

AN OUTLINE OF SIOCON SUBANON SENTENCE STRUCTURE

WILLIAM C. HALL
Summer Institute of Linguistics

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O. INTRODUCTION

Siocon Subanon¹ has sixteen sentence types. These include two extra systemic types: the Simple Sentence, and Relator-Axis Sentence. The latter is dependent in that the

1. This paper was first drafted at a linguistic workshop January-April 1968, held at the Nasuli base of the Summer Institute of Linguistics on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines. The workshop was sponsored by OE contract 0-8-062838-0319. My colleague Richard Elkins assisted in the basic analysis. The principal investigator of the project, Robert Longacre, contributed heavily to the analysis here presented and has edited the whole. Revisions here adopted are discussed in the final report of the project "Discourse, Paragraph, and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages, Vol II Sentence Structure", The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Santa Ana, 1968, pp. 12, 52, 71. Siocon Subanon phonemes with their corresponding orthographical symbols are as follows:

| | |
|-----|-------|
| p p | n n . |
| t t | ŋ ng |
| k k | w w |
| ? q | y y |
| b b | a a |
| d d | e e |
| g g | i i |
| l l | o o |
| s s | u u |
| m m | |

Data in this paper were collected from 1964-1968 primarily in Siocon, Zamboanga del Norte, Mindanao, Philippines, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

CHART I
SIOCON SUBANON SENTENCE TYPES

| | Quasi-Clausal | Concatenated | Sequence | Opposition | Implicational | Quasi-Quotational | Quotational |
|-------|---|---|--|--|---|---|-------------------------|
| Loose | 1 Parallel ϕ Syn . . . Syn Lex ₁ . . . Lex ₁ | 3 Coordinate <i>-bu-</i> | 5 Implicit Sequence | 7 Antithetical <i>-tibwa +</i> <i>+ saka -</i> <i>+ bigyaq non +</i> | 9 Reason <i>saan . . . poq</i> <i>bagun</i> | 11 Alternative <i>+ AltF</i> <i>+ Alt₁ + lk</i> <i>+ Alt₂</i> | 13 Direct Quote |
| Tight | 2 Merged NP | 4 Simultaneous <i>-bu mangka-</i> | 6 Explicit Sequence <i>mangka</i> | 8 Exceptional <i>- (1) ual +</i> | 10 Alternative Conditional <i>bug . . .</i> <i>ati</i> <i>bila . . .</i> | 12 Indirect Question <i>+ IQF + og</i> <i>+ QU</i> | 14 Indirect Quote |

various subtypes of the Relator-Axis Sentence expound the various sentence margin tagmemes. The Simple Sentence, along with the systemic types represented in the following matrix, is an independent sentence.

In Chart I the horizontal rows show degrees of cohesion (loose, tight) while the seven columns show generic series of nucleus types (quasi-clausal, concatenated, sequence, implicational, quasi-quotational, and quotational). The intersection of the two parameters determines fourteen systemic sentence types.

The following tagmemic apparatus, a bidimensional array accompanied by rules (chart II), represents the overall structure of the sentence. In the bidimensional array, Nucleus (Nuc) represents diagnostic clusters of tagmemes which differ from sentence type to sentence type. All other functional positions represent tagmemes of the sentence periphery. These tagmemes are non-specific as to sentence type.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| CauM | Cause Margin |
| CirM | Circumstance Margin |
| ConM | Concessive Margin |
| CondM | Conditional Margin |
| emph | Emphasis Marker |
| Ex | Exclamation |
| In | Introducer |
| Nph | Noun Phrase |
| Nuc | Nucleus |
| PurM | Purpose Margin |
| Ques | Question Marker |
| RAS | Relator-Axis Sentence |
| RepSp | Reported Speech |
| ResM | Result Margin |
| ST | Sentence Topic |
| sta | Stative Marker |
| TM | Time Margin |
| Voc | Vocative |

CHART II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SIOCON SUBANON SENTENCE

| ± In | ± Ex | ± TM ₁ | ± TM ₂ | ± TM ₃ | ± ST |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------|
| In word <i>ati</i> 'then' | Ex word <i>aba!</i> 'well!' | Time Nph <i>dangan</i> <i>dow en</i> 'meanwhile' | RAS ₁ | RAS ₂ time gerund ² | topic Nph topic pronoun |
| ± ConM | ± CondM | ± CirM | ± Voc | + Nuc | ± ResM |
| RAS ₃ | RAS ₄ | RAS ₅ | Kinship term Proper name <i>le</i> 'friend' | specific to sentence type | RAS ₆ |

2. The only known exception to this rule is the Indirect Question Sentence.

| ± PurM | ± CauM | ± RepSp |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| RAS ₇ | RAS ₈ Reason Nph | <i>dow</i> 'it is said' |

Rules:

1. Ex may permute to pre-ST position.
2. CondM and ConM may permute to post-Nuc position with the stipulation that other post-Nuc margins may not occur.
3. PurM and CauM may permute to pre-Nuc position with the stipulation that other pre-Nuc periphery may not occur except In.
4. Voc may occur in post-Nuc position.
5. CirM (with R: *asa*) may permute to post-Nuc position.
6. RepSp may permute to the juncture of any sentence level or clause level tagmeme except within or immediately preceding an adjunct cluster or post-verb (non-emphatic) pronoun.

1. PERIPHERY OF THE SENTENCE

The periphery of the sentence includes Sentence Introducer, Exclamation, Sentence Topic, Vocative, and sentence margin tagmemes. There are nine sentence margin tagmemes: Time Margin₁, Time Margin₂, Time Margin₃, Concessive Margin, Conditional Margin, Circumstance Margin, Result Margin, Purpose Margin, and Cause Margin.

The sentence margin tagmemes are listed in the linear order in which they frequently occur. Functionally they constitute a three-by-three system in two parameters such as

CHART III

SIOCON SUBANON SENTENCE MARGIN SYSTEM

| | prior | concurrent | posterior |
|-----------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| temporal | TM ₃ : RAS ₂ , time gerund | TM ₂ : RAS ₁ | TM ₁ : T phrase, T clause |
| logico-temporal | CondM: RAS ₄ | ConM: RAS ₃ | PurM: RAS ₇ |
| logical | CauM: RAS ₈ , Reason Nph | CirM: RAS ₅ | ResM: RAS ₆ |

Kenneth Maryott has suggested for Sangir³. Such a functional arrangement is given in chart III. A horizontal parameter of functional (not linear) order relative to the Nucleus determines the three columns. A vertical parameter concerned with type relation to the Nucleus determines the three rows. One row is clearly temporal, another is clearly logical. The center row seems to combine (or straddle) logical and temporal considerations. Within the cells of the matrix the sentence margin tagmeme function names are shown as well as the constructions which expound the tagmemes.

1.1. SENTENCE INTRODUCER

The Sentence Introducer (In) functions with reference to paragraph or discourse level as linkage between sentences. The exponents of Sentence Introducer include: *ati* 'then', *na* 'now', *dadi* 'therefore'.

- (1) *Ati si Apuq Tobunawoy sokaliq minuliq song⁴ Mogindanow.*
then forefather Tobunawoy when went home (to) Mogindanow.
'Then forefather Tobunawoy, when he went home it was to Mogindanow.'
- (2) *Na bila mipanow ilan daq nilan kotongow.*
now when walked they not they found
'Now when they went, they did not find it.'
- (3) *Dadi ok pangkat nami mogatod nok paloy dituq.*
therefore forefathers our carried rice there
'Therefore our forefathers took rice there.'

1.2. EXCLAMATION

The Exclamation tagmeme (Ex) is expounded by the class *<aba>*. Exclamation includes expressions of incredibility and contraction (Aba!), surprise (Oho!), disgust (E!), attention getting (Oi!). Context and intonation determine the degree of meaning.

- (1) *E! konaq da, le.*
(Ex) not friend
'Oh no it is not, friend!'
- (2) *Aba! landuq na nog diq niu bogoyon.*
(Ex) too much now not you give
'Phooley! It's too much that you won't give it.'
- (3) *Oi! naq amu mogolomolom.*
(Ex) not you walk in dark
'Hey! Don't walk around at night.'

1.3. TIME MARGIN₁

The Time Margin₁ (TM₁) is expounded by a time phrase or a time clause which indicates consecutive time horizons (within a paragraph or discourse). Examples of time phrase:

3. Unpublished paper, "The Structure of the Sentence in Sangir". The sentence margin diagram of Maryott's is given in Longacre, Final Report, Vol II, p. 50.

4. The *g* of topic marker *og*, non-topic marker *nog*, direction marker *sog*, and relator word *bug* assimilate to the voicing of the following consonant or become a velar nasal preceding a nasal.

- (1) *Sintak non, poksalay mu akon sok tigayam.*
 while sell you I to hunter
 'While you are selling me sell me to the hunter.'
- (2) *Tubus nion, sintak non mokingkudingkud glolabung na.*
 after that while he sitting afternoon now
 'After that, while he had been sitting, it was afternoon.' (TM₁
 is followed by TM₂ in this example)

Examples of time clause:

- (1) *Dangan dow en sintak non mōkpikilpikil,*
 meanwhile while he thinking
sakaliq mikotingag, og gobi.
 when look up night
 'Meanwhile, while thinking, he looked up, it
 was night.' (TM₁ is followed by TM₂ and TM₃ in this example.)
- (2) *Migbulomaq minuliq bataq non ken.*
 become day go home child her that
 'The next day her child returned home.'

1.4. TIME MARGIN₂

The Time Margin₂ (TM₂) is expounded by RAS₁ and indicates an event which is simultaneous with the event(s) indicated in the nucleus.

- (1) *Sintak non mōkpikilpikil, sakaliq mikotingag, og gobi.*
 while he thinking when look up night
 'While he was thinking, when he looked up, it was night.'
 (TM₃ follows TM₂ in this example.)
- (2) *Sintak non motulug miktoginop.*
 while he sleeping dreamed
 'While he was sleeping he dreamed.'

1.5. TIME MARGIN₃

The Time Margin₃ (TM₃) is expounded by RAS₂ and time gerund (pog-).⁵ It indicates narrative linkage between the sentences of a paragraph.⁶ (See also section 2.2.1.) It indicates an event prior to that shown in the sentence nucleus.

- (1) *Pogdatong non dion daq ilan pokulog.*
 having arrived he there not they gone
 'He having arrived there, they had not gone away.'
- (2) *Pokpoluas ni Pitandang dun koyon binotang non sog glupaaq.*

5. A time gerund phrase is a nominal transform of a verbal clause. The head of the phrase is expounded by a verb with prefix *pog-*.

6. cf. Longacre, Robert, "Discourse, Paragraph and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages, Vol I Discourse on Paragraph Structures", pp. 56-67. Narrative linkage consists in repeating or referring in the onset of a sentence to material from the previous sentence, as in 'He did A. Having done A, he did B.'

take out Pitandang it that put he dirt
 'Pitandang having taken that one out, he put it on the ground.'

1.6. SENTENCE TOPIC

The Sentence Topic (ST) is expounded by a topic noun phrase. The element represented by Sentence Topic is reiterated in the nucleus by a pronoun which must agree with the Sentence Topic as to person and number. The function of the Sentence Topic is to single out some dramatis persona of the nucleus for emphasis or special attention.

- (1) *Koni sog dipag koni mokalap pa gayam non.*
 this other side this can get yet dog his
 'As for this fellow on the other side of the river, his dog gets game still.'
- (2) *Dadi si Pitandang, daqidun ginaq non bu gamaq non.*
 and so Pitandang no mother his and father his
 'And so Pitandang, he had no mother or father.'

1.7. CONCESSIVE MARGIN

The Concessive Margin (ConM) is expounded by RAS₃. Two Concessive Margins may occur juxtaposed.

- (1) *Minsan soloyon, minsan sibuqon tibwa baloy*
 even though buy even though brim just house
nami koni nog gakuq diq nami da bogoyon.
 our this riches not we (sta) give
 'Even though (you) will buy (it), even though (you) will brim this house with riches, we will not give (it).'
- (2) *Minsan diq mokalap sulayan ta na tibwa ompanow.*
 even though not get try we now just walk
 'Even though we can not get (anything), let's just try to go.'

1.8. CONDITION MARGIN

The Condition Margin (CondM) is expounded by RAS₄.

- (1) *Somoq piktulikan mu binianan ta kituq diq a ombolong.*
 if memorize you way our that not you lost
 'If you had memorized the way we took you would not have been lost.'
- (2) *Bila mawaq amu da diq amu da bunuqon.*
 if leave you (sta) not you (sta) killed
 'If you all get out of here you will not be killed.'

1.9. CIRCUMSTANCE MARGIN

The Circumstance Margin (CirM) is expounded by RAS₅. The marker *asa* 'as long as' indicates a circumstance which is contingent on a nonpast action. The marker *pagka* 'since' indicates a circumstance which is the result of a past action.

- (1) *Asa mokuliqu da mogunutu na bila diq mobon.*

as long as return I go along I now if not long
 'As long as I can go home, I will go along if (we) will not be long.'

- (2) *Pagka mikodinia na akon na ken bayaqbayaqu*
 since are here you now I now that responsibility I
na sumuguq dinika.
 now order to you
 'Since you are here now it is my responsibility to give orders to you.'

1.10. VOCATIVE

The Vocative tagmeme (Voc) is expounded by a proper name, kinship term, *le* 'friend'. Vocative indicates either a character within a story or a listener who is named to get his attention.

- (1) *Long, "Le, Bataq Bilaq, imungoy nika pa," long "ilan."*
 said friend Bataq Bilaq make you yet said they
 'He said, "Friend, Bataq Bilaq, you make it for them," he said.'
- (2) *Ok kayu koyon dubaqon sog gunan non, Bason,*
 tree that cover ahead his Bason,
ilison non poq mian dow dituq.
 rub he because pass said there
 'The tree up ahead covered his way, Bason (a listener), he
 rubbed his hands together (afraid) because he must pass there.'

1.11. RESULT MARGIN

The Result Margin (ResM) is expounded by RAS₆.

- (1) *Ngon dodaq moglaqat sogaga diq pogdoga ita toluqon.*
 there is indeed destroyed therefore not more us say
 'There is indeed something wrong therefore let's not say anything
 more about it.'
- (2) *Na daq ma kotipot non kanoy og babuy koyon*
 now not (emph) finish he eat pig that
sogaga binagak na dion.
 therefore left behind now there
 'Now he couldn't finish eating the pig therefore he left it behind.'

1.12. PURPOSE MARGIN

The Purpose Margin (PurM) is expounded by RAS₇.

- (1) *Koni dalan koni poktulikoy mu loq bagun mu diq kolingawan.*
 this trail this memorize you so that you not forget
 'You memorize this trail so that you won't forget it.'
- (2) *Bunuq niu bagun diq mokuliq dini.*
 kill you so that not return here
 'You kill (her) so that (she) can not return here.'

1.13. CAUSE MARGIN

The Cause Margin (CauM) is expounded by RAS₈ and by Reason Noun Phrase.

- (1) *Na glaki koyon milotaq na mongati poq*
 now man that stopped now bird snaring because
mongati siqoy diq dow tanan mokalap.
 bird snaring even not said just able to get
 'Now that fellow stopped bird snaring because even in bird
 snaring (he) just was not, it is said, able to get (anything).'
- (2) *Dadi sintak non na minatoy gamaq nog bataq*
 so then he now died father child
koyon kabal non ok tulug pasmu koyon.
 that reason he/it sleep lack that
 'And so then the father of that child died because of his lack of sleep.'

Examples of Cause Margin expounded by a Reason Nph:

- (1) *Diqu na tanan ompikil muliq dion kabal*
 not I now just think go home there reason
nok kolongas nilan dinakon.
 niceness their to me
 'I'm thinking I'll not go home there because of their being
 nice to me.'
- (2) . . . *sabap sog Gispanyol.*
 reason Spanish
 '. . . the reason being the Spanish.'

2. NON-SYSTEMIC SENTENCE TYPES

2.1. SIMPLE SENTENCE

The Simple Sentence (SS) is represented by the following bidimensional array:

| | |
|--------|------------------------|
| ± Peri | + SS Base |
| | any independent clause |

- Notes:
1. A partial clause may expound SS Base when a portion of the clause which expounds the Base has been deleted.
 2. When a peripheral tagmeme occurs in a context-dependent situation (e.g. answer to a question) in which the whole Nucleus of the sentence is deleted, then the elliptical construction is considered to be a Simple Sentence with deleted exponent of Sentence Base.

- (1) *Bung miglosik koyon og bangkoy koyon mitubuq.*
 when cry out that corpse that live
 'When that one cried out, that corpse, it was living.'
- (2) *Midoksuq na.*
 finished now
 'It's finished.'

2.2. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE

The Relator-Axis Sentence (RAS) is a dependent sentence; it has a bipartite structure:

a Relator tagmeme expounded by a set of relator words and an Axis expounded by any (presumably) of the sentence types described in this paper. The sentence which expounds Axis may not have Sentence Introducer, Exclamation, or Vocative tagmemes of the sentence periphery. There are eight subtypes of the Relator-Axis Sentence. These subtypes are determined by the distribution of Relator-Axis Sentence as exponents of eight of the nine sentence margin tagmemes. The Relator-Axis Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + Relator | + Axis |
|--------------|---|
| relator word | RA Nph indep. cl. sentence (-In, Ex, Voc) |

2.2.1. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE₁

The relator of RAS₁ is *sintak* 'while'. An RAS₁ expounding TM₂ indicates an event that is simultaneous with the event which is indicated in the sentence Nucleus.

- (1) *Sintak non motulug . . .*
while he sleep
'While he was sleeping . . .'
- (2) *Sintak non mokingkudingkud . . .*
while he sitting
'While he was sitting . . .'

2.2.2. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE₂

The relators of RAS₂ are *sakaliq*, *bug*, and *bila*, all of which mean 'when'. An RAS₂ expounding a TM₃ indicates an event prior to that which is indicated in the sentence Nucleus.

- (1) *Sakaliq ilan motalop . . .*
when they out of sight
'When they were out of sight . . .'
- (2) *Bung midoksug ion monagaq . . .*
when finished he cut down tree
'When he finished cutting down the tree . . .'
- (3) *Bila mangoya sok taonsait . . .*
when go you town
'When you go to town site . . .'

2.2.3. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE₃

The relator of RAS₃ is *minsán* 'even though'. RAS₃ expounds ConM of the sentence periphery.

- (1) *Minsan mangoy dituq ion . . .*
even though go there he
'Even though he goes there . . .'
- (2) *Minsan boluyboluyonu siqoy . . .*

even though loosened I also
 'Even though I am also loosened ...'

- (3) *Minsan sop gunsadan ...*
 even though again shaman
 'Again, even though a shaman ...'

2.2.4. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE₄

In the RAS₄, the relator *somoq* 'if' indicates a contrary to fact condition while *bug* and *bila* 'if' represent a state or event in the speaker's view which is tentative and is one of two or more eventualities. This contrasts with *bug* and *bila* 'when' which in the speaker's view represents a state or event that is expected or inevitable. RAS₄ expounds CondM of the sentence periphery.

- (1) *Somoq piktulikan mu dalam kituq ...*
 if memorized you trail that
 'If you had memorized that trail ...'
- (2) *Bila poglilokan mu sawan ken ...*
 if play with you cup that
 'If you play with that cup ...'
- (3) *Bug diq niu bogoyon ...*
 if not you give
 'If you don't give (it) ...'

2.2.5. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE₅

The relators of RAS₅ are *asa* 'as long as' and *pagka* 'since' and are found in the exponent of CirM of the sentence periphery.

- (1) *Asa mokuliqu da ...*
 as long as can go home I (sta)
 'As long as I can go home ...'
- (2) *Pagka mikobuluga na maq nion ...*
 since involved you now like that
 'Since you have involved yourself like that ...'

2.2.6. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE₆

The relator of RAS₆ is *sogaga* 'therefore'. RAS₆ expounds ResM of the sentence periphery.

- (1) ... *sogaga og gayamu koyon podunuton.*
 therefore dog that cause to follow
 '... therefore that dog of mine I will cause to follow you.'
- (2) ... *sogaga uliqa.*
 therefore go home you
 '... therefore you go home.'
- (3) ... *sogaga pogbuata na poq moksuooy ita.*
 therefore get up you now because separate we
 '... therefore get up now because we will go our separate ways.'

2.2.7. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE₇

The relator of RAS₇ is *bagun* 'so that'. RAS₇ expounds PurM of the sentence periphery.

- (1) ... *bagun ku kosunan glolat mu dinakon*
so that I know love your to me
'... so that I will know your love for me.'
- (2) ... *bagun ilan diq ombolong.*
so that they not be lost
'... so that they will not be lost.'
- (3) ... *bagun amu diq gobion.*
so that you not be benighted
'... so that you will not be benighted.'

2.2.8. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE₈

The relators of RAS₈ are *poq* 'because', *kabal nog/non* 'by reason', and *sabap nog/non* 'reason being'. RAS₈ expounds CauM of the sentence periphery.

- (1) ... *poq minatoyn na buan.*
because died now (emph)
'... because she is dead now.'
- (2) ... *poq daq ual poginangan non mongati.*
because not another doing his snare birds
'... because he does nothing else but snare birds.'
- (3) ... *kabal nong mibogatan u dun.*
by reason burdened I by it
'... by reason that I am burdened by it.'

3. THE NUCLEI OF SYSTEMIC SENTENCE TYPES

3.1. PARALLEL SENTENCE

The Parallel Sentence⁷ has two subtypes. One subtype paraphrases the Statement exponent, the other expands the statement exponent by repeating a lexical item with amplification. The Parallel Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + Base Stat | + Base Exp ₁ | ± Base Exp ₂ | ± Base Exp ₃ |
|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| indep cl SS | indep cl | indep cl | indep cl |

Base Stat = Base Statement

Base Exp = Base Expansion

- Notes: . 1. There are no overt links between the statement and its Expansion(s).
2. Topic of Base Stat remains the same in the Base Expansions.

7. A popular poetical style, the Parallel Sentence is found in Hortatory and Narrative discourse almost exclusively.

3.1.1. EXAMPLES OF PARAPHRASE SUBTYPE

Base Exp₁ and Base Exp₂ paraphrase the Base Statement by means of synonyms.

- (1) *Dadi ion toluqon ku diniu, "Oi! Naq amu*
so it tell I to you hey not you
mogolomolom oi! naq amu mokpanow nog
walk at night hey not you walk
gobi poq diq niu motongow mokokaqid diniu."
night because not you see harmful to you
'So I say this to you, "Hey, don't walk around in the dark, hey,
don't walk around at night because you can't see that which is
harmful (spirits) to you.''
- (2) *Si Atow motud taluq nika sobonal bisala mu*
Atow true words your true talk you
tibwa somoq tinuqud non tinibabaq non.
but if had done he fault his
'Atow, your words are true, what you say is truth but if he had
done it it would have been his fault.'
- (3) *Konaq ta pinintua konaq ta momosun dun.*
not we advise not we enlighten it
'We are not the ones to advise, we are not the ones to enlighten.'

3.1.2. EXAMPLES OF AMPLIFICATION SUBTYPE

Amplification occurs as information added in Base Exp₁, Base Exp₂ or Base Exp₃ to some repeated lexical item from Base Statement.

- (1) *Diq ita mokinongog nong molaton diq mogbantoy*
not we listen bad not watch
nong molaton poq maqana non muliq sog gulu ta.
bad because meaning it return head our
'Let us not listen to what is bad, let us not watch what is bad
because it will go into our minds.'
- (2) *Ondiq ita tokodoy mogawid nog glimbung ondiq ita tokodoy*
not we very hold cheat not we very
mogawid nok potalap poq Diwata diq mogalap
hold take things because God not take things
Diwata diq moglimbung.
God not cheat
'Let's not practice cheating, let's not practice taking things because
God doesn't take things, God doesn't cheat.'

3.2. MERGED SENTENCE

The Merged Sentence involves a clause containing a motion verb followed by another clause. A dramatis personae tagmeme of the second clause is deleted and the verbs of the two clauses are juxtaposed. The resulting sentence has the same phonological unity as that which characterizes a single clause. This sentence type is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| + Act Base ₁ | + Act Base ₂ |
| clause containing a motion verb | any clause |

Act Base = Action Base

- Notes:
1. The predicates of the clauses which expound the two Act Bases are contiguous.
 2. Topic is the same in Act Base₁ and Act Base₂.
 3. The events of the Act Base Tagmemes are in close chronological sequence.

- (1) *Mogutom mogutom ilan angoyon poluasoy.*
hungry hungry they go let out
'(when) they are a little hungry (they) go (and) let (the eagle) out.'
- (2) *Dadi minuliq minalap nok tolawan non.*
so went home got spear his
'So (he) went home (and) got his spear.'

3.3. COORDINATE SENTENCE

The Coordinate Sentence⁸ loosely encodes two or three events without focusing on such chronological considerations as sequence or simultaneity. This sentence type is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + Base ₁ | + link | + Base ₂ | ± (± link | + Base ₃) |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| any sentence type (?) | <i>bu</i> 'and' | any sentence type (?) | <i>bu</i> 'and' | any sentence type (?) |

Note: Exponents of Base tagmemes may permute (except when encoded events are in chronological sequence).

- (1) *Pogdatong dion pa loq pokuqpokuq ilan nog*
having arrived there yet bent over they
gutom bu mogulang na.
hunger and old now
'Having arrived there, they were bent over with hunger and they were old.'
- (2) *Dadi minuliq minalap non tolawan non bu ngon*
so went home got his spear his and there is
gitok non binogibid non.
puppy his called he
'So he went home to get his spear and he had a puppy which he called.'

8. The Coordinate Sentence type is not as common as either the Parallel type or a string of Simple Sentences. An informant will permit a long concatenated string of Coordinate Bases but no more than three were ever found in texts.

3.4. SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

The Simultaneous Sentence encodes two events or states with focus upon their simultaneity. This sentence type is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + Sim Base ₁ | + link | + Sim Base ₂ |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Indep. cl. SS | <i>bu mangka</i> 'and at the same time' | Indep. cl. SS |

Sim Base = Simultaneous Base

Note: Sim Base₁ and Sim Base₂ may permute.

- (1) *Dangan nion mayaqmayaq ken moglogdong gam*
meanwhile carefully that straighten while
non dow kosolaboy, minglogdong bu mangka
it said singe straighten and at same time
konaq ma ilakad kolanggas.
not (emph) little thin
'Meanwhile that one gradually straightened out while, they
say, (the pig) was being singed, it became straight and the
same time was not very skinny.'
- (2) *Glaki koyon gayam non ken nomon koyon, molumbuq*
man that dog his that now that fat
na bu mangka mologdong na glawas non.
now and at same time straight now body his
'As for that man, his dog was fat and at the same time well
proportioned.'

3.5. IMPLICIT SEQUENCE SENTENCE

The Implicit Sequence Sentence encodes several events which are successive and constitute an episode. Clauses which encode the successive events are juxtaposed without any explicit link. This sentence type is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + Event | + Events ₂ | ± (Event ₃) ^D |
|------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Indep. cl. | Indep. cl. | Indep. cl. |

- (1) *Bung minalok og glaki koyon, minalok sog dibang*
when kissed man that kissed left
impangoy non sog glintu, mogokpus ginawa non.
change side he right gasp breath her
mitubuq bangkoy ken.
live corpse that
'When that man kissed (it), he kissed (it) on the left side, did the
same on the right side, her breath gasped, that corpse was alive.'
- (2) *Sintak nion midoksuaq mongmamaq, tinumokpa sok*

after that finished betel chew get down
panggo non, kuminindang nog gampik non, sumigloy
 bed his put aside blanket his drape
nong monsala non, sampin nok kalis non
 bandana his pick up sword his
sinumolod sok solod.
 entered inside
 'After that he had finished his chew, he got down out of his bed, took
 off his blanket, draped his bandana (over his shoulder), picked up his sword,
 went inside.'

3.6. EXPLICIT SEQUENCE SENTENCE

The Explicit Sequence Sentence encodes two or three events which are explicitly marked as in chronological sequence in that (a) the clause which expounds non-initial bases are goal-focus and dependent; (b) *mangka* 'and then' occurs. In some Explicit Sequence Sentences *mangka* is replaced by *bu* 'and'; the resulting structure is, however, still identifiable as an Explicit Sequence Sentence in view of the dependent structure of the clauses which expound non-initial bases. The Explicit Sequence Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + Event ₁ | ± (± link | + Event ₂) | + link | + Event ₃ |
|----------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| RAS ₁ | <i>mangka</i> | goal focus | <i>mangka</i> | goal focus |
| SSS | 'then' | clause | 'then' | clause |
| Coor-S | | dep. cl. | <i>bu</i> 'and' | dep. cl. |

- (1) *Bung midoksuq non ponogaqoy mangka non*
 when finished he cutting then he
pongimudoy ginubang ken.
 picked up chips that
 'When he had finished cutting down the tree then he picked up
 the chips.'
- (2) *Minatong ion sog dugu non tumidop nog glansok mangka sobot.*
 arrived she room her lit torch then sew
 'She arrived at her room, she lit her torch then sewed.'

3.7. ANTITHETICAL SENTENCE

The Antithetical Sentence has two contrasting bases: a Thesis and an Antithesis. There are three subtypes which correlate with the occurrence of the three exponents of antithetical link: *tibwa*⁹, *saka*, and *bigyaq non*¹⁰. While all mean roughly 'but', *tibwa* often resembles the English 'only'; *saka* often presents in its Antithesis something that is problematical in relation to the Thesis; *bigyaq non* expresses a somewhat oblique and

9. *Tibwa* is also found on the clause level and means 'just' or 'only'. It also occurs as exponent of In of the sentence periphery.

10. *Bigyaq pa* is also found as an exponent of In of the sentence periphery and means 'for example'.

diffused (and culturally conditioned) contrast. Apparently permutation of bases is possible with the *tibwa* subtype but not with the *bigyaq non* subtype. The latter also prefers – but is not limited to – a positive Thesis coupled with a negative Antithesis. The Antithetical Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + Thesis | + link | + Antithesis |
|------------------|--|--------------|
| any sentence (?) | <i>tibwa</i> 'but' <i>saka</i> 'but' <i>bigyaq non</i> 'but' | any sentence |

Note: Thesis and Antithesis permute except when link: *bigyaq non*.

3.7.1. TIBWA SUBTYPE

- (1) *Kiondokan na koni Okoq tibwa ompanow na tibwa.*
afraid now this Okoq but walk now just
'This Okoq was afraid now but he just walked on (anyway).'
- (2) *Og bonwa koni dini ombaqis pa dion sok*
country this here nice yet there
Siocon tibwa naq amu mogdodama nog diqu muliq dion.
Siocon but not you be anxious not I return there
'This country is better than there at Siocon but don't you
be anxious that I'll not go home there.'

3.7.2. SAKA SUBTYPE

- (1) *Daq non tokotoy saka inabot tibwa bu uliqoy sog baqol.*
not he bind up but/instead wrap just and return box
'He did not bind it up but instead only wrapped it and (then)
returned it to the box.'
- (2) *Binogoy non ok kapi saka kolegan non ok tsa.*
give he coffee but desire he tea
'He was given coffee but his desire was tea.'

3.7.3. BIGYAQ NON SUBTYPE

- (1) *Mibantug og bataq nok sulutan ken ombaqis*
news child sultan that nice
nog glibun bigyaq non daq ginaq non.
woman but not mother her
'The news was that this daughter of the sultan was a good
looker but that she did not have a mother (died).'
- (2) *Moliputut ma mamaq nog bula ken bigyaq non og bulawan.*
round (emph) like ball that but gold
'It was round like a ball but it was gold.'

3.8. EXCEPTION SENTENCE

The Exception Sentence presents in its Denial tagmeme a negative statement and in its Exceptional tagmeme a corresponding positive exception. The antithetical link is

expounded by *lual*. The Exception Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + Denial | + link | + Exception |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| negative clause | <i>lual</i> 'but' | SS |
| Indep. clause | | |

Note: The exponent of Denial may be partially deleted often leaving only the negative.

- (1) *Dadi pimali non, "bila moginang amu daq lual ok sabi niu akon.*
so advise his when work you not other call to you I
'So his advise was, "When you begin preparing your fields, call upon (pray to) no one else but me.'
- (2) *Daqidun sibon mikangoy sog bonwa nami koni lual ika koyon.*
none yet could come place our this except you that
'No one has yet been able to come to this place of ours except you.'
- (3) *Daqidun da lual kituq da.*
none (sta) except that (sta)
'There is none except that one.'

3.9. REASON SENTENCE

The Reason Sentence is a sentence-level equation in which there is (a) a preposed marker₁ expounded by *saqan* 'reason'; (b) a medial marker₂ expounded by *poq* 'because' and *bagun* 'so that'; (c) an activity, attitude, etc. encoded as Base₁, and (d) another activity or attitude, which justifies or explains that of Base₁, encoded as Base₂. This sentence type is derived by incorporating the exponent of a Cause Margin or Purpose Margin into the Nucleus of the sentence. The Reason Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + marker ₁ | + Base ₁ | + marker ₂ | + Base ₂ |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--|---------------------|
| <i>saqan</i> 'reason' | SS | <i>poq</i> 'because' <i>bagun</i> 'so that' | any sentence (?) |

Note: Permutation and deletion rule:

$$P (\text{marker}_1) (\text{Base}_1) (\text{marker}_2) (\text{Base}_2) = 1/(\text{Base}_2) (\text{marker}_1) (\text{Base}_1)$$

- (1) *Saqan tinowagan ku ika nong monombaloya dini*
reason call I you visit you here
poq landuq glolatan ku dinika.
because great pity I to you
'The reason I called you here to visit is because I pity you very much.'
- (2) *Dadi saqan toluqon ku dianiu long dow bogolal*
so reason said I to you said council

dun bagun niu modongog.

it so that you hear

'So the reason I'm telling you what the council said is so that you will hear (it).'

- (3) *Dini amu ma saqan diq amu mokuliq.*

here you (emph) reason not you go home

'You are here that's why you couldn't go home.'

3.10. ALTERNATIVE CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

The Alternative Conditional Sentence incorporates into its Nucleus the exponent of a Conditional Margin. Frequently the Protosis is negative and the Apodosis positive. The following bidimensional array represents the Alternative Conditional Sentence:

| + marker ₁ | + Pro | + marker ₂ | + Apod |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| <i>bug/bila</i> 'if' | SS/indep. clause | <i>ati</i> 'then' | SS/noun |

Pro = Protasis

Apod = Apodosis

Note: Non-topic actor subject follows the negative *konaq* 'it is not' in this sentence type.

- (1) *Bug daqidun putiq ati gitom.*

if none white then black

'If there are no white ones then black ones.'

- (2) *Bila motongow non glibun ken bug ain mikangoy*

if see him woman that if where can go

ati kituq poktabok na dianon.

then that hand over now to him

'If that woman is seen by him where ever she might have gone then she will be handed over to him.'

3.11. ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

The Alternative Sentence presents two Alternatives linked by 'or'. In that alternative courses of action imply uncertainty, an Alternative Formula expounded by question clause or Indirect Question Sentence precedes Alternatives expounded by questions. The exponents of Alternatives are deleted as in the following example number 3: 'I do not know when I will go: (I will go) tomorrow or (I will go) the day after tomorrow.' When the Alternatives are expounded by commands the preposed Formula need not occur; the Alternatives themselves may be non-disjunctive or even synonymous (as in number 1 below). The Alternative Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| +/-Alt F | + Alternative ₁ | + link | + Alternative ₂ |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Question cl Ind Ques S | cl cl (deleted) | <i>bug</i> <i>atawaka</i> 'or' | cl (deleted) |

Alt F = Alternative Formula

- Notes:
1. When Alternatives are expounded by commands, then -Alt F; otherwise + Alt F.
 2. When -Alt F, then Alternative₁ is expounded by full clause, and Alternative₂ by deleted clause
 3. When + Alt F, then the relevant noun or verb of the exponent of Alt F is deleted from both Alternatives.
 4. When + Alt F, then question marker *taq* or *olo* 'what' must be in either or both exponents of Alternative.
 5. When topic is expressed in the exponent of Alternative, then the topics agree.

- (1) *Naq amu moglangulangu atawaka moksuntuksuntuk*
 not you get drunk or fist fight
poq diq pia.
 because not good
 'Do not be continually getting drunk or continually fighting because that is not good.'
- (2) *Ain kolegan mu mangoy a dio bung*
 where desire your go you there or
mogbagad a taq dini.
 remain you (ques) here
 'What do you want to do: go over there or stay here?'
- (3) *Daq u sunoy bung nanu ompanow u bulomaq*
 not I know when walk I tomorrow
taq atawaka dingglag taq.
 (ques) or day after tomorrow (ques)
 'I do not know when I will go: tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.'

3.12. INDIRECT QUESTION SENTENCE.

The Indirect Question Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + IDQues F | + sign | + Question |
|---|------------|------------------|
| clause which contains <i>sak</i> 'ask' <i>taluaq</i> 'say' | <i>bug</i> | SS ¹¹ |

IDQues F = Indirect Question Formula

Notes: 1) Either *(olo)* 'what' or *taq* (question marker) must appear within the exponent of Question tagmeme.

2) RepSp: *dow* may follow IDQues F.

- (1) *Daid koni simulat u dianiu poq*
 so this written I to you because

11. An imbedded Alternative Sentence is not favorable here. The connotation would be that the speaker favored the negative alternative.

moginongogan u dianiung bung mokopiapia da taq
hear/inquire I to you if good (sta) (ques)

nanam niu dion.

taste your there

'So I wrote this to you because I will inquire of you if you are all in good health there.'

- (2) *Dadi sinak dow nog gotow koyon bug diq taq*
so asked (RepSp) person that if not (ques)

moleg nok sumolom.

desire necklace

'So that person asked, it is said, if she would not like a necklace.'

3.13. DIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

The Direct Quote Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| \pm DQF ₁ | \pm (DQF ₂) ⁿ | + Quote | \pm DQF ₃ |
|--|--|---|--|
| clause which contains <i>tahuq</i> 'say' | <i>long</i> 'said' | any sent. (?) paragraph discourse | <i>maq long non</i> 'thus he spoke' |

DQF = Direct Quote Formula

- Note: 1) DQF₂ may permute to any sentence level tagmeme juncture or any clause level tagmeme juncture within the Quote except within or immediately preceding an adjunct cluster¹² or post-verb (non-emphatic) pronoun.
- 2) Non-direct discourse material may appear within a Direct Quote Sentence, i.e. a *parens*, to introduce or explain a situation.
- 3) RepSp: *dow* may follow DQF₁ and/or DQF₂.

The following example illustrates Note 2):

- (1) *"Muliq u pa dituq ni inaq" poq ion*
go home I yet there mother because he
kon ngon pa mogulang non ngon da
that there is yet parents his there is (sta)
pigilugan non "bu gomon sunoy nog ompok
siblings his in the event dislike
ilan dun bagun ilan diq kotokowan,"
they it so that they not take by surprise
maq long nog glaki kon.
thus said man that

' "I will go home to mother," (because he still has his parents and

12. The constituents of an adjunct cluster include *taq* (question marker); *na* 'now'; *pa* 'yet'; *da* (stative marker); *ma* and *ba* (emphasis markers).

brothers and sisters,) "in the event that they will not like it, so that they will not be taken by surprise," thus said that man.'

- (2) "Na," *long dow*, "*baqis bagun u*," *long*
 now said (RepSp) good so that I said
dow, "*diq ompinglow*."
 (RepSp) not lonely
 '“Now,” he said, “it is good so that I,” he said, it is said, ‘will not be lonely.’’

3.14. INDIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

The Indirect Quote Sentence is represented in the following bidimensional array:

| + IDQF ₁ | + Indirect Quote |
|---|------------------|
| clause which contains: <i>momali</i> 'advise' <i>talug</i> 'say' <i>mokpikil</i> 'think' | any sentence (?) |

IDQF = Indirect Quote Formula

Note: RepSp: *dow* may follow IDQF.

- (1) *Pimolian ma dow nog dalan non nog bila*
 advise (emph) (RepSp) trail his when
muliq diq ditug bian sog binianan non
 go home not there pass passed his
 'He advised, it is said, concerning his trail that when he went home not to pass the same way that he came.'
- (2) *Talug nog glaki mu bila dow modopot*
 say man your when (RepSp) reach
tasondow oitan mu dow nok ponganon non
 noon bring you (RepSp) food his
 'Your husband said that when it is noon you bring, it is said, his food (to him).'