT-go 2SG.PIV START DI go follow DI person
do mogumpai...” (L2,25)
 DI get.tumpai.wood
 “If you go to get tumpai wood with the others ...”
- (41) *Au' daa ongozon di Lonsibog iduai ii...* (L4,48)
 not desire go DD Lonsibog release ADEM
 Lonsibog did not want to go and release it ...

4. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WRITTEN AND ORAL TEXTS

In Kadazan narratives, differences can be noted between the written and the oral texts. These include the selection of full- or reduced-focus forms (section 4.1), the way the story is divided into episodes (section 4.2), the use of a disclaimer (section 4.3) and the use of demonstratives (section 4.4).

4.1 VERB FORMS

Past tense forms are rarely used to encode mainline events (see section 3.3.1). Both written and oral texts typically encode mainline events with non-past forms. In written texts, reduced-focus forms of the non-past are more frequent than full-focus forms:

- (42) *Suang no isido di kampung...* (L4,58)
 enter PFT 3SG.M DD village
 He entered the village ...

In the oral text, however, more frequent use was made of full-focus forms and particularly the continued-action aspect (43). For example, in 'Pomogunan', nearly twice as many full-focus as reduced-focus forms encoded mainline events.

- (43) *Dadi' m-azo-gazo dii ino tanak do doiho'...* (P5)
 so ACT-big-big ADEM DEM child DI there
 So the children grew up there ...

4.2 TIME MARGINS

The use of time margins to introduce sections or paragraphs, as was noted for Eastern Kadazan narratives (Hurlbut 1979:259), is also an important feature of the Coastal Kadazan written narrative:

- (44) *Insan tadau, di minooi isido pagasu...* (L1,7)
 one day DD went 3SG.M hunting
 One day as he was going hunting ...

In 'I Lonsibog', 21 of these time margins occur, constituting a ratio of 15 per hundred sentences. In several oral texts the ratio was found to be 1.5 time margins per hundred sentences.

This is not surprising. Both Givón (1979) and Ochs (1979) note that unplanned or pragmatic speech tends to be more loosely joined and sequentially ordered than does planned or syntactic speech.

In the oral narratives, the story is punctuated by the frequent use of the sentence introducers *dadi'* 'then/so', *om* 'and', *nga'* 'but', *ba* 'all right', and combinations of these such as *om nga'* and *om ba* (see section 5.1) (45). (In (45c) the speaker depended on visual demonstration to communicate the meaning.)

- (45) a. *Dadi' agazo nodii ino tanak...* (P7)
 so big PADEM DEM child
 So these children grew up ...

b. *Om ba, sinupu' nopo nga' iho' no tavan.* (P8)
 ADD INJ forge START ADV DEM PFT sky
 And so then, the forge was the sky.

c. *Dadi' i vagu' i tondu' ka nga' igitai dau ka*
 so DD again DD female say ADV hold 3SG say
do poingkaa... (P9)
 DI like.this
 So the woman, in the same way, was holding onto (what she found) like this ...

In several of the oral narratives, the use of *nopo*, the backgrounding device described in section 5.4, is used in connection with time settings. This occurs sometimes in conjunction with the repetition of lexical items (another feature noted by Ochs (1979) to characterise unplanned speech), to move the story along (46).

(46) a. ... *om kahapak no.* (P2)
 ADD split PFT
 ... and it split apart.

b. *Pihapak nopo ino do duvo ...* (P3)
 split START DEM DI two
 When it split into two ...

4.3 DISCLAIMER AND QUOTATION MARGINS

Oral texts make frequent use of the disclaimer, *kaaka* or *ka* 'they say' (47), and identify speakers with a repeated *ka* 'say' in the quotation margin (48). Written texts do not do this (49).

(47) *Iti nopo kaaka pomogunan do tanong do*
 DEM START they.say world DI story DI
komohoingan. (P1)
 old.people
 This, they say, is the world according to the story of the old folks.

(48) "*Au*", *ka di kusai ka, ...* (P23)
 not say DD male say
 "No", said the man, ...

(49) "*Aiso*", *ka di tondu'...* (L1,14)
 none say DD female
 "I have none", said the woman ...

4.4 PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

Oral texts make frequent use of the demonstrative forms (*d)iti* 'this; near speaker', (*d)ino* 'that; near hearer', and (*d)iho* 'that; near neither speaker nor hearer' to designate participants in a narrative, in a way which written texts do not. Their use in discourse is not unrelated to their localised use, but is viewed more from the point of view of story development (cf. King & Levinsohn's paper, this volume). In 'Pomogunan', for example, the earth is

frequently referred to as *iti tana* 'this earth' or *itia vinoun* 'this world', whereas the sky is *iho' tavan* 'that sky', reflecting the orientation of the storyteller, perhaps. In their discourse function, demonstratives precede rather than follow the nouns they modify (50). They may also stand alone (51).

- (50) *Nga' obingodop iti kusai, ka ...* (P13)
 ADV sleepy DEM male say
 But this man was sleepy, they say ...
- (51) *Pihapak nopo ino do duvo ...* (P3)
 split START DEM DI two
 It split into two ...

Several of the oral texts use a demonstrative to introduce participants. This is comparable to the way a speaker of English might say informally, "There was this person ...", but would probably, if asked to write an account, change it to "There was a person" (52). This tendency to use "demonstrative modifiers where definite articles are used in planned discourse" (Ochs 1979:68) is present throughout the oral narratives.

- (52) *Kivaa no kaaka dino tuhun di timpuun no kozo ...*
 exist PFT say DEM person DD earlier PFT INT
 There was, they say, this person a long time ago ...

Written texts are not found to use the demonstrative pronouns in the pre-noun position. However, both written and oral texts make frequent use of the marked anaphoric demonstrative (*dii*) to refer to participants. This always refers to persons, things or situations known to the reader or hearer (53). When referring to animals or inanimate objects, it is preferred to the personal pronouns (54). Also, *dii* is commonly used in a quotation margin where the speaker is assumed to be known. In the written text this margin is *ka dii* 'said he/she' (55). In the oral text, it is usually *ka dii ka* 'said he/she said' (56) (cf. section 4.3). For a discussion of other functions of *dii* in discourse, see section 5.5.

- (53) *Ngaan nopo di tondu' dii, nga' zi Landin.* (L1,18)
 name START DD female ADEM ADV DD Landin
 The name of this particular girl was Landin.
- (54) *Koiduai nopo dii disido ii, om pamanau*
 release START ADEM 3SG.M ADEM ADD walk
no vagu'. (L4,49)
 PFT again
 After he released it, he continued on his way.
- (55) *"Maan ku iziau tuhungo' bo", ka dii.* (L6,95)
 do 1SG.NPV 2SG.PIV help INJ say ADEM
 "I'm going to help you", he said.
- (56) *"Mmm, suusuvai kozo o vongi' diti, miaga kozo*
 mmm different INT DI scent DEM like INT
vongi' do sinupu", ka dii ka. (P7)
 scent DI forge say ADEM say
 "Mmm, it's really unusual this smell, like the smell of a forge", he said.

5. THEMATIC CONTINUITY, HIGHLIGHTING AND BACKGROUNDING

It is obvious, from even a cursory examination of a Coastal Kadazan text, that the language makes use of numerous grammatical markers. These tend to be conjunctions such as *dadi'*, *om*, *nga'* (section 5.1), or particles such as *no*, *po*, *nopo*, *ii*, *dii*, *nodii*, *podii* (sections 5.2 - 5.6). Whether to consider particles such as *no* and *po* words or clitics, and whether to join some to each other (*podii*) or leave them separate (*po dii*), has been the subject of debate since the time the language began to be written.

The use of these particles is further complicated by the fact that most of them have a number of intrasentential or localised uses as well as more generalised discourse functions. Yet it is the interworking of these markers, together with certain tense-aspect choices made by the speaker or writer, which gives the narrative thematic continuity and enables the author to give more or less prominence to an action.

5.1 SENTENCE INTRODUCERS

A certain amount of stylistic difference can be noted between story-tellers, in both choice and frequency of use of sentence level introducers. However, these are used in all narrative texts in connection with thematic continuity, to indicate either progression (section 5.1.1) or change (section 5.1.2).

5.1.1 SENTENCE INTRODUCERS WHICH INDICATE PROGRESSION

Most commonly used to indicate progression or continuity are *dadi'* 'so, so then' and *om* 'and'. Some Kadazan people have expressed the opinion that because *dadi'* is borrowed from Malay *jadi* it has no place in Kadazan discourse, but its use now has become so widespread that it must certainly be considered part of the language as it is spoken today.

5.1.1.1 *dadi'*

Dadi' is used to indicate that the action being presented results from an action previously mentioned. For example, the failure to carry out a commissioned task (57a) is seen as the reason for the hero's weeping (57b), and his weeping in turn is seen as the reason for the arrival of the ant to help him (57c).

(57) a. It was already deep night and he had not been able to finish what had been given him by the king to eat. (L5,71)

b. *Dadi' imang no iad i Lonsibog...*
 so do PFT weep DD Lonsibog
 So Lonsibog began to weep about not being able to finish it, because
 the king was going to kill him for it. (L5,72)

c. *Dadi' koikot no o sodto dii...*
 so come PFT DI ant ADEM
 So the ant came ... (L5,73)

In 'Pomogunan', which is less tightly structured, *dadi'* is sometimes resultative (58d) and sometimes indicative of some action discontinuity (cf. King, J.K., this volume, section

2.2.1). In this latter usage, it may introduce an aside or comment (58b), or present an event which does not occur immediately after the last event or which represents a return to the story line, after a comment (58c).

- (58) a. So the woman was moulding like this,
 "Oh dear, it smells like earth", she said. (P9)
- b. *Dadi' vinoun nopo nga' iti no tana'.* (P10)
 so earth START ADV DEM PFT ground
 Now this thing she was moulding was the earth.
- c. *Dadi', "Ba", ka di tondu'...* (P11)
 so okay say DI female
 Then, "All right", said the woman: "you forge and I'll mould", the woman instructed the man.
- d. *Dadi' sopindikau nodii do sonsoosodop ino, ka, do*
 so sit.down PADEM DI whole.night DEM say DI
mapap-tapap do momoun i tondu', modsupu' i kusai. (P12)
 mould DI earth DD female forge DD male
 So they sat that entire night, the woman moulding and the man forging.

5.1.1.2 *om*

Om is commonly used as a sentence introducer, as well as an intrasentential coordinating conjunction. As a sentence introducer, it tends to relate to the action of the previous sentence in an associative or additive capacity. As an example of the additive usage of *om*, after telling about the various animals which Lonsibog met in the course of following his wife, the narrator says:

- (59) *Om ii nopo touvi' no kozo do nokito dau, nga'*
 ADD ADEM START last PFT INT DI saw 3SG ADV
i sodto ... (L4,53)
 DD ant
 And the last thing he saw was an ant ...

5.1.2 SENTENCE INTRODUCERS WHICH INDICATE CHANGE

Some markers signal a change of topic or situation. Most common in this regard are *nga'* and *ba*.

5.1.2.1 *nga'*

In its intrasentential use, *nga'* is a conjunction usually translated as 'but' (60). It signals an adversative relationship between what precedes and what follows.

- (60) *Au' daa ongozon di Lonsibog iduai ii, nga' moboos*
 not desire go DD Lonsibog release ADEM ADV talk

i toninipot do ... (L4,48)
 DD firefly DI
 Lonsibog did not want to go and release it, but the firefly said ... (so he did it.)

As a sentence introducer, *nga'* also signals a change or shift of topic, situation or direction of development (61b), or is again used as an adversative (62b) (cf. also section 5.4 on *nga'* used in connection with *nopo*).

(61) a. And after that, they will promise to be engaged according to the agreement which had been arranged by the elders previously.

b. *Nga' kivaa do tohu no tondu' do mugad...*
 ADV exist DI three PFT female DI go
 Now there are three girls who will go ...

(62) a. ... "Don't you tell anyone about me", she said.

b. *Nga', makin nogi' dii isido do moboos...* (L2,29)
 ADV more also ADEM 3SG.M DI speak
 But all the more did he speak ...

5.1.2.2 *ba*

The marker *ba* 'all right', which in its localised use signals agreement, is used in narratives to indicate that the speaker has finished one thought or episode and is proceeding to the next which develops from it. In this sense the marker signals change. For example, in 'Pomogunan', an argument between the man and the woman is presented in which the two discuss whether the man has forged enough sky to cover the earth which has been moulded by the woman. In (63), the storyteller indicates that the argument is finished and then goes on to tell what was the outcome.

(63) *Ba, modusupu' vagu' ino kusai ...* (P20)
 okay forge again DEM male
 So then, the man began forging again ...

5.1.3 COMBINATIONS OF SENTENCE INTRODUCERS

Some of the markers discussed above are used together to produce a combination of their individual usages. The completion of a thought or episode plus action continuity is signalled by *om ba*. For instance, preceding (64) the narrator recounts in order: a) how a couple live at some distance from others; b) the illness and death of the husband; c) the absence of any companion for the woman in the house; and d) the fact that she had a child. Example (64) is then introduced by *om ba*, because the narrator has completed the setting of the scene (*ba*) and the new event leads naturally from what has preceded (*om*).

(64) *Om ba, imang nodii pimbaut ino tondu' do nomihooou*
 ADD okay do PADEM shout DEM female DI call
do koluang.
 DI friend
 And so then, the woman began to shout to summon her friends.

The combination *ba nga'* (65) signals the completion of a thought plus change of topic. In the story mentioned above, the woman's cries for help are answered not by neighbours, but by a stranger who tells the woman she need not worry about getting the neighbours because he is there to help. Having completed this episode (*ba*), the narrator then switches the topic (*nga'*) to talk about the strange actions of this visitor:

- (65) *Ba nga', sopindiikau nodii ...*
 okay ADV sit.down PADEM
 All right, but then as they sat there ...

Additional action and a change in location is signalled by *om nga'*. In a text on courting customs, the narrator follows the couple from ceremonies at the home of the bride to the home of the groom and back. Example (66) indicates that the ceremonies continue (*om*), but this time at the home of the groom (*nga'*).

- (66) *Om nga', koikot doid daamin di kusai ...*
 ADD ADV arrive LOC house DD male
 And then, they come to the house of the man ...

5.2 COMPLETIVE-PERFECTIVE MARKER *no*

One of the most common markers used in a narrative is the completive-perfective marker *no*. In its localised use in conversations, this marker indicates that an action is completed at the time the speaker is talking and, generally, that it is expected. In other words, the statement has "current relevance" (Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982:22; cf. discussion in this volume in Boutin, section 6.1 and Moody, section 5.2). For example, (67) indicates that the arrival of the bus is expected and has now occurred. Similarly, *no* is used in narrative in connection with an action which is marked by the perfective past tense marker as occurring previous to the mainline events, if the hearer has been informed earlier about the action (68).

- (67) *Noko-ikot no iho' bas.*
 PERF.ACT-arrived PFT DEM bus
 The bus has already arrived.
- (68) *Nga' au' i' poduli zi Lonsibog, tu' noko-hosok no*
 ADV not EMP care DD Lonsibog for PERF.ACT-hide PFT
dau i gaung tosundu. (L2,26)
 3SG DD dress supernatural
 Lonsibog didn't pay any attention, however, for he had already hidden the supernatural dress.

No is used with imperatives either with reduced-focus forms to indicate that the action is to be done without delay and until completion (69), or with full-focus forms where its execution is to be carried out following another commanded action without question and to completion (70).

- (69) *"Ba, ngoz-o' no!" ka di tondu' ka.* (P32)
 okay go-PAT.RED PFT say DD female say
 "All right, go (and do it)!" said the woman.

- (70) *Saakoi no om m-akan no!*
 go.up PFT ADD ACT-eat PFT
 Come up into the house and (then) eat!

No is used in time expressions to indicate time which has already elapsed or which has been completed at the present time. In (71) the implication is that the addressee is still engaged in study, since the period of time being enquired about extends to the present, that is, has current relevance. In narrative, the period of time indicated is in reference to the time of the main events of the story (72).

- (71) a. *Songkuo no hinaid nu do balajal?*
 how.long PFT time 2SG.NPV DI study
 How long have you been studying?
- b. *Duvo no vuhan.*
 two PFT month
 For two months.
- (72) *Opod no tadau isido dii do ingkaa...* (L7,104)
 ten PFT day 3SG.M ADEM DI like.that
 For ten whole days he did like that ...

No is used to express the ultimate item or event, in relation to other items or events previously mentioned or implied:

- (73) *Om ii nopo touvi' no kozo do nokito dau, nga'*
 ADD ADEM START last PFT INT DI saw 3SG ADV
i sodto ... (L4,53)
 DD ant
 And the last thing (lit. the most final) he saw was an ant ...

In narrative, however, the most common function of *no* is to signal development of the main-event line, by presenting an action as a significant event which is viewed perfectly. In the 'I Lonsibog' text of 138 sentences, 66 occurrences of *no* used in this way are found. In this usage, it occurs with the reduced-focus form of a verb in actor (74), patient (75) or referent (76) focus.

- (74) *...om tanud no zosido do m-in-uhi.* (L1,27)
 ADD follow PFT 3SG.F DI ACT-PAST-return
 ... and she followed him home.
- (75) *Pongiak no isido om ovit-o' no i Lonsibog*
 laugh PFT 3SG.M ADD carry-PAT.RED PFT DD Lonsibog
doid daamin dau. (L7,116)
 LOC house 3SG
 He laughed and took Lonsibog to his house.
- (76) *Intang-ai no dau i Lonsibog nga' poingodop.* (L5,82)
 look.at-REF.RED PFT 3SG DD Lonsibog ADV sleep
 He looked at Lonsibog but he was sleeping.

When used in a non-verbal equational sentence, *no* follows the noun and marks the assertion as of particular significance to the development of the story, as well as relating the

assertion to the context (77). Where the equational sentence involves a topicalised construction (cf. section 4.4), *no* follows the demonstrative in the comment (78).

- (77) *"Tanak no di raja' ino, i tomuhok no kozo",*
 child PFT DD king DEM DD young PFT INT
ka di mananghamin. (L4,63)
 say DD house.owner

"She is the child of the king, the youngest one", said the owner of the house.

- (78) ... *"li nopo sakaan ku, nga' ii no o*
 ADEM START land.on 1SG.NPV ADV ADEM PFT DI
ngozon takado", ka. (L8,134)
 go touch say

... "The one I land on, that's the one you're to touch", he said.

Quite frequently *no* is used to mark development, in connection with a verb prefixed with the indefinite time-aspect marker *ko-*. In this case, the verb no longer carries the meaning of ability as described in section 3.2.1, but carries instead the meaning of unintentionality:

- (79) a. *lad-iad no isido dii om ko-tinong no*
 weep-weep PFT 3SG.M ADEM ADD INDEF-investigate PFT
o iso' tambang. (L7,105)
 DI one deer

He wept and wept, and a deer happened to come by to see what was going on.

- b. *Di maapanau vagu' isido dii ko-jumpa-ai*
 DD walk again 3SG.M ADEM INDEF-meet-REF.RED
no vagu' disido iso' tambang... (L4,51)
 PFT again 3SG.M one deer
 As he continued walking he happened to meet a deer ...

Verbs of perception which occur with *ko-* and *no* have the meaning of unintentionality, as in (79) above, and convey significant events. However, in this construction they do not function as active verbs, since they have as their pivot the thing perceived rather than the actor or perceiver (cf. section 3.2.1):

- (80) *Ko-ongou no dau o tasu dau do ponoko-usigusig*
 INDEF-hear PFT 3SG DI dog 3SG DI bark-loudly
kozo... (L1,9)
 INT
 He heard his dog barking furiously ...

5.3 INCOMPLETE-IMPERFECTIVE MARKER *po*

The marker *po* is found much less frequently in texts than is the marker *no*. In 'I Lonsibog' only twelve occurrences were found. In its localised or conversational use, it indicates that an action is incomplete at the time of utterance (81). In this regard, it is often used in a subordinate clause to indicate that the action of the main clause will occur only upon the completion of the incomplete action of the subordinate clause (82). In (83), *po* is

used in a time expression to indicate a period of time beginning at the present time and not yet complete. It points forward to the action of the main verb which will take place at the end of the time. In this it contrasts with (72) above.

- (81) a. *Songkuo po hinaid nu do balajal?*
 how.long IMPER time 2SG.NPV DI study
 How much longer are you going to study?
- b. *Duvo po vuhan.*
 two IMPER month
 Two more months.
- (82) *Aavi' po kalaja' ku, om mugad zou nogi'.*
 finish IMPER work 1SG.NPV ADD go 1SG.PIV also
 Only when I have finished my work, will I go home.
- (83) ... *tohu po tadau... om au' ku nopo aavi', apatai*
 three IMPER day ADD not 1SG.NPV START finish kill
zou do maan do raja'", ka. (L6,96)
 1SG.PIV DI do DI king say
 ... in three more days ... if I haven't yet finished, I'll be killed by the king",
 he said.

Po is used with the existential verb to mean 'still have' (84) and with the negative existential to mean 'not yet have' (85). When it is used with a negative with other verbs to indicate that the action of the verb is not yet realised, the verb occurs in the full-focus form (86).

- (84) "*Kivaa po do kalaja' do panaak ku diau*",
 exist IMPER DI work DI give 1SG.NPV 2SG.NPV
ka vagu' di raja'. (L7,117)
 say again DD king
 "There is still work I will give you to do", said the king.
- (85) *Apat tadau isido do modtohop no, om aiso po*
 four day 3SG.M DI dive PFT ADD none IMPER
do pitanga'. (L6,92)
 DI half
 For four days he dived, and he had not yet half.
- (86) *Tuhun nopo di tinuu i' kozo, nga' au' po*
 person START DD long.ago EMP INT ADV not IMPER
miho do modsupu' do tandus... (L1,4)
 know DI forge DI spear
 People of olden times did not yet know how to make spears ...

Like *no*, *po* may be used with an imperative. Here, *po* either softens the command or brings the suggestion that the action be done for a short time or before something else (87). In 'I Lonsibog', it is used in conjunction with *no* in a negative command to give the meaning of 'Don't you ever ...' (88), indicating that the time span covered by the command is never to be complete.

- (87) *Suang no om miikau po!*
 come.in PFT ADD sit IMPER
 Come in and sit down (for a while)!
- (88) ... "kada' zou no kozo boobooso' po", ka
 don't 1SG.PIV PFT INT tale IMPER say
di Landin. (L2,25)
 DI Landin.
 ... "don't you ever talk about me", said Landin.

The use of *po* in the subordinating expression *sundung po tuu* 'although' indicates a situation which still prevails at the time of the action expressed by the main verb (89). In (90), the use of *po* in a coordinate construction indicates that the situation still prevails (i.e. is incomplete) at the time of the next mainline event.

- (89) *Sundung.po.tuu do notuvangan isido dii, nga' impio*
 although DI darkness 3SG.M ADEM ADV still
i' do mamananau. (L3,46)
 EMP DI walk
 Although darkness had come upon him, he continued to walk.
- (90) *Kakaal po do o-kito dau i savo dau...* (L3,44)
 still IMPER DI ST-see 3SG DD spouse 3SG
 He could still see his wife ... (so he simply followed the path of the bee).

5.4 'STARTING POINT' AND TOPICALISING MARKER *nopo*

Another very common developmental marker in Kadazan narratives is the marker *nopo*. Viewed as a combination of the completive and anaphoric *no* and the incomplete and forward-looking *po*, one might expect this marker to combine features of each of them.

In fact, in its localised uses, the particle *nopo* often has a downplaying or minimising effect. It is used in independent clause constructions with either a verb (91) or a noun (92) to mean 'simply'. It is used with the negative presence verb *aino* 'not here' to indicate 'not here any longer' (93).

- (91) *Okuno' nopo di Lonsibog i pinonuu'an di raja'.* (L5,68)
 agree START DD Lonsibog DD demands DD king
 Lonsibog simply assented to the demands of the king.
- (92) *Ki tanak isido do onom, tondu' nopo.* (L4,60)
 have child 3SG.M DI six female START
 He had six children, just girls.
- (93) *Kabaha o mato di raja' do noko-kito tu' aino*
 amazed DI eye DD king DI PERF.ACT-see for none
nopo i nuhu. (L7,115)
 START DD hill
 The king was wide-eyed with amazement to see that the hill was no longer there.

In narrative, *nopo* is used in two very common two-part constructions. It marks the first part of the construction as the “starting point” (Chafe 1987:36) or topic for the second part and points forward to the comment or more salient part which follows.

In addition to subordinating an action, *nopo* generally marks it as perfective with reference to the time of action of the main clause (94). Verbs in indefinite time-aspect and reduced focus commonly occur with *nopo*, and in this construction the abilitative or non-volitional meanings of that aspect found in other contexts do not apply. Examples (95) and (96) illustrate *nopo* used in connection with full-focus forms, (95) in a conditional clause and (96) in a relativised construction.

- (94) *Ko-ongou nopo dau do m-ikotikot no zi ina'*
 INDEF-hear START 3SG DI ACT-come.back PFT DD mother
dau do tumahib, ongoi no zosido singud di tanak
 3SG DI pass.by go PFT 3SG.F smell DD child
ngaavi' dau ... (L3,38)
 all 3SG

When she heard her mother coming back, she went and kissed her children ...

- (95) “*M-ugad ko nopo do mooi tanud do tuhun do*
 ACT-go 2SG.PIV START DI go follow DI person DI
mogumpai, nga' kada' zou no kozo boobooso'
 get.tumpai.wood ADV don't 1SG.PIV PFT INT talk
po”, ka di Landin. (L2,25)
 IMPER say DD Landin

“If you go to get tumpai with the others, don't you ever talk about me”, said Landin.

- (96) *N-ahap nopo ngaavi' di tambang, nga' bakas,*
 PERF.PAT-invite START all DD deer ADV wild.boar
kalabau, kuda', vogok, sodto ... (L7,11)
 water.buffalo horse pig ant

Invited by the deer were wild boars, water buffaloes, horses, pigs, ants ...

The clause subordinated by *nopo* is often joined to the independent clause by *om* (97), *nga'* (98) or, in one case, by *nga' om* (99). In the examples cited, those joined by *om* seem to carry the implication that the second part is a natural progression from the previous main event of the story (cf. also Brewis & Levinsohn, this volume, section 3), whereas those joined by *nga'* involve the idea of change, either in topic or in initiator of the action. The clause joined by *nga' om* follows a sentence in which the hero is able with the help of a firefly to identify his wife in a dark room. Example (99) states that a change has taken place in the time (*nga'*), but the result is a natural extension (*om*) of the action of the previous sentence.

- (97) *Koiduai nopo dii disido ii, om pamanau*
 release START ADEM 3SG.M ADEM ADD walk

no vagu'. (L4,49)

PFT again

After he released it, he continued on his way.

- (98) *Pihapak nopo ino do duvo, nga' kivaa do tanak...* (P3)
 split START DEM DI two ADV exist DI child

When the rock split into two, there were children ...

- (99) a. The firefly landed on the head of Lonsibog's wife, and Lonsibog went and took hold of her.

b. *Kosuvabai nopo ii, nga' om nopihi' dii disido*
 morning START ADEM ADV ADD chose ADEM 3SG.M

i savo dau. (L8,136)

DD spouse 3SG

And when morning dawned, lo and behold he had chosen his wife.

The absence of a conjunction following the clause subordinated by *nopo* leaves the relationship between the following event and the last main event unspecified:

- (100) *Kouhi' nopo zi Lonsibog, uoto' no di savo dau...* (L3,35)

return START DD Lonsibog ask PFT DD spouse 3SG

When Lonsibog returned home, his wife asked him ...

In the second two-part construction, *nopo* is used in connection with topicalised noun phrases. With very few exceptions, whenever a noun phrase is front-shifted to a pre-verb position, the combination *nopo ... nga'* is required to mark this.⁵ Typically, *nopo* follows the noun immediately, preceding modification, with the exception of the first or second person singular possessive pronouns *ku* or *nu* (101). Where a preposed noun phrase begins with the marked anaphoric pronoun or demonstrative *ii* (section 4.5), *nopo* occurs following *ii*, but before its restated referent (102). *Nga'* follows the topic and introduces the comment.

- (101) a. *Ngaan ku nopo nga' zi Landin.*

name 1SG.NPV START ADV DD Landin

My name is Landin.

- b. *Ngaan nopo dosido nga' zi Landin.*

name START 3SG.F ADV DD Landin

Her name is Landin.

- c. *Ngaan nopo di tondu' dii, nga' zi Landin.* (L1,18)

name START DD female ADEM ADV DD Landin.

The name of this particular girl was Landin.

- (102) *Ii nopo tanak do raja' ... nga' nimaan patazo'.* (L8,137)

ADEM START child DI king ADV do die

The aforementioned child of the king ... was put to death.

Topicalisation is used early in stories to introduce participants and background information. It occurs three times in the first four sentences of 'I Lonsibog'. It is used to present major breaks in the story by front-shifting such expressions as 'firstly, secondly,

⁵In Tombonuo (King, J.K., this volume, section 2.2.2), *nga* (glossed as 'SHIFT') typically follows topicalised noun phrases without the equivalent of *nopo*.

thirdly' (103). It is also used at points of action discontinuity to introduce asides, or material which the storyteller realises is crucial to an understanding of a further part of the story but is not a part of the main-event line (104).

- (103) a. *Koiso' nopo nga' nonuan isido do tuu' bakul*
 first START ADV gave 3SG.M DI seven basket
o tindalam... (L5,69)
 DI pastry
 First he was given seven baskets of pastries ...
- b. *Kumotohu nopo do pinonuu'an nga' sinuu' isido di*
 third START DI order ADV order 3SG.M DD
raja' do mangantai do iso' nuhu. (L6,99)
 king DI to.level DI one hill
 For the third command, the king told him to level a hill.
- (104) *Zi Landin nopo nga' nopuabazan do iso' tanak vagu'*
 DD Landin START ADV engaged DI one child again
o oduuk no do atadan. (L4,64)
 DI near PFT DI marry
 Landin had been engaged to a prince whom she had nearly married.

When *nopo ... nga'* is used in connection with a topicalised noun phrase, *nga'* is typically followed by a comment about that topic (105). Some of these sentences are equational in nature (106).

- (105) *Tuhun nopo di tinuu i' kozo nga' au' po*
 person START DD long.ago EMP INT ADV not IMPER
miho do modsupu' do tandus... (L1,4)
 know DI forge DI spear
 People of olden times did not yet know how to make spears ...
- (106) *Hinaid nopo nga' sonsodop i'.* (L8,129)
 time START ADV one.night EMP
 The length of time (was) one night.

Usually the topic introduced in the first part of the sentence is the pivot of the second part. In a few sentences, however, the topic introduced in the first part is not the pivot in the second. See (3), for example, repeated here as (107).

- (107) *I Lonsibog, nopo nga' magagasu o kalaja' dau.* (L1,1)
 DD Lonsibog START ADV hunter DI work 3SG
 Lonsibog was a hunter.

In one example, *vagu'* 'again' is used in place of *nopo* in the first part of the construction (108). This reflects parallelism within the story, as the narrator relates first what the man was doing (*nopo ... nga'*) and then turns to describe what the woman was doing.

- (108) a. (The man comments on what he finds and begins to forge the sky.)
 b. *Dadi' i vagu' i tondu' ka nga' igitai dau ka*
 so DD again DD female say ADV hold 3SG say

do poingkaa...

(P9)

DI like.this

The woman, in the same way, was holding onto (what she found) like this ...

5.5 MARKED ANAPHORIC DEMONSTRATIVE *ii* AND *dii*

The use of *ii* and *dii* as pivot and non-pivot forms of marked anaphoric demonstratives was presented in section 4.4. For *ii*, this appears to be its typical use, as is demonstrated by the second *ii* of (109). The first *ii* of (109) refers to something not known to the reader, but this seems to be a device used to build suspense. In the same way a storyteller might say in English, "He came home and there it was in the driveway, a brand new Cadillac!". In the sentences leading up to (109), Lonsibog has heard his dog barking and gone running, thinking the dog has found a deer.

- (109) *Sogiigisom disido dii, ko-kito no dau do anavau*
 while 3SG.M ADEM INDEF-see PFT 3SG DI light

kozo ii id dusuk om no-suvazan dii do
 INT DEM LOC bush ADD PERF-surprise DEM DI

noko-kito tu' tondu' ii do tavanus. (L1,11)

PERF.ACT-see for female ADEM DI beautiful

While he was doing that (running), he saw it there in the undergrowth and was surprised to see (in regard to what he was chasing) that it was a beautiful girl.

The non-pivot demonstrative *dii* is more widely used than is *ii*. It may refer to a particular aforementioned person or object, as in (110) or the second *dii* in (109).

- (110) ... *nga' ii nopo id suang di vatu' dii, nga'*
 ADV ADEM START LOC inside DD stone ADEM ADV

kivaa do vaig, ka.

(P5)

exist DI water say

... but inside that particular rock there was water, they say.

Dii may also be used to refer to an action or situation (e.g. 'running', in (109) above). Where *dii* refers to an action, it generally conveys the idea that the action is either carried out over a period of time (111) or occurs precisely at the time of the event mentioned (112).

- (111) *Di ka-panau zi Lonsibog dii, iumon nodii kozo di*
 DD INDEF-go DD Lonsibog ADEM search PADEM INT DD

savo dau i gaung tosundu ... (L2,26)

spouse 3SG DD dress supernatural

While Lonsibog was away, his wife searched diligently for her supernatural dress ...

- (112) *Ko-uhi' nopo isido dii duvo di haahangai, om*
 INDEF-return START 3SG.M ADEM two DD young.girl ADD

pisasavo no zioho'...

(L1,19)

marry PFT 3PL

When he arrived back home together with the girl, they were married ...

When *dii* is used in a subordinate clause involving *nopo* (cf. section 5.4), and when the main clause could involve a change of actor, *dii* indicates that the actor of the subordinate clause will also be the actor of the main clause (113a). Where *dii* is not present, a change of actors is expected (113b).

- (113) a. *Ko-uhi' nopo dii zi Lonsibog, om uot no*
 INDEF-return START ADEM DD Lonsibog ADD ask PFT

di savo dau...

DD spouse 3SG

When Lonsibog reached home, he asked his wife ...

- b. *Ko-uhi' nopo zi Lonsibog, uot-o' no di*
 INDEF-return START DD Lonsibog ask-PAT.RED PFT DD

savo dau...

spouse 3SG

When Losibog reached home, his wife asked him ...

(L3,35)

5.6 MARKERS OCCURRING IN COMBINATION

When the marked anaphoric demonstrative *dii* (section 5.5) is combined with the particles *no*, *po* and *nopo* (sections 5.2 – 5.4), the combination may or may not function as the sum of the individual functions. Frequently, the presence of *dii* in the combination indicates that the action concerned took place over a period of time.

5.6.1 *podii*

The marker *po* was described in section 5.3 as an incomplete-imperfective marker. *Dii* (section 5.5) was seen as having a marked anaphoric usage, looking back to a participant or situation which was previously mentioned or to an action carried out over a period of time. The combination *podii* is used six times in 'I Lonsibog'. In (114), the two functions are combined in a main clause with a negative verb to have the meaning 'in spite of (what was mentioned previously) yet still not ...'. This combination of functions is seen also in its more localised usage as an interruptive marker when used with an imperative, for example, *akan po!* 'Eat first!' versus *akan podii!* 'Take a break from what you are doing and eat first!'

- (114) *Opod no tadau isido dii do ingkaa om au' podii*
 ten PFT day 3SG.M ADEM DI like.that ADD not IADEM

nopikuazan i nuhu.

anything DD hill

For ten days he did it (engaged in that aforementioned activity), and in spite of that the mountain was not yet affected.

(L7,104)

In all other instances, *podii* occurs with a verb or time expression to relate it to what has occurred before and at the same time to indicate that the particular aforementioned action occurs only on completion of the one marked by *podii*. For example, in the sentence preceding (115), Lonsibog has hidden his wife's supernatural gown. *Podii* recognises that as the reason for her needing to continue to keep asking him for it, and yet (*nga'*) he will not give it. Similarly, preceding (116), some ants were unable to escape the flooding and reach

dry land. The help of the central character is indicated. The presence of *podii* in (116) indicates that, as to the aforementioned and not yet completed situation of the ants reaching land, it was successfully completed prior to the hero proceeding on his way.

- (115) *Sumontob podii i tondu' do mokianu vagu' di gaung*
 make.effort IADEM DD female DI beg again DD dress
dau tosundu, nga' au' zi Lonsibog papataak. (L2,23)
 3SG supernatural ADV not DD Lonsibog give
 Even though the woman kept on asking for her supernatural dress, yet still
 Lonsibog would not give it to her.

- (116) *Kotinda podii ngaavi' i sodto dii om pamanau*
 go.ashore IADEM all DD ant ADEM ADD walk
no vagu' isido. (L4,55)
 PFT again 3SG.M
 Only when those ants reached dry land did he again go on his way.

Before (117), the hero is given a task to complete in seven days. Four of the days have been used up and little progress has been made. Thus, in (117) the hero muses that, at the end of the three days still to be completed and known to himself, he will then be killed.

- (117) "...tohu podii tadau om patazon zou no do
 three IADEM day ADD kill 1SG.PIV PFT DI
raja''', ka. (L6,93)
 king say
 "... in three more days, the king will kill me", he said.

In (118), a few sentences later, almost the same construction is used, but in this case, when the hero is telling his problem to the fish, he uses *po* rather than *podii*, since the fish was presumably unaware until then of the three day time limit.

- (118) "...tohu po tadau ... apatai zou do maan do
 three IMPER day kill 1SG.PIV DI do DI
raja''', ka. (L6,96)
 king say
 "... in three more days, the king will kill me", he said.

5.6.2 *nodii*

As noted in section 5.2, *no* marks an action as perfective or completed. It has the function in narrative of marking a new development in the story while relating the current event to the action previously mentioned. *Dii*, in turn, is markedly anaphoric and refers to particular persons or situations previously mentioned (section 5.5). As might be expected, then, *nodii* is both completive and strongly anaphoric.

This can be seen in the frequent use of *nodii* with time expressions, where it implies that a known period of time has now elapsed. For example, just prior to (119), the hero has been unsuccessfully trying to use a fish-trap to fill a pond with water. The presence of *nodii* in (119) indicates that a week of the particular aforementioned period has elapsed.

- (119) *Sominggu nodii isido do minanagou om aiso po*
 one.week PADEM 3SG.M DI carry.water ADD none IMPER
do vaig di'd kulam. (L8,123)
 DI water LOC pond
 He had spent a week already filling it, and there was still no water in the pond.

When used in verbal constructions, *nodii* may occur with full-focus forms (120) or with reduced-focus forms (121a). In (120), *nodii* indicates that the action significant to the progression of the story was carried out (*no*) during a known period of time (*dii*), the absence of the husband. Example (121) is the final sentence of 'I Lonsibog'. Here, *dii* looks back to the preceding events which have elapsed as related prior to the significant action of returning home.

- (120) ... *ium-on nodii kozo di savo dau i gaung*
 look.for-PAT PADEM INT DD spouse 3SG DD dress
tosundu. (L2,28)
 supernatural
 ... his wife kept looking for her supernatural dress.

- (121) a. *Uhi' nodii zioho' doid daamin disido*
 return PADEM 3PL LOC house 3SG.M
 They returned to his home
 b. *om asanang nodii vagu' zioho' dii do duuduvo.* (L8,138)
 ADD happy PADEM again 3PL ADEM DI two
 and from then on they were happy together.

Example (121b) illustrates the use of *nodii* with a stative verb. With stative verbs *nodii* indicates the achievement of a state or the experience of a state (122) which is significant to the story. In (121b) it also conveys the idea that the state will continue over a period of time (*dii*). In (122), the sadness also continues, and its cause is indicated in the second clause which notes that his wife had previously gone away, as had already been related.

- (122) *Tongob nodii i Lonsibog tu' noko-idu' nodii*
 sad PADEM DD Lonsibog for PERF.ACT-go.away PADEM
o savo dau. (L3,41)
 DI spouse 3SG
 Lonsibog was sad because his wife had gone away.

Nodii occurs also with the indefinite time-aspect marker *ko-* (section 3.2.1), both with stative (123a) and active (123b) verbs. With stative verbs in this construction, *ko-* gives the meaning of change of state. With active verbs it is abilitative. Prior to (123), for instance, the hero hears a cock crow. It is on the basis of this (*dii*) that he then experiences a significant change of state (*no*), the reason for which is his having been able to reach a large village (*no*) after a period of time (*dii*).

- (123) a. *Dadi' ka-sanang nodii o ginavo disido,*
 so INDEF-happy PADEM DI heart 3SG.M
 So he was very happy,

- b. *tu' ka-savang nodii doid kampung tagazo.* (L4,57)
 for INDEF-arrive.at PADEM LOC village big
 because he was able to reach a large village.

The final statement of 'Pomogunan' contains examples of *nodii* used with the demonstrative pronoun *iho'* 'that' and the locative adverb *doiti'* 'here' (124). The story teller concludes that, on the basis of what she had told (*dii*), this is how the situation is (*no*); the place where the action (i.e. squeezing together the earth to fit under the sky) previously related in the story took place (*dii*) may be this very place (*no*).

- (124) *Dadi' iho' nodii iho' do doiti' nodii motuu dotokou*
 so DEM PADEM DEM DI here PADEM though 1PL.NPV
iti o pinongukupan, tu' doiti' no ogumu' kopizo
 DEM DI pile.up for here PFT many INT
o nuhu diti. (P38)
 DI hills DEM

So that's how it is that here in this place of ours may be the exact place of piling up, because here there are so very many hills.

5.6.3 *nopo ... dii*

Several occurrences of *nopo ... dii* are found in 'I Lonsibog'. In these examples, the subordinating or the minimising use of *nopo* (section 5.4) seems to be combined with both the marked anaphoric and the period of time functions of *dii* (section 5.5). For example, before (125), the hero's efforts to dive for needles are described. When he was totally exhausted from performing those aforementioned activities over a period of time, he came to shore.

- (125) *Kababasai nopo dii isido om tinda no.* (L6,91)
 exhausted START ADEM 3SG.M ADD go.ashore PFT
 When he was worn out from that, he came to shore.

Just before (126) the hero's wife realised that she had been lied to. Example (126) then states that in the light of what she knew (*dii*), she simply (*nopo*) sat and waited for something she expected to happen.

- (126) *Poindikau nopo dii i savo di Lonsibog do mindad*
 sit START ADEM DD spouse DD Lonsibog DI wait
di ina' dau ... (L3,37)
 DD mother 3SG
 The wife of Lonsibog simply sat there expectantly waiting for her mother ...

6. SUMMARY

We have seen that sets of conjunctions, particles and determiners signal a variety of relationships between the individual sentences that combine to produce a narrative discourse in Coastal Kadazan. Sentence introducers such as *om* 'and', *nga'* 'but' and *dadi'* 'so' indicate thematic continuity with respect to the context, while at the same time conveying

specific relationships of either continuity or discontinuity of topic, situation or direction of development.

Developmental markers relate the events with which they are associated to preceding events and at the same time indicate whether those events are to be viewed perfectly (*no*) or imperfectly (*po*) with respect to what follows. An action marked with *no* builds on the previous event, whereas an action marked by *po* indicates that the following event is in some way affected by the previous event.

The marked anaphoric demonstrative *dii* relates particular current participants, objects or situations to the context and indicates that actions have occurred over a period of time.

When these markers occur in combination within the narrative, a combination of their individual functions is noted, but sometimes with additional or specialised uses. *Nopo*, for example, is used in two-part constructions to subordinate one event with respect to another, or to mark a front-shifted noun phrase as topic, with respect to the comment that follows. *Nodii* conveys both the perfective or completive characteristic of *no* and the marker anaphoric characteristic of *dii*, referring either to a particular aforementioned item or situation or to the fact that an aforementioned activity took place over a period of time. *Podii*, similarly, as a combination of the incompletive and marked anaphoric markers, is seen to relate an action to what has occurred before and to indicate that a particular aforementioned action occurs only on completion of the one marked by *podii*.

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CONTINUITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN IDA'AN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Ida'an is a North-western Austronesian language classified by Wurm and Hattori (1983) as an isolate among the languages of northern Borneo.¹ It is spoken by approximately 6,000 people on the south-east coast of Sabah (Malaysia).

Ida'an is characteristically VSO with pragmatically controlled variation.² This paper presents an overview of selected features of Ida'an narrative with respect to their functions in the development of the discourse. The features selected relate for the most part to Givón's (1983:7ff.) thematic and action continuities.

Three features are discussed which relate directly to thematic continuity and the overall development of the narrative. The first one is the marking of core developmental events with the particle *kat* (section 4.1). The second feature concerns the contribution of the pivot-marking system to development within episodes and within the narrative as a whole (section 4.2). The third feature is the use of sentence introducers to indicate developmental relationships between sections of the narrative (section 4.3).

Two additional features of continuity are discussed. The first involves the use of the Ida'an neutral tense to indicate continuity of situation (section 5.1). The second involves the use of the particle *koy* to mark the current relevance of an event or situation (section 5.2).

The discussion is illustrated from four narrative texts. One tells the story of how an Ida'an ancestor discovered the Madday Caves (referred to below as 'Madday'). The second relates a personal experience about a boat trip ('Boat'). The remaining narratives are folktales, one dealing with a conflict between a monkey and a pigeon ('Monkey'), and the other with a fireant and his two wives ('Fireant').³

¹Wurm and Hattori's classification (1983) closely parallels that done by SIL (Moody 1984). Wurm and Hattori classify all of the other indigenous languages of Sabah (except for Banggi) as part of their North-East Borneo (Idahan) Group (cf. Ruhlen 1987:342, who uses North-East as a subbranch within his 'Borneo' branch). Ida'an as used in this paper should not be confused with 'Idahan', a term used earlier by Prentice (1970), Hudson (1978) and others for a grouping parallel to Wurm and Hattori's North-East Borneo Group.

²For a fuller yet preliminary treatment of Ida'an clausal syntax see Moody (1988).

³I am grateful to Haji Imom Injir for telling me his version of 'Madday', to Keilay for narrating 'Boat', to Luk for the folktale 'Monkey', and to Ittoy for the folktale 'Fireant'. I am grateful also to Edin Tabbun, who assisted in recording the two folktales and in checking the transcription of each of the texts.

2. IDA'AN VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The potential for verbal affixation is leaner for Ida'an than for other languages of Sabah, particularly with respect to the pivot-marking system (section 2.2). In addition to verb class, which is marked overtly only in forms cross-referenced for actor pivot, verbs are affixed to show tense and aspect distinctions. As a preliminary to the core discussion of the development of narrative discourse, I present an overview of Ida'an morphology.

2.1 VERBAL CLASSES

Four basic verbal classes are distinguished by prefixation for non-stative verbs. Three of the classes are marked by a distinguishing prefix; one class is not affixed. The four classes correlate with degrees of transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Foley & Van Valin 1984:39f., 371ff., 378).

Hopper and Thompson (p.251) build on the traditional view that transitivity is a "global property of an entire clause such that an activity is 'carried over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient". They identify ten parameters which contribute to the overall degree of transitivity of a clause. Each of the parameters may be scaled, with the result that transitivity may be regarded as a continuum, and individual clauses ranked with respect to their degree of transitivity. While transitivity is a feature of whole clauses, the component parameters pertain to different aspects of the 'carry-over' of the activity from agent to patient. Thus, "Agency" is a property of one of the participants in an activity, "Individuation of O" is a property of a second participant, and "Kinesis" is a property of the 'activity' itself (p.251).

Payne (1985) argues that verb roots in Yagua, a language of north-eastern Peru, may be subcategorised on the basis of degrees of "inherent transitivity", and that this inherent transitivity can be reflected in surface structure. The parameters which she uses as the basis of subcategorisation include the number of participants or arguments which can occur with a given root, the semantic interpretation of the direct object, and whether the root permits the affixation of valency-increasing or valency-decreasing morphology. Payne (1985:36) concludes that whereas "these properties do not depend on, and are not required by, any particular semantic or syntactic context in which the roots are used ... they cannot be attributed to clause-level transitivity. Rather it is the subcategorization of the roots themselves which partly determines in what semantic and syntactic contexts they may be used".

Ida'an verbal prefixes by their presence or absence distinguish in particular number of participants, volitionality of the actor, the degree of affectedness of the object, and telicity (cf. Crystal 1985:305; Comrie 1976:44ff.). A given verb root need not be high in all of these features. Some roots have variable transitivity potential and take one or another of the prefixes according to context.⁴

Stative verbs are marked with the prefix *a-*. The prefixes associated with non-stative verbs are *meN-*, *be(g)-*, and *ge-*. Each of these prefixes may occur with non-verbal roots, thereby becoming valency-increasing and adding its own characteristics to the derived verb.

⁴I treat these prefixes as verb class markers. However, it is probably better to view them like the Yagua valency-increasing or decreasing suffixes (Payne 1985), as contributing to the distinction of verb classes. In other words, the potential for occurring with certain prefixes is a feature of a given class. Nevertheless, for the classes recognised in section 2.1, the surface presence of the prefixes is diagnostic.

A fourth class of non-stative verbs takes no corresponding prefix. Transitivity, as related to these classes, is not absolute, but rather relative.

The following discussion considers each of the verb classes in turn and focuses on forms cross-referenced to actor pivot, as distinctions are neutralised in forms cross-referenced to undergoer pivot. 'Actor' and 'undergoer' are macroroles (Foley & Van Valin 1984:30); 'actor' is the "argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate" (p.29); 'undergoer' is the "argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way" (p.29).

2.1.1 *meN-*

The Ida'an verb class highest in transitivity carries the prefix *meN-*. Verbs of this class are typically two-argument accomplishment verbs (see Foley & Van Valin, p.38), have actors which are high in volitionality, have undergoers which potentially can be highly affected, and are telic. Undergoers of this class are typically inanimate patients, though some roots may take animate patients. Verbs of this class include: *mengekkos* 'tie', *mengukos* 'cut', *mengebbog* 'break', and *mengapung* 'hide (something)'.

2.1.2 *be(g)-*

Verbs of the class designated with the prefix *be(g)-* may have one or two arguments. Actors are typically lower in volitionality than with verbs prefixed by *meN-*. Similarly, the undergoer, if present, is not as affected as with verbs of the previous class. The action denoted by the verb may be habitual or repetitive in its basic meaning. Verbs of this class include: *begubus* 'spill (onto something)', *bekayag* 'follow after', *bebawo* 'carry on the shoulder', *bekanut* 'pull', *begugog* 'jump up and down', *begalud* 'go by boat' (*alud* 'boat'), and *begummo* 'work a field' (*ummo* 'field').

2.1.3 *ge-*

Verbs marked with the prefix *ge-* may have two arguments, as with verbs which indicate an exchange of some kind, but more typically have a single argument. Volitionality is typically lower with these verbs than with those prefixed by *meN-* or *be(g)*. In connection with roots which also occur with another of the prefixes, *ge-* may mark non-volitionality. If an undergoer occurs, it is indirectly or not highly affected. Motion verbs marked with *ge-* indicate a particular mode of motion which is not inherently telic, that is, which does not inherently specify a locative goal. Verbs of this class include: *geluat* 'sell', *gelapas* 'pass by', *gelemmak* 'dry (something by having it out in the sun)' and *gesua* 'pole (as for boat travel in shallow water'; *sua* 'pole').

The prefix *ge-* may be duplicated to indicate the mutual interaction between at least two participants. For example, *gelapas* (listed in the preceding paragraph) indicates a single individual passing by some reference point. The form *gegelapas* is also possible, indicating (at least) two persons who pass each other, as when they approach from and continue on in opposite directions.

2.1.4 NO PREFIX

Verbs which do not take any of the verbal affixes are typically single-argument achievement or activity verbs (see Foley & Van Valin, pp.37ff.). The single argument may be an actor or an undergoer. The actor may or may not act volitionally. Activity verbs are telic, in that the motion is directed to some location which may or may not be specified in the clause. Verbs of this class include: *panaw* 'go', *dullu* 'descend', *tapuk* 'remain', *sawot* 'arrive' and *matay* 'die'.

The difference between the above verb classes is readily seen with roots which may occur in more than one class. For example, a person meeting another on the street generally does so without any particular intention; he is said to *getebbuk* 'meet (unintentionally)'. If, however, he has business with an individual and goes to meet him, the appropriate form is *menebbuk* 'meet (intentionally)'. Compare also the following forms:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>usur</i> | story |
| <i>gegusur</i> [<i>ge-ge-usur</i>] | exchange stories back and forth |
| <i>begusur</i> | tell a story (without a particular purpose) |
| <i>mengusur</i> | tell a story (to affect the listener(s)) |

2.2 PIVOT-MARKING SYSTEM

As in other Philippine-type languages, *Ida'an* marks one of the arguments of the clause as being 'in focus'. Following Foley and Van Valin (pp.63ff., 110ff.), I refer to this argument as the pivot of the clause. In *Ida'an*, unlike the North-East Bornean languages (Wurm & Hattori 1983) and *Banggi*, there are only two pivot possibilities, actor and undergoer. The pivot-marking system includes both nominal marking and verbal cross-referencing.

Nominals are uniquely marked as pivot forms only in first and second singular pronominal forms, *aku* 'I', and *ikaw* 'you (singular)'. Nouns are not uniquely marked as pivots. As shown in Table 1, pivot pronouns occur in the nominative case,⁵ non-pivot actor pronouns occur in the genitive case, and non-pivot undergoer pronouns occur in the accusative case. Other arguments are marked as oblique with the preposition *nong*, which occurs with nouns and with pronouns in the accusative case.

TABLE 1: NOMINAL MARKING OF PIVOTS

| | Pivot | Non-pivot actor | Non-pivot undergoer | Non-pivot oblique |
|----------|-------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Pronouns | NOM | GEN | ACC | <i>nong</i> + ACC |
| Nouns | noun | noun | noun | <i>nong</i> + noun |

The pronouns are listed by case in Table 2:

⁵Abbreviations used are as follows: ACC – accusative, ACT – actor, ANT – anticipatory aspect, CDM – core developmental marker, CONT – continuative aspect, CRR – currently relevant response, DEV – developmental relationship marker (cf. Tombonuo TDM), DUR – durative aspect, EMP – emphatic, GEN – genitive, HON – honorific, IMP – imperative, LOG – logical relationship marker, NL – neutral tense (cf. RED), NOM – nominative, NPST – non-past, NV – non-volitional, OBL – oblique, PFT – perfect aspect, QM – quotation marker, REC – reciprocal, ST – stative, UND – undergoer.

TABLE 2: IDA'AN PRONOUN FORMS

| Nominative | Genitive | Accusative | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>aku</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>engkon</i> | I (1SG) |
| <i>ikau</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>niun</i> | you (2SG) |
| <i>rumo</i> | <i>rumo</i> | <i>rumo</i> | he/she/it (3SG) |
| <i>kemmi</i> | <i>kemmi</i> | <i>namon</i> | we (1PL.EXC) |
| <i>kito</i> | <i>kito</i> | <i>naton</i> | we (1PL.INC) |
| <i>muyu</i> | <i>muyu</i> | <i>muyun</i> | you (2PL) |
| <i>iro</i> | <i>iro</i> | <i>iro</i> | they (3PL) |

As stated above, the verbal cross-referencing of the pivot distinguishes only two pivots, actor and undergoer. Actor pivot is reflected in the verbal morphology by the presence of the verb class prefixes discussed above (section 2.1). The absence of these prefixes (aside from neutral tense, see section 2.3.2) indicates that the pivot is an undergoer. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate cross-referencing to actor and undergoer pivots for the verb *menemmog* (*meN* + *temmog*) 'spear'. The pivot is indicated by capital letters in the free translation.

- (1) *Mememmog Inni' Apuy payaw ino.*
 ACT.spear Grandpa Apuy deer that
 GRANDPA APUY speared the deer.
- (2) *Temmog Inni' Apuy payaw ino.*
 UND.spear Grandpa Apuy deer that
 Grandpa Apuy speared THE DEER.

2.3 TENSE AND ASPECT

Ida'an marks past tense (both volitional and non-volitional) and neutral tense (section 2.3.2) with verbal affixes. Non-volitional past tense, encoded by the prefix *ke-* is not discussed (see Boutin 1988, section 4.2 for a discussion of the non-volitional prefix in Banggi). Aspectual distinctions are typically encoded by pre-verbal particles, the one exception being that perfect aspect is sometimes encoded as a particle and sometimes as a prefix. The function of the neutral tense in narrative discourse is discussed more fully in section 5.1.

2.3.1 PAST AND NON-PAST

The primary tense distinctions in Ida'an are limited to a binary division between past, which is marked with the verbal affix *-i-*, and non-past, which is unmarked except for the verbal prefix *p-* which occurs before vowel-initial roots with forms cross-referenced to undergoer pivots. The past tense affix *-i-* precedes the first vowel of the root, effectively replacing a non-low non-front vowel, or coalescing with /a/ to produce /e/ (Moody n.d.), orthographically *ei*, e.g. (4) and (6).⁶ Thus, in normal usage the following sentences are possible.

⁶The allomorphic variants of *-i-* include *ni-* in undergoer-pivot forms of vowel-initial roots (e.g. *nioy*, (18b) below) and *-en-* preceding /i/ as the first vowel of consonant initial roots (e.g. *tenigkuk*: (26a) below).

- (3) *Aku ge-dagang pait di' pasor.*
 1SG.NOM ACT-buy fish FAR market
 I (Pivot) am buying fish at the market.
- (4) *Aku ge-deigang pait di' pasor.*
 1SG.NOM ACT-PAST.buy fish FAR market
 I (Pivot) bought fish at the market.
- (5) *Dagang ku pait di' pasor.*
 UND.buy 1SG.GEN fish FAR market
 I am buying FISH at the market.
- (6) *Deigang ku pait di' pasor.*
 UND.PAST.buy 1SG.GEN fish FAR market
 I bought FISH at the market.

The unmarked tense in narrative discourse is non-past. Past tense forms cross-referenced to actor pivot are virtually absent, while past tense occurs infrequently with forms cross-referenced to undergoer pivot, usually in settings or to express results (see section 4.2). (Compare the Banggi (Boutin, section 6.2) and Tombonuo (King, J.K., section 2.3) papers in this volume for detailed discussion of the past tense used in connection with boundary events.)

2.3.2 NEUTRAL TENSE

In addition to the primary past/non-past distinction, Ida'an also marks what I term 'neutral' tense⁷ (NL; this is comparable to the 'reduced-focus' form in the North-East Bornean languages represented in this volume). The neutral tense has four functions. It is the form of the verb used in imperatives; it is used intrasententially in various dependent clause constructions; it is used intersententially where it signals contextual dependence (cf. section 5.1 for discussion of this usage in narrative discourse); and it is the unmarked form of certain predicates, usually indicating customary activity, for example *temulud* 'fly', predicated of birds. The affix which marks neutral tense is *-u-* which, like *-i-*, precedes the first vowel of the root. The allomorphic variants of *-u-* include *m-* which precedes vowel-initial roots, and *-em-* which occurs before high vowels. *-u-* + /a/ coalesce to produce /o/ (Moody n.d.).

The arguments of verbs occurring in the neutral tense are not encoded as pivots. Pronominal actors occur in the genitive case and undergoers in the accusative case. A typical market exchange might include the following:

- (7) a. *Nu nong mu dogang [d-u-agang]?*
 what OBL 2SG.GEN NL.buy
 What are you buying?
- b. *Dogang ku pait.*
 NL.buy 2SG.GEN fish
 I'm buying fish.

⁷In Moody (1988) this neutral tense is termed Non-participant/Event Topic.

2.4 ASPECTUAL DISTINCTIONS

Ida'an encodes aspectual distinctions with particles which typically occur initially in the verb phrase. Some of the distinctions marked in Ida'an border on adverbial phenomena, rather than being purely aspectual.

The particle *do'* marks durative aspect and can code a variety of durative notions, according to its context. For example, with the following stative verb, *do'* has inceptive meaning, indicating that the state has begun and continues.

- (8) *Do' abbog [a-ebbog] alud kito.*
 DUR ST.break boat 1PL.INC
 Our boat is (now in the state of being) broken.

With the following transitive verb, *do'* indicates frustrative meaning, that is, that the desired goal of the action is not achieved:

- (9) *Do' menemmog bugku Inni' Apuy nong payaw ino.*
 DUR ACT.spear again Grandpa Apuy OBL deer that
 Grandpa Apuy tried again to spear the deer.

The perfect aspect is marked with the particle *bia'* as in (10). Perfect aspect, as used in this paper, indicates a situation in the past which has continuing relevance (cf. Comrie 1976:12, 52; Crystal 1985:224).

- (10) *Jadi mulay-mulay kemmi bia' akay koso Madday...*
 DEV begin-begin 1PL.EXC PFT ST.be authority Madday
 So, since the beginning we have had the authority of Madday ...

The particle *sa'* marks anticipatory aspect, in that it indicates that a previous action or set of actions has led to a particularly relevant action. Example (11) illustrates the use of *sa'*:

- (11) a. *Na, bikkos [b-i-ekkos] kemmi alud adi,*
 LOG UND.PAST.tie 1PL.EXC boat that
 Well, we tied the boat,
 b. *sa' kat kemmi semuok [s-em-uok] nong, panaw*
 ANT CDM 1PL.EXC NL.enter near go
gelunguy [ge-lunguy].
 ACT.swim
 and then we entered (the river) and waded.

The particle *ta'* marks continuative aspect, indicating that the present action or state continues from a previous point in time. The use of *ta'* is shown in (12c):

- (12) a. "You thought", said Pigeon, "you were wise?"
 b. *Emba' mengay [meN-ay] sengoyan pintor,*
 wherever ACT.take monkey wise
 Wherever a monkey gets his wisdom,
 c. *ta' pintor masi aku'.*
 CONT wise more 1SG.NOM
 I continue to be wiser".

3. PRESENTATION OF ACTION AND PARTICIPANTS

Ida'an narrative discourse moves from one state of affairs to another. The foreground events are sandwiched between statements of an initial state of affairs and a final state of affairs. If the purpose for telling the story is other than simple narration, this typically comes out in material which is not on the main-event line. (See Longacre 1976:206ff. on the skewing of deep and surface discourse genre features.) This paper deals primarily with phenomena which mark development of the narrative from its initial state of affairs to its final state of resolution.

The discourse typically begins with a listing of major participants and relevant background material. The order of these two elements is not rigid, though the presentation of the characters often precedes other background information. These elements typically are encoded with "existential-presentative devices" (Givón 1983:25f.), often initiated with the verb *akay* 'be'. Alternatively, they may be topicalised or presented pre-verbally in active clauses which are not highly transitive. Thus, the folktale 'Monkey' begins with the following lines:

- (13) a. *Akay koy sengoyan bio lembukon.*
ST.be CRR monkey and pigeon
There were a monkey and a pigeon.
- b. *Jadi anak iro duo gegayug[ge-ge-ayug].*
DEV child 3PL two ACT.ACT.friend
Now their two children were friends (lit. befriending each other).
- c. *Jadi anak lembukon ton mengaji'[meN-agi'] anan ama' rumo.*
DEV child pigeon EMP ACT.read.Koran with dad 3SG
Now the pigeon child read the Koran with his father.

The narrative begins (13a) with the introduction of the major participants in an existential clause, and then proceeds to introduce their children as minor participants (13b). In this second clause, reference to the actors (the children) occurs pre-verbally, and the verb, though active, is not highly transitive. The third clause (13c) also has a topicalised actor and provides further background information (cf. section 4.3 on *jadi*).

Similarly, in 'Madday',⁸ the opening sentence (14a) contains the matrix verb *akay* 'be' and presents background information.⁹ The second sentence (14b), a cleft sentence (Werth 1984:12) with topicalisation, introduces the central character of the narrative. More background material is given in the third sentence (14c), a locative predication with relativisation of the pivot.

- (14) a. *Akay satu maso kemmi mulay-mulay ketebbuk[ke-tebbuk] Madday.*
ST.be one time 1PL.EXC begin-begin PAST.NV.meet Madday
There was a time (in which) we first came upon Madday.

⁸Madday is the name of one of the cave sites where the Ida'an collect edible birds' nests for sale to dealers, an economic activity which has been very lucrative for the Ida'an. This particular text tells how the Ida'an acquired rights to collect the nests.

⁹It is interesting to note that, in (14a), the information given in the relative clause is thematic material which provides insight into the narrator's purpose for telling the story. The narrative itself relates how Grandpa Apuy chased a golden deer to some caves, to which he had his family then moved. The thematic material given in the opening sentence provides a clue, with the use of the first person plural pronoun, that the importance of the narrative lies in how the narrator and his contemporaries view the value of the caves.

- b. *Inni' Apuy, ino rumo ketebbuk mulay-mulay Madday.*
 Grandpa Apuy that 3SG PAST.NV.meet begin-begin Madday
 Grandpa Apuy, it (was) he (who) first came upon Madday.
- c. *Baya' iro begekun [beg-egkun] nong Tingkayu, Silam,*
 place 3PL ACT.village NEAR Tingkayu Silam
nong Madday.
 NEAR Madday
 The place (where) they were living (was) at Tingkayu, Silam, near Madday.

4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE NARRATIVE

Once the major participants have been introduced, various features of the language contribute to the development of the narrative. Development, as it is used here, is a cover term for the various means by which progress in a narrative is marked from its beginning to its close.¹⁰ It necessarily comprises the thematic, action and topic/participant continuities recognised by Givón (1983:7f.; see the introduction to this volume). Furthermore, it permits discussion of devices which mark continuity, discontinuity or both continuity and discontinuity.

Those features which mark development of the narrative do not necessarily all occur in the active independent clauses which present the foreground events (see Givón (1983:23ff.) for a similar claim with respect to topic continuity). Some developmental features occur in sentence margins, in dependent clauses and in interclausal contexts. This paper deals with a variety of developmental features. These include the use of the core developmental marker *kat* (section 4.1), selection of actor pivot over undergoer pivot (section 4.2), and the sentence introducers *jadi* and *na* (section 4.3).

4.1 CORE DEVELOPMENTAL MARKER: *kat*

One prominent feature of Ida'an narrative discourse is the occurrence of the particle *kat*, which is almost entirely absent from routine conversational speech contexts. In the narrative texts used for this study, *kat* occurs in nearly one-fourth of independent clauses. In the four texts used for this study there were 52 occurrences of *kat* in a total of 210 independent clauses, or 25 per cent. There is some variation among the texts, as is shown by the following table:

TABLE 3: FREQUENCY OF *kat*

| Text | <i>kat</i> | Independent clauses | Frequency of <i>kat</i> |
|---------|------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Madday | 14 | 47 | 30% |
| Boat | 5 | 33 | 15% |
| Monkey | 19 | 80 | 24% |
| Fireant | 14 | 50 | 28% |

¹⁰cf. Givón's use of the term "discourse continuity" (1983:7).

The primary function of *kat* is to mark those foreground events (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980:280ff. on foregrounded events) of the narrative which represent significant developments towards its resolution. In this paper I refer to the events marked by *kat* as 'core developmental events', in contrast with 'foreground events' which is used generally of all events that are described in the independent non-stative clauses of the body of the narrative. Within the narrative, the occurrence of *kat* is restricted to the body of the narrative, that is, it occurs neither in the initial setting nor in post-climactic material. Neither does *kat* occur in direct speech, unless the direct speech itself has narrative structure. A further restriction is that it does not occur with the durative aspectual marker *do'* (section 2.4). As the discourse typically "imposes a perfective interpretation on foregrounded events" (Hopper & Thompson 1980:286), this mutual exclusion of *do'* and *kat* is expected.

Typically, *kat* occurs as the second member of the clause, most commonly following a verbal element in independent clauses. The actor is always expressed when *kat* occurs. In sentences which have a preposed dependent clause, some speakers tend to place *kat* in the dependent clause. In this light, *kat* may be viewed as marking developmental units in which there is a single core event, to which other events of the unit are related either as background or as foreground events stimulated by the core event (cf. Levinsohn 1987:83ff. for discussion of developmental units, and the comment by Dorfman cited by Hopper & Thompson 1980:281 on "central" or "core incidents"). From the beginning of the action of the narrative, each event which represents a significant development of the narrative towards its resolution is marked with *kat*. This is illustrated in (15) below from 'Madday'. The passage immediately follows (14) above, with (15a) presenting the first foreground event of the story.

- (15) a. *Jadi panaw kat Inni' Apuy mengasu [meN-asu];*
 DEV go CDM Grandpa Apuy ACT.dog
 Now Grandpa Apuy went hunting;
- b. *panaw rumo mengasu,*
 go 3SG ACT.dog
 he went hunting,
- c. *lempi' rumo ja' nong kilid insan ummo iro.*
 pass 3SG only NEAR beside border field 3PL
 (and) he just followed along the border of their field.
- d. *Sob tan asu rumo adi nong payaw mas,*
 when saw dog 3SG that OBL deer gold
 When his dog saw a golder deer,
- e. *tongog [t-u-angog] kat asu rumo.*
 NL.bark CDM dog 3SG
 his dog barked (at the deer).
- f. *Sob teingog [t-i-angog] asu rumo adi payaw mas adi,*
 when PAST.bark dog 3SG that deer gold that
 When the dog barked at the deer,
- g. *manna kat Inni' Apuy panaw di',*
 directly CDM Grandpa Apuy go FAR
 right away Grandpa Apuy went to that place,

- h. *todtas* [*t-u-adtas*].
 NL.chase
 (and) chased (the deer).
- i. *Jadi rumo, gelindut* [*ge-lindut*] *kat payaw adi* ...
 DEV 3SG ACT.run CDM deer that
 So it happened that the deer ran ...

In the passage above, each new development of the narrative is marked by *kat* (15a,e,g,i). In narratives like (15) involving several major participants, it is common for each new development in the story to coincide with a change of actor. Example (16) illustrates development which does not involve a change of actor:

- (16) a. *Begapuy kat tuttul bio gongan*.
 ACT.fire CDM snail and prawn
 The watersnail and the prawn cooked.
- b. *Sob begapuy, begusud kat iro duo suru di'* ...
 when ACT.fire ACT.take CDM 3PL two towards FAR
 After cooking, the two of them took (the food) to the place ...

The developmental units for which *kat* marks a core event approximate Givón's thematic paragraphs, in which one participant serves as the "continuity marker" (Givón 1983:8f.). The clauses marked by *kat* typically have actor pivots and always have an overt actor. The actor in a clause marked by *kat* typically is the "one most crucially involved in the action sequence running through the paragraph" and is "most closely associated with the 'theme' of the paragraph" (Givón 1983:8f.). In (15a-c), for instance, Grandpa Apuy is the thematic participant, persisting after the initial mention (15a) with pronominal reference (15b-c). The dog becomes the thematic participant in (15d-e), and Grandpa Apuy is restored as the thematic participant in (15f-h).¹¹

4.2 PIVOT-MARKING SYSTEM

It was noted in section 4.1 that every clause which is marked by *kat* as a new development in the narrative has an overt actor, and typically has actor pivot. Indeed, in Ida'an narrative discourse, actor pivot is much more frequent than undergoer pivot, occurring three times as often in independent clauses in three of the texts and six times as often in the fourth.¹² Example (16) illustrates both dependent (16b) and independent (16a) actor-pivot clauses.

¹¹In Tombonuo (King & Levinsohn; this volume, section 3.1), thematic participants are identified as those participants which are referred to using the determiner whose referent, when used locally, is near the speaker. (Thematic participants identified by proper names in Tombonuo are referred to using a person marker, the equivalent of which does not occur in Ida'an.) Though the actor is prototypically the thematic participant of a paragraph in Tombonuo, this is not always the case. Compare also Levinsohn 1978, who treats 'thematic participant' and initiator in a new development unit as separate variables. A study of Ida'an determiners is needed, to determine their function with respect to identifying thematic participants.

¹²The three texts having a 3:1 ratio of actor-pivot independent clauses to undergoer-pivot clauses are 'Madday', 'Boat', and 'Fireant'. 'Monkey' has a 6:1 ratio. In dependent clauses, there is greater variation in the relative frequency of actor-pivot clauses and undergoer-pivot clauses, as the following figures indicate: Madday 9:2; Boat 6:1; Fireant 11:1; Monkey 11:6.

Stative clauses are included among undergoer-pivot clauses, following Foley and Van Valin (p.47), who define “patient as being the semantic relation of the single argument of a one-place stative predicate” and conclude that the prototypical undergoer is a patient (p.59f.).

As noted in section 2.3.1, verbs cross-referenced for undergoer pivot occur infrequently in past tense. In the four texts used for this study, only 20 per cent of verbs cross-referenced for undergoer pivot were in past tense, for both dependent and independent clauses.

Dependent undergoer-pivot clauses typically provide the setting for subsequent independent clauses. Independent undergoer-pivot clauses signal important results at the end of an episode or of the discourse as a whole. Example (17) shows a complete episode (bounded by *jadi*, cf. section 4.3 below):

- (17) a. *Jadi gelindut [ge-lindut] kat iro payaw gunay asu*
 DEV ACT.run CDM 3PL deer with dog
ino gunay Inni' Apuy suru di' Gemantung.
 that with Grandpa Apuy towards FAR (place.name)
 Then they ran, the deer and the dog and Grandpa Apuy, over there towards
 Gemantung.
- b. *Sob sawot di' Gemantung,*
 when arrive FAR (place.name)
 When they arrived at Gemantung,
- c. *do' berendong [be-rendong] payaw di',*
 DUR ACT.stop deer FAR
 the deer was stopping at that place,
- d. *atukod [a-tukod].*
 ST.tired
 (it was) tired.

The episode begins (17a) with the three participants running (actor pivot) towards the Gemantung caves. The deer tries to stop at the caves (17c), because the run had tired it ((17d); the result of the chase). The result is encoded as the single-argument stative verb *atukod* ‘tired’. The deer, an actor in (17a), becomes an undergoer.

This episode-final occurrence of undergoer pivot is significant in that it represents in part the encoding of discourse transitivity. That is to say, if transitivity is understood as the carrying over of an action, prototypically initiated by a volitional agent, to a patient markedly affected by the action (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980:251ff.), then iconically this can be represented by encoding the initiation of an episode (or whole discourse) with actor-pivot clauses, and the end of the episode/discourse with undergoer-pivot clauses. Example (17) above illustrates how transitivity can be encoded in this way over an episode. The results of actor-initiated events take their toll on an affected undergoer.

At the end of a narrative, undergoer-pivot clauses may signal the resolution of the story. This is the case in ‘Madday’, as shown in (19). (Clause (19a) rephrases the relative clause used in introducing the narrative in (14a), repeated here as (18).)

- (18) *Akay satu maso kemmi mulay-mulay ketebbuk [ke-tebbuk] Madday.*
 ST.be one time 1PL.EXC begin-begin PAST.NV.meet Madday
 There was a time (in which) we first came upon Madday.

- (19) a. *Jadi mulay-mulay kemmi bia' akay koso Madday,*
 DEV begin-begin 1PL.EXC PFT ST.be authority Madday
 So, since the beginning we have had the authority of Madday,
- b. *sereta ano, salag nong allom ino di' nioy[ni-ay] kemmi.*
 along.with this nest NEAR inside that DUR UND.PAST.take 1PL.EXC
 and along with this, we have been taking the NESTS which are inside.

In between the sentences given in (18) and (19a), the narrator has retold how an ancestor, Grandpa Apuy, discovered the Madday Caves by going hunting (actor pivot) with his dog and chasing (actor pivot) a golden deer to the caves, where the deer finally loses them. The final development unit in Grandpa Apuy's adventure tells how he persuades his descendants to move to the caves. The result of Grandpa Apuy's discovery is expressed with a stative verb functioning as a verb of possession and having perfect aspect (19a).¹³ The use of perfect aspect, marked by *bia'*, indicates that Grandpa Apuy's discovery in the past has continuing relevance at the time of the narration. The importance of the authority which the Ida'an gained at the caves is amplified in (19b); they have been able to collect and market the birds' nests found in the caves.¹⁴ The results of (19a-b) are encoded as undergoer-pivot clauses. (Compare also the discussion of (23b-f) below, for an example of non-past undergoer pivot and stative clauses to indicate the results of an episode and the affectedness of the patient.)

One might hope for more compelling examples than the above with respect to the encoding of developmental events using highly transitive actor-pivot verbs. Nevertheless, the pattern presented is consistent with the notion that transitivity as a discourse level phenomenon may have iconic correspondences in the selection of actor-pivot and undergoer-pivot clause structures throughout a narrative. This is particularly so if one accepts DeLancey's (1987:60f.) basis for the transitivity prototype as being "a simple CAUSE → EFFECT schema which owes its universality to its universal utility in dealing with the real world". The Ida'an data suggest one possible language specific encoding of the schema.

4.3 SENTENCE INTRODUCERS: *jadi* AND *na*

Section 4.1 showed that Ida'an narrative marks its core developmental events with the particle *kat*. The events marked by *kat* are both important to the development of the narrative and may be viewed as central to developmental units. In addition, Ida'an marks thematic continuity and development in the flow of the narrative by means of sentence introducers. There are two such introducers: *jadi*, sometimes manifested as *jadi rumo*, and *na*.

The primary use of *jadi* is to mark a developmental relationship between sections of the narrative. In foreground material of a narrative (in which *kat* also occurs), *jadi* introduces episodes which are in chronological sequence and indicates thematic continuity with the preceding episode. (Typically, as in Tombonuo (King, J.K., this volume, section 2.2.1), there is action discontinuity between the episodes.) In such episodes, successive clauses

¹³According to Foley and Van Valin (47f., 59f.), verbs of possession are statives with undergoer and locative arguments as "theme".

¹⁴Example (19) immediately follows the narration of the story proper in which Grandpa Apuy is the main character. The narration continues with background material relating how the Ida'an sell the nests to the Chinese, the only ones who know how to do anything with the nests (e.g. make bird's nest soup), and how the government has recorded the Ida'ans' rights to collect the nests and prohibited others from collecting them.

have VSO constituent order. These episodes comprise one or more developmental units (marked by *kat*). This use of *jadi* is seen in the structure of 'Madday' (example (20) below). There are seven occurrences of *jadi* within the main body of narration. Each episode introduced by *jadi* contains from one to three clauses marked by *kat*. The narrative episodes, as identified from these seven occurrences of *jadi*, can be summarised as follows:

- (20) 1. Grandpa Apuy goes hunting and encounters the golden deer.
 2. Grandpa Apuy and his dog chase the deer.
 3. The deer begins to tire from the chase.
 4. Grandpa Apuy tries to spear the deer; the deer runs on.
 5. Grandpa Apuy spears the deer, but the deer escapes.
 6. The deer leads Grandpa Apuy to Madday and then disappears.
 7. Grandpa Apuy persuades his offspring to move to Madday.

Episode 1 of (20), along with the beginning of Episode 2, is given in its entirety in (21) (repeated from (15)):

- (21) a. *Jadi panaw kat Inni' Apuy mengasu [meN-asu];*
 DEV go CDM Grandpa Apuy ACT.dog
 Now Grandpa Apuy went hunting;
- b. *panaw rumo mengasu,*
 go 3SG ACT.dog
 he went hunting,
- c. *lebpi' rumo ja' nong kilid insan ummo iro.*
 pass 3SG only NEAR beside border field 3PL
 (and) he just followed along the border of their field.
- d. *Sob tan asu rumo adi nong payaw mas,*
 when saw dog 3SG that NEAR deer gold
 When his dog saw a golden deer,
- e. *tongog [t-u-angog] kat asu rumo.*
 NL.bark CDM dog 3SG
 his dog barked (at the deer).
- f. *Sob teingog [t-i-angog] asu rumo adi payaw mas adi,*
 when PAST.bark dog 3SG that deer gold that
 When the dog barked at the deer,
- g. *manna kat Inni' Apuy panaw di',*
 directly CDM Grandpa Apuy go FAR
 right away Grandpa Apuy went to that place,
- h. *todtas [t-u-adtas].*
 NL.chase
 (and) chased (the deer).
- i. *Jadi rumo, gelindut [ge-lindut] kat payaw adi ...*
 DEV 3SG ACT.run CDM deer that
 So it happened that the deer ran ...

Whereas *jadi* marks chronological succession between episodes containing foreground events, it has two separate functions in background material. When used with background material, *jadi* introduces clauses having SVO constituent order (as opposed to VSO order for foreground material).

Prior to any of the foreground events of the narrative (before any occurrence of *kat*), the clauses introduced by *jadi* typically present background material which provides a basis for subsequent events of the narrative, that is, which will be necessary to the development of the narrative. Clauses introduced in this way by *jadi* typically have topicalised subjects, that is, the constituent order is SVO. (On topicalisation in connection with background information, cf. Levinsohn's (1991) treatment of Malay, and J.K. Kings's treatment of Tombonuo (in this volume, section 3.1.2).) Thus, at the beginning of the folktale 'Monkey', following the introductory existential-presentative clause ((22a), repeated from (13a)), *jadi* introduces two topicalised clauses (22b-c), each one providing important background information. A third clause introduced by *jadi* (22d), begins an episode containing foreground events, with the constituent order shifting to VSO:

- (22) a. *Akay koy sengoyan bio lembukon.*
ST.be CRR monkey and pigeon
There were a monkey and a pigeon.
- b. *Jadi anak iro duo gegayug [ge-ge-ayug].*
DEV child 3PL two ACT.ACT.friend
Now their two children were friends (lit. befriending each other).
- c. *Jadi anak lembukon ton mengaji' [meN-aji'] anan ama' rumo,*
DEV child pigeon EMP ACT.read.Koran with dad 3SG
beguru [be-guru].
ACT.learn
Now the pigeon child (used to) read the Koran with his father, (he was) learning.
- d. *Jadi mengingog [meN-ingog] ja' anak sengoyan.*
DEV ACT.hear only child monkey
Now the monkey youth just listened.

Jadi also introduces background information following a series of foreground events. In these contexts *jadi* typically introduces the non-active results of the previous episode(s) or discourse. Consequently, for this usage *jadi* co-occurs with stative and other undergoer-pivot clauses (cf. section 4.2, especially (19a)), or non-verbal clauses. Examples (23a-f), from 'Fireant', illustrate this use of *jadi* within the body of a discourse.

- (23) a. So the fireant started off. After he went, his wives, the watersnail and the prawn, took *kat* his food. When they took the food, there was a large log. At that log, the prawn climbed up *kat* (the log). When the prawn climbed up,
- b. *megtuy bubpu' eddu';*
directly UND.spill broth
straightaway the broth spilled;
- c. *bubpu' eddu' tassam bano rumo bubba'-sugkang;*
UND.spill broth vegetable husband 3SG fireant
the vegetable broth of her husband, Fireant, spilled,

- d. *apubus anan gongan*;
ST.spill to prawn
(it) was spilt onto the prawn;
- e. *megtuy assak gongan*.
directly ST.cooked prawn
straightaway the prawn was cooked.
- f. *Jadi gongan pun do' matay nong*.
DEV prawn as.it.were DUR dead NEAR
Thus it was that the prawn was dead on the spot.
- g. *Jadi panaw kat tuttul bekayag[be-kayag]*.
DEV go CDM watersnail ACT.follow.after
Then the watersnail followed later.

In (23b-d) above, the narrator uses undergoer-pivot clauses to tell about the spilling of the broth (the result of the prawn climbing over the log), and a stative predicate (23e) to record the further result that the broth had cooked her. In (23f), this result is iterated as background information introduced by *jadi*, and encoded with a single-argument undergoer-pivot clause. The constituent order shifts to SVO. In contrast, a new episode is introduced by *jadi* in (23g), and the constituent order is VSO, as appropriate for the presentation of foreground events.

Whereas *jadi* primarily marks a developmental relationship between episodes of a narrative in chronological sequence, the second introducer *na* marks a logical relationship between events. Generally, it carries the meaning 'on that basis', that is, on the basis of the preceding event or situation. Typically, the basis or precondition immediately precedes the event which is linked to it. In other words, the events linked by *na* are in chronological sequence; nevertheless, the logical relationship between the events has prominence. This general usage is typified in the folktale 'Fireant'. The use of *na* in (24e) points back to what the fireant says to his wives (the speech act as a unit) as a logical basis or condition for his going.

- (24) a. *Bano iro begemmad [beg-emmad] panaw, kemo,*
husband 3PL ACT.permit go QM
Their husband took his leave saying,
- b. "*Muyu gapid begapuy [beg-apuy] muyu nong balay,*
2PL co-wife ACT.fire 2PL NEAR house
"You wives, you are to cook at home,
- c. *musud ja' pengangan ku.*
NL.take only food 1SG.GEN
(and) send my food.
- d. *Panaw aku; ta' panaw menebpong [meN-tebpong]"*.
go 2SG.NOM CONT go ACT.fell
I'm going; (I) still have to fell (trees)".
- e. *Na, do' panaw anu bubba'-sugkang.*
LOG DUR go this fireant
So, on that basis, the fireant went.

The basis or precondition for an action may be recorded subsequent to the mention of the event, as in (25b) from 'Boat'. After introducing the participants in (25a), the narrator continues with a flashback that provides a basis (or counter-basis) for the trip, and is introduced with *na*. The past tense is used with *na* to indicate that the speech act of (25b) took place at a time prior to the act of going:

- (25) a. *Pulu' pi kemmi panaw.*
 ten EMP 1PL.EXC go
 Ten of us went.
- b. *Na, beira' [b-i-ara'] ku nong iro,*
 LOG UND.PAST.tell 1SG.GEN OBL 3PL
 Now, I had told them,
- c. "We shouldn't go; the boat is worn out". (However,) their desire was to go.

Sometimes the use of *na* is more specifically resultative (see King, J.K., in this volume, section 2.2.1), that is, the basis or precondition is a cause and the subsequent event is a result. This use is illustrated here in an excerpt from 'Boat':

- (26) a. [*Dula ton*] *do' tenigkuk [t-en-igkuk] ulang,*
 (name) EMP DUR UND.PAST.strike snake
 [Dula it was] a snake had bitten (him),
- b. *mubot [m-ubot] kat kemmi,*
 NL.medicine CDM 1PL.EXC
 we treated (him),
- c. *mannu [m-annu] gaslin,*
 NL.use gasoline
 (we) applied gasoline (to the bite),
- d. *massut [m-assut] edda' adi,*
 NL.bleed blood that
 (we) bled the blood (from the wound),
- e. *na, do' sawot koy.*
 LOG DUR arrive CRR
 with the result that (he) was going to be all right.

Here, it is clear that the treatment by his friends effected Dula's recovery from the snake bite; *na* is used as a logical connector between the treatment and its result.

In the context of reported conversation, *na* acts as the logical connector between individuals' remarks. Each utterance after the initial one proceeds logically from the previous one. This is shown in (27), taken from 'Boat':

- (27) a. "*Ullo muyu?*"
 why 2PL
 "What happened to you?"
- b. *Na, "abbog [a-ebbog] alud kemmi".*
 LOG ST.break boat 1PL.EXC
 "Our boat 'broke'".

c. *Na*, “*nungod senguli*’ [seN-uli] *muyu?*”
 LOG how MANNER.return 2PL
 “How did you return?”

d. *Na*, “*bikkos*[b-i-ekkos] *kemmi alud adi, sa’ kat kemmi...*”
 LOG UND.PAST.tie 1PL.EXC boat that ANT CDM 1PL.EXC
 “Having tied up the boat, we then ...”

In summary, *jadi* indicates a developmental relationship between episodes of the narrative. In connection with foreground events, it signals a chronological relationship as well as thematic continuity (cf. Longacre 1976:213ff.; Givón 1983:8). In connection with background material, *jadi* introduces information on which the developmental events build or the results of developmental events. *Na*, on the other hand, indicates a logical relationship within a more local context than *jadi*.

5. CONTINUITY

Section 4 discussed three features related to the overall thematic development of Ida'an narrative discourse. I now consider two features that contribute to the unity of a narrative: neutral tense (section 5.1) and the particle *koy* (section 5.2).

5.1 NEUTRAL TENSE

Section 2.3.2 introduced the Ida'an neutral tense and noted its non-narrative functions in imperative and dependent clause. In Ida'an narrative discourse, the neutral tense form may encode foreground events, when there is “continuity of situation” (see the introduction to this volume) with the context. “Continuity of situation” means that:

the spatio-temporal setting of the events described in the independent clauses remains unchanged, as do the participants involved. So, for example, a new participant may be introduced to a scene in which other participants are interacting. If there is continuity of situation, then apart from the new arrival, the participants remain unchanged, as does the spatio-temporal situation and any other pertinent circumstances. (Levinsohn 1987:66)

The narrative usage of the neutral tense is consistent with its usage in dependent clauses and imperatives, in that each requires that the speaker and hearer share certain knowledge within a particular context. When someone gives a command, he does not have to specify his addressee; it is usually obvious within the context. Similarly, within a market context (see example (7)), a person who asks “What are you buying?” with the neutral tense form has already perceived that his addressee is in fact buying something. In the same way, when a narrative event is described using the neutral tense, the narrator presumes his audience will supply implicit information from the foregoing context.

Neutral tense verb forms typically do not occur in setting material, either prior to the core developmental events of the narrative (section 4.1) or in proposed dependent clauses of the narrative which provide a setting for subsequent foreground events. Neither do they occur with aspectual particles (section 2.4), nor in clauses immediately preceded by *jadi* (section 4.3). In connection with foreground events, the action predicated by a neutral tense verb occurs in the same situation as that of the preceding event, that is, with the same general time

frame, location and participants. The general time frame is typically that of the episode, that is, the developmental unit bounded by *jadi*. Events encoded by neutral tense verb forms are sequential with respect to preceding events within the episode. The following example ((28a-e) repeating (15d-h)) contains three examples of neutral tense forms (28b,e,h):

- (28) a. *Sob tan asu rumo adi nong payaw mas,*
 when saw dog 3SG that OBL deer gold
 When his dog saw a golden deer,
- b. *tongog [t-u-angog] kat asu rumo.*
 NL.bark CDM dog 3SG
 his dog barked (at the deer).
- c. *Sob teingog [t-i-angog] asu rumo adi payaw mas adi,*
 when PAST.bark dog 3SG that deer gold that
 When the dog barked at the deer,
- d. *manna kat Inni' Apuy panaw di',*
 directly CDM Grandpa Apuy go FAR
 right away Grandpa Apuy went to that place,
- e. *todtas [t-u-adtas].*
 NL.chase
 (and) chased (the deer).
- f. *Jadi rumo, gelindut [ge-lindut] kat payaw adi,*
 DEV 3SG ACT.run CDM go that
 So it happened that the deer ran,
- g. *gelindut kat asu adi,*
 ACT.run CDM dog that
 the dog ran,
- h. *todtas kat Inni' Apuy.*
 NL.chase CDM Grandpa Apuy
 (and) Grandpa Apuy gave chase.

In (28a) above, the dog and the deer are mentioned explicitly for the first time, but the dog is definite, having been already implied in the preceding sentence (see (15a)), in the verb for hunting. The neutral tense form of 'bark' in (28b) is to be interpreted in the context of the dog having seen the deer, the dog barks at the deer. With respect to time reference, the barking is subsequent to the seeing, but both occur within the same general spatio-temporal context (bounded by *jadi*; see (15a)). In (28e), even though *todtas* 'NL.chase' has no overt actor or undergoer, these can be supplied from the context. In (28f), a new developmental unit is introduced by *jadi*. The events reported in (28f-h) are core developmental events marked by *kat*. They are reported as being in sequence to the events of (28a-e) and, within this new spatio-temporal framework, Grandpa Apuy is in pursuit (neutral tense verb form in (28h)) of the dog and the deer (zero anaphora), to both of which the narrator has referred within the episode.

A further example illustrates that it is the continuity of situation which underlies the use of the neutral tense, not just some more specific element of the context.

- (29) a. *Sob sawot di' Melekkob, do' uran-uran,*
 when arrive FAR (cave.name) DUR rain-rain
 When he/they arrived at Melekkob, it was raining,
- b. *menau' [meN-tau'] kat payaw adi nong bebpa' Melekkob;*
 ACT.hide CDM deer that NEAR mouth (cave.name)
 the deer hid at the mouth of the cave;
- c. *leminok [l-em-inok] kat Inni' Apuy koy ...*
 NL.stalk CDM Grandpa Apuy CRR
 Grandpa Apuy stalked ...

The action and the actor change between (29b) and (29c). The setting and the relative time frame, however, remain the same.

A further example is (26a-d), repeated here as (30):

- (30) a. *[Dula ton] do' tenigkuk [t-en-igkuk] ulang,*
 (name) EMP DUR UND.PAST.strike snake
 [Dula] was bitten by a snake,
- b. *mubot [m-ubot] kat kemmi,*
 NL.medicine CDM IPL.EXC
 we treated (him),
- c. *mannu [m-annu] gaslin,*
 NL.put gasoline
 (we) applied gasoline (to the bite),
- d. *massut [m-assut] edda' adi ...*
 NL.bleed blood that
 (we) bled the blood (from the wound) ...

What binds (30b) to (30a) is not the continuity of actor or action, but rather the general spatio-temporal context and continuity of same participants in that context.

5.2 CURRENT RELEVANCE MARKER: *koy*

Whereas neutral tense indicates continuity of situation with respect to the immediately preceding context, *Ida'an* also marks particular responses to the immediately preceding context as currently relevant. The response may be a new initiative on the part of a different actor than in the preceding action, or in some cases a continuing action by the same actor, or the result of the preceding action. In *Ida'an* such a currently relevant response is signalled by the particle *koy*.

The notion of current relevance is pertinent in the characterisation of perfect aspect (see section 2.4). Li, Thompson and Thompson (1982) discuss this in relation to the Mandarin "attitudinal" particle *le* which performs many of the functions of perfect aspect, apparently in lieu of any other device for signalling perfect aspect. They argue (p.22) that *le* "claims a state of affairs has special current relevance to some particular Reference Time". In contrast, *Ida'an* does have a separate device for signalling perfect aspect. The particle *koy* indicates that a situation (state or event) is a response to a previous situation and has a special current relevance in the flow of the discourse.

Typically, in conversation, the use of *koy* marks the speaker's utterance as a relevant response to either a preceding remark or to the situation in which he finds himself. Example (31), taken from reported speech in 'Fireant', provides the following exchange in which the response is marked as currently relevant:

- (31) a. Then Watersnail said to her co-wife, "You, Prawn, cook the side-dishes. I'll cook the rice, then we'll both take the food out to Fireant".
- b. *Jadi*, "*Pio koy*", *kemo gongan*.
 DEV good CRR QM prawn
 Then, "That's good", said Prawn.

The impact of *koy* could be rendered, "My response to your current proposal is ...", where in this case the blank is filled with "good".

When current relevance is not in focus in a conversational exchange, *koy* is omitted, as in this exchange from 'Monkey':

- (32) a. "*Nu, Ila' Sengoyan?*"
 what HON monkey
 "What (is it), Mr Monkey?" (said Pigeon).
- b. *Na*, "*Rottop[r-u-attop] ko gulu tui*."
 LOG NL.near 2SG.IMP now here
 "Come closer here now" (insisted monkey).
- c. *Akay semukot[s-em-ukot] niun, remuni[r-em-uni] niun*".
 ST.be NL.ask 2SG.ACC NL.speak 2SG.ACC
 "There's something I'd like to ask you, speak to you about."

Monkey is not answering Pidgeon's question of (32a); rather, he is countering it, as his aim is to entice Pigeon closer.

As (31) illustrates, the conversational usages of *koy* are found in narrative discourse. In addition, *koy* signals a currently relevant response in both foreground and background portions of the discourse.¹⁵ The notion of currently relevant response needs clarification with regard to its significance in narrative. With respect to the term 'current', the point of reference in time is typically that of the actions of the narrative, as opposed to the time of the speech act.

With respect to 'relevance', an event marked by *koy* has relevance as the foregrounded outcome of previous events, but a state marked by *koy* has relevance as the background or basis for continuing action in the discourse. Exactly what the relevance is depends greatly upon the context, but the speaker assumes his claim of relevance can be correctly inferred by the hearer (cf. Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982:24).

With respect to 'response', in narrative discourse the notion of response must be broadened to include changes in situation and state as a result of a preceding action of the

¹⁵Givón (1987) suggests that the use of foregrounding/highlighting devices in already marked foreground material, as for example in clauses already marked as being on the main event line, and the use of foregrounding/highlighting devices in background material, provide a basis for exploring an n-ary approach to the discussion of foreground and background. A different approach is taken by Boutin (1988), who argues that foreground and background are determined by the semantics of the verb and are otherwise unmarked. Other devices are used for highlighting and backgrounding.

narrative. The variety of ways in which *koy* marks the currently relevant response in narrative material are as follows:

- 1) response of the thematic participant;
- 2) response of a non-thematic participant;
- 3) a changed state or situation.

For both 1) and 2), *koy* always follows the initial element of the verb phrase, except when it co-occurs with the developmental marker *kat*, in which case *koy* follows the reference to the actor which is required with *kat* (cf. section 4.1). For 3), *koy* immediately follows the word indicating the changed state or situation. These three usages are now discussed in turn.

5.2.1 RESPONSE OF THE THEMATIC PARTICIPANT

In connection with foreground events, *koy* typically indicates the current relevance of the thematic participant's response to the immediately preceding action. The fact that the thematic participant is responding to some action or situation also means that there is a change of actors between the two events or situations. Example (33) is taken from 'Madday':

- (33) a. *Jadi, sob sawot di' Agub Bilu,*
 DEV when arrive FAR Camp Blue
 Then, when they arrived at Camp Blue,
- b. *do' berendong [be-rendong] di' payaw adi;*
 DUR ACT.stop FAR deer that
 the deer came to a stop;
- c. *menemmog [meN-temmog] kat Inni' Apuy koy,*
 ACT.spear CDM Grandpa Apuy CRR
 Grandpa Apuy speared (the deer),
- d. *gelindut [ge-lindut] koy bugku suru di' Melekkob.*
 ACT.run CRR again towards FAR (place.name)
 (the deer) ran again towards Melekkob.

In (33c), there is a change in actor from the preceding clause, and *kat* occurs indicating that this is a core developmental event. The current relevance (indicated by *koy*) of this particular response, that is, spearing the deer, is understood in the context of the narrative as a whole. This is the third time in the narrative that Grandpa Apuy has tried to spear the deer. That he has succeeded this time is indicated primarily by the absence of the durative particle *do'*, which occurs with both of the previous spearing attempts (cf. (9), (35)).

When the thematic participant is involved in an event which is not marked by *kat*, reference to him/her in a clause which is marked by *koy* is explicit, even if he/she is also referred to overtly in the previous clause. (Typically, in non-developmental independent clauses which lack *koy*, reference to the thematic participant is implicit (i.e. is encoded with zero anaphora) in a clause following one in which it is explicit.) Example (34) (from 'Boat') shows the overt encoding of thematic participants in a clause containing *koy*, following a clause in which they are also the explicit actor.

- (34) a. *Na, pog sawot kemmi nong Busul,*
LOG when arrive 1PL.INC NEAR (place.name)
So, when we arrived at Busul,
- b. *kurang lebpo pukul pat,*
less more o'clock four
about four o'clock,
- c. *do' gelunguy [ge-lunguy] koy kemmi sawot nong Betayan.*
DUR swim CRR 1PL.INC arrive NEAR (place.name)
we continued wading until we got to Betayan.

5.2.2 RESPONSE OF A NON-THEMATIC PARTICIPANT

If the actor whose response is marked as currently relevant by *koy* is not the thematic participant, the only allusion to him/her typically is the presence of *koy*.¹⁶ In (33d) above, the deer's response is currently relevant in that its running away continues the chase which eventually leads Grandpa Apuy to the Madday Caves. The deer, however, is not explicitly referred to in the clause, even though it is only implicit in the immediately preceding clause.

Example (35) is also taken from 'Madday' (cf. example (28)). Example (35a) is one developmental unit in which the core event is the deer's hiding. Examples (35b-d) comprise a second developmental unit in which the core event is Grandpa Apuy's stalking the deer. This act itself is marked by *koy* as a response to the preceding event, with the events in (35c-d) following within the same developmental unit.

- (35) a. When he/they arrived at Melekkob, it was raining; the deer hid *kat* at the mouth of the cave;
- b. *leminok [l-em-inok] kat Inní Apuy koy,*
NL.stalk CDM Grandpa Apuy CRR
Grandpa Apuy stalked,
- c. *do' menemmog [meN-temmog];*
DUR ACT.spear
(he) tried to spear (the deer);
- d. *gelaui [ge-laui] koy bugku suru di' Tegurung.*
ACT.flee CRR again towards FAR (place.name)
(the deer) fled again over to Tegurung.
- e. *Jadi rumo, sob sawot di' Tegurung,*
DEV 3SG when arrive FAR (place.name)
Then, when (they) arrived over at Tegurung,
- f. *gelindut [ge-lindut] koy bugku ano, payaw ano,*
ACT.run CRR again this deer this
(it) ran again, this deer,

¹⁶This does not seem to hold when the non-thematic participant is the first participant overtly identified following *jadi*.

- g. *runna'* [r-u-enna'] *nong* *Peppod Batu*.
 NL.descend NEAR (place.name)
 (it) came down to Peppod Batu.

In (35c) Grandpa Apuy is still the actor, so his trying to spear is not recorded as a response to (35b). The deer is able to flee (35d), a response to Grandpa Apuy's attempt to spear it. Even though there has been no overt mention of the deer for three clauses, the only allusion to it is through the marker of current relevance *koy*. Examples (35e-g) occur at the start of another episode (cf. the presence of *jadi*; section 4.3). The actors in (35e) are the deer, the dog and Grandpa Apuy (this may be inferred from similar clauses earlier in the narrative). The deer again occurs as the actor in (35f), alluded to only through *koy* (until mentioned as an afterthought at the end of the clause).

On the basis of what has been said in sections 5.2.1 – 5.2.2, certain statements can be made with respect to the marked and unmarked roles of thematic and non-thematic participants in Ida'an narrative discourse. In the prototypical case, action is initiated by a thematic participant, reference to whom is explicit in clauses which are marked by *kat* as core developmental events. The prototypical undergoer of and responder to the initiating action is a non-thematic participant. Consequently, in the prototypical case, this participant does not need to be referred to explicitly, unless he/she is other than expected.¹⁷

5.2.3 A CHANGED STATE OR SITUATION

In addition to the currently relevant response of a particular actor, a state or situation may also be foregrounded by *koy*, usually to indicate its continuing relevance for subsequent action. Example (36) (from 'Monkey') illustrates a changed situation that will have continuing relevance in the discourse:

- (36) a. The monkey boarded [the boat heading downstream which was piloted by Pigeon]. Another monkey who was passing by did the same.
 b. *Na, do' pasod koy baya', menumpang [meN-tumpang].*
 LOG DUR many CRR follow ACT.hitch.ride
 So, many were the monkeys (who) were going along (on the boat), hitching a ride.

At first just one monkey boards the boat, then another; eventually many monkeys board the boat (the epilogue even leads us to believe that every monkey except one pregnant one got into the boat). All of these monkeys eventually perish, and Pigeon achieves his revenge. *Koy* thus marks a currently relevant change of situation which will continue to have relevance.

Example (37) (from 'Fireant') illustrates a state that has current and continuing relevance:

- (37) a. *Jadi do' ingngon iro gapid, ingngon duo*
 DEV DUR all 3PL co-wife all two
geterinib [ge-t-er-inib],
 ACT.REC.beside.each.other
 So it was that all of the co-wives, both of them were next to each other,

¹⁷These observations with respect to Ida'an can be viewed as an application of Givón's maxim of "motor-behavior": "Expend only as much energy on a task as is required for its performance" (1983:18).

- b. *do' matay koy iro duo.*
 DUR dead CRR 3PL two
 (and) the two of them were dead.

The narrative up to this point has related how the two co-wives died. The current situation, their death (37b), continues to have relevance over the remainder of the narrative. Through four more developmental units (marked by *kat*), their husband (i) searches for them, (ii) finds one, (iii) then the other, and finally (iv) dies in grief himself. Following the mention of the death of the co-wives, there are no further clauses marked by *koy* as having current relevance. The husband's actions in the following developmental units are not in response to another participant's actions. His own death is not marked with *koy*, either, because it is final with no subsequent action for which it can have continuing relevance.

The analysis of *koy* in section 5.2 can be summarised with reference to the verbal semantics of actor and undergoer. *Koy* with actor pivot indicates a relationship of currently relevant RESPONSE (sections 5.2.1 - 2). *Koy* with undergoer pivot indicates a relationship of continuing relevant SITUATION (section 5.2.3).

6. SUMMARY

This paper has been an initial attempt to discuss some features of Ida'an narrative discourse. The discussion has been of a preliminary nature and much more needs to be done to bring out the relationships between the features as they function together and with other features in the development of narratives.

I have made several claims which need further validation over a larger corpus of texts, together with cross-linguistic verification. I have claimed that a subset of the independent verbal clauses found in the body of the narrative is marked by *kat* as presenting core developmental events (section 4.1). I have claimed also that, for Ida'an, the notion of core developmental event can be distinguished from the notion of currently relevant response. An event may be marked only as developmental (*kat*), only as response (*koy*), as both developmental and response (*kat + koy*), and by inference as neither (section 5.2).

A further claim worth repeating is that the notion of transitivity as a 'carrying over' of action from a prototypically volitional agent to a prototypically affected patient is iconically encoded in Ida'an narrative discourse and in the episodic components of the discourse. This encoding is accomplished through the distribution of actor-pivot clauses early in the episode or narrative and of undergoer-pivot clauses towards the end of the episode or narrative (section 4.2).

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