



LANGUAGE DATA
Asia-Pacific Series
Number 14

BORNEO LANGUAGE STUDIES I:
SABAH SYNTAX PAPERS

Charles Peck
Editor

Borneo Language Studies I:
Sabah Syntax Papers

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Borneo Language Studies I:
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Summer Institute of Linguistics

**Language Data
Asia-Pacific Series**

Publication Number 14

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INTRODUCTION

The papers in this volume were written during and after a grammar workshop conducted by the Malaysia Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in early 1984 in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia. The authors are members of SIL working in Sabah. All the papers describe clause structures except the last two papers, which are a brief account of the noun phrases in Tatana' and a preliminary account of sentences in Timugon Murut (D. J. Prentice has already described clauses in Timugon).

A. Focus in clauses

At clause level, the languages of Sabah (northeast Borneo) are Philippine-type languages with verbs marked for focus and focused nominals marked, at least with proper names.

The first two papers, by Michael Boutin, give a good account of a focus system, while other papers refer to focus but do not treat it in any detail.

Focus in Philippine-type languages is a type of voice, in that it involves choosing one nominal in a clause for special marking and choosing a corresponding verb form to match the first choice. For the language learner, focus presents two problems. One problem is learning the verb forms. The second problem is to learn when to use the various focus forms.

A first thing to notice is that focus forms do not correspond, in usage, to English actives and passives. English actives and passives correspond more to the fronting and elision processes in Philippine-type languages. Focus, on the other hand, is more like putting some kind of a weak demonstrative pronoun in front of the focused nominal, giving it a bit more prominence.

B. Fronting

Philippine-type languages are mostly VSO languages, that is, the predicate comes first in most clauses. But frequently some nominal constituent of the clause can be moved to the front of a clause. In most of these languages the fronted nominal must also be focused, and the fronted item becomes the topic of the clause. In fact, clauses with a fronted nominal have a strong topic-comment flavor, as the reader of some of these papers will appreciate.

C. Elision

Another feature of clauses in Philippine-type languages is that only the predicate is obligatory. All nominal constituents can be left out of (elided from) a clause if they are obvious from context. Even focused items can be elided if they are obvious from context.

The closest equivalent to an English passive clause is a clause with the goal focused and fronted and the actor elided, as in

tiger saw-gf

which means 'the tiger was seen' or 'someone (perhaps identifiable from context) saw the tiger'.

D. Relative clauses

Several of these papers describe relative clauses. The most important property of relative clauses is that the verb in the relative clause must be focused on the "pivot," the nominal that the relative clause modifies, even though the "pivot" may not be focused in the matrix clause.

We can illustrate this principle with a couple of English examples: Philippine-type languages do not permit such noun phrases as

'the man I-Foc saw-AF last week'

where the verb in the relative clause is focused on its actor 'I-Foc' instead of on 'the man', which is the pivot. Philippine languages require

'the man I saw-GF last week'

in which the verb 'saw' focuses on its goal 'the man'.

E. Preview of papers

The papers in this volume are arranged alphabetically by language name.

The first paper, "Banggi clause structure" by Michael Boutin, begins with a good discussion of focus in Banggi verbs and clauses, followed by a description of verbal and verbless clauses, and clause modifications such as interrogative and imperative.

The second paper, "Problems in analyzing focus in the languages of Sabah" by Michael Boutin, was written after the workshop but belongs in this volume. In it, Boutin discusses focus and the pitfalls to be avoided in analyzing focus. He includes data from several languages.

The third paper, "A brief sketch of Ida'an declarative and interrogative clause types" is a brief description of the verbal, semiverbal, and verbless clauses in Ida'an. The semiverbal clauses are the existential, possessive, and descriptive clauses in which an uninflected existential particle or a minimally inflected adjective are used.

The fourth paper, "Kalabuan clauses" by John Spitzack, describes a large inventory of clauses, including imperative, interrogative, and relative clauses.

The fifth paper, "Tambanua clauses" by John Wayne King, covers three verbal clauses and seven verbless clauses, with imperative and interrogative variants. He also includes a section on subordinating conjunctions and dependent clauses.

The sixth paper, "Clause types in Tatana" by Inka Pekkanen, presents the inventory of verbal and verbless clauses and their interrogative and imperative modifications.

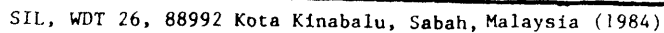
The seventh paper is a paper on Tatana' noun phrases by Phyllis Dunn and myself.

The eighth paper, "A sketch of Timugon Murut sentence structures" by Richard Brewis, is a preliminary report on sentence structures. Brewis describes sentence margins, quotation sentences, logical sentences, paraphrase, and simple sentences in Timugon Murut.

Finally, I wish to thank Priscilla Jones, Doris Blood, Janet Deal, and Jim Johansson for their invaluable help in editing these papers.

Charles Peck
Kota Kinabalu
April, 1988

The list of the languages of Sabah shown here is taken from the 'Conclusion' article by David C. Moody, included in the Languages of Sabah: A Survey Report, edited by Julie K. King and John Wayne King, Pacific Linguistics Series C No. 78.



INDO-EUROPEAN

AUSTRONESIAN

WESTERN AUSTRONESIAN SUPERSTOCK

- ★ Bugis (2 languages)
- ★ Illanun
- ★ Suluk (Tausug)
- ◆ Lundayeh
- Banggi
- ☆ Ida'an

MALAYIC FAMILY

- 1 Iban
- 2 Cocos Malay/Bahasa Malaysia
- 3 Brunei/Kedayan

BAJAU FAMILY

- 4 West Coast Bajau (2-3 dialects)
- 5 Balangingi
- 6 Southern Sama
- 7 Kagayan

BORNEAN STOCK

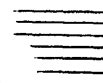
- Tidong

Murutic Family



- Selungai
- Kolod
- Serudung
- Sembakung
- Kalabakan
- Baukan (2 dialects)
- Sumambu/Tagal (5 dialects)
- Paluan (2 dialects)
- Timugon
- Beaufort Murut
- Keningau Murut (4 dialects)
- Gana

Dusunic Family

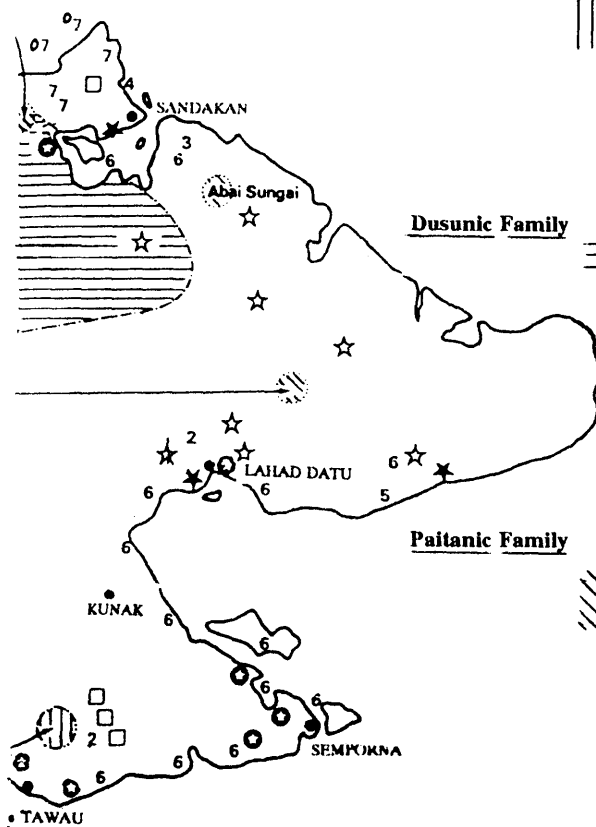


- Kuijau
- Bisaya
- Tatana
- Kadazan-Tambanua (dispersed)
- Lotud
- Eastern Kadazan (3+ dialects)
- Rungus
- Papar
- Kadazan/Dusun (4 dialects)
- Klias River Kadazan
- Kimaragang
- Garo
- Tebilung
- Dumpas

Paitanic Family



- Lingkabau
- Abai Sungai
- Tambanua
- Upper Kinabatangan
- Lobu



BANGGI CLAUSE STRUCTURES

Michael E. Boutin

Outline

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Notes

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ABBREVIATIONS

Pronominal markers

1	first person	I	inclusive
2	second person	IndPro	indefinite pronoun
3	third person	NF	nonfocused
A	actor	NOT	not; a negative clitic
D	dual	PL	plural
F	focused	S	singular
G	genitive	X	exclusive

Other markers

ACT	actor
AFL	actor focus accomplishment verb
AFT	actor focus activity verb
BEN	benefactive
BF	benefactive focus
BFI	benefactive focus imperative
CAU	Causative
cm	completive marker
COMP	complement
CON	continuative aspect
def	definite
DES	desire
dp	discourse particle
F	focused
fut	future
IF	instrument focus
IMD	immediate future
IMP	imperfective aspect
IVL	involuntary mode
Loc	location
Man	manner
NF	nonfocused
NP	noun phrase
PER	permission imperative
PET	petitive aspect
PRED	predicate
PRF	perfective aspect
Tim	time
UFH	undergoer focus achievement verb
UFI	undergoer focus imperative
UFS	undergoer focus stative verb
UFT	undergoer focus activity verb
UND	undergoer
vp	verb phrase
*	part of the stem, where the stem has been divided by an infix
+	morpheme boundry in formula
-	morpheme boundry in gloss

0 Introduction

The Banggi language is spoken on Banggi and Balambangan islands in the Kudat District of Sabah, Malaysia.¹ This paper deals with clause types in the Banggi language. Special attention is paid to the role of verbal morphology in the clause, especially the morphology of "focus."

1 Focus

The domain of focus is the verbal clause. Focus is an inflectional category of affixes that occur on verb stems. It marks a special syntactic relationship between the predicate of a clause and one NP of the clause in Philippine type languages. This NP is called the focused NP. The structure of verbal clauses is centered around the focus system, so any adequate description of Banggi clauses must deal with the focus system.

Banggi focus is described here in terms of the Role and Reference Grammar notions of actor and undergoer. Actor and undergoer are not equivalent to syntactic relations such as subject and direct object, nor to case roles such as agent and patient (Foley and Van Valin 1984:27). The actor is the person or thing that is in focus when the verb is marked for "actor focus." The undergoer is the person or thing that is in focus when the verb is marked for "undergoer focus." Actor and undergoer are grammatical categories as opposed to the more specific categories in case grammar such as agent, experiencer, goal, and patient.

There are four types of focus in Banggi: actor focus, undergoer focus, instrument focus, and benefactive focus. Actor focus and undergoer focus are the two primary focuses in Banggi, with instrument and benefactive focus being secondary due to the more peripheral roles that instrument and beneficiary have in clauses.

Deep structure case roles are mapped onto one of these four general categories. Agent and causer map onto actor; patient, theme, experiencer, and causee map onto undergoer; instrument maps onto instrument; and beneficiary, source, and goal map onto benefactive.

Unlike other Philippine type languages, usually only the predicate is marked for focus in Banggi. Instrument phrases are marked with the preposition *ma* 'with' when they are nonfocused. If beneficiary phrases are marked, they are marked with the preposition *dii* 'to' when they are nonfocused. Locative phrases are usually marked with the preposition *dii* 'to'. There is no marking of the actor and undergoer noun phrases except when they are proper names, the non-referential pronoun *anu* 'someone', or certain kinship terms. When proper names, *anu*, and

kinship terms are focused, they are marked with the particle **si**. Nonfocused proper names, nonfocused **anu**, and nonfocused kinship terms use a different particle. Focused NPs usually occur in prepredicate position.

Banggi verbs are classified in terms of four verbal situations: states, achievements, activities, and accomplishments. Banggi uses a system of verbal affixes to distinguish verb classes. Each verb class has a different affix.

The following illustrates an accomplishment verb which is inflected for actor focus, and the focused proper name occurs in prepredicate position. (Roots are shown in parentheses following clauses.)

- 1 Si Tagi m-ori i Mual siidn. (bori)
 F Tagi AFL-give NF Mual money

‘Tagi gives Mual money.’

The following illustrates an accomplishment verb which is inflected for actor focus. The focused non-referential pronoun **anu** occurs in prepredicate position.

- 2 Si anu nga-labad i Reda. (labad)
 F IndPro AFL-hit NF Reda

‘Someone is going to hit Reda.’

The following illustrates an accomplishment verb which is inflected for perfective aspect. The clause is undergoer focus but the verb is morphologically unmarked for undergoer focus. The focused proper name occurs in prepredicate position.

- 3 Si Reda l-i-abad ny anu. (labad)
 F Reda hit-PRF-* NF IndPro

‘Reda was hit by someone.’

4 Si Tosi m-ilakng. (ilakng)
F Tosi UFT-lie.down

The following illustrate possessive stative verbs which are not inflected for focus. In the first case the focused name phrase is in prepredicate position, and in the second example it is in postpredicate position.

'Lima is sick.'

The pronouns are divided between focused and nonfocused pronouns. The nonfocused pronouns are then divided into nonfocused actor versus nonfocused nonactor pronouns. The possessive pronouns in Banggi are the same as the non-focused actor pronouns. The following matrix has been constructed for pronouns in Banggi.

Focused		Nonfocused	
		Actor	Nonactor
1S	ou	ku/hu	diaadn
1PLX	ehi/ihi/hi	mi	dih
1PLID	kita/hita	ta	dihita
1PLI	kiti/hiti	ti	dihiti
2S	aha/a	nu	dih
2PL	uhu/u	nyu	dihu
3S	sia	ngia	ngia
3PL	sigalama	sigalama	sigalama

The nonfocused actor pronouns can occur with *ga* 'by', which marks oblique actor NPs. The following illustrates an undergoer-focused achievement verb clause with an oblique actor.

- 6 Pintu' k-i-m-buha' ga' hu. (buha')
 door UFH-PRF*--open by 1SANF

'The door was opened by me.'

1.2 Actor focus

Actor focus is marked by **ng-**, **g-**, or **0**. Actor focus occurs with activity verbs and accomplishment verbs. Accomplishment verbs are higher in transitivity than activity verbs. Transitivity is used in the sense discussed in Hopper and Thompson (1980).

In accomplishment verbs, the nasal prefix **ng-** marks both the verb class and actor focus. In accomplishment verbs, if the root begins with /p,b,t,s,k/, then the **ng-** assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the root and the initial consonant is deleted. If the initial consonant of the root is /l,r,d,g,j/, then the initial consonant of the root is not deleted and **ng-** is realized as **ngV-** in which the vowel of the prefix harmonizes with the first vowel in the root. Before roots beginning with a vowel, **ng-** is realized as a velar nasal /ng/. The following illustrates the actor-focused accomplishment verb prefix **ng-**.

ng-	+	/p,b/	-->	/m/
	+	/t,s/	-->	/n/
	+	/k/	-->	/ng/
ng-->		/ng/		∖ /a,e,i,o,u/
		/ngi/		∖ /l,r,d,g/ /i/
		/nga/		∖ /l,r,d,g/ /a,e,o/
		/ngu/		∖ /l,r,d,g/ /u/

With activity verbs, the prefix **g-** marks both the verb class and progressive aspect. If the root begins with /l,r/, the **g-** is realized as **gV-** where the vowel of the prefix harmonizes with the first vowel of the root in the same way as the actor-focused accomplishment verb allomorph **ngV-**.

The following illustrate accomplishment verbs which are inflected for actor focus. Imperfective aspect is morphologically unmarked.

- 7 M-ili' ou lugus. (pili')
 AFL-choose 1SF betel.nut

'I pick out betel nut.'

- 8 Sia m-agi louk. (bagi)
 3SF AFL-divide fish

‘He divides up fish.’

- 9 Si Tagi ng-ajar i Mundam. (ajar)
 F Tagi AFL-instruct NF Mundam

‘Tagi instructs Mundam.’

- 10 Sia nga-laak kumut. (laak)
 3SF AFL-hang.out.to.dry clothes

‘She hangs out clothes to dry.’

The following illustrate activity verbs which are inflected for actor focus and imperfective aspect.

- 11 Ni-g-bali ou. (bali)
 IMP-AFT-play 1SF

‘I am playing.’

- 12 Si Layang ni-g-tatakng anak ku. (tatakng)
 F Layang IMP-AFT-watch child 1SG

‘Layang is watching my child.’

- 13 Si Gikil ng-g-ahut piasu. (ahut)
 F Gikil IMP-AFT-carry coconut

‘Gikil is carrying coconut meat in gunnysacks.’

- 14 Man pa’ ng-gi-libag aha Bugis? (libag)
 why dp IMP-AFT-ridicule 2SF Bugis

‘Why are you ridiculing Bugis?’

When the initial consonant of the root is retained, it indicates that the verb is either a state, an achievement, or an activity. When the initial consonant of the root is deleted, it indicates that the verb is an accomplishment and has increased

transitivity. Many roots allow the initial consonant of the root to be either deleted or retained, thus they are used to form different verb classes.

The following illustrates a motion activity verb which is inflected for imperfective aspect. The verb is undergoer focus, which is indicated in the verb semantics.

- 15 M-pali' a api. (pali')
- IMP-burn 2SF fire

'You will be burnt by fire.'

The following illustrates a stative verb with atemporal aspect. The focused NP is an undergoer.

- 16 Kiou na ng-korikng. (korikng)
- wood def UFS-dry

'The wood is dry.'

The following illustrate accomplishment verbs which are inflected for actor focus. The clauses below are more transitive (Hopper and Thompson 1980) in that they have a second participant, the action is volitional, and the undergoer is highly affected.

- 17 Sia m-ali' diaadn. (pali')
- 3SF AFL-burn 1SNF

'He will burn me.'

- 18 Esi ng-orikng tembakng? (korikng)
- who AFL-dry deer

'Who is drying deer meat?'

1.3 Undergoer focus

Stative verbs (e.g. clause 16), achievement verbs (e.g. clause 6), activity verbs (e.g. clauses 4 and 15), and accomplishment verbs (e.g. clause 3) can be undergoer focus in Banggi. These types of undergoer focus are based on the notion of transitivity. Undergoer focus can occur in clauses which have only a single argument (e.g. clause 16). Verbal semantics indicate when the single argument in a clause is

an undergoer. In accomplishment verb clauses, undergoer focus is morphologically unmarked, but perfective and imperfective aspect are morphologically marked. Perfective aspect is used to indicate that the action of the predicate is completed. Imperfective aspect is used to indicate that the action of the predicate is in process or not yet begun.

In undergoer-focused accomplishment verb clauses, the infix **-in-** is used to mark perfective aspect. The infix **-in-** also marks perfective aspect in Tagalog (McFarland 1976:12-13) and Eastern Kadazan (Hurlbut 1984:17). In Banggi, **-i-** is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of **-in-**. When stems begin with a consonant, the perfective aspect infix occurs immediately following the stem initial consonant; the infix is usually **-i-** except before /i/ and before vowel sequences in the stem, in which case **-in-** occurs.

The following illustrate the perfective aspect infix **-in-** with undergoer-focused accomplishment verbs.

- 19 Badi' hu b-i-olos ngia. (bolos)
machete 1SG borrow-PRF-* 3SANF

'My machete was borrowed by him.'

- 20 Agas t-i-arur hu. (taru')
rice hide-PRF-* 1SANF

'Rice was put away by me.'

- 21 Onu b-in-iaar nu? (biaar)
what pay-PRF-* 2SANF

'What did you pay?'

- 22 Sia t-in-iag ku. (tiag)
3SF wake.up-PRF-* 1SANF

'He was awakened by me.'

If stems begin with a vowel, then the allomorph **in-** marks perfective aspect in undergoer-focused accomplishment verb clauses.

The following illustrate undergoer-focused accomplishment verbs which are inflected for perfective aspect.

- 23 Si Mundam in-ajar n Tagi (ajar)
F Mundam PRF-teach NF Tagi

‘Mundam was instructed by Tagi.’

- 24 Onu in-aap ngia? (aap)
what PRF-get 3SANF

‘What did he get?’

Occasionally perfective aspect is signaled by a change in the first vowel of the stem. These forms are very infrequent. The first vowel in the stem changes to /e/.

The following illustrates perfective aspect in an undergoer-focused accomplishment verb clause.

- 25 Onu b-e-ri nu dii Sayad kirab? (bori)
what give-PRF-* 2SANF to Sayad yesterday

‘What did you give to Sayad yesterday?’

The following illustrates perfective aspect in an undergoer-focused accomplishment verb clause. This clause is causative and the deep structure case role causee maps onto undergoer.

- 26 Tuhi’ p-e-ti hu. (ati)
gecko CAU-PRF-die 1SANF

‘A gecko was killed by me.’

In undergoer-focused accomplishment verb clauses, if the clause is imperfective aspect, then the suffix **-Vdn** is used to mark imperfective aspect.

The following examples illustrate the imperfective aspect suffix **-Vdn** in undergoer-focused accomplishment verb clauses.

- 27 Onu biri-idn nu anak nu? (bori)
 what give-IMP 2SANF child 2SG

‘What are you giving your child?’

- 28 Esi tibas-adn nu? (tibas)
 who cut-IMP 2SANF

‘Who are you going to cut with the machete?’

Undergoer focus clauses with only one argument include 16 and 29. The following illustrates a stative verb which is undergoer focus. The aspect is atemporal and deep structure patient is mapped onto undergoer.

- 29 Baju' ngia n-saga'. (saga')
 shirt 3SG UFS-red

‘His shirt is red.’

1.4 Instrument focus

Instrument focus is marked by the prefix **pVN-**, where ‘N’ indicates that the nasal assimilates to the point of articulation. The ‘V’ indicates that the vowel in this prefix harmonizes with the first vowel of the root. Instrument focus is always word initial. Instrument focus only occurs with some accomplishment verbs.

The following example illustrates an accomplishment verb which is inflected for instrument focus.

- 30 Kiou panga-labad ku asu. (labad)
 wood IF-hit 1SANF dog

‘A stick is what I hit dogs with.’

The preceding example is illustrated below with the accomplishment verb inflected for actor focus.

- 31 Nga-labad ou asu ma' kiou. (labad)
 AFL-hit 1SF dog with wood

‘I hit dogs with a stick.’

The following example illustrates an accomplishment verb which is inflected for instrument focus and perfective aspect.

- 32 Badi' p-i-n-inggulu' hu ngia daidn. (tinggulu')
 machete IF-PRF-*-show 1SANF 3SNF trail

'A machete is what I showed him the trail with.'

1.5 Benefactive focus

As mentioned above, there are two primary clause level focus possibilities in Banggi: actor and undergoer; and there are two secondary clause level focus possibilities: instrument and benefactive. Benefactive focus and instrument focus occur less frequently than actor focus and undergoer focus. The deep structure case roles beneficiary, source, and goal map onto benefactive focus. Benefactive focus is marked by the suffix **-adn**.²

The following illustrates an accomplishment verb which is inflected for benefactive focus. Deep structure beneficiary is mapped onto benefactive focus.

- 33 Si Reda biri-adn n Tagi siidn. (bori)
 F Reda give-BF NF Tagi money

'Reda is given money by Tagi.'

The following illustrates an activity verb which is inflected for benefactive focus and imperfective aspect. Deep structure source is mapped onto benefactive focus.

- 34 M-olok ou m-ibis-adn. (abis)
 UFS-afraid 1SF IMP-finish-BF

'I am afraid it will finish (on me).'

The following illustrates an activity verb which is inflected for benefactive focus and imperfective aspect. Deep structure goal or beneficiary is mapped onto benefactive focus. The goal here is a negative beneficiary.

- 35 M-ihit-adn ou ladu nu. (ahit)
 IMP-catch-BF 1SF sickness 2SG

'I might catch what you have (sickness).'

The following illustrates an activity verb which is inflected for benefactive focus and perfective aspect. Deep structure goal or beneficiary is mapped onto benefactive focus.

36	N-ihit-adn	ou	ladu	nu.	(ahit)
	PRF-catch-BF	1SF	sickness	2SG	

'I caught what you have (sickness).'

2 Verb classes

In order to understand Philippine type languages, verb stem classes must be accounted for. Attempts have been made to classify verb stems by affixation potential (Wolff 1970), case roles (Elkins 1977), affix meaning (Ballard 1973), clause structure (Reid 1966), and verbal semantics (Walton 1983). My analysis of Banggi verb classes is based on verbal semantics, more specifically on the notion of verbal situations. There are four types of verbal situations: states, achievements, activities, and accomplishments. Each verb class has a different affix.

2.1 Stative verbs

There are different types of stative verbs. The primary type is condition statives. The single argument of a condition stative predicate is a patient. The patient maps onto the undergoer which is the focused noun phrase. Condition stative verbs are always atemporal aspect. They are marked by **m-**. The allomorphs of this prefix are phonologically conditioned.

The following illustrate conditional stative verbs. In each case the focus is on the undergoer.

37	Sia	m-basa'.	(basa')
	3SF	UFS-wet	

'He is wet.'

38	N-duruk	oid	ngia.	(duruk)
	UFS-fast	boat	3SG	

'His boat is fast.'

- 39 Ng-kotul ulu ngia. (kotul)
 UFS-hard head 3SG

'He is hard headed.'

- 40 Sia m-ingi baar-baar. (ingi)
 3SF UFS-crazy really

'He is very crazy.'

2.2 Achievement verbs

Achievement verbs denote states or changes of state which the patient experiences or undergoes. Deep structure patient maps onto undergoer and these verbs are always undergoer focused. Achievement verbs are marked by **kVm-**. The allomorphs of this prefix are phonologically conditioned. Before roots beginning with vowels or bilabial consonants **kVm-** occurs. If the root begins with a different consonant, then the infix **-Vm-** occurs.

The following illustrate undergoer-focused achievement verbs which are imperfective aspect.

- 41 M-olok ou kam-basa'. (basa')
 UFS-afraid 1SF UFH-wet

'I am scared that it will get wet.'

- 42 Man pa' k-am-otul? (kotul)
 why dp hard-UFH-*

'Why is it hardening?'

- 43 M-olok ou kim-ingi. (ingi)
 UFS-afraid 1SF UFH-crazy

'I am scared that I will go crazy.'

The following illustrate undergoer-focused achievement verbs which are inflected for perfective aspect.

- 44 Sia k-i-m-basa' ga' dolok. (basa')
 3SF UFH-PRF-*--wet by rain

'He got wet by the rain.'

- 45 Tana' k-i-m-otul. (kotul)
 ground hard-PRF-UFH-*

'The ground got hard.'

- 46 Onu k-i-m-ingi ngia? (ingi)
 what UFH-PRF-*--crazy 3SNF

'What made him crazy?'

2.3 Activity verbs

There are several types of activity verbs. The first type of activity verb is referred to as motion activity verbs (Foley and Van Valin 1984:51). Motion activity verbs map deep structure theme onto undergoer. Theme is the entity which undergoes a change of location. The verb class is morphologically unmarked.

The following illustrates a motion activity verb which is inflected for imperfective aspect.

- 47 Ma-dabu' aha. (dabu')
 IMP-fall 2SF

'Don't fall.'

The following illustrates a motion activity verb which is inflected for perfective aspect.

- 48 Sia n-dabu' kirab. (dabu')
 3SF PRF-fall yesterday

'He fell yesterday.'

If the focus is on the location or benefactive then focus is marked by **-adn**. The following illustrates a motion activity verbs which is inflected for benefactive focus and imperfective aspect.

- 49 M-olok ou mu-dubu-adn piasu. (dabu')
 UFS-scared 1SF IMP-fall-BF coconut

'I am scared that a coconut will fall on me.'

The following illustrates a motion activity verbs which is inflected for benefactive focus and perfective aspect.

- 50 Sia bas n-dubu-adn piasu. (dabu')
 3SF already PRF-fall-BF coconut

'A coconut fell on him.'

The second type of activity verb maps deep structure experiencer onto undergoer. In this type of clause, the participant who performs the action is also effected by the action. For these verbs, undergoer focus is marked by the infix **-Vm-**. The allomorphs of this infix are phonologically conditioned. If the root begins with a vowel, then the allomorph is **m-**.³ These activity verbs are what Chafe (1970:99f) calls process-action verbs. Lyons (1977:707) defines processes as "extended dynamic situations that last, or endure, through time."

The following examples illustrate undergoer-focused activity verbs which are imperfective aspect. The undergoer is an experiencer.

- 51 Puhul pida aha t-um-ulak? (tulak)
 time what 2SF embark-UFT-*

'What time are you leaving?'

- 52 Nd-ou mingin l-am-obot sungi na. (lobot)
 NOT-1SF want wade.across-UFT-* river def

'I do not want to wade across the river.'

- 53 Sia m-upug ringgia'. (upug)
 3SF UFT-sit cross-legged

'He sits cross-legged.'

The following illustrate undergoer-focused activity verbs which are inflected for perfective aspect. The undergoer is an experiencer.

- 54 Puhul lima stanga t-i-m-ulak tidii Bonggi (tulak)
time five half embark-PRF-UFT-* from Banggi

‘At five thirty we left from Banggi.’

- 55 Bas ku l-i-m-obot sungi hina. (lobot)
already 1SANF wade-PRF-UFT-* river earlier

‘I already waded across the river earlier.’

- 56 Sia m-i-upug dii karobi (upug)
3SF UFT-PRF-sit there last.night

‘He sat there last night.’

Actor-focused activity verbs are marked by the prefix **g-**. Deep structure agent maps onto actor. These verbs have a progressive meaning. The following illustrate actor-focused activity verbs which are inflected for imperfective aspect and actor focus.

- 57 Sia ng-g-ahut madoot tidii gimbatadn. (ahut)
3SF IMP-AFT-carry things from pier

‘He is carrying things from the pier.’

- 58 Sigalama na mingin ng-gi-liput Bonggi. (liput)
3PL def want IMP-AFT-circle Banggi

‘They want to go around Banggi Island.’

The following illustrate actor-focused activity verbs which are inflected for perfective aspect and actor focus.

- 59 Sia i-g-ahut madoot hina. (ahut)
3SF PRF-AFT-carry things earlier

‘He was carrying things earlier.’

- 60 Sigalama na bas na i-gi-liput Bonggi. (liput)
3PL def already dp PRF-AFT-circle Banggi

‘They already went around Banggi Island.’

2.4 Accomplishment verbs

Accomplishment verbs express a single change of state which is caused by an agent. These verbs are highly transitive. Focus possibilities for accomplishment verbs include: 1) actor focus which is morphologically marked with the prefix **ng-**; 2) undergoer focus which is morphologically unmarked; 3) benefactive focus which is morphologically marked with the suffix **-adn**; and 4) instrument focus which is morphologically marked with the prefix **pVN-**.

The following illustrates an accomplishment verb which is inflected for actor focus. The clause is imperfective aspect.

- 61 N-inggulu' ou diha. (tinggulu')
 AFL-show 1SF 2SNF
 'I will show you.'

The following illustrates an accomplishment verb which is inflected for perfective aspect and actor focus.

- 62 Bas ku i-n-inggulu' ngia. (tinggulu')
 already 1SANF PRF-AFL-show 3SNF
 'I already showed him.'

The following illustrates an undergoer-focused accomplishment verb which is inflected for imperfective aspect.

- 63 Onu tinggulu-udn nu? (tinggulu')
 what show-IMP 2SANF
 'What are you showing?'

The following illustrates an undergoer-focused accomplishment verb which is inflected for perfective aspect.

- 64 Onu t-in-inggulu' nu? (tinggulu')
 what show-PRF-* 2SANF
 'What did you show?'

65 Esi tinggulu-adn nu? (tinggulu')
 who show-BF 2SANF

66 Esi t-in-inggulu-adn nu? (tinggulu')
 who show-PRF-*.BF 2SANF

67 Onu pin-inggulu' nu? (tinggulu')
 what IF-show 2SANF

As seen above stative verbs are distinguished morphologically from events in Banggi. Many verb roots cannot be classified in terms of the four situations: state, achievement, activity, and accomplishment.

The following illustrates the root **pasa** ‘break’ when it is an accomplishment verb and inflected for actor focus.

- 68 M-asa' ou tilug. (pasa')
AFL-break 1SF egg

'I will break an egg.'

The following illustrates the root **pasa** ‘break’ when it is a motion activity verb and inflected for imperfective aspect. The verbal semantics requires the one argument in the nominal clause to be an undergoer. That is the entity affected by the action.

- 69 M-olok ou, m-pasa'. (pasa')
UFS-afraid 1SF IMP-break

'I am afraid it will break.'

The following illustrates the root **pasa'** when it is a motion activity verb and inflected for perfective aspect. The verbal semantics requires the one argument in the clause to be an undergoer.

- 70 Tilug i-pasa'. (pasa')
egg PRF-break
'An egg was broken.'

An actor can be included in the clause above but it is oblique and usually marked with the oblique actor marker *ga'*. The following example illustrates an undergoer-focused motion activity verb clause with an oblique actor.

- 71 Tilug i-pasa' ga' hu. (pasa')
egg PRF-break by 1SANF

'An egg was broken by me.'

Although the preceding example contains an actor, the action is non-volitional. An accomplishment verb is used to express volition. The following illustrates an undergoer-focused accomplishment verb which is inflected for perfective aspect.

'An egg was broken by me.'

3 Clause types

The verbal clauses described in this paper are: bitransitive, transitive, quotation formula, intransitive, descriptive, possessive, and existential. The verbless clauses described in this paper are: time and location.

3.1 Verbal clauses

3.1.1 Bitransitive clauses

Independent declarative bitransitive clauses

\pm Tim/Loc	\pm Actor	+Ind dec bitr pred	\pm Ben	\pm Und
np	np	dec bitr vp	np	np

Rules:

1. The neutral order of elements in bitransitive clauses is actor-predicate-benefactive-undergoer. When the actor is focused and a full noun phrase, then it occurs prepredicate. If the actor is focused and it is a first or second person pronoun, then it can occur in postpredicate position. These pronouns are monosyllabic and all except the first person singular are shortened forms. This is similar to Tagalog in which monosyllabic pronouns have certain privileges. Comrie (1981:83) claims that full noun phrases should be the standard order.

2. If the predicate is marked for actor focus, then:

a. If the focused actor is a first or second person pronoun, then the preferred order is predicate-actor-benefactive-undergoer. The following example illustrates a bitransitive verb inflected for actor focus; the focused pronoun occurs in post-predicate position.

	PRED	ACT	BEN	UND	
73	M-ori	ou	ngia	mpalabm.	(bori)
	AFL-give	1SF	3SNF	mango	

'I give him mangoes.'

b. If the focused actor is a proper noun or a pronoun other than first or second person, then the order is actor-predicate-benefactive-undergoer. The following two examples illustrate bitransitive clauses inflected for actor focus; the actor occurs in prepredicate position.

	ACT	PRED	BEN	UND	
74	Si	Tagi	m-ori	n Jaruk	siidn. (bori)
	F	Tagi	AFL-give	NF Jaruk	money

'Tagi gives Jaruk money.'

	ACT	PRED	BEN	UND	
75	Sia	m-ori	diha	siidn.	(bori)
	3SF	AFL-give	2SNF	money	

'He gives you money.'

First and second person focused pronouns can also occur in the order illustrated in the two clauses above, but focused proper names and other focused pronouns cannot occur after the predicate.

c. If the actor and benefactive are deleted, then the undergoer can be permuted to prepredicate position for emphasis even though the predicate is marked for actor focus. The following example illustrates a bitransitive clause inflected for actor focus in which the undergoer has been permuted to prepredicate position.

	UND	PRED			
76	Siidn	m-ori	hai.		(bori)
	money	AFL-give	also		

'Money is also given.'

d. The benefactive can follow the undergoer in which case it is marked with the preposition *dii* 'to'. The following example illustrates a bitransitive clause inflected for actor focus. The benefactive has been permuted to postundergoer position.

	ACT	PRED	UND	BEN		
77	Si Tagi	m-ori	siidn	dii n	Jaruk.	(bori)
	F Tagi	AFL-give	money	to NF	Jaruk	

'Tagi gives money to Jaruk.'

3. If the clause is undergoer focus, then:

a. The focused undergoer usually permutes to a prepredicate position and the nonfocused actor permutes to a postpredicate position. The following example illustrates an undergoer-focused bitransitive clause with the verb inflected for perfective aspect and the undergoer permuted to prepredicate position.

	UND	PRED	ACT	BEN		
78	Siidn	b-in-eri	hu	anak	ku.	(bori)
	money	give-PRF-*	1SANF	child	1SG	

'My child was given money by me.'

b. The focused undergoer can be deleted. The following example illustrates an undergoer-focused bitransitive clause with the verb inflected for perfective aspect and the undergoer deleted.

	PRED	BEN		Tim	
79	B-in-eri	ny	anu	kirab.	(bori)
	give-PRF-*	NF	IndPro	yesterday	

'It was given to someone yesterday.'

c. Although a clause is undergoer focus, the benefactive can permute to prepredicate position. The following example illustrates an undergoer-focused bitransitive clause with the benefactive permuted to prepredicate position.

	BEN		PRED	UND	
80	Sia	nda'	biri-idn	buranja'.	(bori)
	3SF	not	give-IMP	support	

'She has not been given her support money.'

4. If the predicate is marked for benefactive focus, then:

a. The focused benefactive usually permutes to a prepredicate position and the nonfocused actor permutes to a postpredicate position. The following example illustrates a bitransitive clause with the verb inflected for benefactive focus and perfective aspect, and the benefactive permuted to prepredicate position.

	BEN		PRED	ACT	UND	
81	Si	Jaruk	b-in-iri-adn	i	Mastan siidn.	(bori)
	F	Jaruk	give-PRF-*	-BF NF	Mastan money	

'Jaruk was given money by Mastan.'

b. The benefactive can be deleted. The following example illustrates a bitransitive clause with the verb inflected for benefactive focus and the three nominals (actor, undergoer, and benefactive) deleted.

82 M-ati, bakng nda' biri-adn.
 UFT-die if not give-BF

(bori)

‘She will die if she is not given it.’

3.1.2 Transitive clauses

The following matrix has been constructed for describing transitive clauses.

Independent declarative transitive clauses

<u>±Tim/Loc</u>	<u>±Actor</u>	<u>+Ind dec</u>	<u>±Und</u>	<u>±Inst</u>
		tr pred		
np	np	dec tr vp	np	np

Rules:

1. Neutral order is actor-predicate-undergoer as shown in the figure above. The undergoer usually permutes to a prepredicate position when it is focused. Actor and undergoer cannot both occur in prepredicate position in the same clause. If both actor and undergoer occur postpredicate, the actor occurs before the undergoer.
2. Time and location cannot occur in the same clause.
3. If an actor or undergoer occurs in prepredicate position, then it is the thematic item of the clause. Usually if the actor or undergoer is in prepredicate position, it is also the focused noun phrase of the clause.
4. Time, location, and manner can permute to postpredicate position. If this occurs, then they always succeed the actor and undergoer. If both manner and time or location occur prepredicate, then manner succeeds the time or location.

Examples of independent declarative transitive clauses:

The following example illustrates an independent declarative transitive clause with undergoer and no actor. The undergoer occurs postpredicate, and the predicate is inflected for actor focus and perfective aspect.

The following example illustrates an independent declarative transitive clause with both actor and undergoer. The actor occurs in prepredicate position, and the predicate is inflected for actor focus. The sentence is an evaluation cleft sentence.

88 Gaabm ou pa ng-uma siga padi. (uma)
better 1SF fut AFL-make.field like rice.

‘It is better if I plant something like rice.’

3.1.3 Quotation formula clauses

The following matrix has been constructed to describe quotation formula clauses.

Quotation Formula Clauses

+ Quot form pred	\pm Actor	\pm Tim	+ Und Comp
quot form pred	np	np	clause/ sentence

Rules:

1. Neutral order is predicate-actor-undergoer-complement as shown in the chart above. The actor or the undergoer complement may occur in prepredicate position depending upon the quotation formula predicate.
2. If the actor is a proper name and is permuted to prepredicate position, then it is marked for focus. Otherwise proper names are marked for non-focus in quotation formula clauses.
3. The quotation formula verb **kaadn** ‘say’ requires the undergoer complement to be permuted to prepredicate position. The actor always follows the predicate with the quotation formula verbs **kaadn** ‘say’ and **angat** ‘say’.
4. If an actor or undergoer is permuted to prepredicate position, then it is the thematic item of the clause.

5. When the neutral order of predicate-actor-undergoer-complement occurs and the verb is uninflected for focus, the clause is undergoer focus. The quoted clause or sentence is the undergoer in quotation formula clauses.

6. Quotation formula clauses may have either direct or indirect quotations for the undergoer complement.

Examples of quotation formula clauses:

The following example illustrates a quotation formula clause with actor and undergoer complement following the predicate, and predicate uninflected for focus. The actor is marked for non-focus, and the undergoer complement is the focused item of the clause.

	PRED	ACT		UND	COMP	
89	Angat	n	Domon,	"Nga	na."	(angat)
	say	NF	Domon	that.way	dp	

'Domon said, "As you say."'

The following example illustrates a quotation formula clause with actor and undergoer complement. The undergoer complement is permuted to prepredicate position. The predicate is uninflected for focus, but the clause is undergoer focus.

	UND	COMP		PRED		ACT	
90	"Dei	pa	ng-ai,"	kaadn	na	pusud.	(kaadn)
	do.not	fut	AFL-take	say	cm	sibling.	

"Don't you take that," said his sister.'

The following example illustrates a quotation formula clause that functions as the undergoer complement of another quotation formula clause. The embedded quotation formula clause has both an actor and an undergoer complement; the actor is permuted to prepredicate position; and the predicate is inflected for actor focus. Note that the pronoun is the nonfocused actor pronoun. This is because of the aspectual word *bas*. The non-embedded quotation formula clause is uninflected for focus, the actor is deleted, and the clause is undergoer focus.

	UND	COMP				PRED	
		ACT	PRED	UND	COMP		
91	"Bas	ku	m-oro',	'Dei	uhu',"	kaadn.	(poro' kaadn)
	already	1SANF	AFL-tell	do.not	2PLF	say	

"I already told you, 'Don't,'" he said.'

The following example illustrates a quotation formula clause that functions as the undergoer complement of another quotation formula clause. The actor of the main clause is permuted to prepredicate position and thus marked as clause focus, but the predicate is uninflected for focus. The actor of the embedded clause is deleted, and the predicate is uninflected for focus.

	ACT		PRED	UND	COMP	
			PRED	UND	COMP	
92	Si Mual	suru'	su-suad	n	Domon.	(suru' suad)
	F Mual	command	CON-say	NF	Domon	

'Mual told me to talk about Domon.'

The following example illustrates a quotation formula clause functioning as the undergoer complement of another quotation formula clause. In the main clause the actor is in postpredicate position while it is deleted in the embedded clause. The predicate is uninflected for focus in both clauses.

	PRED ACT				UND COMP				
					PRED		UND COMP		
93	Biidn	saa	nu	hina,	nda'	surua'	ng-ai	na.	(biidn suru')
	Inform	spouse	2SG	earlier	not	command	AFL-take	dp	

'Your husband told you earlier, not to take it.'

The following example illustrates a quotation formula clause with actor and undergoer complement. The actor is marked with the nonfocus person marker particle *n*; the predicate is uninflected for focus; and the clause is undergoer focus. A noun phrase fills the undergoer complement slot.

	PRED	ACT		UND	COMP	
94	Bitaan	n	Domon	ajukng.		(bitaan)
	call	NF	Domon	ark		

'Domon called it an ark.'

3.1.4 Intransitive clauses

The following matrix is used to describe independent declarative intransitive clauses.

Independent declarative intransitive clauses

\pm Tim/Loc	\pm Act/Und	+ Ind dec intr pred
np	np	dec intr vp

Rules:

1. Neutral order is actor/undergoer-predicate as shown in the figure above. The single argument may be either an actor or an undergoer.
2. Sometimes the focused actor or undergoer permutes to postpredicate position.
3. Time, location, and manner can permute to postpredicate position. If this occurs they always succeed the focused NP. If both manner and time or location occur postpredicate, then manner precedes the time or location.

Examples of Independent declarative intransitive clauses:

Examples of independent declarative intransitive clause with an activity verb. The predicate is inflected for undergoer focus. The undergoer is permuted to postpredicate position.

- 95 Angat n Domon, "Dei uhu panu, m-odop ou gulu." (odop)
say NF Domon do.not 2PLF walk UFT-sleep 1SF first

'Domon said, "Do not go anywhere; I am going to sleep first."

The following example illustrates an independent declarative intransitive clause with the actor marked for focus and the predicate inflected with the involuntary mode marker **kV-**. The focused NP is permuted to postpredicate position.

- 96 Ki-tiag na si Domon na. (tiag)
IVL-wake.up cm F Domon dp

‘Domon woke up.’

The following example illustrates an independent declarative intransitive clause with a stative verb. The clause is undergoer focus.

- 97 Nubu’ pusud n-togi’ na. (togi’)
then sibling UFS-pregnant cm

‘Then his sister was pregnant.’

The following example illustrates an independent declarative intransitive clause with predicate uninflected for focus.

- 98 Pusud ga tatak. (tatak)
sibling dp stay

‘His sister was left.’

The following example illustrates an independent declarative intransitive clause with an activity verb. The predicate is inflected for perfective aspect (i-) and involuntary mode (kV-). The focused NP is deleted.

- 99 Kutuluadn nda’ bas i-k-odop. (odop)
3.days not already PRF-IVL-sleep

‘Three days he had gone without sleep.’

The following example illustrates an independent declarative intransitive clause. The predicate is an activity verb which is inflected for undergoer focus and perfective aspect.

- 100 Nd-a-ardn na, m-e-ti na. (ati)
not-have-BF dp UFT-PRF-die dp

‘She was no more. She was dead.’

Deictics

Banggi has an inflected deictic system similar to some Philippine languages. Inflected deictics are used to indicate "movement toward." Inflected deictics are considered a special subclass of intransitive verbs in this paper when they occur in clauses with no other verbal constituent.

The following example illustrates the deictic **dii** 'there' when inflected with the mode affix **kV-** 'want' and **-VN-** 'toward'. The inflected deictic is considered part of the locative phrase.

- 101 Si Awah i-ng-atad diaadn k-in-dii KK. (dii)
F Awah PRF-AFL-bring 1SNF DES-toward-there KK

'Awah brought me to KK.'

The following example illustrates an intransitive clause in which the deictic **dii** is inflected for imperfective aspect. There is no other verbal constituent in the clause, so the deictic is considered a special type of intransitive verb.

- 102 M-in-dii ou talaga. (dii)
IMP-toward-there 1SF well

'I am going to the well.'

In the example above, the deictic is separated from the location by a first person pronoun. Only first and second person focused pronouns have the privilege of splitting inflected deictics from the location. Other nominals must occur in the predeictic position as illustrated in the following example.

- 103 Sia m-in-dii talaga. (dii)
3SF IMP-toward-there well

'He is going to the well.'

The following example illustrates an intransitive clause with the deictic **kati** 'here'. There is no other verbal constituent in the clause, so the deictic is considered a special type of intransitive verb.

104 Si Omar m-ang-kati'. (kati')
 F Omar IMP-toward-here

'Omar is coming here.'

3.1.5 Descriptive clauses

The following matrix has been constructed to describe descriptive clauses. Descriptive clauses contain a stative verb, which is attributed to a nominal.

Independent declarative descriptive clauses

\pm Tim/Loc	\pm Topic	+ Descr pred
np	np	stative vp

Rule:

The focused NP can permute to postpredicate position. A feature of a higher grammatical level probably controls when the focused NP can permute.

Examples of independent declarative descriptive clauses:

The following example illustrates a declarative descriptive clause in which the focused NP is in prepredicate position. The predicate is a condition stative verb that is inflected for undergoer focus. The prefix *mV-* and its morphophonemic variants make condition stative verbs out of adjective roots. Clauses with condition stative verbs have atemporal aspect.

105 Bunua kahal mu-lumak pa. (lumak)
 village still UFS-soft yet

'The ground is still soft.'

The following example illustrates a descriptive clause in which the topic NP occurs in postpredicate position. The predicate is a condition stative verb, which is inflected for undergoer focus. The clause has atemporal aspect.

106 Ma-langgu sindoidn ngia. (langgu)
 UFS-long fingernails 3SG

'His fingernails are long.'

Examples of possessive clauses:

The following example illustrates a possessive clause in which the verb is inflected and the possessor is a focused pronoun.

109 Sia singompu' bali nti. (sompu')
3SF own house this

'He owns this house.'

The following example illustrates the same possessive verb as the previous clause. The difference in the verbal morphology of the two verbs is unknown.

110 Sia sompu' bali nti. (sompu')
3SF own house this

'He owns this house.'

The following example illustrates a possessive clause with the possessive verb unmarked for focus, but the possessor is a focused proper name.

111 Si Jaruk nd-ara pa saa. (ara)
F Jaruk not-have yet spouse

'Jaruk does not have a wife yet.'

The following example illustrates the same possessive clause as the previous example only the clause is benefactive focus.

112 Si Jaruk nd-a-ardn na saa. (ara)
F Jaruk not-have-BF dp spouse

'Jaruk does not have a wife.'

The following example illustrates a possessive clause with the verb uninflected for focus. The clause is actor focus.

113 Si Jaruk ki-ara saa. (ara)
F Jaruk have spouse

'Jaruk has a wife.'

The following example illustrates a possessive clause with the possessive clitic form **ki-**.

114 Si Jaruk ki-saa na. (saa)
 F Jaruk have-spouse dp

'Jaruk has a wife.'

3.1.7 Existential clauses

The following matrix was constructed for describing existential clauses. An existential clause can attribute existence to a nominal or it can attribute the existence of a quality to a nominal.

Existential Clauses

<u>±</u> Subject np	+ Ext pred ext vp	<u>±</u> Tim/Loc np
------------------------	----------------------	------------------------

Rules:

1. The subject is an actor or a benefactive nominal to which existence is attributed. Usually it does not occur in existential clauses. Deep structure experiencer is mapped on to actor and deep structure beneficiary is mapped on to benefactive.

Examples of existential clauses:

The following example illustrates two actor focus existential clauses. In both cases the actor does not occur and the existence of a quality is attributed to the actor.

115 Leing ga ki-ara maap-aap. Leing ga ki-ara mudal. (ara)
 not dp have use not dp have benefit

'It is not useful.'

'It is not beneficial.'

The following example illustrates a benefactive focus existential clause in which the benefactive does not occur. Nonexistence is attributed to the benefactive.

116 Oou, nd-a-ardn na hati', ng-ai ontokng. (ara)
oh not-have-BF dp here AFL-take type.of.plant

‘Oh, she isn’t here, she is getting a plant.’

The following example illustrates an existential clause in which the actor does occur. The clause is actor focus.

117 Sia nd-ara maap-aap. (ara)
3SF not-have use

‘He is good for nothing.’

3.2 Verbless clauses

As mentioned before, there are two verbless clauses in Banggi: time and location.

3.2.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses consist of only temporal phrases. The following matrix was constructed for describing temporal clauses.

Temporal Clauses

+ Subject	+ Description
temporal word	np

The following example illustrates a temporal clause. Temporal clauses are verbless so there is no focused NP in the clause.

118 Nahaa' na pulu' dua ari buaidn.
now dp 10 2 day month

‘Today is the twelfth of the month.’

3.2.2 Locative clauses

Locative clauses consist of only locative phrases. The following matrix was constructed for describing locative clauses.

Locative Clauses

+ Location	+ Subject
locative word	np

The following example illustrates two locative clauses. Locative clauses are verbless so there is no focused NP in the locative clause.

119 Dii loud biao dii toidn ulakng.
in sea alligator in jungle snake

‘In the sea it is alligators, and in the jungle it is snakes.’

The following example illustrates a locative clause.

120 Kati' tampak dunya' nti.
here top earth this

‘It is here on the earth.’

4 Clause modifications

Interrogative, imperative, dependent, nominalized, and relative clauses are treated as modifications of the basic clause types. All of the basic clause types can be modified in some way.

4.1 Interrogative clauses

There are two types of interrogative clauses. The first type is information interrogative questions. A matrix describing this type is given below.

Information interrogative clauses

+ Ques	\pm Clause comp
ques word	clause

Rules:

1. The clause complement can be filled by a noun phrase or a clause.
2. Question words include the following:

esi	'who'
onu	'what'
mipa'	'when'
nggien	'where'
pida	'how much'
man	'why'
pungga'	'how'
pungga' buat	'how'

Examples of interrogative clauses:

The following example illustrates an information question modification of a noun phrase. The information interrogative clause is an undergoer complement of a quotation formula clause.

121 Man oid, poro'.
 why boat say

'Why a boat, they said.'

The following example illustrates an information question modification of a noun phrase.

122 Nggien langu' nu?
 where sibling.in.law 2SG

'Where is your sister-in-law?'

The following example illustrates an information question modification of a bitransitive clause. The verb is actor focus. The prefix *ki-* indicates petitive aspect. That is, the actor invites participation of someone else in the activity.

123 Esi ki-bori sikiou dii diha? (bori)
 who PET-give cassava to 2SNF

'Who is asking you to give them cassava?'

The second type of interrogative is the yes-no question. There are two methods of indicating yes-no questions in Banggi. The first is with higher pitch and rising intonation. The following example illustrates a yes-no question modification of an intransitive clause. The verb is inflected with the mode prefix **kV-** and is undergoer focused.

124 K-ilakng aha? (ilakng)
 DES-lie.down 2SF

‘Do you want to lie down?’

The following example illustrates the same verb as the previous example, but the intonation is different. The following example is an independent declarative intransitive clause.

125 K-ilakng ou. (ilakng)
 DES-lie.down 1SF

‘I want to lie down.’

The following example illustrates the same verb as the above two examples, but now the verb is inflected with the undergoer focus marker **m-**, which indicates that the verb is an activity verb.

126 M-ilakng aha? (ilakng)
 UFT-lie.down 2SF

‘Are you lying down?’

The second way of formulating yes-no questions is with the particle **koo**. This creates a tag question. The tag question particle is attached to the end of statements and is accompanied by rising intonation. The following example illustrates the tag question particle.

127 M-in-dii a kadai, koo? (dii)
 IMP-toward-there 2SF store right

‘You are going to the store, aren’t you?’

The above example illustrates an inflected deictic. The deictic is separated from the location by a second person pronoun. Only first and second person focused pronouns have the privilege of splitting inflected deictics from the location.

4.2 Imperative clauses

There are two types of imperative clause modifications in Banggi. The first one is a negative imperative and the second one is a positive imperative. The negative imperative is usually marked by the negative word **dei** 'don't', and it always occurs clause initially. Another way of marking the negative imperative is with the clitic **nd-**. This clitic attaches to second person focused pronouns in imperative clauses. The clitic is also found in non-imperative clauses attached to first and second person focused pronouns. The following matrix has been constructed for describing imperative modifications to clauses in Banggi. Bitransitive, transitive, and intransitive clauses can be modified with the imperative.

Imperative clauses

\pm Neg	\pm Actor	\pm Imp pred	\pm Und
negative word	pronoun	imp vp	np

Rules:

1. In imperative clauses the actor is the person who is commanded to perform the action and the undergoer is the person or thing affected by the action. Focus possibilities for clauses with an imperative modification include: actor, undergoer, and benefactive.
2. If the clitic **nd-** is attached to the actor, then the verb is inflected for actor focus.
3. Although the matrix indicates all clause constituents are optional, the negative or the imperative predicate must occur.
4. The actor is almost always deleted in imperative clauses.

Examples of negative imperative modifications to clauses:

The following example illustrates a negative imperative modification to a transitive clause that contains both actor and undergoer. The predicate is inflected for actor focus and the negative clitic **nd-** is attached to the second person plural pronoun **uhu**. The predicate is an accomplishment verb.

- 128 Angat n Domon, "Nga na. Nd-uhu m-iaa' diaadn." (biaa')
 say NF Domon that.way dp not.2PLF AFL-follow 1SNF

'Domon said, "That is okay; don't follow me."

The following example illustrates a negative imperative modification of an intransitive clause. The verb is uninflected for focus but the clause is undergoer focus. Deep structure experiencer maps onto undergoer. The negative word *dei* is used to indicate negative imperative. The verb is an activity verb.

- 129 Angat n Domon "Dei uhu panu, m-odop ou gulu." (panu)
 say NF Domon do.not 1PLF walk UFT-sleep 1SF first

'Domon said, "Don't go anywhere. I am going to sleep first."

The following example illustrates a negative imperative modification of a clause that does not contain a predicate.

- 130 "Bas ku m-oro', 'Dei uhu'", kaadn.
 already 1SANF AFL-tell do.not 2PLF say

"I told you 'Don't,'" he said.'

The following example illustrates a negative imperative modification of a transitive clause. The verb is an accomplishment verb that is inflected with the undergoer focus imperative suffix *-a'*. Both the actor and the undergoer are deleted.

- 131 Dei kuhut-a'. (kuhut)
 do.not scratch-UFI

'Don't scratch it.'

The following example illustrates a negative imperative modification of a transitive clause. The verb is an accomplishment verb that is inflected with the undergoer focus imperative suffix *-a'*. The undergoer occurs in postpredicate position.

- 132 Dei suruat-a' ba buk ibal nu. (suart)
 do.not write-UFI dp book friend 2SG

'Don't write in your friend's book.'

133 Dei ou ogot-ei. (ogot)
don't 1SF hold-BFI

The second type of imperative modification of clauses is the positive modification. The positive modification differs from the negative modification in that it lacks a negative element. The following example illustrates a positive imperative modification of a bitransitive clause. The clause is actor focus.

134 Bou ba lugus nu. (bori)
 give dp betel.nut 2SG

The following example illustrates a positive imperative modification of a bitransitive clause. The verb is an accomplishment that is inflected with the under-goer focus imperative suffix *-a'*.

135 Biri-a' na diaadn siidn. (bori)
give-UI dp 1SNF money

The following example illustrates a positive imperative modification of a bitransitive verb. The focused pronoun indicates that the clause is benefactive focus.

136 Biri ou beig. (bori)
give 1SF water

The following example illustrates a positive imperative modification of a transitive clause. The verb is an activity verb which is uninflected, and the clause is undergoer focus. Deep structure experiencer maps onto undergoer.

- 137 Abat ngia. (abat)
 answer 3SNF

‘Answer him.’

The following example illustrates a positive imperative modification of an intransitive clause. The verb is an activity verb that is uninflected, and the clause is undergoer focus. Deep structure experiencer maps onto undergoer.

- 138 Upug diti. (upug)
 sit here

‘Sit here.’

The following example illustrates a positive imperative modification of a transitive clause. The verb is an accomplishment verb that is inflected with the undergoer focus imperative suffix *-a*. The undergoer occurs in postpredicate position.

- 139 Sin-a’ gu si eli’. (seidn)
 change-UF1 first F boy

‘First change the boy.’

Another form of the imperative is marked by the discourse particle *ga*. This is a semantically weaker form of the imperative in that it indicates permission as opposed to command.

Examples of the permission imperative modification of clauses.

The following example illustrates a permission modification of an intransitive clause. The intransitive verb is uninflected for focus.

- 140 Silahei ga. (silahei)
 climb PER

‘Come on up the stairs.’ (Used to invite someone into the house.)

The following example illustrates a permission modification of an intransitive clause. The verb is an activity verb that is inflected for imperfective aspect.

- 141 Undaa' ga m-panu aha. (panu)
 good PER UFT-walk 2SF

'Okay, have a good trip.' (Used to respond of someone who wants to take leave of you.)

The following example illustrates a permission modification to an accomplishment verb clause. The verb is inflected for actor focus.

- 142 Dei biao' dii gibakng, dei biao' dii kuaan,
 don't follow to left don't follow to right
 pa m-ala' ga kuub
 fut AFL-split PER chest

'Don't go to the left and don't go to the right; go straight ahead.'

4.3 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses are considered a modification of independent clauses. Dependent clauses are created by adding a subordinating conjunction in clause initial position. Independent clauses are conjoined with coordinating conjunctions. The following subordinating conjunctions occur:

atakng	'while'
bakng	'if'
man	'reason'
pagpungan	'after'

Clauses that begin with **bakng** are what Peck (1981:137) calls condition clauses. Very few sentences have been found with **man** as a connector and to do so is considered "poor Banggi" by most native speakers. Only a couple of speakers use **man** as a connector and most Banggi would use **bakng** instead. The following two examples illustrate the use of **man** and **bakng** as introducers for condition clauses.

- 143 ? M-asa ga man pandi (basa)
 AFL-read PER if know

'Read this if you know how.'

- 144 M-asa ga bakng pandi (basa)
 AFL-read PER if know

'Read this if you know how.'

Banggi sentences have not been studied in detail so it is difficult to say if **atakng** and **pagpungaan** introduce subordinate clauses or function as time margin introducers on the sentence level. The verbal prefix **pag-** 'immediately' is used to establish a time on the sentence level. The following example illustrates the use of the prefix **pag-** as a time margin introducer on the sentence level.

- 145 Pag-liid ngia, sia i-ng-ua'. (liid)
 IMD-see 3SANF 3SF PRF-AFL-went

'As soon as he saw, he went.'

Other conjunctions which occur in Banggi are the following.

- | | |
|------------|------------|
| ma' | 'and' |
| nubu' | 'then' |
| pasal | 'because' |
| sampai | 'until' |
| walaupuudn | 'although' |

Some of the conjunctions listed mark subordinate clauses, some dependent clauses, and some sentence time margins. Analysis of these conjunctions is beyond the scope of this paper. The following example illustrates a dependent modification of an independent clause. The dependent clause is intransitive and a non-focused pronoun occurs. Nonfocused pronouns occur with clauses which begin with **atakng** or **pagpungaan**.

- 146 Atakng ku m-panu, jimbatadn i-rumbak na. (panu)
 while 1SANF UFT-walk dock PRF-fell dp

'While I was walking, the dock fell out from under me.'

The following example illustrates a dependent modification of an independent clause.

- 147 Kirab pag-pungaan ku n-dabu', m-i-li' ihi
 yesterday IMD-finish 1SANF PRF-fall UFT-PRF-return 1PLXF

k-in-dii	bali	raya.
DES-toward-there	house	public

‘Yesterday, right after I fell, we returned to the community center.’

The following example illustrates two clauses which are conjoined with the conjunction **pasal** ‘because’.

148	L-im-idik	ou	pasal	m-ingin	ou	n-anam	sikiou.
	slash-UFT-*	1SF	because	UFT-want	1SF	AFL-plant	cassava.

‘I am slashing because I want to plant cassava.’

4.4 Nominalized clauses

Nominalized clauses are defined as clauses in which one clause is functioning as a nominal in another clause. This occurs when a clause is an exponent of a NP such as actor or undergoer. The undergoer complement found in quotation formula clauses is a nominalized clause. The following example illustrates a nominalized clause which is an exponent of the undergoer. The verb in the nominalized clause is uninflected.

	Tim		PRED	ACT	UND	
149	Puhul	sabalas	m-iaa’	ih	simbiaakng.	(simbiaakng)
	time	eleven	AFL-follow	1PLXF	pray	

‘At 11:00 o’clock we followed to pray.’

The following example illustrates a nominalized clause which is an exponent of the undergoer.

	UND		PRED			
150	Inubu’	nantaadn	na	s-i-suad	ngia	s-um-uak
	then	all	dp	say-PRF-*	3SANF	enter-UFT-*
	dii	utak	ku	sei.		
	to	brain	1SG	only		

‘Then all that he said entered into my head.’

4.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are clauses that modify a noun. The following example illustrates a relative clause modifying an undergoer. The relative clause is marked by **nggien**, which functions as a relative pronoun. The verb in the relative clause is uninflected.

- 151 Sia m-asa buk nggien simbiaakng. (simbiaakng)
 3SF AFL-read book which pray

‘He is reading the book which is used for praying.’

The following example illustrates a relative clause modifying an undergoer. The relative clause is marked by **nggien**, which functions as a relative pronoun. The verb in the relative clause is inflected for undergoer focus.

- 152 Sia ngu-ruas sulupi’ nggien m-inggat (inggat)
 3SF AFL-take.out pouch which UFT-chew.betel.nut

‘He is taking out his pouch for chewing betel nut.’

The following example illustrates the same relative clause as the preceding example, only this time the undergoer is deleted.

- 153 Sia ngu-ruas nggien m-inggat. (inggat)
 3SF AFL-take.out which UFT-chew.betel.nut

‘He is taking it out for chewing betel nut.’

5 Conclusion

There are two primary focuses in Banggi: actor focus and undergoer focus. There are also two secondary focuses in Banggi: instrument focus and benefactive focus.

Based on morphological criteria alone, there are four basic verb classes in Banggi: 1) statives; 2) achievements; 3) activities; and 4) accomplishments.

Seven verbal clauses and two verbless clauses are described in this paper. The verbal clauses are: 1) bitransitive; 2) transitive; 3) quotation formula; 4) intransitive; 5) descriptive; 6) possessive; and 7) existential. The verbless clauses are time and location.

Clause modifications in Banggi include: interrogative, imperative, dependent, nominalized, and relative.

NOTES

1. The information for this paper was collected in Limbuak Darat on Banggi Island between January 1983 and January 1986. The main sources of information were Tareib bin Seib, Tagi binti Limbatan, and Lima binti Doud. The term "Banggi" is used by outsiders to refer to the island and the people. However, the Banggi refer to themselves as "Bonggi." I use the "Banggi" spelling throughout this paper.

2. The morphophonemics of Banggi suffixes is very complex. Morphophonemics is beyond the scope of this paper but it should be noted that not all cases of word final **-adn** indicate benefactive focus. Unlike Labuk Kadazan (Hope Hurlbut personal communication), vowel harmony in Banggi is not strictly right to left. Rather, vowel harmony in Banggi operates from the root to the affixes. Four vowels in Banggi occur in word final suffixes of the form **-Vdn**, e.g. **-adn**, **-idn**, **-odn**, and **-udn**. These four suffixes are analyzed as belonging to two different morphemes, one of which is benefactive focus and the other is imperfective aspect. The contrast between benefactive focus **-adn** and imperfective aspect **-Vdn** is lost in some environments.

3. The allomorphs of **-Vm-** are **-im-**, **-am-**, **-um-**, and **m-**. These are phonologically conditioned. The rules governing the allomorphs of **-Vm-** are:

1 Distribution of the allomorphs of **-Vm-** with imperfective aspect.

1.1 **m-** occurs in word bases which are vowel initial.

ohodn: m-ohodn 'to eat'

1.2 **-um-** occurs in word bases which have /u/ as the first vowel.

sulakng: s-um-ulakng 'to take something which has been thrown away by someone else'

1.3 **-im-** occurs in word bases which have /i/ as the first vowel

sidu: s-im-idu 'to urinate'

1.4 **-am-** occurs in word bases which have /a,e,o/ as the first vowel.

kaya: k-am-aya 'to become rich'

dolok: d-am-olok 'to rain'

2 Distribution of the allomorphs of **-Vm-** with perfective aspect **-in-**.

2.1 **-i-** marks completed action in word bases which do not have /i/ as the first vowel.

dapa': Bohit d-i-m-apa' kuii' rihut.
bird land-PRF-UFT-* there grass

'The bird landed over there in the grass.'

loub: Sia l-i-m-oub deirdn na.
3SF turn.over-PRF-UFT-* self dp

'He turned over by himself.'

sulakng: S-i-m-ulakng ou tarapus kirab.
take-PRF-UFT-* 1SF bottle yesterday

'Yesterday I took the bottle (that was discarded).'

2.2 The context or temporal words indicate perfective or imperfective aspect with word bases which have /i/ as the first vowel.

lidik: L-im-idik ou piasu.
cut.weeds-UFT-* 1SF coconut

'I am cutting weeds around the coconut trees.'

Bas ku l-i-m-idik piasu i Mual.
already 1SANF cut.weeds-PRF-UFT-* coconut NF Mual

'I already cut the weeds around Mual's coconut trees.'

2.3 In word bases that are vowel initial, **-in-** occurs if the initial vowel is /i/, or if there is an initial vowel sequence, otherwise **-i-** occurs.

ilakng: Sia m-in-ilakng linggid.
 3SF UFT-PRF-lie.down on.side

‘He lay down on his side.’

ohodn: Bas ku m-i-ohodn.
 already 1SANF UFT-PRF-eat

‘I already ate.’

The infix **-im-** is a combination of the infix **-Vm-** and the perfective aspect infix **-in-**. The languages of Sabah combine these two infixes in different ways. In Tatana **-in-** precedes **-um-** which yields **-inum-** (Pekkanen 1986:4). In Rungus **-in-** precedes **-um-** and yields **-ium-** (Forschner 1978:6). In Eastern Kadazan **-um-** precedes **-in-** and yields **-umin-** (Hope Hurlbut personal communication).

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PROBLEMS IN ANALYZING FOCUS IN THE LANGUAGES OF SABAH

Michael E. Boutin

Outline

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ABBREVIATIONS

Pronominal markers

1	first person	G	genitive
2	second person	NF	nonfocused
3	third person	PL	plural
A	actor	S	singular
F	focused	X	exclusive

Other markers

ACT	actor	PRF	perfective aspect
AF	actor focus	REA	reason
BEN	benefactive	RED	reduplication
BF	benefactive focus	SS	surface structure
C	consonant	THE	theme
CAU	causative	TIM	time
def	definite	UF	undergoer focus

F	focused	UND	undergoer
FM	focus marker	V	vowel
IF	instrument focus	*	part of the stem, where the stem has been divided by an infix
IMP	imperfective aspect		
INS	instrument	+	morpheme boundry in formula
LOC	location	-	morpheme boundry in gloss
NF	nonfocused	()	optional constituent in formula
NP	noun phrase		

0 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. The first purpose is to point out problems in analyzing focus in order to help others in their analysis of the focus systems found in the languages of Sabah. The second purpose is to point out the need for a cross-language perspective in the analysis of focus. By understanding how the focus system works in several languages, we can make comparisons between languages which will lead to a better understanding of not only the languages of Sabah in general, but also the particular languages a person might specialize in. Data in this paper is provided from only a small number of the languages in Sabah.

1 What is Focus?

The domain of focus is the verbal clause. Focus refers to a category of affixes which occur on verbs. It marks a special syntactic relationship between the predicate of a clause and one NP of the clause. The NP which is in this special relationship is called the focused NP in the clause. The following illustrates the focus relationship between a verb and the focused NP.

Verb (+ FM) (F) nominal (NF) nominal (NF) nominal

In the example above the verb is affixed with a focus marker (FM). This marker can be a prefix, infix, or suffix. The verb can also be morphologically unmarked for focus.¹ There are three nominals illustrated in the pseudo-clause above. The first one is marked for focus (F) and the last two are marked as nonfocused (NF) nominals. The particles used to mark nominals may or may not occur depending upon the language and the case relation between the nominal and the verb of the clause.

In Tagalog, all the nominals in the clause are marked with particles as in the example below.

- 1 B-um-ili ng isda sa bata ang lalake
 buy-AF-* NF fish NF child F man

'The man bought some fish from the child.'

The **ng**, is analyzed by Foley and Van Valin (1984:63) as marking actors, patients, and themes and the **sa** as marking locatives. **Ang** is used to mark the focused NP.

The Tagalog example is illustrated below in Banggi.

- 2 Lahi na i-m-oli sada' tidii paranak na.
 man def PRF-AF-buy fish from child def

'The man bought fish from the child.'

In the Banggi example, **tidii** is a preposition marking an oblique NP. Nuclear NPs in Banggi clauses, i.e. the actor and undergoer, are not marked as being focused or nonfocused unless the nominal is a proper name, anyone of a particular set of kinship terms, or the non-referential pronoun **anu**.

The way in which the nominals are marked will vary from languages like Tagalog, which marks every nominal in the clause whether it is focused or non-focused, to languages like Banggi, which only mark some humans as being focused or nonfocused. There might be some languages in Sabah which never mark any of the nominals in the clause with focus or nonfocus particles. Other languages may mark only the focused or only the nonfocused nominals in the clause.

In Timugon, the focused NP is unmarked except when it is a person's name. Personal names are marked with the case-marking particle **i** when focused and **ri** when nonfocused. The actor is marked by the case-marking particle **ru** when it is nonfocused except when it is a person's name or a pronoun. All other non-focused nominals are marked with the particle **ra**, which is referred to as an oblique relation-marker (Prentice 1971:32). Pronouns are not marked with case-marking particles in Timugon or in Banggi. The following illustrates an actor focus clause in Timugon. The actor is a focused personal name so it is marked with the particle **i**. The undergoer (snake) and the instrument (stick) are nonfocused, so they are marked with the oblique marker **ra**.

- 3 Namatoy i Amat ra kukuoi ra tataun.
 killed F Amat NF snake NF stick

‘Amat killed the snake with a stick.’

The following illustrates an undergoer focus clause in Timugon. The undergoer is not a personal noun so it is unmarked for focus. The actor is a personal name and is nonfocused so it is marked with the particle **ri**. The instrument is non-focused and marked with the oblique marker **ra**.

- 4 Kukuoi pinatoy ri Amat ra tataun.
 snake killed NF Amat NF stick

‘The snake was killed by Amat with a stick.’²

The following illustrates an undergoer focus clause in Timugon with the actor marked by the particle **ru** because it is nonfocused and not a name. The undergoer is focused so it is unmarked.

- 5 Porotokon ru ulun-no gulaq a kupiq-ti.
 mix NF person-the sugar and coffee-the

‘The man will mix the sugar and the coffee.’

The type of marking of the nonfocused NPs in Timugon depends on the role of the nominal in the clause. These variations are semantically conditioned.

In contrast to Timugon in which the nonfocused NP markers are semantically conditioned, the nonfocused person marker in Banggi is phonologically conditioned: **n** occurs before names beginning with ‘D’ or ‘T’, **ng** occurs before names beginning with ‘G’, **ny** occurs before names beginning with a vowel, and **i** occurs before names beginning with other consonants except an ‘S’. If the name begins with ‘S’ there is no marking of the nonfocused nominal. The following example illustrates phonological variations found in the nonfocused person marker in Banggi.

- 6 Oid b-in-uat n Domon.
 boat make-PRF-* NF Domon

‘The boat was made by Domon.’

The nominal phrase **n Domon** in the example above could be replaced by NPs such as the following: **i Layut**, **ny Udi**, **ng Gikil**, and **Selan**.

In Coastal Kadazan, both focused NPs and nonfocused NPs are marked with case-marking particles. The focused NPs have a different set of case-marking particles from the nonfocused NPs (Miller 1986:52). Both sets of particles are further subdivided into specific and non-specific. Focused NP particles include *i* (specific) and *o* (non-specific). Nonfocused NP particles include *di* (specific) and *do* (non-specific). The following illustrates an actor focus clause in Coastal Kadazan with the nonfocused beneficiary marked with the particle *di* since it is specific and the nonfocused undergoer marked with the particle *do* since it is non-specific.

- 7 Momohi zou di Amit do sada'.
 buy 1SF NF Amit NF fish

'I am buying Amit some fish.'

The following illustrates an undergoer focused clause in Coastal Kadazan. The focused undergoer is non-specific so it is marked with the particle *o*. The non-focused beneficiary is specific so it is marked with the particle *di*.

- 8 Onuon ku di ama' o buuk.
 give 1SANF NF father F book

'I am giving father a book.'

The following illustrates an undergoer focused clause in Coastal Kadazan. The focused undergoer is specific so it is marked with the particle *i*. The nonfocused beneficiary is specific so it is marked with the particle *di*.

- 9 Oviton disido di Amit i kalabau.
 brought 3SANF NF Amit F water-buffalo

'He brought Amit the water-buffalo.'

A prototypical clause in a language without a focus system might be defined as:

Verb	nominal	nominal	OM nominal
E.g. hit	Tiip	Layut	with stick

OM refers to an oblique marker which is usually a preposition or a postposition that marks peripheral NPs in a clause. The primary NPs are the actor and un-

dergoer. In Tagalog, **sa** would be an oblique marker and when the oblique is focused, the oblique nominal is marked with **ang**.

In languages with focus systems, oblique nominals are not marked with the oblique marker when they are focused. Either there is a different marker, such as in Tagalog where **sa** --> **ang** when the oblique nominal is focused, or the OM is deleted, such as in Banggi where **ma** 'with' --> **0** when the instrument is focused. The following illustrates an instrument focus clause in Banggi. There is no marking of the focused instrument nominal.

10	Kiou	p-i-nga-labad	n	Tiip	i	Layut.
	wood	IF-PRF-*-hit	NF	Tiip	NF	Layut

'A stick is what Tiip hit Layut with.'

In languages with focus systems, the marking of the two primary nominals (actor and undergoer) is only needed when there might be confusion between these two nominals in the clause. This is especially the case when there is relatively free word order in the language or when nominals other than the focused nominal can be topicalized. Topic is defined as what the speaker is talking about, or old information.

In Tagalog, word order among the NPs following the verb is quite free (Foley and Van Valin 1984:63). This is why Tagalog would require the actor and undergoer in a clause to be marked for focus or nonfocus. However, in Banggi, word order is relatively fixed, hence the lack of marking found on actors and undergoers when they are non-human. In the Banggi example above, both the actor and undergoer are marked as nonfocused nominals. The actor is differentiated from the undergoer by word order.

Focus is described by some people as being an inflectional category of affixes which occur on verb stems. Focus does not seem to be strictly inflectional. Noun roots can be focused and the focus marker on the root seems to have both a derivational function, i.e. deriving verbs from nouns, and a focus marking function. The following example illustrates the noun root **tuhul** 'hammer' in Banggi when it is functioning as a verb with actor focus.

11	Sia	n-uhul	pahu'	na.
	3SF	AF-hammer	nail	def

'He will hammer the nail.'

2 Pronouns and focus

The pronoun systems of the languages of Sabah are related to the focus system. There are usually at least three classes of pronouns in the languages of Sabah. In Eastern Kadazan (Hurlbut 1984:21), there is a distinction between: 1) focused actor pronouns, 2) focused non-actor pronouns, 3) nonfocused actor pronouns, 4) nonfocused non-actor pronouns, and 5) "topicalized" focused pronouns. The topicalized pronouns occur when the focused NP is permuted to prepredicate position. Other pronouns in Eastern Kadazan, both focused and non-focused, follow the predicate in a clause. The pronouns in Eastern Kadazan are represented schematically in Figure 1.

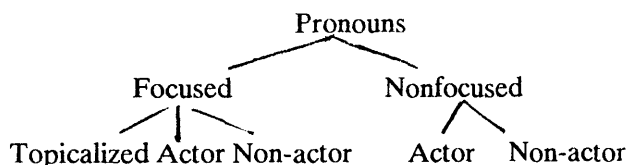


Figure 1

Banggi divides pronouns into three classes: 1) focused, 2) nonfocused actor, and 3) nonfocused non-actor. That is, Banggi groups Eastern Kadazan sets 1 and 2 into one class of pronouns, and Banggi has no topicalized pronouns.

There are four sets of pronouns in Coastal Kadazan (Miller 1986:14). One of these sets is what Miller calls the emphatic set. The emphatic pronouns in Coastal Kadazan are similar to the topicalized pronouns described above for Eastern Kadazan. Only focused pronouns are topicalized in Coastal Kadazan and there is a permuting of the pronoun to prepredicate position as in Eastern Kadazan. The following example illustrates an actor focus clause in Coastal Kadazan with the actor following the verb or non-topicalized.

12	Minugad	zou	doihtu'	id	Penampang.
	went	1SF	there	to	Penampang

'I went to Penampang.'

The following illustrates the same actor focus clause as the previous example only this time the focused actor is topicalized.

- 13 Izou ii minugad doihuu' id Penampang.
 1SF it go there to Penampang

'It was I who went to Penampang.'

The pronouns in Coastal Kadazan are divided into 1) focused, 2) topicalized focused, 3) nonfocused actor, and 4) nonfocused non-actor.

There are four sets of pronouns in Timugon and they appear to be divided in the same manner as Coastal Kadazan: 1) focused, 2) topicalized focused, 3) nonfocused actor, and 4) nonfocused non-actor. Prentice (1971:169) refers to the topicalized set as thematic. In all three languages which have topicalized pronouns (Eastern Kadazan, Coastal Kadazan, and Timugon), only focused pronouns can be topicalized.

Table 1 shows how each of these four languages divides the pronouns into classes. The first person singular pronoun from each class is represented in Table 1.

Table 1 - PRONOUN CLASSES

Language	TOPICALIZED	F ACT	F NON-ACT	NF ACT	NF NON-ACT
Banggi		ou	ou	ku/hu	diaadn
Coastal Kadazan	izou	zou	zou	ku	dogo'
Eastern Kadazan	ioku	oku	oku	-ku	dogo
Timugon	aku	aku	aku	ku	raki'

Two things are evident from Table 1. The first is that there is a definite similarity among the pronouns in these languages. The second is that although some people set up as many as five sets of pronouns, there are basically three sets: 1) focused, 2) nonfocused actor, and 3) nonfocused non-actor. The distinction between focused actor and focused non-actor is lost in the first person singular in all three of the languages in which this distinction is said to exist (Coastal Kadazan, Eastern Kadazan, and Timugon). A close examination of the pronoun sets shows that topicalized pronouns and focused non-actor pronouns are only distinct from focused actor pronouns in some places in the paradigm.

We should expect the languages of Sabah to have the three basic pronoun sets (focused, nonfocused actor, and nonfocused non-actor) and some modifications in the focused paradigm which mark topicalized focused pronouns and distinguish actors from other types of focused nominals.

One feature common to Dusunic and Murutic languages is that there are distinct sets of deictics based on focus.³ That is, there is a set of focused deictics and nonfocused deictics. In Banggi, there are directional verbs which are inflected but there are no focused and nonfocused deictic particles such as those in Dusunic and Murutic languages.

In Coastal Kadazan, the focused deictics are *iti* 'this', *ino* 'that', and *iho* 'that'. The nonfocused deictics are *diti* 'this', *dino* 'that', and *diho* 'that' (Miller 1986:52). The focused deictics occur in focused NPs and the nonfocused deictics occur in nonfocused NPs. The following illustrates an undergoer focus clause in Coastal Kadazan with the focused deictic *iho* occurring in the focused undergoer NP.

14	Pataakon	dioho'	diau	iho'	vagas
	give	3PLANF	2SNF	that	rice

'They are giving you the rice.'

The following illustrates a beneficiary focus clause in Coastal Kadazan with the nonfocused deictic *diho* occurring in the undergoer NP.

15	Nobohizan	dagai	isido	diho'	gaung.
	buy	1PLANF	3SF	that	shirt

'We bought him the shirt.'

3 How do you classify focus?

Focus, which is a system of marking verbs as being in a special relation to one of the nominals in the clause, has been referred to with different terms. G. and T. Svelmoe (1974) refer to this system as "orientation" even though they state "Orientation is not the same as focus" (1974:30). Svelmoe has redefined the terms orientation and focus. Antworth (1979:38), working in a relational grammar framework, describes what I am calling focus as "registration." Foley and Van Valin (1984), Walton (1983), and Hurlbut (1984) use the term "pivot." Prentice (1980) uses the term "voice." Focus seems to be the most acceptable terminology in the literature and it is what I am using in this paper.

Another terminological problem arises when classifying the types of focus which exist in a language. Some people (Clayre 1967) have described focus in terms of the grammatical relations subject and object, and semantic case roles such as benefactive. Others have described focus in terms of semantic case roles only such

as agent, patient, and benefactive. Kroeger (1986) has described focus in terms of the traditional grammatical case relations nominative, accusative, and dative, and in terms of semantic case roles such as instrument and theme. Still others (Hurlbut 1984) have described focus in terms of the grammatical case roles actor and undergoer, and semantic case roles such as benefactive.

The importance of the grammatical relations subject and object seems to be minimal in Philippine-type languages (see Schachter 1976), so grammatical relations should be avoided when describing the focus systems in Sabah. It seems to me that Foley and Van Valin (1984), Walton (1983), and Hurlbut (1984) have captured some important generalizations with their use of the grammatical case relations actor and undergoer in describing focus systems in Tagalog, Sama, and Eastern Kadazan respectively. I follow them in the use of the terms actor and undergoer.

Actor and undergoer are not equivalent to syntactic relations such as subject and direct object, nor to case roles such as agent and patient (Foley and Van Valin 1984:27). The actor is the person or thing that performs, instigates or controls the state or action expressed by the predicate. The undergoer is the person or thing affected by the state or action expressed by the predicate. Actor and undergoer are general categories as opposed to the more specific categories in case grammar such as agent, experiencer, goal, and patient.

Actor and undergoer are the two primary nominals in a transitive clause. When other nominals occur, they are what Longacre (1976) would call peripheral. These other nominals are described in terms of semantic case roles or some other term. Unfortunately it is these "other terms" that most frequently are abused. One of the most frequently abused terms in descriptions of focus is "referent." It ends up being a sort of catch-all term in many analyses. Unless the term is clearly defined there is no use in comparing focus between two languages when two descriptions use this term or any other term for that matter. The chances are not very likely that any two people mean the same thing when talking about referent focus. However, Prentice (1980:194) points out his deliberate use of the vague terms "referent" and "associative" because they represent multiple and overlapping semantic functions.

4 How do you discover the number of focuses in language X?

Most Philippine-type languages have four focuses. However, Prentice (1971:32) posits five focuses for Timugon: subject (actor), object (undergoer), referent (benefactive), associate (time, location, and reason), and instrument.⁴ Walton (1983:9) states that there are five focuses in Sama: actor, undergoer, location,

instrument, and benefactive. Hurlbut (1984:23) claims that there are seven focuses in Eastern Kadazan: actor, undergoer, referent (benefactive), accessory (instrument), temporal (time), directional (location), and ablative (reason). Miller (1986:5) posits three focuses for Coastal Kadazan: subject (actor), object (undergoer), and beneficiary. Kroeger (1986) states that Kimaragang has six focuses: nominative (actor), accusative (undergoer), instrument, dative (benefactive), setting (location and time), and theme. Theme is defined as an entity which undergoes a change in location.

The number of focuses in each language may vary, but with cross-language comparisons we can see if people have unnecessarily conflated or inflated the focus types. For example, language X is analyzed as having four focuses with the verbal suffix **-an** marking referent focus and referent is defined as either benefactive or location. Language Y is analyzed as having five focuses with the verbal suffix **-an** indicating benefactive focus in ditransitive clauses and the same suffix **-an** indicating location focus in intransitive clauses. A cross-language comparison may show that either language X has unnecessarily conflated two semantic case roles into the focus marker **-an** or that language Y has unnecessarily inflated the same two semantic case roles into two focus types with the same morphological marking.

Cross-language comparisons will provide the data necessary to make principled decisions about the number of focuses that really exist in a given language.

Table 2 compares the focus possibilities of five languages in Sabah and also Sama Pangutaran from the Southern Philippines. Table 2 includes the morphemes used to mark focus in each of these six languages.

Table 2 - FOCUS POSSIBILITIES

Language	ACT	UND	BEN	INS	LOC	TIM	THE	REA
Banggi	ng-/g-	-Vdn	-adn	pVN-				
Coastal Kadazan	ma-	-on	-an					
Eastern Kadazan	m-	-on	-an	i-	-on	-an		i-
Kimaragang	m-	-on	-an	poN-	poN- -an	-on	i-	
Timugon	ma-/um-	-on	-in	RED.	-an	-an		-an
Sama Pangutaran	N-	-an	-in	paN-	-an			

Two things are clear from the table above: 1) all the languages have at least three focuses: actor, undergoer, and benefactive; 2) the number of focuses stated for these languages at the beginning of this section does not always agree with the number of focuses indicated in the table. The reason for the difference between Table 2 and what was stated earlier is the table indicates grammatical roles (actor and undergoer) and semantic roles (benefactive, instrument, etc.). Some languages combine two semantic roles into a single morphological marking indicating one focus. For example Table 2 indicates that Timugon can focus on seven different types of NPs, but Prentice posits only five focuses for Timugon. Time, location, and reason can all be focused in Timugon, but they are all grouped into what Prentice calls associate focus (1971:36). Time and location can be focused in Kimaragang, but Kroeger (1986) groups them into what he calls setting focus.

One other point that needs to be clarified about Table 2 is the role of theme in Kimaragang. Undoubtedly theme can be focused in all the languages above. Theme is defined here as the entity that undergoes a change in location, such as 'ball' in the clause below.

16 John threw the ball.

Usually theme is a semantic role which is included in the macro-role undergoer. Since all the languages can focus on the undergoer, undoubtedly all can focus on the theme in a clause like that above. Kimaragang distinguishes between theme and other types of undergoers, so this is why Table 2 indicates it has theme focus.

4.1 Starting assumptions

The following are basic assumptions that can be made when trying to decide the number of focuses in any of the indigenous languages of Sabah. I expect these assumptions to be refined as more is learned about the languages of Sabah.

1) Assume there are at least three focuses: actor, undergoer, and benefactive. If there is one semantic case role (as opposed to grammatical case roles actor and undergoer) that can be focused, it will probably be the benefactive. If there are more than three focuses, the instrument and locative case roles are most likely to occur as being marked for focus.

There is a basic correlation between transitivity and potential focus. With bitransitive verbs you can expect to be able to focus on the actor, undergoer, and benefactive. With transitive verbs you can expect to focus on the actor, undergoer, and instrument. With intransitive verbs you can expect actor or undergoer focus. Locative focus might occur with any of these clause types. The point is that actor

focus and undergoer focus have the greatest potential of occurring, based on the number of clause types in which they can occur. Since actor and undergoer are the two primary nominals in a clause, they are the most frequently focused nominals in clauses. Any other focus type, other than actor and undergoer, will occur with much less frequency.

It should be remembered here that actor is not equivalent to syntactic subject nor is undergoer equivalent to syntactic object. If they were equivalent, then intransitive clauses could not be undergoer focused because intransitive clauses do not have an object. Some single-argument predicates have actors and some have undergoers as their single-argument (Foley and Van Valin 1984:29). The following illustrate single-argument predicates with actors as their single argument. The single arguments are both actor and subject.

- 17 John went to town.
- 18 She swam for an hour.

The following illustrate single-argument predicates with undergoers as their single argument. The single arguments are undergoers even though they are subjects syntactically.⁵

- 19 Harry is sick.
- 20 The door opens at ten o'clock.

2) If there are verbs which are morphologically unmarked for focus, and the only other morphological marking on the verb is marking time, then assume that the focus is undergoer.

3) Assume that different forms have different meanings, e.g. **-an** and **-on**. However, look for phonological and morphophonemic rules to collapse different forms into one meaning.

4) Assume that the language you are working in will mark focus similarly to other languages in the area.

4.2 Problems (traps) which complicate analysis

This section deals with potential problems or pitfalls which complicate the analysis of focus in the languages of Sabah. Each trap or pitfall is stated and then discussed. I do not assume that all of these are potential traps in every language, nor do I assume that this list is exhaustive.

4.2.1 One-focus-one-marker trap

Some types of focus can be indicated in several different ways. In Banggi, actor focus is marked by **ng-** in accomplishment verbs. These are verbs which are highly transitive (Foley and Van Valin 1984). Actor focus is marked by **g-** in activity verbs. Actor focus is unmarked in verbs which are associative aspect indicating that the actor invites participation of someone else in the activity. Associative aspect is marked by **ki-**. Hurlbut (1984:183) calls this petitive in Eastern Kadazan **poki-**. In Banggi, these three methods of indicating actor focus can occur on the same verb root as illustrated below.

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 21 | Pakng lima
chief - | ng-uhubm
AF-court.case | sigalama
3PLNF | na suub.
def tomorrow |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|

‘The chief will preside over their case tomorrow.’

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 22 | Sigalama na
3PLF def | ng-g-uhubm
IMP-AF-court.case | suub.
tomorrow |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|

‘They will be involved in a case settlement tomorrow.’

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 23 | Sia ki-uhubm
3SF ASK-court.case | pakng lima.
chief - |
|----|------------------------------------|------------------------|

‘He is asking the chief to settle a case.’

In Banggi, **ng-**, **-g-**, and **0-** are three ways of indicating actor focus. Eastern Kadazan marks actor focus with the morpheme **m-** which Hurlbut (1984:23) describes as having three allomorphs **m-**, **-um-**, and **0-**. Comparison of the two languages points out the need to determine on a principled basis the number of morphemes marking actor focus in these languages. Hurlbut (1984:58) claims that there are both phonological and grammatical grounds for considering **m-** and **-um-** in Eastern Kadazan to be one morpheme.

In Banggi, actor and undergoer focus are indicated in different ways depending upon the verb class. It may be that if a language uses more than one method to indicate a single focus, then that focus will be actor or undergoer. This is logical since actor focus and undergoer focus have the greatest potential for occurring in the different clause types and because they are the nuclear NPs in the clause.

4.2.2 One-form-one-meaning trap

Morphemes used to mark focus can vary, i.e. have morphophonemic variants or allomorphs. For example, the instrument focus marker in Banggi is **pVN-**. There are twelve allomorphs of this morpheme depending on the initial consonant and initial vowel in the root.

pVN- -->	pum-__{p/b}u	buurt -- pum-uurt	IF-cut.hair
	pam-__{p/b}{a/e/o}	posi -- pam-osi	IF-fish.
			with.hook
	pim-__{p/b}i	biag -- pim-iag	IF-raise
	pung-__{k/0}u	ulu -- pung-ulu	IF-head
	pang-__{k/0}{a/e/o}	kali -- pang-ali	IF-dig
	ping-__{k/0}i	kiab -- ping-iab	IF-fan
	pun-__{s/t}u	tuhul -- pun-uhul	IF-hammer
	pan-__{s/t}{a/e/o}	sabudn -- pan-abudn	IF-soap
	pin-__{s/t}i	sisi' -- pin-isi'	IF-scale
	pungu-__{l/r/d/g}u	luak -- pungu-luak	IF-bark
	panga-__{l/r/d/g}{a/e/o}	gogu' -- panga-gogu'	IF-hole
	pingi-__{l/r/d/g}i	liput -- pingi-liput	IF-circle

4.2.3 Deal-only-with-focus trap

It is virtually impossible to solve all the focus problems of these languages without considering other morphemes at the same time. Time and focus sometimes seem to be marked by one morpheme, or at least it is difficult to say whether a morpheme is marking time or focus or both in some cases.

In certain types of undergoer focus clauses, the perfective aspect marker in Kimaragang, Eastern Kadazan, Coastal Kadazan, and Banggi is **-in-**. This infix occurs after the first consonant in the stem. When accomplishment verbs are perfective aspect and undergoer focus, the verb is considered by some linguists to be unmarked for focus. Others in analyzing **-in-** in Philippine languages have claimed that it performs a double function of indicating perfective aspect and undergoer focus.

The **-in-** is analyzed as marking only perfective aspect in Kimaragang, Banggi, and other languages in Sabah because this infix can occur in clauses that are other than undergoer focus. The following illustrates an actor focus clause in Kimaragang with the verb inflected for both actor focus and perfective aspect.

- 24 M-in-anaak ih kamaman kuh do pe'es sid dogon.
 AF-PRF-give F uncle 1SG NF knife to 1SNF

'My uncle gave me a knife.'

The following example illustrates a clause in Banggi that is perfective aspect and undergoer focus.

- 25 Api k-in-iab saa hu.
 fire fan-PRF-* spouse 1SG

'The fire was fanned by my spouse.'

The suffix **-Vdn** in Banggi is analyzed as indicating imperfective aspect in clauses that are undergoer focus. It could be argued that the **-Vdn** in Banggi has a dual function marking both imperfective aspect and undergoer focus. Or it could be argued that **-Vdn** in Banggi marks undergoer focus and imperfective aspect is morphologically unmarked.

The root **kiab** 'fan' can be inflected with the suffix **-Vdn** which indicates imperfective aspect.⁶ The suffix **-Vdn** is comparable to **-on** in Eastern Kadazan (Hurlbut 1984:23), Kimaragang (Kroeger 1986), and Coastal Kadazan (Miller 1986:52). However, the **-on** in these three Dusunic languages has been analyzed as marking undergoer focus.

Once again cross-language comparison yields questions about the analysis of the meaning of the suffixes **-Vdn** and **-on**. If Dusunic **-on** only occurs in clauses that are imperfective, then it could be considered as having a dual function marking both undergoer focus and imperfective aspect. Or perhaps it marks imperfective aspect and undergoer focus is unmarked.

In morphological paradigms one grammatical category is often morphologically unmarked. The Banggi analysis claims that undergoer focus is morphologically unmarked in accomplishment verb clauses throughout the paradigm. The Dusunic analysis claims that undergoer focus is morphologically unmarked with perfective aspect and that imperfective aspect is morphologically unmarked with undergoer focus.

In Banggi, benefactive focus is marked with the suffix **-adn**. Verbs marked for benefactive focus in Banggi can also be marked for temporal aspect. The following illustrates a benefactive focus clause in Banggi with the verb inflected for perfective aspect (**n-**) and benefactive focus (**-adn**).

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|-----|---------|
| 26 | N-dubu-adn | ou | piasu. |
| | PRF-fall-BF | 1SF | coconut |

'I had a coconut fall on me.'

The following illustrates a benefactive focus clause in Banggi with the verb inflected for imperfective aspect (**m-**) and benefactive focus (**-adn**).

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|-----|-------------|---------|
| 27 | Molok | ou, | mu-dubu-adn | piasu. |
| | afraid | 1SF | IMP-fall-BF | coconut |

'I am scared that a coconut will fall on me.'

Coastal Kadazan is similar to Banggi with respect to benefactive focus and temporal aspect. The following illustrates a benefactive clause in Coastal Kadazan in which the verb is inflected for benefactive focus but uninflected for aspect.

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------|-------|-------|----|---------|
| 28 | Bohiz-an | nu | isido | do | pinsil. |
| | buy-BF | 2SANF | 3SF | NF | pencil |

'You are buying a pencil for him.'

The following illustrates a benefactive focus clause in Coastal Kadazan in which the verb is inflected for perfective aspect (**no-**) and benefactive focus (**-an**).

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|--------|-------|-------|--------|
| 29 | No-bohiz-an | dagai | isido | diho' | gaung. |
| | PRF-buy-BF | 1PLANF | 3SF | that | shirt |

'We bought him the shirt.'

In Banggi, verbs that are benefactive focus are sometimes not inflected for imperfective aspect. As seen in the Banggi example above, some verbs can be inflected for both imperfective aspect and benefactive focus. I do not know if this is the case in Coastal Kadazan.

Kimaragang is reported to have locative focused intransitive clauses (Kroeger 1986). Crucial data for the analysis of the languages of Sabah are ambient clauses such as "I am hot." The following example illustrates this clause in Banggi.

30 M-panas-adn ou na.
IMP-hot-BF 1SF now

'I am hot.'

Longacre (1976:44) claims that in clauses like this a deep structure experiencer maps onto actor. Kroeger (1986), in his analysis of Kimaragang, claims that clauses like this can be location focused.⁷ Differences in the analysis of the deep structure case role can cause differences in analysis.

Not only focus markers but other verbal morphemes can have morphological variants or allomorphs. The Banggi perfective aspect infix **-in-** has at least three allomorphs: **-in-**, **-i-**, and **in-**.

4.2.4 It-must-be-like-language-X trap

What other languages use to mark focus and the number of focuses they have will be similar, but probably with some variation. While I was analyzing focus in Banggi, I was told that vowel harmony works strictly right to left in Eastern Kadazan. I discovered that vowel harmony in Banggi works from the root out. That is, for prefixes, vowels harmonize from right to left, while for suffixes, vowels harmonize from left to right. This also appears to be the case in Timugon where the suffix **-on** has two allomorphs **-on** and **-an**. When **-on** is immediately preceded by /a/ (with no intervening consonant) then the **-an** occurs, otherwise **-on** occurs (Prentice 1971:112).

4.2.5 Stick-to-morphology trap

Morphology, morphophonemics, and phonology all can affect the focus markers. That is, solving the focus is not just a "morphological problem." Of course the inverse is also true, you cannot solve the morphophonemics without knowing the morphology. It is usually impossible to solve all the problems in one grammatical level without solving some off the problems at other levels.

Analysis of verbal suffixes in Banggi requires an understanding of the phonology, morphophonemics, and morphology. The following discussion illustrates the kinds of information needed in an analysis of verbal suffixes.

Four vowels can occur in word final suffixes of the form **-V(d)n**. If you assume that there is a one-to-one relationship between form and function, then you have at least four morphemes: **-adn**, **-idn**, **-odn**, and **-udn**. The suffixes **-an**, **-in**, **-on**, and **-un** also occur in Banggi, so this would mean eight morphemes. This seems to

be an unreasonable assumption, so the question is how many morphemes are there and what do they mean?

Phonological and morphophonemic considerations
in the analysis of suffixes in Banggi

The following six phonological and morphophonemic facts must be understood before a correct analysis of the verbal suffixes can be made in Banggi.

1) Vowel harmony in the root

Given a root with the form (C)V1(C)V2(C):

If V2 is high (i/u) and V1 is low (a/e/o) then V1 will harmonize with V2 when a suffix is added.

pati 'kill' --> piti-aadn 'kill-FM'

rampus 'mad' --> rumpus-adn 'mad-BF'

If V1 is high, it will not change.

iap 'count' --> iap-adn 'count-IMP'

sidu 'urine' --> sidu-adn 'urinate-BF'

2) CoCoC

When roots are of the form shown above and they are suffixed, then the first vowel in the root becomes [^] when **-odn** is added. This is because stress usually occurs on penultimate syllables and the contrast between nonhigh vowels /a e o/ is neutralized as [^] in prestressed syllables.

konop 'increase' --> konop-odn 'increase-IMP'

bobo 'carry.on.back/front' --> bobo-odn 'carry.on.back/front-IMP'

poro 'tell' --> poro-odn 'tell-IMP'

3) Vowel shortening

If V1 and V2 are not separated by a consonant and are the same vowel in the root, i.e. a long vowel, then one of the vowels is deleted when a suffix is added.

iid 'see' -- **m-id-adn** 'IMP-see-BF'

tuug 'dry' --> tug-udn 'dry-IMP'

loos 'clear.brush' --> los-odn 'clear.brush-IMP'

4) Final consonant deletion

If the root ends in "ʔ" (glottal stop) or "l", then the "ʔ" or "l" is deleted when a suffix is added.

suga' 'put.inside' --> suga-adn 'put.inside-IMP'
 ponsu' 'bathe' --> punsu-udn 'bathe-IMP'
 buntal 'throw' --> bunta-idn 'throw-IMP'

5) Final r in root

If the root ends in "r" then the "r" metathesizes to the "dn" of the suffix.

pihir 'think' --> pihi-ardn 'think-IMP'
 patar 'look.at' --> pata-ardn 'look.at-IMP'

6) Syllabic nasals

If the root ends in a syllabic nasal, then the associated stop is deleted when a suffix is added and the nasal is no longer syllabic.

VCN --> VN
 sohobm 'soak' --> sohom-on 'soak-IMP'
 biidn 'inform' --> bin-in 'inform-IMP'
 lobokng 'grave' --> lobong-on 'bury-IMP'

After determining the phonological and morphophonemic processes that affect the shapes of the roots and the suffixes, it is helpful to chart the distribution of suffixes in relation to root final segments. The following table illustrates this distribution.

Distribution of suffixes in relation to root final segments

	-adn	-idn	-odn	-udn
	-an	-in	-on	-un
a	x	bunta-idn		
aC	x			
i	x	x		
iC	x	x		
o		tambo-idn	x	
oC			x	
u	x			x
uC	x			x

Table 3

The analysis of the Banggi suffixes that follows is based on the six phonological and morphophonemic facts above and on the chart above, which shows the distribution of the suffixes.

There are three different morphemes involved in Banggi suffixes that end in a nasal. The morphemes are described in order of their frequency of occurrence.

1) The first morpheme is **-Vdn**. It includes the allomorphs **-idn**, **-udn**, **-odn**, and **-adn**. (The allomorphs **-in**, **-un**, **-on**, and **-an** are variants of the allomorphs **-idn**, **-udn**, **-odn**, and **-adn** respectively. If the primary allomorph **-idn** can occur, then **-in** is also possible based on the shape of the root. Whenever I speak of the suffix **-Vdn**, this includes **-Vn**.)

The morpheme **-Vdn** indicates imperfective aspect.⁸ Allomorphs of **-Vdn** are:

-Vdn --> -idn \{iC/i/Vl\}__	abis --> ibis-idn 'finish-IMP'
	bagi --> bigi-idn 'divide-IMP'
	buntal --> bunta-idn (l is deleted)
	'throw-IMP'
-udn \{uC/u\}__	lopud --> lupud-udn 'break-IMP'
	ponsu' --> punsu-udn 'bathe-IMP'
-odn \{oC/o\}__	loos --> los-odn 'clear.brush-IMP'
	bobo --> bobo-odn 'carry.on.back-IMP'
-adn \{aC/a\}__	abat --> abat-adn 'answer-IMP'
	gambar --> gamba-ardn 'take.picture-IMP'

2) The second morpheme is **-adn**. This morpheme indicates benefactive focus. The suffix **-adn** can also be an allomorph of the morpheme **-Vdn** as described above. The suffix **-adn** occurs as an allomorph of **-Vdn** due to the vowel harmony that operates in Banggi.

The crucial data in the analysis of the morphemes **-Vdn** and **-adn** occurs with roots that can take both focuses. The following example illustrates the root **bagi** 'divide' in an imperfective aspect, undergoer focus clause.

- 31 Onu bigi-idn n Jaruk?
 what divide-IMP NF Jaruk

'What is Jaruk dividing?'

The following example illustrates the same root **bagi**, only this time the clause is imperfective aspect and benefactive focus.

- 32 Esi bagi-adn nu?
 who divide-BF 2SANF

‘Who are you dividing that for?’

Another root that takes both undergoer and benefactive focus is **bori** ‘to give’. The following example illustrates the root **bori** in a clause that is imperfective aspect and undergoer focus.

- 33 Onu biri-idn nu anak nu?
 what give-IMP 2SANF child 2SG

‘What are you giving your child?’

The following example illustrates the same root as the previous example, only this time the clause is imperfective aspect and benefactive focus.

- 34 M-ati bakng nda’ biri-adn.
 UF-die if not give-BF

‘She will die, if she is not given it.’

3) The third morpheme is **-aadn**. The meaning of this morpheme is not clear yet. This morpheme occurs very infrequently and marks focus on only a couple of verbs. However, the focus cannot be considered undergoer focus or benefactive focus unless the forms are considered irregular. It is difficult to state a single underlying case role for this set. Perhaps there are several peripheral case roles that map onto this focus.

Because the **-aadn** set of verbs is so small, there are at least three possible solutions: 1) either these verbs are irregular and this suffix actually indicates imperfective aspect or benefactive focus; or 2) there is one underlying peripheral case role that maps onto this surface structure; or 3) there is more than one underlying case role that maps onto this surface structure, i.e. “referent” focus. The analysis proposed here rejects solution 1 but is uncommitted with regard to solutions 2 and 3. That is, these forms are analyzed as marking focus, but the exact type of focus is unknown.

Crucial data for the analysis of the morphemes **-Vdn** (imperfective aspect), **-adn** (benefactive focus), and **-aadn** ("other" focus) are roots with the same phonemic shape (e.g. CaCi). Roots with the phonemic shape (C)aCi(C) are affixed with **-adn** when benefactive focused. The following illustrates the root **ahit** 'to catch sickness' in a benefactive focus clause.

- 35 Molok ou, m-ihit-adn.
 afraid 1SF IMP-catch-BF

'I am afraid that I will catch the sickness.'

Roots with the phonemic shape (C)aCi(C) are affixed with **-idn** when undergoer focused and imperfective aspect. The following illustrates the root **kali** 'dig' in an undergoer focus clause, which is also imperfective aspect.

- 36 Sikiou kili-idn ku.
 cassava dig-IMP 1SANF

'I am digging cassava.'

Roots with the phonemic shape (C)aCi(C) are affixed with **-aadn** when they take this "other" focus. The following illustrates the root **kali** in a clause with this "other" focus.

- 37 Sikiou kili-aadn ku.
 cassava dig-FM 1SANF

'I am digging cassava.'

In both of the last two examples, the focus is on the cassava or what is being dug.

Unlike **kali** 'dig', which takes two suffixes, **idn** and **-aadn**, the stem **pati** only takes the suffix **-aadn**. The following illustrates the stem **pati** in a clause with imperfective aspect and this "other" focus.

- 38 M-olok ou, p-iti-aadn Ubiadn.
 UF-afraid 1SF CAU-die-FM Ubian

'I am afraid that I will be killed by Ubians.'

In the previous example the focus is on the person who might be killed.

Summary: **-Vdn**, **-adn** and **-aadn** are different morphemes whose contrast is neutralized or lost in some environments. The following two clauses illustrate how imperfective aspect undergoer focus and imperfective aspect benefactive focus are distinguished by the pronoun class. The contrast between **-Vdn** and **-adn** has been lost in the verb morphology.

- 39 Balas-adn diaadn Tala.
 return-IMP 1SNF God

‘God is going to repay me something.’

- 40 Balas-adn ou i Kobit.
 return-BF 1SF NF Kobit.

‘Kobit is going to get back at me.’

In (39) the focus is on the thing which is to be paid or the gift thus the benefactor (**diaadn**) is nonfocused. In (40) the focus is on the benefactor (**ou**) not the method of repayment.

4.2.6 It-works-like-a-clock trap

Language is regular, but with exceptions. Sometimes apparent exceptions are due to lack of analysis, but other times there are real exceptions. One apparent exception in Banggi occurs in the greeting **Mbuat nyu?** ‘Where are you (plural) going? / What are you doing?’ Sometimes **mbuat** occurs with focused pronouns as in the following example.

- 41 Gaabm uhu m-buat gambar.
 better 2PLF ?-make picture

‘It is better if you have a picture made.’

However, in the question **Mbuat nyu?** the non-focused actor pronoun occurs.

4.2.7 What-level-do-I-look-at syndrome

In analyzing focus systems, the question arises as to what level one must look at in order to analyze focus. Should you focus on the surface structure only? That is, should you only pay attention to morphological marking? Should you look at the semantic or deep structure case roles, determine what they are, and then see how

each case role is mapped onto the surface structure morphology? Or should you attempt to classify verbs semantically and then determine how each verb class is mapped onto the surface structure morphology?

It does not seem possible to analyze focus by looking at the surface structure (SS) only, but the SS morphology is certainly the place to begin. The problem with SS-only analysis is that it leads into the "One-form-one-meaning trap." On the other hand, defining the deep structure case roles is not trivial and can lead to a proliferation of focus types based on each possible deep structure case role. (Possibly Eastern Kadazan? See Hurlbut 1984:23.) This is where the grammatical case roles of actor and undergoer can help. These two grammatical case roles enable you to capture generalizations about focus possibilities without having to resort to the deep structure case roles. Once you have established the actor and undergoer, then it is easier to move to a deeper level and look at other less frequent focus types. Of course, some deep structure focus types may be more readily apparent from the surface structure than either actor focus or undergoer focus. Such is the case with Banggi instrument focus.

4.2.8 One-to-one-correlation-between-a-focus-type-and-other-morphemes trap

There may seem to be a correlation between focus and other verbal morphemes. For example, initially it may appear that all causatives are actor (causer) focus. This may be due to a tendency to focus on the causer rather than the causee in causative constructions. This seems to be the case in Banggi where there appears to be a higher frequency of clauses focusing on the causer than on the causee. There may be a correlation between focus and other grammatical information, but beware of assuming there is.

In Banggi, it is possible, with imperatives, to focus on both the actor (the person being commanded) or the undergoer (the person or thing affected by the action). So once again, there is no one-to-one correlation between focus and imperatives.

5 Conclusion

Focus is a complex phenomenon that cannot be isolated from other verbal categories and analyzed by itself. Nor can focus be isolated from phonology and morphophonemics. Analysis of focus is not strictly a surface structure analysis but one must resort to other grammatical levels in order to classify focus in terms of its function in a clause.

It is helpful at this point to consider our original picture of focus, only this time with an expanded view toward those things that may affect the marking of focus in a clause.

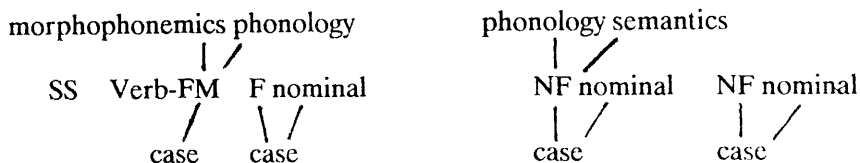


Figure 2

Each language will have methods of combining constituents in ways that affect the marking of the focus system. For example, the NF nominal makers in Timugon (**ru, ri, ra**) display variation based on the semantic role of the nominal in the clause, while in Banggi these markers (**i, ny, ng, n**) exhibit variation due to the phonology.

Two levels that have not been discussed in this paper are sentence and discourse levels. These levels are beyond the scope of this paper but it should be mentioned that: 1) the type of discourse will affect the frequency of focus types in texts, and 2) pragmatic functions of focus in discourse will affect the order of the constituents in clauses. Foley and Van Valin (1984:1-2) claim that the morphosyntax of the clause must proceed from an interclausal and a discourse perspective. If Foley and Van Valin are correct, then a more thorough analysis of the problems encountered in analyzing focus in the languages of Sabah will be possible when these other two perspectives are included.

In discussing problems in analyzing focus in Sabah languages, this paper has sought to answer the question of how focus is marked in the languages of Sabah. The question that needs to be asked next is: Given the possible focus choices in a language, under what circumstances is one focus type chosen instead of another? Usually one of the more central arguments (actor or undergoer) will be the focused NP. In Sama, the focused NPs must be definite and referential (Walton 1983:5). This is not the case in Coastal Kadazan where focused NPs can be marked with non-specific **o**. A topic for further research is: What are the factors that govern the choice of focus in Coastal Kadazan and the other languages of Sabah?

NOTES

1. Parentheses are used to indicate optional constituents. Thus the morphological marking of focus on the verb and the particles used to mark nominals are optional constituents of clauses in some languages.
2. Undergoer focus clauses that are perfective aspect are translated with English passives in this paper. This does not mean that clauses with undergoer focus and perfective aspect are equated with passives in other languages.
3. I am grateful to Richard Brewis for pointing this out to me. For a description of Timugon deictics see Prentice (1971:167).
4. The focus names that appear in parentheses are provided by me and not Prentice or any of the other authors stated in this section. I am not claiming that these names are exactly equivalent to what these people describe, but they are good approximations and provide the reader with a measure for cross-language comparisons.
5. See pitfall 3 "Deal-only-with-focus trap" for a discussion of intransitive clauses that are not actor focus.
6. See pitfall 5 "Stick-to-morphology trap" for a detailed discussion of the morpheme *-Vdn* and its allomorphs.
7. Paul Kroeger has pointed out to me that, in Kimaragang, "I am hot" and "I am cold" take different focuses.
8. See pitfall 3 "Deal-only-with-focus trap" for a discussion of a possible alternative meaning of this morpheme.

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A BRIEF SKETCH OF IDA'AN DECLARATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE TYPES

David Moody

Outline

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1.2	Intransitive Clauses
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ABBREVIATIONS

1PN	first person plural inclusive
1PX	first person plural exclusive
1S	first person singular
2P	second person plural
2S	second person singular
3P	third person plural
3S	third person singular
A	agent of a transitive verb
AT	agent topicalized
DZ	determiner, article
EM	emphatic particle
ET	event topicalized
G	genitive
LP	location particle, far, see PAR
MK1	marker-one kat
MK2	marker-two koy
MK3	marker-three de
N	nominative
P	patient, of a transitive clause
PAR	nearby particle, near, see LP
POSSR	possessor
POSSD	possessed
PR	present tense
PST	past tense
QPAR	question particle
QT	quotation marker

OW	question word
REC	reciprocal
REM	'remote' particle, see LP: far
S	subject of intransitive verb
ST	subject of an intransitive verb topicalized
TR	transitive
WH	content-interrogative word

0 Introduction

Ida'an is a language spoken in the state of Sabah, Malaysia (formerly North Borneo). Its 5,000-6,000 speakers live in villages scattered throughout the Dent Peninsula in the Sandakan, Kinabatangan, and Lahad Datu Districts.¹ The data for this paper was collected during ten months of residence in the village of Sapagaya, Lahad Datu District, between May, 1983, and March, 1984.

The linguistic survey conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics throughout the state of Sabah from 1978-1981 revealed two major Ida'an dialects: generally, a northern dialect and a southern dialect. This paper is about the southern dialect.

The language is about 35% cognate with Bahasa Malaysia and between 41% and 45% cognate with the other indigenous languages of Sabah, its closest relationship being with the Banggi language of Banggi Island.² As yet, there have been no comparative studies conducted to determine more closely the linguistic relationships between Ida'an and the other languages spoken in the area.

The purpose of this paper is to sketch the various types of main declarative and interrogative clauses that have been found in Ida'an discourse. The data for this paper is a collection of seven texts. Six of the texts are narrative discourses, of which one is a legend, three are folktales, and two are personal experience narratives. The seventh is a written text in the style of a dialogue.³ This last text was used primarily for the discussion of Interrogative Clause types in Section 2.

1 Declarative Clauses

Ida'an exhibits one characteristic of Philippine-type languages in that clause participants may be marked as being topical.⁴ This feature of Ida'an discourse is different, however, from most Philippine-type languages discussed in the literature in that Topic is morphologically marked only by the case of pronouns. Noun phrases and proper names are not marked morphologically to distinguish the core roles of a clause. Other criteria, such as basic constituent order, givenness, and definiteness, become a necessary means of regulating the information flow within a discourse.

As a preliminary to discussing specific clause types, I present the pronoun system. There are three sets of pronouns, which can be distinguished, for now, as Nominative, Genitive, and Accusative.

	Nominative	Genitive	Accusative
1S	aku	ku	engkon
2S	ikaw	mu	niun
3S	rumo	rumo	rumo
1PX	kemmi	kemmi	(n)amon
1PN	kito	kito	(n)aton
2P	muyu	muyu	muyun
3P	iro	iro	iro

The Nominative case pronouns designate the Topic in both A-Topic and P-Topic clauses.⁵ The Genitive case pronouns function as non-topic Agents and as Possessors in Possessor Noun Phrases like **balay ku** 'my house'. The Accusative case pronouns function as affected Patients, typically Direct Objects of transitive clauses and, when preceded by the particle **nong**, the same pronouns designate the unaffected Patient, Recipient, or Benefactive, typically the Indirect Object of transitive clauses. The third 'core' participant of Bitransitive clauses is marked with the particle **nong** indicating an oblique relationship. The same particle (at least phonologically) is used to indicate the Possessor in Possessive clauses (in which the Possessor is indicated pronominally), and to indicate both Temporal and Locative relations. It turns out that the only distinction between a Bitransitive clause with some Indirect Object and a Transitive clause with a Locative argument is that the Indirect Object, or Recipient, is animate. Syntactically and morphologically the two clause types otherwise appear to have identical surface structures.

The analysis of Ida'an clause types indicates that there is not a one-to-one correspondence of transitivity types with grammatical encoding. Transitive and Bitransitive verbs are encoded similarly, as mentioned above, and will therefore be collapsed into a single category. Further, there seems to be a continuum of transitivity, with some overlap in the morphological encoding of 'transitive' and 'intransitive' verbs. These matters will be discussed further in the next section.

1.1 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses in Ida'an have a transitive verb as their obligatory nuclear element. Transitive verbs fall into three classes which are marked morphologically by verbal prefixes. These verb-classifying prefixes occur only in present tense, A-Topic clauses. In other tense-aspects these distinctions are neutralized. The three

classes are marked by the prefixes **meng-**, **beg-**, and **ge-**. Verbs prefixed with **meng-** tend to have more prototypical agents, i.e. they act volitionally. Such verbs include **mengakay** 'to use', **menuntut** 'to hit', and **mengallan** 'to make'.

- | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|-----|-------|----------------|--------|
| 1 | Men-er-amos | kat | kemmi | gammo | ullan. |
| | AT:PRES-REC-arrange | MK1 | 1PX | married.couple | stuff |

'We (i.e. my wife and I) are arranging our things.'

The prefix **beg-** occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs, including among the latter **beg-alid** 'to look for', **beg-apuy** 'to cook', and **be-giung** 'to shake (something)'.

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----|-------------|-------------|
| 2 | Boyo | ino | beg-alid | pengangnan. |
| | crocodile | DZ | AT-look.for | food |

'The crocodile looks for food.'

Verbs prefixed with **ge-** tend to have some reflexive component in their meaning, where reflexive is taken broadly to mean that the action in some way refers back to an earlier stage of itself. The prefix **ge-**, as does **beg-**, occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs include **ge-dalud** 'to wait for (something)', **ge-luat** 'to buy', and **ge-dagang** 'to buy'.

- | | | | |
|---|-----|-----------|--------|
| 3 | Aku | ge-dagang | sekal. |
| | 1SN | AT:PR-buy | sugar |

'I am buying sugar.'

It must be emphasized that the characterization of verbal prefixes given here is entirely tentative. As Hopper and Thompson (1980) have indicated, transitivity is a multi-property relationship including the number of participants, degree of action, volition of the agent, and the affectedness and individuation of the direct object, among yet other properties. The task remains to determine which of these properties get encoded in the Ida'an verbal affix system. Though it is possible that these affixes mark arbitrary classes, it seems more likely to me that they do in fact represent relative points on a continuum of transitivity.

Ida'an transitive clauses may be sub-categorized according to the clausal Topic. Three such sub-categorizations can be made: A-Topic, P-Topic, and Non-participant (or Event) Topic. These three Topic-types correlate with the cases that pronouns may take within the clause. A-Topic clauses indicate a pronominal A with

the Nominative Case and a pronominal P with the Accusative Case. P-Topic clauses indicate a pronominal A with the Genitive Case and the pronominal P with the Nominative Case. The Non-participant (Event) Topic clause indicates a pronominal A with the Genitive Case and a pronominal P with the Accusative Case. Non-core arguments of the clause are indicated with the particle **nong** and, if pronominal, the Accusative Case. Figure 1 displays pronouns according to their use in the three transitive topic-marked clause types:

Figure 1: Morphological case of pronouns according to clausal Topic type and grammatical role.

Topic type	A (= Subject _{TR})	P (= Object _{TR})	Oblique Object
A-Topic	Nominative	Accusative	nong + Accusative
P-Topic	Genitive	Nominative	nong + Accusative
Event-Topic	Genitive	Accusative	nong + Accusative

Figure 1 highlights the role-prominence of the A in A-Topic clauses and of the P in P-Topic clauses in that both are marked with the Nominative Case. Conversely, in Event-Topic and P-Topic clauses, the A is in the Genitive case indicating a much less salient role. These facts have relevance for the distribution of these clauses within a discourse.

The basic constituent order of Transitive A-Topic and Event-Topic clauses is given in ARRAY 1:

ARRAY 1: TRANSITIVE A-TOPIC AND EVENT-TOPIC CLAUSE

+DECLAR- TRANSITIVE A-TOPIC, OR EVENT-TOPIC PREDICATE	+A (Subject)	+P (Object)	+OBLIQUE (Non-direct Object)	+LOCA- TION	+TIME
---	---------------------	--------------------	--	----------------	-------

The order given is subject to various movement possibilities that are discourse determined. The above order is the one which would occur at least for core arguments within a narrative where the A argument is definite. When the A argument is indefinite, or is different from the A of the immediately preceding discourse, the order of core arguments becomes +A +PREDICATE +: ±OBLIQUE. The TIME argument may occur clause-initially, usually to indicate change of time within

the narrative as opposed to time enduring beyond the setting of the discourse itself, when it tends to be clause final.

As many as three constituents may occur in addition to the verb, though within narrative discourse this is uncommon. There is a preference for one- and two-argument clauses.

Examples 4 to 6 illustrate Transitive A-Topic or Event-Topic clauses. Example 4 is marked as being present tense in the predicate. (In narrative discourse the present tense is commonly used to indicate events that took place in past time.)

- | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|--------|------------|--|---------|-----------|
| 4 | A | | PRED | | P | |
| | Keraja'an | tu | mengagakay | | tabang, | segellun, |
| | government | also | AT:PR:give | | help | needs |
| | begkas, | sekal. | | | | |
| | rice | sugar | | | | |

'The government also gave help: essentials, rice, and sugar.'

Example 5 illustrates the fronting of the OBLIQUE argument in clauses where P is quoted material.

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|--------------|---------|------------|-------|-------|------------|
| 5 | PRED | | OBLIQUE | | | | |
| | Sa' | begakko | nong | anak..buo | rumo | kemo, | |
| | then | AT:PR:report | PAR | descendant | 3S | QT | |
| | P | | | | | | |
| | akay | subol | ku | di' | batu, | suga' | kito panaw |
| | BE | ET:meet | 1SG | REM | rock | but | 1PN go |
| | koy | megkun. | | | | | |
| | MK2 | ET-dwell | | | | | |

'Then (he) reported to his descendants,

"I have had an encounter over at the rocks, so let's go settle (there)."

6	PRED		A		P
	Meneramos	kat	kemmi	gammo	ullan.
	AT:REC:gather	MK1	1PXN	married.couple	stuff

'We (my spouse and I) gathered our things.'

The basic constituent order of Transitive P-Topic clauses is given in ARRAY 2:

ARRAY 2: TRANSITIVE P-TOPIC CLAUSE

<u>±PATIENT</u>	<u>+DECLARATIVE</u> TRANSITIVE P-TOPIC PREDICATE	<u>±AGENT</u>	<u>±OBLIQUE</u>
-----------------	---	---------------	-----------------

The basic Transitive P-Topic clause order is also conditioned by discourse factors. Primarily, the above basic order occurs when P is definite. If P is indefinite, it typically occurs following the A argument. Typically, no more than two arguments may co-occur with the verb. Thus, the OBLIQUE argument of a Bitransitive verb may be treated like a P and, if definite, will occur clause initial. Examples 7 to 10 illustrate Transitive P-Topic clauses:

In example 7, the P argument follows the A argument because it is indefinite.

7	PRED	A		P
	Tenikkuk	ulang	bugku	merengkang abur kemmi.
	PT:PST:bite	snake	again	youth companion 1PXG

'A snake (on top of everything else) bit a youth who was our companion.'

In example 8, the event is repeated following a discourse interruption. With a definite P, the P is clause-initial:

8	P			PRED	A
	O' Dulah	ton	de	tenikkuk	ulang.
	Yes NAME	EMP	MK3	PT:PST:bite	snake

'Yes, a snake bit Dulah.'

For both 9 and 10 the P argument is definite and thus precedes its predicate. Example 9 illustrates the use of the nominative case pronoun *aku* in a P-Topic clause:

9			P	PRED	A
	Kat	muyu	aku	tikut	muyu.
	MK	2PLN	1SN	PT:PST:pluck	2PLG

'You thought you (had) plucked me.'

10	P				PRED		A
	Salag	nong	allom	ino	de	nioy	kemmi.
	nest	PAR	inside	that	MK3	PT:PST:take	1PXG

'We have taken the nests that are inside.'

1.2 Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses have only a single core argument which I am calling S, following the usage of Comrie (1981) and others. Both Locative and Time constituents may also occur in Intransitive clauses. The basic order of constituents is that shown in ARRAY 3:

ARRAY 3: DECLARATIVE INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

<u>±TIME</u>	+DECLARATIVE INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE	<u>±SUBJECT</u>	<u>±LOCATION</u>

The order of S with respect to the predicate depends on discourse factors. Typically, if S is new to the discourse, or is indefinite (these two factors often coincide), or is a change from the previous S or A, then the S constituent will precede the predicate. Otherwise, the order given in ARRAY 3 generally holds. An exception is when the Location constituent is a pro-form, either *di'* for locations distant from the speaker, or *nong* for locations near the speaker. When a locative pro-form is used, it occurs immediately following the predicate. Examples 11 to 13 are intransitive clauses. Example 11 shows a full expansion of an intransitive clause, with a change in S from the previous main clause.

11	TIME			S		PRED	LOCATION
	Pukul	turu'	betingnga'	kemmi	sawot	nong	balay.
	hit	seven	and.a.half	1PXN	arrive	PAR	house

'At seven-thirty we arrived home.'

In example 12, although **inni'** Apuy is a different S from the S of the preceding clause, he is the central figure in the discourse, and therefore a highly predictable S (or A). He thus comes into the discourse in a clause with the basic unmarked order.

12	PRED		S		LOCATION
	Muli'	kat	inni'	Apuy	di' balay.
	return	MK1	grandfather	NAME	REM house

'Grandfather Apuy returned to his house.'

Example 13 shows the basic order for main intransitive clauses with only a predicate and an S constituent.

13	PRED		S
	Panaw	kat	pagkom.
	go	MK1	type.of.bird

'The bird went.'

1.3 Existential and Possessive Clauses

Existential and Possessive clauses are grouped together because the verb in both types of clauses is the verb **akay** which can mean 'to be' or 'to have'.⁶ ARRAY 4 shows the basic order of constituents in Existential clauses:

ARRAY 4: EXISTENTIAL CLAUSE

+ EXISTENTIAL PREDICATE akay	+ TOPIC
---	---------

The Ida'an Existential clause may predicate the existence of either an indefinite entity (as in English) or a definite entity, which may be encoded by either a noun phrase or a clausal construction. Examples 14 to 17 illustrate possible Existential clauses:

- 14 PRED TOPIC
 Akay satu maso ...
 BE one time

'There was a time ...'

- 15 PRED TOPIC
 Akay ulun mengay ...
 BE person AT:PR:take

'There are people who take (them) ...'

- 16 PRED TOPIC
 Akay koy iro gammo bubba'.... sugkang.
 BE MK2 3P married.couple fire.ant

'There were the fire ant and his spouse(s).'

Example 17 shows the possibility of stating the existence of something that is definite, as definiteness is understood by the use of the possessive pronoun **ku** 'my'.

- 17 PRED TOPIC
 Akay kingog ku ulun gubor, "Dali' ..."
 BE PT:PST:hear 1SG person noise flood

'(There was (that)) I heard a person yell, "Flood ..."'

Possessive clauses are similar to Existential clauses in that the predicate is expressed by the same verb, **akay**, in Possessive clauses glossed 'have' rather than 'be'. Possessive clauses are different, however, in that they must have two nominal expressions, the Possessor and the entity that is Possessed. The basic order of Possessive clauses is given in ARRAY 5:

ARRAY 5: POSSESSIVE CLAUSE

+ POSSESSOR	+ POSSESSIVE PREDICATE akay	+ POSSESSED

In the Possessive clause the POSSR constituent must be definite. Examples 18 and 19 show Possessive clauses:

The basic order is shown in Examples 21 and 22:

- 21 COMMENT TOPIC
 Abbog alud kemmi.
 ST:broken boat 1PXG

‘Our boat is broken.’

- 22 COMMENT TOPIC
 Mella’ aku.
 afraid 1SN

‘I was afraid.’

Example 23 illustrates the inverted order with an indefinite TOPIC constituent:

- 23 TOPIC COMMENT
 Ilun pasod de’ tuso.
 a.person many MK3 worried

‘Many people were worried.’

1.5 Non-verbal Clauses

Independent declarative non-verbal clauses are of two types in Ida’an: Predicate Nominal clauses and Predicate Locative clauses. Predicate Nominal clauses comprise two nominal constituents, Topic and Predicate nominative. Topic must be definite, whereas the predicate nominative may be either definite or indefinite. ARRAY 7 illustrates the basic order:

ARRAY 7: PREDICATE NOMINAL CLAUSE

+ TOPIC (+ definite)	+ PRED NOM
-------------------------	---------------

There is no inversion of constituents permitted, but either of the two constituents may be instantiated by clausal elements. Examples 24 to 27 show Predicate Nominal clauses:

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|---------|-----|------------|
| 24 | TOPIC | | | PRED NOM |
| | Ayug | Kedakil | ton | Tengkaput. |
| | friend | NAME | EMP | NAME |

'Kedakil's friend was Tengkaput.'

- | | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| 25 | TOPIC | PRED NOM |
| | Ano | ambung. |
| | this | basket |

'This is a basket.'

Examples 26 and 27 demonstrate the use of clausal elements for each of the two nominal constituents. In 26, the verb **panaw** 'go' is used as a non-finite verb and functions as a nominal in the PRED NOM position. In 27, a headless relative clause, **mengakay nong salag ino** '(those who) use the nests', functions as a nominal in the TOPIC position.

- | | | | |
|----|--------|-----|----------|
| 26 | TOPIC | | PRED NOM |
| | Kelu' | iro | panaw. |
| | desire | 3PL | go |

'Their desire was to go.'

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|------|-------|------|--------------|
| 27 | TOPIC | | | | PRED NOM |
| | Mengakay | nong | salag | ino | bangso Sina. |
| | AT:PR:use | PAR | nest | that | race China |

'(The ones who) use the nests are the Chinese.'

Ida'an does not distinguish, either morphologically or syntactically, between predicate nominals that make statements of identification and those that indicate class membership. Of the examples above, 24, 25, and 26 are of the former type, while 27 is the latter type.

The Predicate Locative clause also has two constituents, a nominal expression TOPIC indicating the entity to be located, and a locative expression (= LOC) indicating the location of that entity. The TOPIC must be definite and precedes the LOC. ARRAY 8 shows the basic order:

ARRAY 9: YES/NO INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

+PREDICATE	+QUESTION PARTICLE	+YES/NO QUERY
akay	gom	

The clause structure may also be viewed as that of an existential clause that is changed to an Interrogative clause by placing the particle **gom** immediately following the existential verb **akay** 'be'. Example 31 illustrates a Yes/No Interrogative clause:

- 31 PRED Y/N QUERY
 QPAR
 Akay gom balay agku nong kampong ano?
 BE QPAR house vacant LP:near village this

'Is there an empty house in this village?'

Content Interrogative clauses are formed typically by placing a WH-type question word (who, what, where, how, when) at the beginning of the clause, though considerable variation is allowed. The basic order is shown in ARRAY 10:

ARRAY 10: CONTENT INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

+WH-QUESTION WORD	+QUERY
----------------------	--------

Various elements of the clausal Query may be topicalized by clause-initial fronting, in which case the WH-Question word may not even be fronted. Examples of Content Interrogative clauses are given in 32 to 34:

- 32 WH-QW QUERY
 Nu kidan ikaw panaw suru Madday?
 What FUT 2SN go toward Madday

'When are you going to Madday?'

- 33 QUERY WH-QW
 Ikaw suru Madday ino maya' nu?
 2SN toward Madday that follow what

'You go to Madday, take what?' or 'How do you travel to Madday?'

34			WH-QW	QUERY	
	Allom	setahun	piro kali	ikaw maya'	panaw mengalap?
	In	one.year	how many	2SN follow	go get

'In a year, how many times do you go nesting?'

NOTES

1. Banker (1984) gives background material on the Ida'an people.
- 2.. Note Dyen (1965), Smith, (1984) and Moody (1984) for linguistic relationships.
3. Appendix II lists the seven texts and gives a brief description of each.
4. Commonly called Focus, I follow Comrie's use of Topic to avoid ambiguity with the use of Focus, which indicates "most important piece of new information." Topic-marked participants are, generally speaking, not new information, but rather are already on stage and become prominent in the narrator's staging of his story.
5. In trying to maintain a clear distinction between grammatical relations and semantic and pragmatic roles, while trying to use terminology that already has some sanction, I follow Comrie in referring to prototypically agentive subjects of transitive clauses as A and prototypically non-agentive, affected objects of transitive clauses as P. When these grammatical and semantic notions join the pragmatic notion of Topic, wherein a particular element of the discourse is given prominence, the result is A-Topic and P-Topic. A-Topic thus refers to a type of transitive clause that gives discourse prominence to the A of the clause, and P-Topic refers to a type of transitive clause that gives discourse prominence to the P of the clause.
6. There is some motivation for considering **akay** to be morphologically a stative verb, having the stative predicate prefix **a-** and the root **kay**. In constructions with the negative particle **pon**, both **pon kay** and **pon akay** occur (as does **apon akay**).

APPENDIX I: INDEX OF EXAMPLES

<u>Example Number</u>	<u>Text Clause Number</u>	<u>Example Number</u>	<u>Text Clause Number</u>
1	15.28	18	35.3
2	12.52	19	22.11A
3	Language Lesson 5	20	11.14
4	15.63	21	12.40
5	11.38	22	15.48
6	15.28	23	12.56
7	12.31	24	36.58
8	12.34	25	22.49B
9	34.132	26	12.8
10	11.44	27	11.47
11	12.59	28	36.57
12	11.37	29	36.55
13	36.7	30	12.44
14	11.1	31	Language Lesson 8
15	11.52	32	22.1A
16	35.1	33	22.20A
17	15.16	34	22.3A

APPENDIX II: TEXTS USED IN THIS STUDY

The seven texts that form the data for this study are listed along with the author's name and age, the size of the text in number of clauses, and a brief description of the text.

TEXT NUMBER	AUTHOR	AGE	LENGTH (CLAUSES)	DESCRIPTION
IDTX11	Haji Imom Injir	65	54	Tells how the Ida'an people first came to live at Madday Caves where they now collect birds' nests. A legend.

IDTX12	Keila	50	67	A personal experience narrative in which the story teller goes on a boat ride with some friends.
IDTX15	Ali Rams	2	77	A personal experience narrative recounting what happened in a recent river flooding and recalling a previous flooding.
IDTX22	Edin Tabun	22	49	A written question and answer dialogue concerning what is used when the people go to Madday to collect birds' nests.
IDTX34	Luk	45	157	A folktale about Sengoyan (a monkey) and Lembukon (a bird) and their conflict.
IDTX35	Wok Ittoy	42	74	A folk tale about Bubba' Sugkang (a fire ant) and his two wives, Tuttul (a water snail) and Gonggan (a prawn), and how they all die.
IDTX36	Wok Ittoy	42	70	A folktale about Kedakil and Uyu-uyu (two kinds of birds), the latter's rejection of his marriage proposal, and Kedakil's new life in the Philippines with Tengkaput (another bird).

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KALABUAN CLAUSES

John A. Spitzack

Outline

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Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

Amb Vb	Ambient Verb
Bitrans Pred Vb	Bitransitive Predicate Verb
Bitrans Pred VP	Bitransitive Predicate Phrase
Coe	Numerical Coefficient
Comp NP	Comparison Noun Phrase
Desc P	Descriptive Phrase
Desc W	Descriptive Word
Decl Cl	Declarative Clause
Emp	Emphatic
Eval P	Evaluative Phrase
Eval W	Evaluative Word
Exist P	Existential Phrase
Exist W	Existential Word
Frus	Frustrative Particle
ImpV	Imperative Verb
Ind Pro	Indefinite Pronoun
Inter P	Interrogative Phrase
Inter W	Interrogative Word
Intj	Interjective
Inton Mod	Intonation Modification
Intran Vb	Intransitive Verb
Intran VP	Intransitive Verb Phrase
Lig	Ligature
Loc P	Locative Phrase
Loc W	Locative Word
Mkr	Marker
Mod Decl Cl	Modified Declarative Clause
Neg Exist P	Negative Existential Phrase
Neg Exist W	Negative Existential Word
Nom Cl	Nominal Clause
Nom Vb	Nominal Verb
Nom VP	Nominal Verb Phrase
Noun	Noun Word
NP	Noun Phrase
NTM	Non-topic Marker
Num NP	Number Noun Phrase
Pet	Petitive
(pl)	Plural
PL	Plural
PL Prn P	Plural Pronoun Phrase
PL Prn W	Plural Pronoun Word
Poss NP	Possessive Noun Phrase
Prn P	Pronoun Phrase
Prn W	Pronoun Word
Prp NP	Proper Noun Phrase
Prp N	Proper Noun
Rec	Reciprocal
Rec Trans Vb	Reciprocal Transitive Verb
Rec Trans VP	Reciprocal Transitive Verb Phrase
Rem	Remote
SG	Singular
(sg)	Singular
Spec	Specifier

Subor P or W	Subordinating Phrase or Word
Tm P	Time Phrase
Tm W	Time Word
TM	Topic Marker
Tran Cl	Transitive Clause
Trans Vb	Transitive Verb
Trans VP	Transitive Verb Phrase
Vb	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

0 Introduction

The Kalabuan (or Kolobuan) language is a Paitanic language spoken by groups living on the upper reaches of the Kinabatangan River in central Sabah (King 1984).

The following discussion posits nine clause types for the Kalabuan language. There are six verbal clause types and three non-verbal. The clause, as the "building block" of Kalabuan syntax, is defined as the minimum utterance or string of speech that is spoken in any situation entailing more than the simple response to a direct question or comment in a dialogue.

The format for the various discussions is simple. First there is a brief introductory comment about the clause type, followed by an array of the clause formula and the rules governing this formula, and then illustrative examples. In most cases the constituent tagmeme that is the topic of the clause is marked by underlining and represents the focus of the predicate of that clause.

Each of these clause types is arrayed as it stands in its declarative mood. Other features are handled as modifications of these clauses. These modifying features include Interrogative, Imperative, and Subordination.

VERBAL CLAUSES

1 Transitive Clauses

There are four subtypes of transitive clauses in Kalabuan: the standard Transitive clause, the modified Reciprocal Transitive, the Intensive Transitive, and the Quotative Transitive. These clauses are grouped together because of the similarity in their arrays, but they are separated as subtypes either because their nuclear tagmemes are not the same or because they have a very restricted application.

1.1 Transitive Clause

The Transitive clause consists of three nuclear tagmemes: Predicate, Actor, and Undergoer. The only obligatory tagmeme is the Predicate tagmeme, which is filled by a transitive verb (Trans Vb) or verb phrase (Trans VP). In the case of a verb phrase when the Actor tagmeme is a pronoun word, the verb phrase is normally split by the actor pronoun.

The Actor and Undergoer tagmemes are nuclear to the array. The Actor tagmeme is filled by a pronoun (Prn W) or pronoun phrase (Prn P), a proper noun (Prp N), or a noun phrase (NP). The Undergoer tagmeme is filled by either an animate or inanimate noun phrase, a pronoun or pronoun phrase, or a proper noun.

All other tagmemes are considered marginal to the Transitive clause. The Location tagmeme may be filled by a location word or phrase or a noun phrase. The Time tagmeme may be filled by a time word or phrase. The Instrument tagmeme may be filled by a noun phrase. The Manner tagmeme is filled by a descriptive word (Desc W) or phrase (Desc P). The Purpose tagmeme is filled by a verb (Vb) or verb phrase (VP).

No doubt due to an inherent constituent load, only one marginal tagmeme can be found in clauses in natural text unless one or more nuclear tagmemes is absent. Elicited data may have several marginal tagmemes, but thus far no clause in unelicited text material has been found having more than four tagmemes, including the obligatory Predicate.

Declarative Transitive clause

+ Predicate	\pm Actor	\pm Undergoer	\pm Location	\pm Time
Trans VP Trans Vb	Prn P Prn W Prp N NP	NP Prn W Prn P Prp N	Loc P Loc W NP	Tm P Tm W

\pm Instrument	\pm Manner	\pm Purpose
NP	Descr P Descr W	VP Vb

Rules:

1. The actor tagmeme may permute to a prepredicate position if the predicate is marked for actor focus.
2. The actor tagmeme will normally split a predicate phrase when it is filled by a pronoun word.
3. The undergoer tagmeme is permutable. It may be forefronted to a pre-predicate or a pre-actor position or move to a clause final position when it is the focus of the predicate.
4. The Location and Time tagmemes may sometimes permute with one another.
5. The Manner tagmeme may permute to a prepredicate position.
6. When one of the Instrument, Manner, or Purpose tagmemes is present, no other marginal tagmemes are found in the syntagmeme.

Examples:

The following are examples of minimal transitive clauses having all three nuclear tagmemes present:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER		
1	Manuu command	aku I	so'	lalaing NTM child	wokon. other

'I sent another child.'

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER		
2	Mamaalo have.made	siro they	so'	basalag. NTM shelter	

'They made a shelter.'

- | | <u>PREDICATE</u> | <u>ACTOR</u> | <u>UNDERGOER</u> |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| 3 | Daa kapanday toko
not can.know | we | kaawi' so' sara no' adat-adat
all NTM way Lig customs |
| | atawa'
or.even | tagial.
play | |

'We don't all know the ways of (our) customs or even (our) play.'

The Actor tagmeme can be forefronted to a prepredicate position when it is the focus of the predicate, as below:

- | | <u>ACTOR</u> | <u>PREDICATE</u> |
|---|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 4 | Anak
offspr | niaano mangalod.
his.PL angry.at |

'His children will be angry (at you).'

- | | <u>ACTOR</u> | | <u>PREDICATE</u> | | <u>UNDERGOER</u> |
|---|---------------|--------------|-------------------------|------------|------------------|
| 5 | Boo
turtle | situ
this | nangium
searched.for | so'
NTM | punti.
banana |

'This turtle searched for a banana tree.'

The Undergoer tagmeme also can be forefronted when it is the focus of the predicate:

- | | <u>UNDERGOER</u> | <u>PREDICATE</u> | <u>ACTOR</u> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 6 | Giraw
rice.wine | wagu inium
then search.for | nasiro tu.
they this |

'Then they searched for rice wine.'

- | | <u>UNDERGOER</u> | <u>PREDICATE</u> | <u>ACTOR</u> |
|---|----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 7 | Ido kaang
one large.jar | naayangan
was.found | tu.
this.one |

'This fellow found a single jar.'

The Undergoer tagmeme may be moved to a pre-actor position if it is in focus and there is an Instrument tagmeme, as in the first example below. But as the following examples illustrate, this is not always the case:

	PREDICATE	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	ACTOR		
8	Alapo' take	aku I	ni NTM	Wili Willy	om and

			INSTRUMENT
ni	ali'	so'	karita'.
NTM	son	NTM	vehicle

'Willy and my son took me by car.'

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	INSTRUMENT
9	Lansangon nail	ku I	kaakayu sm.wood	no that
				NTM hammer

'I put a nail into the board with the hammer.'

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	INSTRUMENT
10	Piison split	ku I	papan board	tu this
				NTM machete

'I split this board with the machete.'

In the case of a long Predicate phrase when the Actor is absent from the expansion, the Undergoer may split the Predicate even if it is a NP rather than a pronoun:

	PREDICATE	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	PREDICATE
11	Daa not	adapat able	apuy fire
			sono that
			mamada'?
			extinguish

'Were (you) not able to put out the fire?'

The following example shows a transitive clause filling the statement tag-meme of an evaluation cleft sentence. The first word *asuango* 'many' is the evaluation.

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>
12	Asuango many	inambot met	ku I
			labuu. person

'I've met lots of people.' or 'Many people have I met.'

The Actor tagmeme when filled by a pronoun (either topic or non-topic) will frequently split a Predicate filled by a verb phrase:

	┌───────────────────────────────────┐					
	PREDICATE		<u>ACTOR</u>		PREDICATE	
13	Daa	buli	aku		mantagial	
	not	can	I		play	
	UNDERGOER					
	so'	siro	si	maman	om	si minan.
	NTM	they	TM	uncle	and	TM aunt

'I cannot play with my uncle or my aunt.'

(It is not known why the nouns within the NP of the Undergoer tagmeme are marked as topic while the tagmeme itself is marked as non-topic, but it presumably can be dealt with on a lower level or as an embedded equative clause.)

This "splitting of the Predicate" is also done in order to attach a subordinating word to the verb phrase:

	┌───────────────────────────────────┐					
	PREDICATE		<u>ACTOR</u>		PREDICATE	
14	Moopod		kai		mangapuy ...	
	finish		we		cook	

'When we finished cooking ...'

It is not uncommon for at least one of the nuclear tagmemes to be absent from the clause; it is most frequently the Actor tagmeme, even though it may be the focus of the predicate, as below:

	PREDICATE		UNDERGOER	
15	...	pamamali	so'	kana'.
		buy	NTM	side.dish

'... in order to buy some meat.'

In the following example the Undergoer tagmeme is the focus of the Predicate but is absent from the syntagmeme:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	LOCATION	
16	Aiton	ku	dii	rayo.
	bring	I	there	upstream

‘I bring (it) upstream.’

An expanded transitive clause including a Location tagmeme is shown below:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	LOCATION
17	Kasiawi	kuo	ido	tu
	can.see	I	one	this
				there.even

‘I could see this one over there, too.’

An expanded transitive clause including a Time tagmeme is shown below:

	PREDICATE		ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	
18	Okon ko’	winaal	mai	itu	so’
	don’t Emp	deeds	we	this	NTM
	TIME				
	masa’	no’	pinusawaan		situ.
	time	Lig	wedding		this

‘We shouldn’t do these things during this wedding.’

An expanded transitive clause with the focus of the Predicate on the Actor tagmeme and including a Purpose tagmeme is shown below:

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	PURPOSE	
19	Mangalap	so’	sungoy	untuk
	take	NTM	water	for
				pangungugas.
				cleaner

‘He (should) take some water to clean (it).’

The Time tagmeme may permute with the Undergoer tagmeme, making the in-focus Undergoer clause final, as below. (This may indicate a dual focus of both Time and Undergoer.)

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	TIME		UNDERGOER
20	Pagsiow at.once.see	mai we	mulai beginning	paratama' tu first this	paruka'. barking.deer

'Right away we caught sight of a barking deer.'

The following are examples of Manner tagmemes attached to a Transitive Predicate. The normal ordering of tagmemes is demonstrated in the first example, while the second shows the unusual forefronting of both the Manner and Actor tagmemes within the same syntagmeme.

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	MANNER
21	Pagsiow at.once.see	nasiro they	banar. true

'Suddenly they really saw it.'

	MANNER	ACTOR	PREDICATE
22	Asusa' difficult	io he	mangaaw. climb

'It was very hard for him to climb (it).'

The transitive clause in Kalabuan can be expanded to more than four tagmemes through elicitation, though it may force the Time tagmeme to a sentence level role. This is based on the fact that it is no longer permutable with the Location tagmeme except to a clause initial position. (See below for an example of permutability of the Time and Location tagmemes.)

	<u>Natural Text</u>				<u>Elicited Text</u>	
	ACTOR	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER		LOCATION	TIME
23	Si Sinan	no nangubat	so' kai		[dii rumasakit	sasarap]
	TM Sinan	that treated	NTM we		[there dispensary	morning]

'Sinan treated us [at the dispensary this morning].'

If the Undergoer tagmeme from above is not included in the expansion, the Time tagmeme and the tagmeme that indicates Location are permutable within the clause, which indicates that the Location tagmeme may be a clause level constituent rather than sentence level even when there are no more than four tagmemes present.

	<u>ACTOR</u>		PREDICATE	TIME	LOCATION
24	Si Sinan	no	nangubat	sasarap	dii rumasakit.
	TM Sinan	that	treated	morning	there dispensary'

'Sinan treated (us) at the dispensary this morning.'

In some Transitive clauses none of the tagmemes are marked for focus. In the following example the verb appears to be marked for Undergoer focus but, in fact, the Undergoer tagmeme is marked as non-topic by the oblique marker so':

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	UNDERGOER
25	Itapis	ku	so' ulu niono.
	apply.medication	I	NTM head his.SG

(Could this be an example of a bitransitive verb with the focused Inanimate Undergoer absent? Or is the focus of the Predicate actually the Range of the verb? That is, does the sentence say:

- 1) ACTOR PREDICATE INANIMATE UNDERGOER ANIMATE GOAL
'I applied (medication) on his head.'

or is it actually saying:

- 2) ACTOR PREDICATE(RANGE) UNDERGOER
'I applied.medication on his head.'

or even:

- 3) ACTOR PREDICATE UNDERGOER
'I medicated his head.'

In the first possibility the Inanimate Undergoer is the focus of the sentence, but is absent. In the second possibility the Predicate is focusing on an absent Range. In the third possibility the sentence simply has no tagmeme in focus and is a simple Transitive clause.)

1.2 Reciprocal Transitive Clause

The modified Reciprocal Transitive clause consists of nuclear Predicate and Actor tagmemes. The syntagmeme may be expanded to include margins of Location and Time. The exponent of the Actor tagmeme must be plural. The action of

the reciprocal verb is somehow performed between actors or in a reciprocal relation one to the other.

Reciprocal Transitive clause

+ Predicate	<u>±</u> Actor	<u>±</u> Location	<u>±</u> Time
Rec Trans VP Rec Trans Vb	PL Prn P PL Prn W Prop NP	Loc P Loc W NP	Tm P Tm W

Rules:

1. The Actor tagmeme must be filled by a plural animate agent.
2. The Location and Time tagmemes are permutable with each other in the same way as in the Transitive clause type.

Examples:

The minimal expansion of a Reciprocal clause includes the Predicate and Actor tagmemes, which, in the case of the latter, is sometimes absent in a sentence containing another clause with the same Actor. Following is an example of the minimal Reciprocal clause:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>
26	Kapusawo when.married	kau ... you(pl)

‘When you are married (to each other) ...’

In the following example the Actor does not appear to be the focus of the Predicate since the non-topic pronoun is used:

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>
27	Mualod Rec.angry.at	nasiro. they

‘They are quarreling.’

The topic form of the pronoun can be used with no change in the verb, as below:

- PREDICATE ACTOR
- 28 Mualod siro.
 Rec.angry.at they

‘They are quarreling.’

When the Location and Time tagmemes are added, the Actor may drop out, even when it is the focus of the Predicate:

- PREDICATE LOCATION TIME
- 29 Mupatoy-patoy salalom bilik dardia’ sampay waa mutaatangi’.
 Rec.kill-kill inside room class until be Rec.crying

‘They kept fighting (with each other) in the classroom until there was crying.’

In elicited and translated texts the Actor tagmeme may be present in the same expansion as the Location and Time tagmemes:

- PREDICATE ACTOR LOCATION TIME
- 30 Mupapadiu’ siro dii so’ kolam saniab.
 Rec.bathe they there NTM pool yesterday

‘They bathed together in the pool yesterday.’

1.3 Intentive Transitive Clause

The Intentive Transitive clause is posited here to handle those having a very restricted application using the verb **uang**. The three tagmemes which are posited include the obligatory Predicate and Actor and the optional Undergoer. The Undergoer tagmeme is in a special relation with the Predicate but is not actually acted upon.

The only verb in the Intentive Transitive clause is **uang** ‘intend, like’. Generally it accepts no verbal affixation.

Intentive Transitive clause

+ Predicate	+ Actor	+ Undergoer
uang	NP Prn P Prn W Prp N	NP Prn P Prn W Prp N

Rules:

1. The only filler found in the Predicate is the unaffixed **uang**.
2. The Actor must be filled with an animate agent or patient.

Examples:

The full expansion of the Intensive clause is shown below:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	UNDERGOER
31	Uang	ku	so' tapayas.
	want	I	NTM papaya

'I want (like) papaya.'

Most commonly the Undergoer tagmeme is absent, or rather, the Undergoer of the Intensive clause is the following clause, as below:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>
32	uang	ku	daa mangalusung
	want	I	not go.to.river

'I wanted not to go down to the river.'

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	
33	Uang	ku	minakod so'	okow.
	want	I	go.up NTM	you(sg)

'I want to come on up into your (house).'

These are analyzed as two clauses rather than as a complex predicate because of the apparent change in focus. The Actor of the above clause is the non-topic **ku**. The Undergoer tagmeme may thus be considered the focus of the Intensive use of **uang**. In other words, the Intensive clause is always pointing to the following clause as its focus. The filler of the Undergoer tagmeme in this case is a clause having Actor focus, that is the absent **aku** 'I' as expanded below:

		PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER
34	Uang ku	minakod	aku	so' okow.
	want I	go.up	I	NTM you(sg)

'I want to go up into your (house).'

1.4 Quotative Transitive Clause

The Quotative Transitive clause is also a modified Transitive clause having a very restricted usage. It is used only to introduce a string of speech. It consists of Predicate, Actor, and Undergoer tagmemes but no marginal tagmemes are allowed. The Undergoer tagmeme is usually not present, and the Actor may be absent. The single filler in the Predicate slot is the quote verb **komo** 'to say'.

Quotative transitive clause

+ Predicate	<u>±</u> Actor	<u>±</u> Undergoer
komo	Prn P Prn W NP Noun	NP Prn P Prn W

Rules:

1. The Predicate and Actor tagmemes will often be morphophonemically fused together in the first person singular, second person singular, and third person singular pronoun forms.
2. The tagmemes are not permutable.
3. The only filler of the Predicate tagmeme is the unaffixed quotative verb **komo**.

Examples:

The following is an example of Quotative Transitive clause as a full expansion.

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER
35	Komo	basayo	so' io...
	say	monkey	NTM he

'The monkey said to him ...'

When the Actor tagmeme of the Quotative Transitive clause is filled by a pronoun, the form is often contracted, thus collapsing the Predicate and Actor tagmemes into a single phonological word. An example of the contracted form of the

Predicate and Actor tagmemes is shown below. In these frozen forms the Goal tagmeme is usually absent.

	PREDICATE	ACTOR
36	kama.....	ku . . .
	say	I
	'I said to him . . .'	

2 Bitransitive Clauses

The two types of Bitransitive clauses include the standard Bitransitive clause and the Petitive Bitransitive clause. The Petitive is restricted to transitive verbs having the **maki-** prefix.

2.1 Bitransitive Clause

The Bitransitive clause is related to the Transitive clause type in that all of the Predicate fillers come from the class of transitive verbs, although not all of the transitive verbs may be fillers in the Bitransitive Predicate slot. The nuclear tagmemes of the Bitransitive clause are Predicate, Actor, Inanimate Undergoer, and Animate Goal. It has been found that when these are all present no marginal tagmemes are allowed. This is most commonly found in the hortatory or expository texts. In narrative-type material the Bitransitive clause with absent nuclear tagmemes will more likely be found.

The terms Animate Goal and Inanimate Undergoer are chosen here in order to conform to the terms chosen for the Transitive clause type. The Transitive type Undergoer is sometimes animate and sometimes inanimate, but, thus far, no example of a Bitransitive clause has been found having an animate undergoer or an inanimate goal. Generally the Inanimate Undergoer has a broad, if not vague, role of a patient or "referent" which may include range or measure. The Animate Goal can have the role of a benefactor or associate.

Bitransitive clause

+ Predicate	+Actor	+Inanimate Undergoer	+Animate Goal	+Location	+Time
Bitrans Pred VP	Prn P	NP	Prn P	Loc P	Tm P
Bitrans Pred Vb	Prn W	Noun	Prn W	Loc W	Tm W
	Prp N NP		Prp N NP		

Rules:

1. The Bitransitive verbs include such ones as: **dapat** 'get', **pili** 'choose', **taak** 'give', **awit** 'bring', and **uli** 'return'.
2. The Inanimate Undergoer tagmeme may be permuted to a prepredicate position when it is the focus of the Predicate. This is done for emphasis or when the Inanimate Undergoer tagmeme is the relator pivot of a relative clause.
3. One of the Undergoer and Goal tagmemes will frequently be absent when a Location or Time tagmeme is present.

Examples:

An example of the Bitransitive syntagmeme having all of the nuclear tagmemes is shown below with an Animate Goal focus:

	PREDICATE	<u>ANIMATE</u> <u>GOAL</u>	ACTOR	INANIMATE UNDERGOER
37	Pili'	aku	no'	wainoy tu so' sabung itu.
	choose	I	NTM	female this NTM shirt this

'The girl chose for me this shirt.'

The Animate Goal sometimes has the role of "goal," but at other times, as below, its role is more vaguely like that of an "associate" or a "referent." The expansion below of the syntagmeme is a relative clause:

	<u>INANIMATE UNDERGOER</u>	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>ANIMATE GOAL</u>
38 ...pagalaman experience	yang which	nadapatan had	ku I	so' bagi so' lalaing. NTM for NTM child

'.... the experience that I've had with the children'.

The Bitransitive clauses shown below are embedded nominalized clauses with In-
animate Undergoer focus:

				<u>INANIMATE UNDERGOER</u>
39 Daa po not yet	raiton pronounce	ku I	ong should	ada' what
PREDICATE	ACTOR			
inaal done	mu you			
				<u>ANIMATE GOAL</u>
		so'	anu NTM Ind Pro	siri guru. that teacher.

'I have not yet mentioned what you did with that teacher.'

40 Tatapi' but	raiton pronounce	ku I	magulu go.ahead	ong should	
<u>INANIMATE UNDERGOER</u>	PREDICATE	ACTOR			<u>ANIMATE GOAL</u>
ada' what	winaal no' done NTM	guru teacher	siri so' that NTM	okow. you(sg)	

'But I mentioned at first what was done by that teacher to you.'

At least one of the nuclear tagmemes will be absent in the syntagmeme when any marginal tagmeme is added to the expansion. The non-topic Actor tagmeme in the following clause is not present:

	PREDICATE	<u>ANIMATE GOAL</u>	LOCATION			<u>INANIMATE UNDERGOER</u>
41 Naukuman punished	aku I	kaan Intj	dii there	so' NTM	upis office	sapikul. ten.dollars

'Man! I was fined ten dollars in court.'

In the partially elicited text below the Undergoer is the focus of the Predicate and is also forefronted. Natural text from which this was expanded left the Animate Goal unstated.

	<u>INANIMATE</u> <u>UNDERGOER</u>	PREDICATE	ACTOR		[ANIMATE] [GOAL]
42	Inda' panadol just panadol	initaak gave	no' NTM	darisai dresser	[so' io] [NTM he]

'The dispenser (health aide) just gave [him] some panadol.'

In other elicited texts the Actor tagmeme splits the Predicate. The Predicate is marked for Actor focus but the pronoun word filling the Actor tagmeme is the non-topic form. This may have something to do with the fact that it is a split Predicate or that it is a question. (Is **koyo** a topic form of the pronoun? Is the **-yo** the topic marker as the **-o** affix on **basay** in **komo basayo**? If so, how does it differ from **okow**? Or should **buli** clauses be handled in the same way as **uang** clauses, that is, as two clauses rather than split Predicates (see Sec 1.3)? Note that both the Goal and the Undergoer are marked in the same way as non-topic using **so'**. The **saaku** is a contracted form of **so' aku**.

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	INANIMATE UNDERGOER	ANIMATE GOAL
43	Buli can	koyo you	mangawit bring	so' sungoy NTM water	so' aku? NTM I

'Could you bring me some water?'

	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	INANIMATE UNDERGOER	ANIMATE GOAL
44	Buli can	koyo you	mamupu' wash	so' kalaman situ NTM clothes this	saaku? NTM.I

'Could you wash these clothes for me?'

2.2 Petite Clause

Stems having the Petite prefix **maki-** attached to them constitute a unique class of verbs, such that an ordinary Transitive verb is moved into a Bitransitive relation with the other clause constituents. Thus the affix itself is a causative-like (not direct causative) affix. Following is an example of a Bitransitive of this type with a Location tagmeme attached to it and the Inanimate Undergoer absent. Actually it

is common for there to be only one or two tagmemes present. Note that the Actor is both the "indirect causer" and the benefactor (Animate Goal) of the action of the Predicate.

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	ANIMATE GOAL	LOCATION					
45	Makialapo' Pet.take	aku I	so' na ali' NTM ... son	dii there	so' NTM	batu mile	duo two	napulu'. Coe.ten	

'I asked my son to take me to mile twelve.'

3 Intransitive Clauses

The subtypes of the Intransitive clause include the standard Intransitive and the Ambient clause types. Though the syntagmeme of the latter is identical to some Intransitive clauses, it is useful to separate them since the Ambient clause type is very restricted in the number of possible tagmemes.

3.1 Intransitive Clause

The Intransitive clause consists of two nuclear tagmemes, Predicate and Actor, and may be expanded by one or two of the marginal tagmemes: Location, Time, Instrument, or Manner. The Predicate is filled by an Intransitive verb phrase. The other tagmemes are filled as in the clause types discussed above. Only the Predicate is obligatory. The intransitive clause is frequently used to carry the Location or Time tagmemes of a discourse. It is also used to indicate Instrument or Manner tagmemes or to introduce participants.

Intransitive clause

+ Predicate	+ Actor	+ Location	+ Time	+ Manner	+ Instrument
Intran VP Intran Vb	Prn P Prn W Prp N NP	Loc P Loc W NP	Tm P Tm W	Desc W	NP

Rules:

1. The Actor tagmeme may permute to a prepredicate position if the Predicate is marked for Actor focus, especially if it is filled by a phrase several words long.

2. The Actor tagmeme will normally split a predicate phrase when it is filled by a pronoun word. The same can be true when the Actor tagmeme is filled by a short NP.

3. The Time tagmeme may be forefronted to a prepredicate position.

Examples:

The minimal expansion of an Intransitive clause consists of Predicate and Actor tagmemes. The Actor tagmeme may be absent when another clause in the sentence contains the same filler in the Actor slot. Below is an example of a minimal Intransitive clause:

	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>
46	Lumusung go.to.river	akuo. I

'I'm going downhill (toward the river).'

Even if the Actor tagmeme is long, it frequently follows rather than precedes the Predicate, as below:

	<u>PREDICATE</u>			<u>ACTOR</u>		
47	Kakakid when.go.uphill	po yet	laan it.is.said	siro they	duo munsawo .. two married.couple	

'Just when the couple came up from the river, the story goes ...'

	<u>PREDICATE</u>			<u>ACTOR</u>		<u>LOCATION</u>
48	Muloosa' Rec.bathe	laan it.is.said	ong might	lalaing child	sono that	nai there diba' ... below

'The child also bathed down below there, it is said ...'

The Actor tagmeme may be permuted to a prepredicate position, especially for emphasis:

	<u>ACTOR</u>		<u>PREDICATE</u>
49	Raragang infant	no that	matiru. sleeping

'The baby is sleeping.'

The Predicate tagmeme of an Intransitive clause may also be split by the Actor tagmeme, especially when the Actor is filled by a pronoun word, as below. The first example has no focus (unless it is the unstated Location tagmeme).

	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>	<u>PREDICATE</u>
50	Buli	ko	lumaga'?
	can	you	come

'Can you come?'

	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>	<u>PREDICATE</u>
51	Nalaid	kai	wagu kaasuu.
	was.long	we	then can.enter

'It was a long time before we could go in.'

The Intransitive clause is frequently expanded by a Location tagmeme, as below:

	<u>PREDICATE</u>	<u>ACTOR</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
52	Kalaga'	aku	so' Balat.
	when.come	I	NTM Balat

'When (or then) I got to Balat.'

As in the Transitive clause type, the Intransitive clause frequently drops the Actor tagmeme when two clauses in the sentence have the same filler semantically in the Actor tagmeme.

		<u>Clause 1</u>			<u>Clause 2</u>	
		<u>PREDICATE</u>		<u>PREDICATE</u>		<u>ACTOR</u>
53	.. no'	kausung		ong kapusawo		kau.
	because	taboo		might when.Rec.marry		you(pl)

'... because it is taboo if you should marry (one another).'

The absent Actor tagmeme, even when it is in focus, is quite a common feature in Kalabuan and tends to put more emphasis on the marginal tagmeme(s) that are present. Below is an example with the Actor tagmeme absent but with the marginal Location present:

	PREDICATE		LOCATION			
54	Kalaga'	wagu	dii	so'	wawayoy	ari ...
	when.come	then	there	NTM	bachelors	that

'Then we came to the bachelors' place ...'

As with the Transitive clause type, the Actor tagmeme is never present in natural text when both a Location and Time tagmeme are part of the expansion. For example,

	PREDICATE	LOCATION	TIME			
55	Minugad	dii	so'	Sandakan	ido	niabi.
	went	there	NTM	Sandakan	one	past.day

'I went to Sandakan the day before yesterday.'

The Time tagmeme, to remain a clause level constituent, must remain close to the Predicate, removed by only one intervening tagmeme. This may explain why, in the elicited texts below, the Actor tagmemes are fronted to a prepredicate and medial predicate position:

		<u>ACTOR</u>	PREDICATE	LOCATION	TIME
56	Mungkin	aku	muli'	tuoy	apat ataw limo naminggu.
	perhaps	I	return	here	four or five Coe.weeks

'I'll probably return here in four or five weeks.'

In the example below, the Time tagmeme is permuted to a clause initial position. It is not clear, however, whether it remains as a clause level constituent or is shifted to a sentence level feature:

	(TIME)	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	LOCATION	
57	Ia' situ	mugad	aku	dii	karian.
	now this	go	I	there	away.fr.river

'I'm going to the interior now.'

The following are examples of the Intransitive clause type with a Manner tagmeme present:

- 58 PREDICATE ACTOR MANNER
 Monogow akua' asikap.
 call.to I.even quick

'I would call you right away (if something were to happen).'

- 59 PREDICATE MANNER
 Okon ko' angkang maali'.
 did.not Emp move strong

'(It) didn't move forcefully.'

- 60 ACTOR PREDICATE MANNER
 Okow kumuri' awarong.
 you work good

'You are working well.'

An Instrument tagmeme can also be attached to the Intransitive clause, as below:

- 61 PREDICATE ACTOR INSTRUMENT
 Minayud aku so' karita'.
 followed I NTM vehicle

'I went by car.'

3.2 Ambient Clause

Ambient clauses are used mostly in speaking about the environment when no agent is referred to. The Ambient clause type can be assumed in the Intransitive clause but is distinctive in that the nuclear tagmeme Actor is never present. Nor are the marginal tagmemes Manner and Instrument present. The Ambient syntagmeme consists of a nuclear Ambient tagmeme and an optional Marginal tagmeme, Location or Time. Since those two are not permutable within a single clause, when both are juxtaposed, Time is better handled as a sentence level feature.

Ambient clause

+ Ambient	+/-Location	+/-Time
Amb Vb	Loc P	Tm P
	Loc W	Tm W

Rules:

1. Location and Time cannot occur within the same expansion.
2. Location and Time are not permutable within the clause.

Examples:

The Ambient tagmeme frequently stands alone in the Ambient clause, as below:

AMBIENT
 62 Asagit.
 cold
 'It's cold.'

The following is an example of the Ambient clause expanded with a Location tagmeme:

	AMBIENT	LOCATION
63	Maamut	dii waloy.
	hot	there house

'It's hot in the house.'

The following is an example of the Ambient clause expanded with a clause level Time tagmeme:

	AMBIENT	TIME
64	Aluub	runat tu.
	shady	sun this

'It's cloudy today.'

In the case that both Location and Time are present, the latter is considered a sentence level feature since it is not permutable except to a pre-ambient position:

	AMBIENT	LOCATION	(TIME)
65	Maris-baris	dii	karian saniab.
	breeze-breeze	there	away.fr.river yesterday

'It was breezy in the country yesterday.'

4 Formulaic List Clause

The Formulaic list clause might best be treated simply as a non-complex sentence level constituent rather than a clause except for the use of the Bahasa Malaysia loan word **iaitu** 'that is'. It is used as the introductory statement for lists such as those found in sermons or how-to procedures. It consists of an obligatory Topic followed by an optional Introducer tagmeme.

Formulaic list clause

+ Topic	<u>±</u> Introducer
Num NP	iaitu

Rule:

1. The Topic and Introducer tagmemes are not permutable, but the latter is optional.

Examples:

The full array is illustrated in the example below:

TOPIC		INTRODUCER
66 Turu' seven	pakara' situ matter this	iaitu ... that.is

'The seven matters are ...'

Possibly the more indigenous way of introducing a list such as the one above would have been to simply state the number of matters to be listed. In the example below the Introducer is absent:

TOPIC	
67 Pakara' matter	yang katalu: waroya' lalaing yang tumaay which third be.even child which defecate
nai there	salalom bilik dardia. inside room class

'The third thing is there was even a child who defecated right there in the classroom.'

5 Existential Clause

The Existential clause type consists of the obligatory nuclear tagmemes: Existential and Topic. The Existential is frequently found in isolation, but only in response to a question, comment, or situation, and never to initiate a dialogue or a monologue. A marginal Location tagmeme may be attached to the syntagmeme, but it is the only expansion allowed. It appears that Time and other possible tagmemes are either never found in this type of clause or are sentence level constituents when juxtaposed to the Existential clause.

The filler of the Existential tagmeme is either an existential or a negative existential word or phrase. There are two existential words (distantly related to one another) currently used in Kalabuan speech. It appears that **waa** is more indigenous to the language while **waro** may have been more recently borrowed from one of the nearby language groups. Both stems accept the same affixation. There is one negative existential **aido**, possibly related to the root **ido** 'one' and meaning 'not one' or 'none'. The Existential tagmeme seems to work the same whether filled by a negative existential or an existential verb.

There is a very limited number of constituents that can be found in an existential verb phrase. These include the frustrative particle **maam** 'so' and the adverbial **po** 'yet' in our data.

The Topic tagmeme is frequently filled by a nominalized clause or noun phrase. The Location tagmeme is filled by a Location phrase or word.

Existential clause

+ Existential	+ Topic	+ Location
Exist P	Nm Cl	Loc P
Exist W	Nm VP	Loc W
Neg Exist P	NP	
Neg Exist W		

Rule:

The Topic and Location tagmemes may permute to a prepredicate position.

Examples:

The minimal Existential clause includes an Existential tagmeme and a Topic tagmeme. Both tagmemes are obligatory except in response to a question where the Topic may be understood from the preceding comment and not repeated in the reply. Below are examples of minimal Existential clauses:

EXISTENTIAL TOPIC

- 68 Waayo sawo ku ...
be.when spouse I

'When I have a husband (there-is-then my-spouse) ...'

EXISTENTIAL TOPIC

- 69 Waaya' maam una-una' ano!
is.even Frus friends that.PL

'Those friends were also there!'

Below are examples of Location tagmemes attached to the syntagmeme:

EXISTENTIAL TOPIC LOCATION

- 70 Waroya' lalaing yang tumaay nai salalom bilik dardia'..
be.even child which defecate there inside room class

'Then there was the child who defecated in the classroom ...'

EXISTENTIAL TOPIC LOCATION

- 71 Waa po una-una' so' waloy komo laan..
be yet friends NTM . house say it.is.said

'There were still more friends in the house, the story goes ...'

The Location tagmeme is frequently permuted to a clause initial position, as in the following examples:

LOCATION EXISTENTIAL TOPIC

- 72 Tuoy situ waro kaniataan kiat so' baagian no' wainoy
here this be declaration from Ref part Lig female
- inianu no' sangapan so' anak no.
did.Ind Pro LIG possess NTM child that

‘Right now we have a declaration from the side of the bride, which the owner, you know, of that girl has done.’

	LOCATION EXISTENTIAL				TOPIC		
73	Paat	sono	waa	bala’	ulang	maayo’	mondolon.
	place	that	be	say!	snake	big	python

‘That place had, you’d say, a large python.’

More rarely, the Location tagmeme may also be permuted to a medial position between the Topic and Predicate tagmemes, as below:

	EXISTENTIAL		LOCATION	TOPIC
74	Waa		tuoy	ulang.
	be		here	snake

‘There is a snake here.’

The Topic tagmeme may also be permuted to a position preceding the Existential tagmeme, as in the example below, which fills the Existential slot with a negative existential verb. This clause is often used in response to a direct question, in which case the Topic tagmeme may be absent.

	TOPIC	EXISTENTIAL	LOCATION
75	Io	aido	tuoy.
	he	none	here

‘He’s not here.’

6 Possessive Clauses

There are two Possessive clause types in Kalabuan. The first is related to the Existential clause. The second closely parallels the Equational clause type. Another possible Possessive clause is formed using the transitive verb *sangap* ‘to possess, own’. However, without adding a third type of Possessive clause, this type of clause can be effectively handled simply as a Transitive clause.

6.1 Existential Possessive Clause

The Existential Possessive clause has three constituents: a Possessor, a Possessive, and a Possessed. All three tagmemes are obligatory except possibly as a response. The Possessor tagmeme must be filled with an animate agent. The Pos-

sessive tagmeme is filled with one of the existential or negative existential verbs. The tagmemes are all permutable depending on the focus and emphasis of the sentence. Below is the array for the Existential Possessive clause type.

Existential Possessive clause

+ Possessor	+ Possessive	+ Possessed
NP Prn P Prn W	Exist Neg Exist	Nom VP Nom Vb NP Noun

Rules:

1. The Possessor and Possessed may permute with each other.
2. The Possessor and Possessed may both permute to a prepredicate position in the same clause.

Examples:

The favored ordering of the tagmemes of an Existential Possessive clause is illustrated below as Possessor filled by a noun phrase, Possessive filled by an existential word, and Possessed filled by a nominalized verb.

	POSSESSOR	POSSESSIVE	POSSESSED
76	Lalaing situ child this	waa have	nabintos. cut

'This child has a cut.'

	POSSESSOR	POSSESSIVE	POSSESSED
77	Aku I	waro have	kapagow-pagow paluang can.a.little.little opportunity
			sadia'. only

'I have only a few opportunities.'

The following examples illustrate the permutability of the clause according to the focus. The first three show the three possible options for focus. These clauses were all elicited as Interrogative clauses. Presumably the tagmeme that is the focus

of the Predicate in each clause either precedes the other tagmeme or is marked as topic.

- 78 1) POSSESSOR POSSESSIVE POSSESSED
 Kau waa mundok?
 you(pl) have tapioca

'You have tapioca?'

- 79 2) POSSESSIVE POSSESSED POSSESSOR
 Waa mundok kau?
 have tapioca you(pl)

'Do you have tapioca?'

- 80 3) POSSESSIVE POSSESSOR POSSESSED
 Waa sakau mundok?
 have NTM.you(pl) tapioca

'Do you have tapioca?'

- 81 POSSESSIVE POSSESSOR POSSESSED
 Waro so' aku kapagow-pagow.
 be NTM I some.some

'I have a few.'

6.2 Equational Possessive Clause

The Equational Possessive clause has two constituents: a Possessed and a Possessor. Both tagmemes are obligatory except possibly in response to a question or comment. The tagmemes are not permutable, which is characteristic of the Equational clause type also. Actually, the possessive attributes of this clause are acquired at the phrase level within the possessive noun phrase of the Possessor tagmeme.

Equational Possessive clause

+ Possessed	+ Possessor
NP Spec	Poss NP

Examples:

	POSSESSED		POSSESSOR	
82	Waloy situ		waloy ni	Bani.
	house this		house NTM	Bani

‘This house is Bani’s house.’

	POSSESSED		POSSESSOR	
83	Ono		waloy	nio.
	that		house	his

‘That is his house.’

NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

7 Equative Clause

The Equative clause consists of two obligatory tagmemes: Topic and Equivalent. These can be filled with various nominals and nominalized strings.

Equative clause

+ Topic	+ Equivalent
NP Prn P Prn W	Nom VP Nom Vb NP Prp N Noun

Rules:

1. No marginal tagmemes are allowed in the expansions and both tagmemes are obligatory.
2. No permutation of the tagmemes is allowed. Examples:

A minimal Equative clause, as illustrated below, may consist of simply two words or a full nominalized clause.

- | | TOPIC | EQUIVALENT |
|----|----------|------------------|
| 84 | lo
he | guru.
teacher |

'He is a teacher.'

- | | TOPIC | EQUIVALENT |
|----|-------------|------------------------------|
| 85 | Ono
that | kayu tagas.
tree ironwood |

'That is an ironwood tree.'

- | | TOPIC | EQUIVALENT |
|----|-------------|---|
| 86 | Iri
that | wainoy duo kaiwan.
female two person |

'There were two women.'

- | | TOPIC | EQUIVALENT |
|----|--------------|----------------------------------|
| 87 | Irio
that | ontob palanuki.
end mousedeer |

'That was the end of that mousedeer.'

- | | TOPIC | EQUIVALENT |
|----|-----------------------|--|
| 88 | Orogo nio
price it | talunapulu' om duo.
three ten and two |

'The price is thirty-two (dollars).'

The following example shows the Equivalent tagmeme filled by a clause.

- | | TOPIC | EQUIVALENT |
|----|------------------|--|
| 89 | Onoyo
that.is | anan ku mananom so' sansam.
for I plant NTM vegetable |

'That's the reason I'm planting some vegetables.'

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT			
90	Onoyo that.is	anan for	daa not	buli can	mangarait pronounce
	so' ada' no' iwan. NTM name Lig in-law				

'That's why (you) cannot pronounce your in-laws' names.'

The following example shows the Topic tagmeme filled by a possessed NP and the Equivalent filled by a Nominalized VP:

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT		
91	Kauangan desire	mai our	monosop drink	mangkan-ngakan. eat.greedily

'Our desire is to drink and eat heartily.'

8 Descriptive Clauses

Besides the standard Descriptive clause, a second subtype is the Comparative clause. These could be collapsed within a single formula, but are separated as subtypes by the fact that the Comparative clause has a much more restricted array, especially in regard to the tagmeme fillers.

8.1 Descriptive Clause

The Descriptive clause is related to the Equative clause above except that the Equivalent tagmeme of the latter clause type is replaced by a Description element. Both nuclear Description and Topic tagmemes are obligatory. There is possibly a clause level Time tagmeme but only a couple of examples have been found thus far and the permutability is not known.

Descriptive clause

+ Description	+ Topic	+ Time
Desc P	NP	Tm P
Desc W	Prn P	Tm W
Eval P	Prn W	
Eval W	Noun	
	Spec	
	VP	
	Vb	

Rules:

1. The Description and Topic tagmemes are permutable, but not readily so, except in the case of relative clauses.
2. The Topic tagmeme is sometimes understood from the context of the discourse and thus absent from the clause.
3. The Description tagmeme may be split by the Topic in order to emphasize the Description.

Examples:

A minimal expansion of the Descriptive syntagmeme consists of a Description tagmeme and a Topic tagmeme. In its simplest form the clause itself will consist of two words:

	DESCRIPTION	TOPIC
92	Alaa'	aku.
	afraid	I

'I am afraid.'

	DESCRIPTION	TOPIC	
93	Alanggawo	punti	niono.
	longer	banana	his.SG

'His banana tree grew taller.'

	DESCRIPTION		TOPIC	
94	Maamut	marong	kaiwan	niono.
	hot	very	body	his.SG

'He has a high fever.'

The two nuclear tagmemes are occasionally permuted, especially as relative clauses (third example below), and when juxtaposed to other clauses:

	TOPIC	DESCRIPTION		
95	Itu	daaya'	awagat	marong.
	this	not.even	heavy	very

'This is not so very heavy.'

	TOPIC		DESCRIPTION				
96	Laid	ku	opodoki	buli	akua'	mantagial so'	siro.
	long.tm	I	small.Rem	can	I.even play	NTM	they

'While I was young, I could play with them.'

	TOPIC				DESCRIPTION		
97	Pangalaman yang	nadapatan	ku so'	bagi	so'	lalaing	asuango.
	experience	which got	I	NTM for	NTM	child	many.Mkr

'Experiences which I've had with the children are many.'

In the following example the Description tagmeme is split by the Topic in much the same way that the Predicate can be split by the Actor in verbal clause types. In this case it adds emphasis to the Description.

	DESCRIPTION	TOPIC	DESCRIPTION
98	Asusa'	kai	marong.
	difficult	we	very

'We were very uneasy.'

The Description tagmeme can at times have more of an evaluative element as its filler than an actual description. In the examples below the Description tagmeme "evaluates" the Topic more than it actually describes it. These are translated like Existential clauses.

	DESCRIPTION		TOPIC		
99	Asuang	po	pakara-pakara'	yang	wokon.
	many	yet	matters	which	other

'There are many other matters, too.'

	DESCRIPTIVE		TOPIC		
100	Asuang		tana' no'	akod	niono.
	many		dirt Lig	foot	his.SG

'There is a lot of dirt on his foot.'

The single example of a Time tagmeme is an elicited example in which the Time is juxtaposed to the end of the syntagmeme. It is not clearly a clause level constituent, but may belong to the sentence level.

	DESCRIPTION		TOPIC	(TIME)	
101	Asukup	po	kumuri'	sasarap	tu.
	enough	yet	work	morning	this

'That's enough work for this morning.'

8.2 Comparative Descriptive Clause

The Comparative Descriptive clause consists of two obligatory tagmemes: Topic and Comparison. A marginal Time tagmeme may also be added to the expansion. This clause type is a subtype of the Descriptive clause since they are both semantically "descriptive type" clauses. However, the syntax is different in that the order is reversed from the favored Description-Topic order of the Descriptive clause and the tagmemes are not permutable.

Comparative Description clause

+ Topic	<u>±</u> Location	<u>±</u> Time	+ Comparison
NP	Loc P Loc W	Tm P Tm W	Comp NP

Rules:

1. The order of the tagmemes cannot be permuted.

2. The Location and Time margins cannot appear in the same expansion.

Examples:

Two minimal Comparative Descriptive clauses are shown below:

	TOPIC		COMPARISON
102	Bokaan really	awarong good	ugut sono. like that

‘(That) is really good when it happens like that.’

	TOPIC			COMPARISON			
103	Ayo' no'	tian		siri	ugut-ugut	so'	ampung.
	big	LIG	stomach	that	like-like	NTM	drum

‘The size of the stomach was almost like a drum.’

The following example of a Comparative clause has a Topic head with three Comparison comment tagmemes dependent on it:

		TOPIC		COMPARISON	
104	Waa po be yet	pudi’ tangaron also talk	ku I	so’ ugut NTM like	so’ tutuo nasiro NTM adult they

COMPARISON			
okon ko'	ugut so'	tangaron ku	
don't EMP	like NTM	talk I	

COMPARISON					
om	ugut	so'	apanday	akuo	marong mainkalaalabi
and	like	NTM	know	I	very increase

‘There is still another matter, I’ll talk like their parents and not like myself, but rather as if I am very wise.’

The natural order of the syntagme does not appear to follow that of the other clause types with Location following the nuclear tagmemes. Rather, as the following example shows, Location occurs between the two nuclear constituents. This can also be accounted for by treating Location as a constituent of an embedded phrase, but the present solution seems more economical.

	TOPIC	LOCATION	COMPARISON	
105	Aido	ulang	nai	sono
	ugut	so'	niu.	
	none	snake	there	that
			like	NTM
				coconut

'There is no snake there (as big around) as a coconut tree.'

				TOPIC	COMPARISON
106	Tapi'	waa	kopodok	kiat	so'
	but	be	little	from	NTM
				sabap	nasiro
				reason	they
					ugut
					sono.
					like
					that

'But this is part of the reason they are like that.'

The Time tagmeme follows the same pattern as the Location margin:

	TOPIC	TIME	COMPARISON	
107	Wainoy	salalu	ugut	so'
	female	always	like	NTM
				ono.
				that

'Girls are always like that!'

9 Locative Clause

The Locative clause type consists of the two nuclear tagmemes, Location and Topic. A Time tagmeme may be added to the syntagmeme as a clause level constituent. This clause type is closely related to both the Descriptive and Equative clauses. In its unpermuted arrangement it is similar to the former, while in its permuted order it appears like an Equative type clause. Its distinctive element is that as a non-verbal clause it stresses the location or source of a Topic rather than the action or state of the Actor/Topic.

Locative clause

+ Location	\pm Topic	\pm Time
Loc P	NP	Tm P
Loc W	Noun	Tm W
NP	Prn P	
	Prn W	
	Spec	

Rules:

1. The Topic tagmeme is nuclear to the array but is optional in some relative and subordinate clauses and occasionally in other sentences having other clauses.
2. The Topic and Time tagmemes may permute to a position before the Location tagmeme.

Examples:

In its unpermuted and unexpanded form the Location syntagmeme consists of a Location and Topic tagmeme, in that order:

	LOCATION		TOPIC
108	Dii	diba'	kalawi'i.
	there	below	wok

'The wok is down below.'

	LOCATION		TOPIC
109	Dii	nataado	iamo.
	there	outside	mat

'The mat is outside.'

If the Location and Topic tagmemes are permuted so that the Topic precedes the Location, the clause very much resembles the Equative clause type, as in the example below:

	TOPIC		LOCATION				
110	Onoyo	dii	sikod	so'	midia'	no.	
	that	on	above	NTM	table	that	

'That (thing) is on the table.'

In the following example the Location tagmeme has the role of source more than of a location:

	TOPIC		LOCATION				
111	Ono	kiat	sakau	sanganak-anak.			
	that	from	NTM.you(pl)	...-...			

‘That is from ...’

The Topic tagmeme may be absent from the clause leaving only the Location slot filled. In this case, the Location tagmeme could be interpreted as a lone sentence level tagmeme (as is Time in some cases). However, for the sake of economy and since there are no clear examples of a sentence level Location tagmeme, this clause is viewed as having only a single tagmeme present.

LOCATION

112 No’ bang dii bandar aido kana’.
because when in town none side.dish

‘Because when (we are) in town there is no meat.’

The following Location clause is expanded by a Time tagmeme, which is also permuted to a forefronted position:

	TIME		TOPIC	LOCATION
113	Duo po	naminggu	kai	tuoy.
	two yet	Coe.weeks	we	here

‘Two more weeks we’ll be here.’

10 Modifications

Modifications of Declarative clauses include Interrogative, Imperative, Linking of clauses, and Relative clauses.

10.1 Interrogatives

All of the Interrogative type clauses are handled as modifications of one of the other clause types. The two subtypes of Interrogative include the Yes/No Interrogative and the Information Interrogative.

10.1.1 Yes/No Interrogative

The Yes/No Interrogative syntagmeme follows its Declarative counterpart except that there is an intonational change. That is, no new tagmemes are added, nor is there a change in the presence or ordering of the original tagmemes of the clause, but an interrogative intonation pattern is laid over the Declarative clause.

Yes/No Interrogative clause

+ Declaration	+ Intonation
Decl Cl	Inton Mod

Examples:

An example of the Yes/No Interrogative laid over two clauses is shown below:

	PREDICATE	ACTOR	UNDERGOER	TIME
114	Uang want	mu you	mugad dii bandar go to town	ia' situ? now this

'Do you want to go to town now?'

10.1.2 Information Interrogative

The Information Interrogative clauses may be formed from a Declarative clause in one of two ways: 1) by the simple addition of an Interrogative tagmeme to the initial position in the clause, or 2) by replacing one of the other tagmemes with an interrogative word and fronting it to an initial position. In the case of the latter it may replace any one of the tagmemes.

Information Interrogative clause

+ Interrogative	+ Declaration
Inter P or W	Decl Cl Mod Decl Cl

The following array shows formulas for the two ways of forming Information Interrogative clauses of the Transitive type. The other clause types operate in a similar fashion.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| + Interrogative | + Predicate | + Actor | + Undergoer |
| Inter P or W | [see Tran Cl type for fillers] | | |
- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| + Interrogative (Undergoer) | + Predicate | + Actor |
| Inter P or W | [see Tran Cl type for fillers] | |

3)	+ Interrogative (Actor)	+ Predicate	+ Undergoer
	Inter P or W	[see Tran Cl type for fillers]	

Each of the interrogative words can be assigned a tagmeme class. These words may replace similar tagmeme constituents in any clause. Some of these may belong to more than one class. Those interrogatives which may replace marginal tagmemes fill the first subtype of Information Interrogative clauses:

sambia'	'when'	TIME
umbo	'where'	LOCATION
ada' komo	'how'	MANNER
kuro	'why'	REASON

Those interrogatives that may fill the second subtype include the above and the following:

ada'	'what'	TOPIC
osoy	'who'	ACTOR
piro	'how many'	UNDERGOER
kura'	'how many'	UNDERGOER
kamuro	'how many'	UNDERGOER

Examples:

Examples of the two subtypes of Interrogative Transitive clauses are shown below:

SUBTYPE I

	(Time)				
	INTERROGATIVE	PREDICATE	ACTOR	<u>UNDERGOER</u>	
115	Sambia'	iuli'	mu	ono?	
	when	return	you	that	

'When will you return it?'

	(Location)				
	INTERROGATIVE	PREDICATE	<u>ACTOR</u>	UNDERGOER	
116	Umbo	mamaal	ko	so'	waloy?
	where	make	you(sg)	NTM	house

'Where will you build the house?'

- (Manner)
 INTERROGATIVE ACTOR PREDICATE UNDERGOER
 117 Ada' komo si maman mamatoy so' ulang sono?
 what say TM uncle kill NTM snake that

'How did uncle kill the snake?'

- (Reason)
 INTERROGATIVE ACTOR PREDICATE UNDERGOER
 118 Kuro io mangalap so' tiipi?
 why he take NTM tape.recorder

'Why did he take that tape recorder?'

SUBTYPE II

- (Undergoer)
 INTERROGATIVE PREDICATE ACTOR
 119 Osoy inawit no' karabaw siri?
 who brought NTM buffalo that

'Who was brought by that water buffalo?'

- (Undergoer)
 INTERROGATIVE PREDICATE LOCATION
 120 Ada' katulis-tulis so' surat sono?
 what able.to.write NTM letter that

'What can be written in those letters?'

Similar modifications can be made on non-verbal clause types such as the Location type clause, as below:

SUBTYPE I:

- (Measure)
 INTERROGATIVE TIME TOPIC LOCATION
 121 Kura' laid nasiro dii?
 how.many long.tm they there

'How long have they been there?'

SUBTYPE II:

	(Location)			
	INTERROGATIVE	TOPIC		
122	Umboya'	no'	ulang	siri?
	where	NTM	snake	that

'Where is that snake?'

10.2 Imperative Clause

In forming an Imperative type clause from a Declarative clause, the Actor tagmeme is obligatorily absent and the verb is marked for imperative. Some examples of Imperative clauses are below:

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	LOCATION	
123	Indadi'	kai	tuoy	so' waloy situ.
	wait	we	here	NTM house this

'Wait for us here at this house.'

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	
124	Siawi' po	itu.	
	look yet	this	

'Look at this!'

	PREDICATE	LOCATION	
125	Paatago'	nai so' baladi no.	
	put	there NTM pail	that

'Put (it) there in the pail.'

Negative Imperatives are formed using the negative imperative word with the imperative verb if it is a verbal clause. If not, then the negative imperative stands alone:

	PREDICATE	UNDERGOER	
126	Atong waalo'	ugut sono!	
	don't do	like that	

'Don't do that!'

	NEGATIVE	TOPIC		
127	Atongo	no'	bisara'	araay.
	don't	NTM	discussion	bad

'Don't (bring) litigation (against one another), because it is bad.'

10.3 Linking of clauses

Two or more clauses may be linked together to form a sentence. The links are expounded by conjunctions. Here is a partial list of the conjunctions:

insan	'even though'
insid	'however'
tapi'	'but'
dako'	'but'
sagua'	'but'
ong	'whether'
bang	'if, when'
pasal	'because'
sabap	'because'
dama'	'because'
no'	'because'
paga'	'when'
opod	'afterwards'

Examples:

The following example shows a clause juxtaposed to another clause. The linking tagmeme is obligatorily clause initial:

	INTRO	DECL-CLAUSE-1	DECL-CLAUSE-2
128	Moopod	kai mangapuy,	mangakano kaio.
	finish	we cook	eat.already we

'After we cooked, we ate.'

The next example illustrates the linking of the first clause to the second clause, and the third clause to the first two.

	INTRO		LINK	DECL-CLAUSE-1	
129	Tapi'	ia'	situ insan	kadura'	so' labuu
	but	now	this even.though	when.spit NTM	person

DECL CLAUSE 2

daido	yo	makitaak	so'	piu'
not.one		request	NTM	chicken

LINK

no'
because

DECL CLAUSE 3

waayo	ugama.
there.is	religion

'But now, even though someone spits, no one asks for a chicken (from him), because we have religion.'

This example shows both the first and second Declarative clauses linked by the single linking tagmeme to the third Declarative clause:

	INTRO		DECL-CLAUSE-1			
130	Tapi'	bang	nagulu	masi	po	kaapir
	but	if	before	still	yet	pagan

DECL-CLAUSE-2

ong aduraan
should spit

DECL-CLAUSE-3

makitaak	so'	piu'.
request	NTM	chicken

'But in earlier times, when we were still pagan, if someone would spit, there would be a request of a chicken.'

	INTRO	LINK	DECL-CLAUSE-1	DECL-CLAUSE-2	
131	Jadi'	paga'	napangkul	kuo	minatoyo bokaan.
	then	when	had.hit	I	dead.already really

'So when I hit (it), (it) was dead for sure.'

The following sentences show a linking of the second Declarative clause to the first:

	DECL-CLAUSE-1			
132	Uang marong	mualud	so'	aku,
	want very	quarrel	NTM	I

LINK

insid
however

DECL-CLAUSE-2

araayan	so'	atanganan	ku	io
bad	NTM	talk	I	she

so'	liliwo	niono.
NTM	behavior	her(sg)

'(She) wants very much to pick a quarrel with me, however, she is bad, I say, in her behavior.'

	DECL-CLAUSE-1	IMPV-CL-2	LINK	DECL-CLAUSE-3	
133	Kamaku so' io,	timbako'yo	sagua'	nalaiw wagu palanuk tu.	
	say.I NTM he	shoot	but	fled then deer this	

'I said to him, "Shoot it!" but then the mousedeer ran away.'

10.4 Relative Clause

A form of subordination is the Relative clause. This is formed in one of two ways. The most common is simply by juxtaposition of the subordinate clause to the Pivot of the matrix clause. The Pivot is that word which serves a role for both the dependent and the independent clauses. The array for the Relative clause is the same as the other Subordinate clauses. The Declaration tagmeme is also filled by a Modified Declarative clause in some cases.

Note that in the following the Pivot tagmeme is the Goal of the two clauses. In the first clause it is non-topic while in the second clause it is the focus of the Predicate and thus the clause topic.

	Clause 1		Clause 2
		UNDERGOER	
		REL-PIVOT	PREDICATE ACTOR
134	Nakaambota'	so' ulang	inaungan no' asu.
	already.met.even	NTM snake	barked.at NTM dog

'(He) had also already found the snake at which the dog barked.'

With the influence of Bahasa Malaysia a second way of forming a Relative clause is to use the Bahasa Malaysia pivot word **yang** 'which', as in the example below:

	<u>(INANIMATE UNDERGOER)</u> <u>PIVOT</u>	PREDICATE	ACTOR
135	Pagalaman yang experience which	nadapatan had	ku I
	ANINMATE GOAL so' NTM	bagi for	so' NTM
			lalaing. child

'The experience which I've had with the children.'

See also example 97 for a relative clause.

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TOMBONUO CLAUSES

John Wayne King

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ABBREVIATIONS

AdjPhr	Adjective Phrase
AF	Actor Focus
Bitrans	Bitransitive
BiTransVbPhr	Bitransitive Verb Phrase
C	Causative
Comp	Completive
Decl	Declarative
Descr	Description
Emph	Emphatic
ExistWd	Existential Word
Expl	Expletive
Intent	Intentional Action
InterPt	Interrogative Particle
Intr	Intransitive

IntrVbPhr	Intransitive Verb Phrase
L	Locative Particle
Loc	Location Tagmeme
LocPhr	Location Phrase
LocWd	Location Word
Neg	Negative
NMkr	Non-topic Marker
NPhr	Noun Phrase
NRt	Noun Root
NTPMkr	Non-topic Person Marker
P	Past
PMkr	Topic Person Marker
Poss	Possession
PossNPhr1	Possession Noun Phrase 1
PossNPhr2	Possession Noun Phrase 2
PossPro	Possessive Pronoun
PossVbPhr	Possession Verb Phrase
Pred	Predicate
Pro	Pronoun
ProPhr	Pronoun Phrase
R	Referent Marker
RF	Referent Focus
Spec	Specifier
TPhr	Time Phrase
Trans	Transitive
TransVbPhr	Transitive Verb Phrase
TWd	Time Word
UF	Undergoer Focus
VbAdjPhr	Verbalized Adjective Phrase
*_	First consonant of a verb root

0 Introduction

0.1 Background and Language Classification

The Tombonuo language (sometimes called Tambanua) is spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the Labuk-Sugut and Pitas districts of Sabah, East Malaysia (King 1984).

Muslim speakers of this language prefer the designation Sungai (i.e. 'of the river') for both themselves and their language, but the term Tombonuo is used by other speakers and is used here to avoid confusion with the other ethnic groups of Sabah who also call themselves Sungai.

One group from the Paitan River area of the Labuk-Sugut District has migrated to the Beaufort District. Dr. Asmah Haji Omar (1981) has called their language Paitan.

Tombonuo is an Austronesian language classified by Smith (1984) as a member of the Paitanic family of the Bornean stock of the Northwestern Austronesian superstock.

The texts on which this study is based were collected at the Sungai village of Sungai-Sungai and the Tombonuo village of Monungan, both in the Labuk-Sugut District, in 1983.

0.2 Theoretical Approach

The theoretical model on which this study is based is tagmemics as proposed by Pike and Pike (1977).

A tagmeme has been defined (Porter 1977) as the correlation between a functional slot (e.g. actor, predicate, location) and the class of items that expounds it (e.g. noun, verb). Each tagmeme must be described according to the features which contrast it with other tagmemes and its distribution on the next higher level of the grammatical hierarchy. Embedding may occur, however, in which a tagmeme or syntagmeme (a group of tagmemes) occurs on a level other than the next higher.

1 Clauses

A clause is defined as "a minimal utterance that is not the answer to a question" (Peck 1981). "Greeting" forms are also excluded from consideration because they represent frozen forms whose abbreviated structures are intelligible only because of common usage.

1.1 Verbal Clauses

A Tombonuo verbal clause is a construction in which tagmemes fill situational roles such as actor, undergoer, referent, location, and time, in relation to the predicate. One clause tagmeme is in a special relationship to the predicate and is called the "focused" tagmeme, or topic.

1.1.1 Declarative Transitive Clause

The declarative transitive clause is used for simple statements. It has two participants, an actor and a undergoer, though these participants may or may not be explicitly stated.

The nucleus of the clause is a declarative transitive predicate which relates the actor to the undergoer. Other optional clause-level tagmemes include location and time, in addition to the actor and undergoer tagmemes mentioned above.

Declarative Transitive Clause

+ Decl Trans Pred	\pm Actor	\pm Undergoer	\pm Loc	\pm Time
DeclTransVbPhr	ProPhr NPhr	NPhr ProPhr	LocPhr	TWd TPhr

Rule:

Actor and undergoer tagmemes may permute to prepredicate position.

Further discussion:

1. The filler of the actor tagmeme is usually a pronoun or a pronoun phrase. The predicate syntagmeme often includes negative and manner/aspect margins as well as the verb head.

2. When the negative morpheme **dai** occurs in the predicate and the actor tagmeme is expounded by a pronoun, the actor tagmeme tends to permute to the postnegative position and thus split the predicate. The same phenomenon occurs when there are other manner or aspect margins in the verb phrase.

Though less common, a similar permutation of the undergoer tagmeme has been noted when the undergoer is expounded by a pronoun and the predicate is inflected for undergoer focus.

3. Rarely do actor and location tagmemes cooccur. This may indicate "information load" restraints on clauses.

4. Time appears to be a feature of both the sentence level and the clause level. When a time margin is able to permute freely from clause-initial to clause-final position, it is considered a sentence-level constituent.

5. When embedded in a nominal construction such as a relative clause, a declarative transitive clause may be stripped of all optional tagmemes.

Examples of the declarative transitive clause:

The first example has no location tagmeme.

	PRED	ACTOR		UNDERGOER		
1	Mo-maal	kito	yo	nu kandang	nu	piyu.
	AF-make	we(dual)	...	NMkr cage	NMkr	chicken

‘We make a chicken coop.’

The following example has no actor tagmeme.

	PRED	UNDERGOER	LOC		
2	Opasang-an	nu wa’at	so di	langgau.	
	put-RF	NMkr ceiling.beam	R L	above	

‘We put the ceiling beams on top.’

In the following example, the undergoer is permuted and contains an embedded relative clause, *inontun ku* ‘whom I married’.

	UNDERGOER		PRED	ACTOR	LOC
3	Iri woinoi inontun ku	ri pun	p-in-o-uli	ku so Sandakan	
	spec woman marry I	spec also	*-C-P.UF-return	I R Sandakan	

‘I sent that woman I had married back to Sandakan.’

In the example below, the actor tagmeme is permuted in such a way as to split the predicate. *Baya* ‘already’ is considered an aspect margin of the predicate. The time margin seems to be a sentence-level constituent.

	(TIME)	PRED	ACTOR	PRED	UNDERGOER
4	Toun limo..pulu..lapan	baya’	aku	noko-ontun	ido woinoi.
	year 1958	already I		P.AF-married	one woman

‘In 1958, I had already married a woman.’

In the following example, the actor permutes to a position following the negative margin of the predicate.

- 5 PRED ACTOR PRED
 Dai aku noko-oyang.
 not I P.AF-found.it

'I didn't find it.'

In the following example, a permuted undergoer tagmeme splits the predicate. The actor tagmeme is not present.

- 6 PRED UNDERGOER PRED LOC
 Sangat kai no-tipu so iri so alud iri.
 very we P.UF-deceived R spec R boat spec

'It really deceived us in that boat.' or 'We were really deceived in that boat.'

The final example is a relative clause consisting of a one-word predicate. It is not clear whether the actor-focused form **musoron** 'love' refers to **una** 'friend' or **ku** 'I/my'.

- 7 PRED
 Kowai una' ku nu musorong.
 there.is friend my NMkr love

'I have a friend whom I love.' or 'I have a friend who loves me.'

1.1.2 Declarative Intransitive Clause

The declarative intransitive clause, like the declarative transitive clause, is used for simple statements. Unlike the transitive clause, however, the intransitive clause has only one participant. Some of these clauses can be made transitive by the addition of a causative morpheme to the verb root.

The nucleus of the syntagmeme is the declarative intransitive predicate. Optional tagmemes include actor, location, and time.

Declarative Intransitive Clause

+ Decl Intr Pred	\pm Actor	\pm Time	\pm Loc
DeclIntr VbPhr	ProPhr NPhr	TPhr TWd	LocPhr

Rule:

The Actor tagmeme may permute to prepredicate position or may permute in such a way as to split the predicate.

Further discussion:

1. As a general rule, a maximum of three tagmemes occurs in a given clause. This is probably the result of "information load" restrictions.

Because only three tagmemes cooccur there are no clear examples of cooccurrence of such tagmemes as location and time. When location and time tagmemes do seem to cooccur, the time tagmeme is forced into a sentence-level slot, rather than a clause-level slot. The permutability of the time margin is the basis for treating it as a component of a higher-level syntagmeme.

2. When the negative morpheme **dai** is present and the actor tagmeme is expounded by a pronoun, the actor tagmeme may permute to the postnegative position, thus splitting the predicate.

3. The predicate may also be split when the actor permutes to the position immediately following the manner/aspect margin in the verb phrase. Examples of the declarative intransitive clause:

The following is a rare four-tagmeme clause from text material. Neither the time nor the location tagmeme is permutable.

	PRED	ACTOR	TIME	LOC	
8	M-in-ambai	kai	sontagal	so Terusan	tu.
	AF-P-stop.over	we	a.while	R Terusan	spec

'We stopped a while at Terusan.'

In the following example, taken from elicited data, the temporal element is probably a sentence-level constituent.

	PRED	ACTOR	LOC	(TIME)	
9	M-ogol	kai	tuui	sontaun	po.
	AF-stay	we	here	one.year	more

'We will stay here one more year.'

In the clause below, the location tagmeme is expounded by a person.

	PRED		ACTOR		LOC		
10	M-in-ian		aku	yo	so minijar	ku	ri.
	AF-P-went		I	...	R manager	my	spec

'I went to my manager.'

In the following example, the actor tagmeme is permuted to clause-initial position. **Solalu** 'always' and **olaid** 'long time' are considered marginal constituents of the predicate.

	ACTOR			PRED		
11	Lolaing mu	tu	solalu	olaid	t-um-angi'	
	baby your	spec	always	long.time	*-AF-cries	

'Your baby is always crying.'

In the following example, the actor is permuted to a position following the negative margin of the verb phrase.

	PRED		ACTOR		PRED
12	Dai kai	yo sono	kopusulut.		
	not we	all right		

'We were not all right.'

In the example below, the actor permutes to a position following the manner margin of the verb phrase.

	PRED		ACTOR		PRED
13	Solalu	aku	t-um-ai.		
	constantly	I	*-AF-defecate		

'I have diarrhea.'

In the following example, only the nuclear tagmeme is present.

- 'While I was working, she was angry.'**

	PRED	ACTOR	TIME
15	M-in-anau-panau	kai	sisuna.
	AF-P-walk.around	we	just.now

'We were walking around just now.'

Declarative bitransitive clauses generally deal with the transfer of an object from one person to another. They involve three participants: an actor and a referent, usually animate, and an inanimate undergoer.

Declarative Bitransitive Clause

+ Decl Bitrans Pred	+ Actor	<u>±</u> Referent	+ Undergoer
DeclBiTransVbPhr	ProPhr NPhr	ProPhr NPhr	NPhr

Examples of the declarative bitransitive clause:

In this example, the actor and referent tagmemes are expounded by pronouns.

	PRED	ACTOR	REFUNDERGOER				
16	In-obar-an	ku yo	ikau	nu	itu	tuturan	tu.
	P-told-RF	I ...	you	NMkr	spec	story	spec

'I told you the story.'

In the following example, actor and referent tagmemes are expounded by names.

	PRED	ACTOR	REF	UNDERGOER			
17	T-in-aak-an	ni	Amjan	si	Amad	nu	bosi tu.
	*-P-gave-RF	NTPMkr	Amjan	PMkr	Amad	NMkr	knife spec

'Amjan gave the knife to Amad.'

The following example has no referent tagmeme.

	(TIME)	PRED	ACTOR	UNDERGOER			
18	Runat	itu	no	mencerita	aku	kisa	mai so laut.
	day	spec	comp	tell.story	I	incident our R	sea

'Today I am going to tell about our incident at sea.'

In the following example, the undergoer tagmeme is permuted to clause-initial position.

	UNDERGOER				PRED	ACTOR	REF
19	Iri	su	pinokiinowit	ku moinganu	ni-taak	ku	so nosiro.
	spec	which	thing.brought	I like.that	P.UF-gave	I	to them

'I gave them those things I had brought.'

In the following example, both actor and undergoer tagmemes have permuted to prepredicate position.

	ACTOR			UNDERGOER			PRED	UNDERGOER	
20	Kai	bagi	Islam	opulu	no	mital	i-taak	nu	jakat
	we	of	Islam	ten	comp	tin	UF-give	NMkr	offering
	REF								
	so			imam.					
	to			religious.teacher					

‘We of Islam give ten tins (of rice) as an offering to the religious teacher.’

1.2 Non-verbal Clauses

A Tombonuo non-verbal clause is one in which the predicate is expounded by a non-verbal root or stem and the only obligatory tagmemes are topic and predicate, description, or equivalent.

Non-verbal clauses include existential, equational, location, and possession clauses.

Description and ambient clauses are sometimes verbal and sometimes non-verbal, depending upon the item expounding the predicate. When a verb or a verbalized nominal expounds the predicate of a descriptive or an ambient clause, the clause may be subsumed under intransitive clauses.

1.2.1 Declarative Descriptive Clause

In a declarative descriptive clause, some characteristic is attributed to a nominal.

In independent clauses, obligatory tagmemes include the description and the topic being described. A location tagmeme is optional.

Declarative descriptive clauses may be embedded in noun phrases. When this occurs, the only obligatory tagmeme is the description.

Declarative Descriptive Clause

+ Description	<u>±</u> Topic	<u>±</u> Location
AdjPhr VbAdjPhr	NPhr	LocPhr LocWd

Rule:

The topic tagmeme may permute to the front of the syntagmeme for emphasis.

Examples of the declarative descriptive clause:

The following example contains an optional location tagmeme.

	DESCR		TOPIC		LOC
21	Osuang a		ko-waloi-an		tuui.
	many-house-pl		here

‘There are many houses here.’

The following is a very common, simple construction.

	DESCR		TOPIC		
22	Dai..katu		sawo ku		no.
	sick		spouse my		comp

‘My wife is sick.’

The following example contains a permuted topic tagmeme.

		TOPIC						DESCR
23	Jadi	akibat	nu	tu	poinga	tu	nai	dai owarong.
	so	result	NMkr	spec	jealousy	spec	emph	not good

‘So, the result of this jealousy was not good.’

Another permuted topic tagmeme is illustrated below. In this case the description tagmeme is expounded by a verb phrase.

	TOPIC			DESCR		
24	Ono	mayo	ono	dai po		moonsak.
	spec	big	spec	not yet		be.ripe

‘The big one isn’t ripe yet.’

The example below, taken from the example just above, contains a description clause embedded in a noun phrase. Only the obligatory description tagmeme is present.

		DESCR	
25	Ono	mayo ono ...	
	spec	be.big spec	

‘The big one ...’

1.2.2 Declarative Ambient Clause

The ambient clause has no participant. It refers to the weather.

Ambient clauses may be subsumed under either intransitive or descriptive clauses.

In ambient intransitive clauses an event (e.g. rain or darkness) is verbalized by the addition of verbal affixes to a (ambient) noun root.

The ambient intransitive predicate is always affixed for actor focus.

Examples of the declarative ambient intransitive clause:

In the example below, the manner/aspect and negative morphemes are marginal tagmemes of the verb phrase. The noun root **uran** ‘rain’ has actor-focus and past-time verbal affixes.

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----|-----|------------|
| | PRED | | | |
| 26 | Olaid | o | dai | m-in-uran. |
| | long.time | ... | not | AF-P-rain |

‘It hasn’t rained for a long time.’

An ambient clause may consist of one word, as below.

- | | |
|----|---------|
| | PRED |
| 27 | M-uran. |
| | AF-rain |

‘It’s raining.’

Other verbal affixes, such as (p)ong ‘transitiviser’ may occur in the ambient predicate, as in the example below.

- | | |
|----|----------------|
| | PRED |
| 28 | M-ong-itom. |
| | AF-Trans-black |

‘It’s getting dark (stormy, not night).’

29 PRED
M-amut.
AF-hot

	(TIME)		PRED	TOPIC	LOC		
30	Labi-kurang about	koturuan seven-days	osampu hard	uran rain	dui there	so R	Sungai-Sungai. Sungai-Sungai

+ Existential Pred	\pm Measure	+ Topic	\pm Loc
<u>kowai</u> <u>ado</u>	Measure Phr	NPhr DeclTransCl	Loc Phr

Examples of the existential clause:

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------|-------|--------|--------------------------|
| | PRED | MEASURE | TOPIC | LOC | |
| 31 | Kowai | sabat | po | sungoi | so di lalom nu darom o. |
| | there.is | little | more | water | R L inside NMkr drum ... |

‘There is a little more water in the drum.’

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|-------|-------|
| | PRED | TOPIC | LOC |
| 32 | Ado | alud | tuui. |
| | there.isn’t | canoe | here |

‘There isn’t a canoe here.’

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|------------|------|
| | PRED | TOPIC | |
| 33 | Ado | kosonangan | mai. |
| | there.isn’t | happiness | our |

‘We were not happy.’

When cooccurring with a verb, **kowai** and **ado** take the meanings ‘there was some’ and ‘there wasn’t any’, respectively, as in the example below. In such instances the topic tagmeme is expounded by an embedded clause.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|--------------|----------|------|--------|--------|
| | | PRED | TOPIC | | | |
| 34 | Jadi | ado | nokookan | nu | ongo | okanon |
| | so | there.wasn’t | eat | NMkr | ... | food |
| | | | | | | |
| | | PRED | TOPIC | | | |
| | ataupun | ado | nokoinum | nu | sungoi | |
| | or | there.wasn’t | drink | NMkr | water | |

‘So, there wasn’t any food to eat or any water to drink.’

1.2.4 Declarative Equational Clause

An equational clause attributes a nominal to the topic of the clause. It has two obligatory tagmemes: the topic and the equivalent to the topic.

The name clause is subsumed under the equational clause.

Declarative Equational Clause

+ Topic	+ Equivalent
NPhr	NPhr

Examples of the equational clause:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|------|--------------|----|------|---------|-----|------------|
| | TOPIC | | | | | | | EQUIVALENT |
| 35 | Orugo | nu | bayag | ku | tu | somital | duo | ringgit. |
| | price | NMkr | sweet.potato | my | spec | one.tin | two | dollars |

‘The price of my sweet potatoes per tin is two dollars.’

The following is an example of a name clause, structurally the same as an equational clause.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|------|------|---------------|-----|------|--|------------|
| | TOPIC | | | | | | | EQUIVALENT |
| 36 | Ngaran | nu | kiim | inasowan | mai | ri | | Sapagaya. |
| | name | NMkr | camp | place.entered | our | spec | | Sapagaya |

‘The name of the camp we entered was Sapagaya.’

The following is an example of an equational clause embedded in a result sentence. **Barti** is a sentence-level constituent.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|--------|----|------|------------|--------|----|------|
| | | TOPIC | | | EQUIVALENT | | | |
| 37 | Barti | sawo | ku | ri | baya’ | sawo | ku | ri. |
| | means | spouse | my | spec | ex | spouse | my | spec |

‘The result is that my wife is now my ex-wife.’

1.2.5 Declarative Location Clause

A declarative location clause attributes a location to a topic. Obligatory tagmemes include topic and location. Optional tagmemes include time and a location predicate.

<u>+Time</u>	<u>+Loc Pred</u>	+Topic	+ Location
TPhr	LocRelator	Pro	LocPhr NPhr

The Location Predicate is expounded by a location relator (a preposition) also used in location noun phrases.

	PRED	TOPIC	LOC	
38	Ingkiat	aku	so	Binsolong.
	from	I	R	Binsolong

	TIME		TOPIC		LOC
39	Koopatan four.days	sominggu a.week	nosi-ro they	sono ...	so raat o. R sea ...

1.2.6 Declarative Possession Clauses

Three types of possession clauses are posited: the first having a possession predicate; the second and third, possession nominals.

1.2.6.1 Possession Clause (Type 1)

In a possession clause (type 1), the item possessed is incorporated into the predicate by the use of the prefix *ki* 'to have'.

+ Possession Pred	+ Possessor
PossVbPhr <u>ki-</u> + NRt	NPhr

Rule:

Possessor may permute to prepredicate position.

Examples of the possession clause (type 1):

The following is an example of a permuted possessor tagmeme. **mimang baya'** yo 'indeed formerly ...' is a part of the verb phrase.

	POSSESSOR		PRED			
40	Woinoi iri	mimang	baya'	yo	ki	-sawo.
	woman spec	indeed	formerly	...	have-	spouse

'That woman had been married before.'

In the following example the possession predicate is expanded by the inclusion of an appositive to the noun root of the verb head. **lolaing woros** 'small child' is in apposition to **anak** 'offspring', the noun root in the nucleus of the verb.

The possession clause in this example is embedded in a nominal construction as a relative clause.

	(POSSESSOR)		PRED				
41	... serta	duo koyuan	orang..puti	ki-anak	lolaing	woros.	
	with	two people	white.people	have-child	child	small	

'... with two white people who have a small child.'

1.2.6.2 Possession Clause (Type 2)

A possession clause (type 2) is structurally similar to an equational clause in that a nominal is attributed to the topic of the clause. In this case, a possession noun phrase is attributed to the specifier or negative specifier.

Topic and equivalent tagmemes are obligatory.

Possession Clause (Type 2)

+ Topic	+ Equivalent
Spec NegSpec	PossNPhr1 PossNPhr2

Rule:

Both specifier and negative specifier may occur with either possession noun phrase (1 or 2).

Further discussion:

1. The topic tagmeme is expounded by a specifier or a negative specifier.
2. The equivalent tagmeme is expounded by two types of possession noun phrases, one emphasizing the possessed item and the other emphasizing the possessor of the item.

Examples of the possession clause (type 2):

The following example contains a specifier and a possession noun phrase 1.

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT		
42	Itu spec	wasoi adze	nu NMkr	digon. my

‘That is my adze.’

The following example contains a negative specifier and a possession noun phrase 1.

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT		
43	Okon..ko negspec	wasoi adze	nu NMkr	digon. my

‘That is not my adze.’

The following clause contains a specifier and a possession noun phrase 2.

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT		
44	Itu spec	digon my	so R	wasoi. adze

‘That is my adze.’

The example below contains a negative specifier and possession noun phrase 2.

	TOPIC	EQUIVALENT			
45	Okon..ko	nu	digon	so	wasoi.
	negspec	NMkr	my	R	adze

'That is not my adze.'

1.2.6.3 Possession Clause (Type 3)

A third type of possession clause closely resembles an existential clause. In this case, a noun phrase containing a possessive pronoun expounds the topic and the existential word **kowai** 'there is/are' expounds the predicate.

Possession Clause (Type 3)

+ Existential Pred	+ Possession Topic
kowai ado	NPhr (+ PossPro)

Examples of the possession clause (type 3):

	PRED	POSS-TOPIC			
46	Kuai	una'	ku	nu	musorong.
	there.is	friend	my	NMkr	love

'I have a friend whom I love.' or 'I have a friend who loves me.'

	PRED	POSS-TOPIC				
47	Kowai	tolu	no	jinis	bangbang	ku tu.
	there.are	three	comp	kinds	pastry	my spec

'I have three kinds of pastry.'

2 Modifications

2.1 Imperative Modification

Transitive and intransitive clauses can be modified to create imperative clauses.

Rules:

1. Generally, the actor tagmeme is absent. When the actor tagmeme is present, the thrust of the clause is hortatory.
2. Transitive verbs have the suffix **-o** in undergoer focus and the suffix **-i** in referent focus.
3. Intransitive verbs have the suffix **-a**.
4. Prefixed verb stems take the atemporal '**p-**' form.
5. Negative imperative modification is performed by the introduction of negative imperative phrases into the predicate, preceding the verb head.

When **adang** 'don't' expounds the head of the negative imperative phrase, the main verb of the clause is inflected for focus as in declarative clauses. When **ikodi** 'don't' expounds the head of the negative imperative phrase, the main verb of the clause is inflected for the imperative mood, as in Rule 2, above.

Formula for a negative imperative modification:

adang + Declarative verb

ikodi + Imperative verb

The matter of when to use **adang** rather than **ikodi** remains to be resolved. Perhaps it has to do with transitivity.

Examples of imperative modification:

The first two examples illustrate the application of Rule 2, above.

- 48 Alap -o po ono mayo no
 take-UF ... spec big comp

'Take the big one!'

- 49 Taak -i aku duo pinyaram om ido jualan.punti
 give-RF me two fried.cakes and one fried.banana

'Give me two fried cakes and one fried banana.'

The following example illustrates the application of Rule 3. The verb is affixed for actor focus.

- 50 Asou -a bo!
 enter-AF emph
 'Come in!'

The atemporal affixed form (the 'p-' form) of *ogol* 'to leave' in the example below illustrates Rule 4.

- 51 P-ogol-o ya duo no watu oworos i!
 caus-stay-UF ... two comp units small spec
 'Leave the two little ones!'

The following two examples illustrate negative imperative modification as discussed in Rule 5. In example 51, *tumangi* is affixed like a declarative verb. In example 52, *alapo* is affixed like an imperative verb.

- 52 Adang t-um-angi' bo.
 don't *-AF-cry emph
 'Don't cry.'

- 53 Ikodi po alap -o kopayas mayo no!
 don't ... take-UF papaya big comp
 'Don't take the big papaya!'

In the following example, the presence of the actor tagmeme indicates the hortatory nature of the clause.

- 54 ACTOR
 Jadi ikodi muyu yo sono togi-togi-o
 so don't you.pl clamor.for-UF
 'So, you shouldn't clamor for it.'

2.2 Interrogative Modifications

There are two types of interrogative clauses: yes-no and information questions.

2.2.1 Yes-No Interrogative Clause

A yes-no interrogative modification involves minimal change from a declarative clause. High pitch throughout the clause may alone be sufficient to indicate that it is yes-no interrogative rather than declarative.

The interrogative particle **ka** may be inserted following the actor tagmeme to transform a declarative clause into an interrogative.

Examples of yes-no interrogative clauses:

55	Nokoyang	kou	yo	<u>ka</u>	nu	ubat?
	found	you	...	InterPt	NMkr	medicine

‘Did you find the medicine?’

56	Moila	kou	yo	<u>ka</u>	nu	tongar	lalom	sungoi?
	know	you	...	InterPt	NMkr	speak	in	Sungai

‘Do you know the Sungai language?’

2.2.2 Information Interrogative Clause

Information interrogative clauses have an interrogative word in clause-initial position.

Interrogative words include:

isoi	‘who’
onu	‘what, why (non-accusing)’
ombo, so ombo	‘which, where’
komuro	‘how much’
tino	‘how many’
sombia’	‘when’
nokuro, monguro	‘why (accusing, exclamatory)’

These words may occur singly or in interrogative phrases. The interrogative morpheme **ka** is optional.

Examples of the information interrogative clause:

- 57 Onu ka inowit mu?
 what InterPt carry you

‘What are you carrying?’

- 58 Ombo ingkiat mu?
 where from you

‘Where are you from?’

- 59 Komuro ka powoli mu somital?
 how.much InterPt sell you one.tin

‘How much are you selling one tin for?’

- 60 Tino ka no watu piyu wolion mu?
 how.many InterPt comp units chickens buy you

‘How many chickens do you (want to) buy?’

- 61 Nokuro lolaing mu tu su ’ tumangi’ ?
 why baby your spec ... cries

‘Why is your baby crying?’

2.3 Dependent Modification

Independent declarative clauses may be made dependent by the addition of a subordinating conjunction in clause-initial position. Subordinating conjunctions, many of which are borrowed from Bahasa Malaysia, include:

apabila	‘when’
asal	‘when, after’
bang	‘if, when’
dama’	‘because’
lepas	‘after’
minsan	‘while’
opod	‘after’
pasal	‘because’
sampai	‘until’

This is not an exhaustive list.

Examples of dependent declarative clauses:

- 62 Jadi asal kopomasok na mongorinantai kito yo sono.
 so when drive.piling expl lay.floor we

‘So, after driving in the piling, we lay the floor.’

- 63 Minsan mukoraja aku ri mungot.
 while work I spec angry

‘While I was working, she was angry.’

- 64 Montuturan aku sabat pasal aku kondiri nokolabai.
 tell.story I little because I myself experienced

‘I will tell this little tale because I myself experienced it.’

- 65 Bang kopasang o tontom o totolon o
 when put ... floor.beam ... rattan.tie ...

atau..pun pokuon.
 or nail

‘When the floor beams are put down, we tie them with rattan or nail them.’

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CLAUSE TYPES IN TATANA'

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ABBREVIATIONS

acto	actor
alt, altern	alternative
atemp	atemporal
aux	auxiliary verb
benef	benefactive
cl	clause
classif	classifier
comm	command suffix
compl	completive marker
conn	connector
decl	declarative
def	definite
descr, descript	description, descriptive
du	dual
ex	exclusive
exist	existential
ind	indefinite
intrans	intransitive
inc	inclusive

loc	location
mod	modifier
nn	noun
*	initial consonant
perf	perfective
phr	phrase
pl	plural
pmkr	person marker
pn	pronoun
pr, pred	predicate
qu	question
recipr	reciprocal
ref	referent
RF	referent focus
rel	relator particle
s	sentence
sg	singular
stat	stative
trans, transit	transitive
UF	undergoer focus
vb	verb
wd	word
{C}	underlying consonant
[]	material added for clarification
...	gloss unknown
	clause break of a root

0 Introduction

The Tatana' language is spoken by approximately 5,500 people in the Kuala Penyu district in the southwestern part of the state of Sabah in Malaysia.

The purpose of this paper is to make an initial study of clause-level structures in Tatana'. Verb morphology is not within the scope of this study. Also, certain features are perceived as pertaining to sentence level and are therefore excluded. They include such things as dependent versus independent clauses, topicalization, and the use of modifiers.

The research for this paper was conducted in 1980-81 and 1983-84 in the villages of Kinontungan and Kulung-Kulung under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The findings were analyzed and written up in a linguistic workshop held in Kota Kinabalu in April-May 1984. I wish to thank the workshop consultant, Dr. Charles Peck, for his help and suggestions. I also wish to thank the following Tatana' speakers who have contributed texts for analysis: Encik Matthew Hunggim, Encik Cosmas Ah Gang, Puan Moto Elong, and Puan Aniang Wong Kiau.

1 Tritransitive Clause

The Tritransitive Clause expresses the action of doing something for someone for someone else. It uses, for instance, transitive verbs that express modes of cooking or serving food, with the meaning that the actor makes or does something for another person so that he can enjoy it, and at the same time does it for another person, thus relieving him.

The imperative Tritransitive Clause has a predicate and an undergoer as obligatory elements. Benefactive and referent are optional elements that follow the predicate but precede the undergoer. All the examples have at least one optional element in addition to the obligatory ones.

In the data that was available at the time of this study, the Tritransitive Clause occurred only in commands.

Imperative Tritransitive Clause

+ Pred	<u>±</u> Benefactive	<u>±</u> Referent	+ Undergoer
trans. vb	pronoun	pronoun noun phrase	noun phrase

Examples of the Tritransitive Clause:

The next example has a full array of constituents.

	PRED		BENEF	REF		UNDERGOER
1	Tuang -i'	gulu'	daki'	ulun	dogiano	do kupi'
	make-comm	mod	for.me	people	those	rel coffee

'Make some coffee for those people for me!'

The following example has a Referent but no Benefactive.

	PRED		REF		UNDERGOER
2	Iib-i'	aku	po	do	kupi'
	pour-comm	I	mod	rel	coffe

'Pour me some coffee!'

The following example has a Benefactive but no Referent.

	PRED	BENEF	UNDERGOER		
3	lib-i'	daki'	do	kupi'	in!
	pour-comm	for.me	rel	coffee	that

'Pour that coffee for me!'

2 Bitransitive Clauses

2.1 Bitransitive Clause

The Bitransitive Clause involves three participants: an actor, usually a person; a referent to whom something is given or done; and an undergoer, usually inanimate. The verbs that have been found to occur in Bitransitive Clauses include such verbs as **taak** 'give', **bagi** 'give, share', **tuduk** 'teach, show', **tanda** 'make a thing/person into something'.

The Bitransitive Clause in its full form has an array of predicate, actor, referent, and undergoer. Only one example has been found with all the constituents in the data. Usually a constituent is omitted if it can be understood from the context.

Most of the examples in the data are relativized Bitransitive Clauses. In those clauses, the predicate plus one other constituent are always obligatory. It is very common, however, to have three constituents. The relativized clause cannot have all four constituents because the missing one is expressed by the head of the noun phrase in which the Bitransitive Clause is embedded.

Bitransitive Clause

+ Bitr. Pred.	\pm Actor	\pm Referent	\pm Undergoer
bitransit. vb taak 'give' bagi 'share, give' tuduk 'teach, show' tanda 'make'	pronoun noun phrase	pronoun	noun phrase

Rule:

The Bitransitive Clause often occurs as a relative clause, in which case either referent or undergoer or both are omitted. Examples of the Bitransitive Clause:

The next example has the full array of constituents.

	PRED	ACTOR	REF	UNDERGOER		
4	<u>Ma-m{b}agi</u> ...-give	<u>kau</u> you(pl)	<u>oyo daki'</u> if for.me	<u>do antalu'</u> , rel egg	songkuo how.much	bagu kau mod you
	mongi-rogo ...-charge	daki' for.me	so- one-classif	linsou?		

'If you give me some of your eggs, how much do you charge for one?'

The following example has no undergoer.

				PRED	ACTOR	REFERENT
5	No- ...-	pongo finish	poyo, when	<u>pa-taak-on</u> caus-give-UF	<u>nisio</u> <u>do</u> by.her rel	<u>ponyupi</u> priestess

'When that is finished, she gives [it] to the priestess.'

The following example has a relative clause which has neither referent nor undergoer.

						PRED	ACTOR
6	Na, well	gii that	no compl	makanan food	mai our(ex)	<u>taak</u> give	<u>nu orang puti.</u> by people white

'Well, that was the food that was given to us by the Westerners.'

The following example is a clause with no actor. The actor is understood from the preceding clause, and the referent is understood from the preceding sentence, to which the deictic *gii* 'that' refers.

- 7 Gii no bagu tonokon mai tanda-an do akanon, akanon
 that compl mod boil we(ex) make-RF rel food eat
- jangan daging.
 with meat

'That was what we cooked and made into food, which we ate with meat.'

2.2 Transitive Clause with Designation Complement

The Transitive Clause with Designation Complement is structurally similar to the Bitransitive Clause. It is different from it in that both the referent and undergoer (or designation complement) are non-human and often also inanimate. The only verb that has been found to occur in the clause type is the verb stem **pu-ngaran** 'to call, name a thing something'. Examples of the Transitive Clause with Designation Complement:

The next example has the full array of constituents.

- 8 Jadi intad dino om no-pungaran-an bagu nu ulun dogiari
 so from that conn ...-name-RF mod by people those
- REFERENT DESIG.COMPL
ionon dogii do Kampung Sugira, singkoit Kampung Kosugira
 place that rel village Sugira nowadays village Kosugira

'So from that time on those people called that place Sugira Village, nowadays Kampung Kosugira.'

The following example illustrates the occurrence of this clause as a relative clause. The referent is absent.

- 9 ... kokito niro bagu songinan lulu miad do nipo gayo
 saw they mod one.classif animal like rel snake big
- PRED ACTOR DESIG.COMPL.
 gii p-in-ungaran-an niro do boruruk ...
 that *-past-call-RF they rel boruruk

'.. they saw an animal which was like a big snake and which they called a **boruruk**.'

3 Declarative Transitive Clause

The Declarative Transitive Clause has a transitive verb or a transitive verb phrase as its nuclear constituent.

The verb phrase comprises two verbs. The first verb is most commonly **ongoi** 'go' or a form of an auxiliary verb **mang** 'do, want', but such verbs as **pongo** 'finish', **kinam** 'try', **timpuun** 'start', and **alap** 'can, be able, get' have also been found in this slot. The verb **mang** usually occurs in the referent focus forms **mangi**, **minangan**, or **minaan**. The second verb is a declarative transitive verb. In undergoer focus it has the atemporal form with the suffix **-o**. In actor focus the second verb has the **p**-form of a prefix.

The actor, undergoer, instrument, location, and manner of the transitive clause are optional constituents. The majority of examples have an actor and an undergoer. In the data, the instrument occurs only in clauses where the verb is in undergoer focus. Transitive Clauses with instrument occur mostly in activity discourses where the actor is a general person and is not explicitly expressed. The undergoer is obvious from the context. Location and manner are relatively rare constituents in the Declarative Transitive Clause.

The Declarative Transitive Clause occurs as a dependent clause expressing purpose or undergoer within a sentence. Such a clause is preceded by the relator particle **do**.

Declarative Transitive Clause

+ Decl.Trans. Pred	\pm Actor	\pm Under- goer	\pm Instru- ment	\pm Loc	\pm Manner
decl.trans. vb	pronoun	pronoun	noun phr	loc.wd	manner phr
verb phrase	noun hr	noun hr		loc.phr	
	proper nn	embedded cl			

Rules:

1. Actor may permute in such a way as to split the predicate. Only a pronoun acted this way in the corpus of data.
2. Actor, undergoer, or location may permute to a prepredicate position for emphasis.
3. Location and manner have not been found to cooccur in the corpus of data.
4. Undergoer may permute to a position following the predicate but preceding the actor. In the only example available, the verb is in undergoer focus and the undergoer is a pronoun.
5. A dependent Declarative Transitive Clause is preceded by the relator particle **do**.

Examples of Declarative Transitive Clause:

The next example illustrates a maximum expansion.

- 10 Kaalap po niro boruruk dogii om mango' o niro tataa'
go mod they boruruk that and aux .. they cut.open

		PRED			ACTOR UNDERGOER			
tinoi'	no om	<u>ko-</u>	<u>kito</u>	no	<u>nisiro</u>	<u>inan</u>	<u>nu</u>	<u>anak</u> <u>andu'</u>
belly	its and ...		-see	compl	they	body	of	child female

LOCATION							
<u>dogii</u>	<u>sino</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>tinoi'</u>	<u>nu</u>	<u>boruruk</u>	<u>i</u>	
that	there	in	belly	of	boruruk	def	

'They got the **boruruk** (mythical beast) and cut its belly open and they saw the body of the girl in the **boruruk's** belly.'

The following example illustrates a minimal clause.

- 11 ... kulit nu lulu dogii minaan niro tuugo' tinau om
skin of animal that aux they dry put.away and

'... the skin of that animal they dried, put [it] away, and used [it] to make a drum ...'

The following example illustrates the actor permuting to split the predicate.

- 'Then the girl went to take that flower, for she liked that flower very much ...'**

The following example illustrates the forefronting of location and actor.

- ‘... because it was there that those people went to get hardwood called ‘marabau’, which they used as a lever to lift the **boruruk** up.’

The following example illustrates rule 4, according to which the undergoer may permute to a position between predicate and actor.

PRED UNDERGOER ACTOR

- 14 Ipag-on kau nu raja' muyun, raja' Suleiman.
 call-UF you(pl) by king your(pl) king Suleiman

'Your king, King Suleiman, is calling you.'

The following example has an instrument tagmeme. All the examples containing an instrument tagmeme in the corpus have the verb in undergoer focus. None have an undergoer either because it is obvious from the context or because the clause is relativized.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|----------|------|------|-------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| | | | | PRED | | | INSTRUMENT |
| 15 | Om | poykaan | poyo | om | <u>sumboli-on</u> | bo | <u>bagu</u> <u>do</u> <u>sandung</u> |
| | conn | tie.legs | when | conn | slaughter-UF | mod | mod with bushknife |

'And when they have tied [the buffalo's] legs, they will slaughter it with a bushknife.'

The following example illustrates a quoted Declarative Transitive Clause.

- 16 Jadi intad dogii nokolodong o pobanar buayo om
 so from that got.angry ... really crocodile and

				TIME		
<u>bajanji'</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>nogii</u>	<u>isiro</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>kaa</u>	<u>nogii</u>
promise	...	mod	they	rel	not	more

PRED	UNDERGOER
<u>mo-n{t}ulung</u>	<u>do</u> <u>palanuk</u> <u>dogii.</u>
...-help	rel mousedeer that

'So from then on the crocodiles got really angry and promised they would never again help that mousedeer.'

4 Reciprocal Clause

The Reciprocal Clause has the meaning of two or more people doing something to each other. The verb has the reciprocal prefix *mi-* (or *ni-/pi-*). Actor is obligatory and is expounded by a dual or plural pronoun in all the examples in the data. Actor may be forefronted to a prepredicate position, probably for emphasis. The Reciprocal Clause has an optional time margin.

Reciprocal Clause

\pm Time	+ Recipr. Pred.	+ Actor
time phrase	trans.vb with mi-/ni-/pi-	dual/pl pn

Examples of the Reciprocal Clause:

The next example has a full array of constituents.

	TIME			PRED	ACTOR	
17	Ontok	odou	koturu'	mi-tamu	kito	bagu.
	time	day	seventh	recipr-meet	we(du)	mod

'On the seventh day we two will meet.'

The following example has a forefronted actor.

	ACTOR	PRED
18	Isiro	ni-wal.
	they	recipr-quarrel

'They quarreled with each other.'

5 Compound Transitive Clause

The Compound Transitive Clause involves the transitive verb **ibit** 'take, bring' and another verb that expresses motion or direction. Other verbs expressing modes of carrying may occur in place of **ibit**, but so far only one example has been found, and in it **do** occurs preceding the verb of motion. It might be argued that such clauses should be analyzed as sentences with two clauses. However, the clauses seem to be very closely knit.

Both elements, taking a thing and getting it to a destination, are vital to the meaning of the clause. Apparently, then, one could not say, "He will take you to his house," without using a motion verb as well.

Actor and undergoer are optional elements of the Compound Transitive Clause. Actor is present in most of the examples. Undergoer is obligatorily absent in a relativized clause when the transitive verb is in undergoer focus. Location, or

destination, is an obligatory constituent except with the verb **uli** 'return home', in which case it is implicit.

Compound Transitive Clause

+ Pred	\pm Actor	\pm Undergoer	+ Pre	\pm Location
trans.vb ibit vb of 'carrying'	pronoun	pronoun	intrans.vb motion vb	loc. phrase

Examples of a Compound Transitive Clause:

The next example has a full array of constituents.

	PRED	ACTOR	UNDERGOER	PRED	LOCATION
19	Ibit-on	ku	okou	m-ongoi	do baloi nu ulun.
	take-UF	I	you(sg)	...-go	rel house of people

'I'll take you to someone's house.'

The following example has the verb **babo** 'carry on back' as the first verb.

20	Kogura'	po	sumandak	dogii	puruto'	o	nisio	lapung	i	om
	...	mod	maiden	that	pick.up	...	she	python	def	and

posuango' o nisio do bakul om
put.inside ... she in back.basket and

PRED PRED
bobo-o' do m-in-uli.
carry.on.back-atemp rel ...-past-go.home

'Then the maiden picked up the python and put it into the back basket and took it home on her back.'

The following example is a relativized clause with no undergoer. Location is implicit in the verb **uli** 'return home'.

- 21 Koiso no wanang do in-ibit nisiro m-uli'.
is.not compl catch rel past-take they ...-go.home

‘There was no catch which they could take home.’

6 Formulaic Transitive Clause

The Formulaic Transitive Clause has a quoted clause or sentence as its undergoer. It is common for the Formulaic Transitive Clause both to precede and follow the quote. It can also occur in the middle of a quoted sentence. Another verb of saying may occur with the usual quote verb *kon*.

kon 'say' has the following forms in different persons:

ka ku	'I said'	ka takau	'we (inc) said'
ka mu	'you (sg) said'	ka mai	'we (ex) said'
kon nisio	'he/she said'	ka kito	'we (two) said'
ka muyun	'you (pl) said'	kon nisiro	'they said'

Formulaic Transitive Clause

+ Predicate	+ Actor
quote verb verb phrase	pronoun noun phrase proper name

Examples of a Formulaic Transitive Clause:

The next example illustrates the occurrence of the clause preceding and following the quote.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|--------------|--------|----------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|
| | | | | | | PRED | ACTOR |
| 22 | Jadi, | pokosuang | o | Gipun | do Langkun, | <u>mang kon</u> | <u>nu</u> |
| | so | have.entered | .. | Japanese | in Langkon | aux | say the |
| | <u>kabajauan,</u> | "kaa nini' | maraat | Gipun, | moonsoi," | <u>kon.</u> | |
| | Bajaus | not mod | bad | Japanese | good | say | |

'So when the Japanese had come to Langkon, the Bajau people said, "The Japanese are not bad, they are good," they said.'

The following example illustrates the occurrence of the clause utterance-initially and medially.

23 **PRED** **ACTOR** **PRED**
 Jadi mang kon nu Bajau mamara' do Gipun, "Mogumu",
 so aux say the Bajau inform ... Japanese are many

PRED **ACTOR**
 kon nisio, "anu -- Amerikan sino do Pinggan-Pinggan."
 say he ind pn American there at Pinggan-Pinggan

'So the Bajau said, informing the Japanese, "There are many," he said, "Americans at Pinggan-Pinggan."

The following example illustrates the occurrence of the clause utterance-medially in the first person.

24 **PRED** **ACT** **PRED** **ACT**
 "Ala!" ka ku "Pogidu' o," ka ku, "maatoi ko!"
 O.God say I flee ... say I die you(sg)

"O God!" I said, "Flee," I said, "or you'll die!"

7 Declarative Intransitive Clause

The Declarative Intransitive Clause has an intransitive verb or verb phrase as its nuclear element. In all the instances in the data where the predicate is a double verb phrase, the actor, if present, is expounded by a full noun phrase. Time, location, and manner are optional constituents. Location is by far the most common of the three; time and manner occur quite seldom. (The only example of manner in the data is a loanword from Bahasa Malaysia.) When the clause is dependent, it is preceded by the relator particle *do* and has no actor.

Declarative Intransitive Clause

+ Decl.Intrans.Pred	± Actor	± Time	± Location	± Manner
decl.intrans. vb verb phrase	pronoun noun phr	time phr	loc. phr	manner phr

Rules:

1. Actor may be forefronted for emphasis.
2. Time may permute to clause-initial position.
3. No more than two of time, location, and manner have been found to cooccur in the data.

Examples of a Declarative Intransitive Clause:

The next example has the basic array of predicate, actor, and location.

	PRED	ACTOR	LOCATION				
25	<u>Ko-rikot</u> ...-arrive	<u>isio</u> he	<u>sino</u> there	<u>do</u> on	<u>suborong</u> other.side	<u>dogii</u> that	<u>pogigia'</u> speak mod
	<u>isio</u> he	<u>do</u> rel	<u>buayo</u> crocodile	<u>dogiari</u> those	<u>do</u> rel	<u>kon</u> say	<u>nisio ..</u> he

'Having arrived on the other side, he spoke to those crocodiles saying ...'

The following example has a forefronted time tagmeme and a forefronted actor.

				TIME	ACTOR	PRED
26	<u>Jadi</u> so	<u>kalapas</u> after	<u>nopo</u> topic	<u>dogii</u> that	<u>intalu kali'</u> third time	<u>isio</u> she
						<u>indakod</u> go.up
	LOCATION					
	<u>sino</u> there	<u>do</u> in	<u>kapal</u> ship	<u>i.</u> def		

'So after that she went up on board the ship for the third time.'

The following example has an auxiliary plus an intransitive verb in the verb phrase filling the predicate slot.

	PRED		ACTOR			
27	<u>Jadi</u> so	<u>imang</u> aux	<u>o</u> ...	<u>atur</u> line.up	<u>buayo</u> crocodile	<u>dogiari</u> those
					<u>do</u> rel	<u>mogi-</u> many-
						<u>sunu-sunu</u> side.by.side

sampai intad do suborong bawang om noko- rikot
 until from rel other.side river conn perf- arrive

do suborong miso i.
 rel other.side one def

'So those crocodiles lined up side by side until they reached from one side of the river to the other.'

8 Descriptive Clause

The Descriptive Clause expresses what someone or something is like. Its nuclear element is a descriptive verb. The distinction between a Descriptive Clause and an Intransitive Clause does not seem very clear in all cases, because descriptive roots can be inflected: they can take various verbal prefixes and infixes expressing tense and aspect, and they can be made transitive by affixing a causative prefix to the root. Thus, for instance, the descriptive root **gayo** 'big' has such forms as **ma-gayo** 'is big', **g-um-ayo** 'will become big', **g-in-um-ayo** 'became big', **noko-gayo** 'has become big', **mopo-gayo** 'cause to become big; raise, grow (transit)'. The descriptive root also occurs as a modifier within a noun phrase and is unaffixed.

Description Clause

+ Description	\pm Topic	\pm Location	\pm Time
descript. vb phr	pronoun noun phr	loc. phrase	time phrase

Rules:

1. Topic may be forefronted.
2. Location and time tagmemes have not been found to cooccur in the data.

Examples of a Descriptive Clause:

The next example illustrates the maximum expansion.

	DESCR		TOPIC		TIME			
28	<u>Mo-gumu'</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>kopio</u>	<u>ulun</u>	<u>Bisaya'</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>ontok</u>	<u>dogii</u> om kaa
	...many	...	very	people	Bisaya	at	time	that and not

tupo nu ulun Tatana' mataanan om ...
mod by people Tatana' endure and

'The Bisaya people were very numerous at that time, so the Tatana people could not endure, but ...'

The following example illustrates a Descriptive Clause with a forefronted topic.

TOPIC DESCR

29 Ansi nopo nisio om mo-itom.
meat topic its conn ... -black

'Its meat is black.'

9 Ambient Clause

The Ambient Clause has no participants. It refers to weather conditions. The Descriptive Clause can also describe weather conditions, but its structure differs from that of the Ambient Clause.

Ambient Clause

+ Ambient.Pred	\pm Location	\pm Time
ambient vb phr	loc. word loc. phr	time phr

Rule:

Time can permute to a clause-initial position.

Examples of an Ambient Clause:

The next example has a full array of constituents.

30 AMBIENT PRED LOC TIME
 Mog-odou situ' do watu' diti.
 ... -day/sun here rel time this

'It is the dry season here at this time.'

The second example illustrates the forefronting of time.

- 31 TIME AMBIENT.PRED
 Musim diti man-dasam ani'.
 season this ... -rain only

'During this time it just keeps raining.'

The third example illustrates a minimal clause.

- 32 AMBIENT.PRED
 Dumasam. (= -um- dasam)
 rain (= -will- rain)

'It's going to rain.'

10 Stative Clause

The Stative Clause describes the state or physical position of an animate or an inanimate actor. It includes postures such as sitting, standing, crouching, kneeling, and lying in various positions. The Stative Clause does not express an action or event; it just states how things are.

The Stative Clause has a stative verb as its nuclear element. It consists of an intransitive verb root plus the stative prefix **poi(N)-**. Actor and location are optional constituents of the clause.

The Stative Clause often occurs embedded within a noun phrase, in which case the actor is obligatorily absent.

Stative Clause

+ Stative Pred.	+ Actor	+ Location
stative vb poi(N)-	pronoun	loc. phrase

Examples of a Stative Clause:

The next example has the full array of constituents.

- | | PRED | ACTOR | LOCATION | | |
|----|-----------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------------|
| 33 | <u>Poin-ion</u> | <u>aku</u> | <u>sino</u> | <u>do</u> | <u>Kikuta</u> '. |
| | stat-live | I | there | at | Kikuta' |

'I am staying at Kikuta.'

The following example has two stative clauses, both with no actor tagmeme.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------|------------|-------|------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| 34 | Adat | nopo | intad | do | komotutuaan | do kon, | kaa | noponoko-ongoi |
| | custom | topic | from | rel | ancestors | rel say | not | topic perf-go |
| | noko-ongoi | idang | do | kon, | <u>poin-tudung</u> | <u>sino</u> | <u>do tana</u> ' | |
| | perf-go | offer.food | rel | say | stat-si | there | rel ground | |

PRED
poin-tingaa'.
 stat-look.up

'The custom according to what the ancestors say is that, if one does not go and offer food [to the ancestral spirits], [they] will be sitting on the ground and looking up [i.e. expecting to be fed].'

The following example illustrates the occurrence of a Stative Clause embedded in a noun phrase.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|-------------------|--------|-----------|-----|-----------|-----|----------|
| 35 | Somumua | no | mongoi | sumbayang | do | poibanta' | do | motutuo. |
| | all | compl | go | worship | rel | is.lying | rel | parent |
| | nisio | <u>STAT.CL</u> | | | | | | |
| | his | <u>poin-patoi</u> | | | | | | |
| | | stat-dead | | | | | | |

'All go to worship where they lay their parent who is dead.'

11 Existential Clause

The Existential Clause states the fact that someone or something exists or is or has been there. The existential word **kiaro/aro** 'there is' or **koiso/koroyo** 'there is not' is used as a nuclear element. The Existential Clause is semantically similar to Possession Clause-1 in that it may express that something belonging to someone is there. For instance, one can say **there-is money-my**, meaning 'I have got money'. The Possession Clause-1 would have the structure of **with-money I**, 'I have got money'. The existential word is followed by the actor, which is also nuclear. Location and time are optional constituents and follow the actor. They are structurally quite similar.

The Existential Clause often occurs in the beginning of a narrative discourse and serves to introduce participants. It is often preceded by a sentence topic.

Existential Clause

+ Existential	+ Actor	<u>±</u> Location	<u>±</u> Time
exist. word	noun phr	loc. word loc. phr	time phr

Rules:

1. Location and time have not been found to cooccur in the data. Location word may permute to a position preceding the actor.
2. Existential Clause may be preceded by the relator particle *do*.

Examples of an Existential Clause:

The next example illustrates the occurrence of the clause in the opening sentence of a narrative discourse introducing the main participant.

EXIST ACTOR

- 36 *Insan* *odou* kiaro song-inan palanuk *do* noko-kito *do* bua
 once day there.is one-class mousedeer rel perf-see rel fruit
- sino *do* suborong bawang.
 there rel other.side river

'Once upon a time there was a mousedeer, who saw fruit on the other side of the river.'

The following example illustrates the occurrence of the relator particle *do* preceding the existential clause.

37 Kampung nopo diti Kosugira om Marabau nga' magaad do isan
village topic this Kosugira and Marabau link nea rel shore

bawang Kipolupu kira'-kira' sabatu galud intad do
river Kipolupu about one.mile far from rel

Kayul om kurang..labi dati do EXIST ACTOR
Kayul and more.or.less perhaps rel is kiaro balu ngobatu
eight miles

intad do Kuala Panyu.
from rel Kuala Penyu

'These villages of Kosugira and Marabau are near the shore of Kipolupu River, about one mile from Kayul and approximately eight miles from Kuala Penyu [town].'

12 Location Clause

The Location Clause is a verbless clause and it conveys information about where someone is. Its nuclear elements are the actor and the location. It has an optional time constituent, which expresses the duration of stay in a certain location. Time precedes the actor. Location follows the actor, but there is an example in which a location word precedes the actor and a location phrase follows the actor. The location phrase is expounded by *do* plus noun phrase. The Location Clause functions in settings and in background information on the paragraph level.

Location Clause

<u>±</u> Time	+ Actor	+ Location
time phr	pronoun proper name noun phrase	loc. phr

Examples of a Location Clause:

The next example has the full array of constituents.

	TIME	ACTOR	LOCATION
38	<u>So-minggu'</u> one.week	<u>akai lagi'</u> we(ex) still	<u>do Bandau.</u> at Bandau

'We were at Bandau for one more week.'

The following example has an actor and a location.

	ACTOR	LOCATION
39	<u>Talu ngoulun orang.puti,</u> three people white.people	<u>kon, nio do Pinggan-Pinggan.</u> say there at Pinggan-Pinggan

'Three Europeans are there at Pinggan-Pinggan, they say.'

13 Possession Clause-1

The Possession Clause-1 has the basic meaning of 'being with something', having something. A possessed item is a noun root with the prefix *ki-*. It is followed by two optional elements, a possessor and a complement. The complement is expounded by a noun phrase or (an intransitive) clause, both preceded by the relator particle *do*.

Possession Clause-1

+ Possessed	+Possessor	+Complement
ki- + noun root	pronoun pronominal phr noun phrase	do + noun phr (intrans) clause

Rules:

1. Possessor may be forefronted to a topic position.
2. Possession Clause may occur embedded in a noun phrase.

Examples of Possession Clause-1:

The next example has the full array of constituents.

	POSSESSED		POSSESSOR		COMPLEMENT
40	<u>Ki-andu'</u>		<u>isio</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>andu'</u> <u>songon.</u>
	with-woman		he	rel	woman beautiful

'He had a beautiful woman for a wife.'

The following example has the possessor forefronted to the topic position.

	POSSESSOR		POSSESSED		COMPLEMENT
41	<u>Kusoi</u>	<u>nopo</u>	<u>ki-sira'</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>batang.lima.</u>
	man	topic	with-shirt	rel	Chinese.shirt

'The groom had a Chinese shirt.'

The following example shows the Possession Clause embedded in a noun phrase.

					POSSESSED
42	Ma-ng{k}akat	pobagu	isiro	do	pasu' <u>ki-suang</u>
	... - carry	mod	they	rel	jar with-contents
					COMPLEMENT
	<u>do</u>		<u>inasi.</u>		
	rel		rice.beer		

'They carry a jar that has rice beer in it.'

14 Possession Clause-2

The Possession Clause-2 has the basic meaning of something belonging to someone, someone possessing something. Both possessor and possessed take the undergoer form. Topic may occur clause-initially and it is expounded by a deictic. In an information question, 'Whose is such-and-such?', the interrogative pronoun *isai* 'who' occurs, but it is not in undergoer form.

Possession Clause-2

+ Topic	+ Possessor	+ Possessed
deictic	pronoun (undergoer form: d-)	do + noun phrase deictic (undergoer form)

Examples of Possession Clause-2

The next example has the full array of constituents.

	TOPIC		POSSESSOR		POSSESSED
43	<u>Ino</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>dami'</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>karaja'</u> .
	that	compl	for.us(ex)	rel	work

'That is our work.'

The following example has the question word *isai* 'who'.

	POSSESSOR		POSSESSED
44	<i>Isai</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>baloi dino?</i>
	who	rel	house that

'Whose is that house?'

15 Equational Clause

The Equational Clause has the basic meaning of equating two elements, 'A is B'. In most cases the clause has an actor and an equivalent. There are a couple of instances in which only the equivalent occurs, both of them are negative.

The Name Clause is a subtype of the Equational Clause. It has two elements: the actor (noun phrase) and the equivalent (proper name). The actor is topicalized with topic marker *nopo* and the link *nga*'. The proper name is preceded by the person marker *i*.

Equational Clause

+ Equivalent	<u>±</u> Actor
proper noun deictic noun phrase	pronoun deictic noun phrase

Rules:

1. Actor may be forefronted, probably for emphasis.
2. In a few cases the actor does not occur but is obvious from the context.

Examples of Equational Clause:

The next example has a topic, an equivalent, and an actor.

	TOPIC			EQUIVALENT		ACTOR		
45	<u>Okou</u>	<u>nopo</u>	<u>om</u>	<u>ulun</u>	<u>susa'</u>	<u>ko</u>	om	maraat
	you(sg)	topic	conn	person	poor	you	and	bad
								also

'You, you are a poor person and also bad.'

The following example has a forefronted actor.

	ACTOR		EQUIVALENT	
46	<u>Nipo</u>	<u>dogii</u>	<u>kusoi</u>	<u>songon.</u>
	snake	that	man	handsome

'That snake (had become) a handsome man.'

The following example has no actor. Such examples are rare and have been found to occur in dialogues only.

	NEG					EQUIVALENT		
47	'Om	kaa	aku	no	manyasal, <u>loin..ko</u>	<u>macam</u>	<u>ina'</u>	<u>ku,</u>
	conn	not	I	compl	regret not	like	mothe	my
	do	kon	nisio.					
	rel	say	he					

'I don't regret, for [you are] not my mother,' he said.

The following example illustrates the Name Clause.

ACTOR				EQUIVALENT	
48	<u>Ngaran</u>	<u>nisio</u>	<u>nopo</u>	<u>nga'</u>	<u>i</u> <u>Anggang.</u>
	name	his	topic	link	pmkr Anggang

'His name is Anggang.'

16. Modifications of clauses

Interrogative, Command, Negative, and Relative Clauses are treated as modifications. This reduces the number of potential clause types and subtypes considerably. All clause types, with the exception of the Formulaic Transitive Clause, can have interrogative, command, and negative modifications.

16.1 Interrogative Modification

There are three types of interrogative clauses: a) information, b) yes-no, and c) alternative questions.

16.1.1 Information Interrogative Clause

The Information Interrogative Clause has an interrogative word or pronoun in a clause-initial position. The following interrogatives are members of this closed class. (The list may not be exhaustive.)

isai	'who'	impiro	'how many times; which'
nunu	'what'		(in order)
songkuo	'how much'	poingkuo	'how'
ombo', nombo'	'where, which'	ingkuo	'how; how come' (often rhetorical)
songgian	'when'		
pirayan	'how many days'	nokuo	'why' (usually accusing or exclamatory)
		nunu sabap	'why'

Examples of Information Interrogative Clause:

49	<u>Isai</u>	<u>irak-on</u>	<u>muyun?</u>
	who	laugh-UF	you(pl)

'Who are you laughing at?'

- 50 Nunu ongoyon mu do kadai?
 what going your to town

'What are you going to town for?'

The following example illustrates the rhetorical use of **ingkuo** 'how'.

- 51 Jadi **ingkuo** lagi' tumalib? Mau' kaa mau', mangantos
 so how then pass want not want take.shortcut
 o bagu ulun.
 ... mod people

'So how could one pass through? Whether they wanted or not, people had to take a shortcut.'

The following example illustrates the accusatory use of **nokuo** 'why'.

- 52 Nokuo tupo ko mogirak ko okou daki'? Mangkali' magasab
 why mod ... laugh you you me probably ridicule
 ko tupo daki'.
 you mod me

'Why do you laugh at me? Maybe you look down on me.'

16.1.2 Yes-No Interrogative Clause

This modification is used for polar questions where the expected answer is yes or no. The question word **toi** 'or' is commonly used but it is optional. When **toi** does not occur, higher pitch throughout the clause indicates that the clause is interrogative. Some personal pronouns, most notably the second person pronouns, have a different form from topic pronouns: **ko** vs. **okou** '2nd person singular pronoun' and **kau** vs. **akau** '2nd person plural pronoun'.

Examples of Yes-No Interrogative Clause:

The next example is a modification of an Intransitive Clause with the question word **toi**.

- 53 Suab mongoi ko toi do kadai?
 tomorrow go you qu to town

'Are you going to town tomorrow?'

The following example is a modification of a Descriptive Clause with the question word **toi**.

- 54 Mogumu' toi karabau muyun situ'?
 many qu buffalo your(pl) here

'Have you got many buffaloes here?'

The following example is a modification of an Equational Clause with the question word **toi**.

- 55 Anak mu o toi ino?
 child your ... qu that

'Is that your child?'

The following example is a modification of an Transitive Clause without the question word **toi**.

- 56 Nilong kau do tilivisin do morondom i?
 watched you(pl) ... television ... night def

'Did you watch TV last night?'

The following example is a modification of a Descriptive Clause without the question word **toi**. The actor precedes the description.

- 57 Bogok mu mogumu'?
 pig your many

'Have you got many pigs?'

16.1.3 Alternative Interrogative Clause

The Alternative Interrogative Clause asks which one of two alternatives is true. Alternatives are expounded by noun phrases or verb phrases. In the case of verb phrases it may be better to analyze the construction as a sentence consisting

of two clauses. Question word and alternative link are obligatory constituents of this modified clause. The corpus of data seems to indicate that Alternative Interrogative Clauses are relatively rare in the language, for only a couple examples have been found.

Alternative Interrogative Clause

+ Altern-1	+ Qu.word	+ Topic	+ Altern link	+ Altern-2
noun phr (verb phr ?)	(po) toi (nua')	deictic	(ko) ata atau ataupun	noun phr (verb phr ?)

Rule:

Topic occurs when the alternatives are noun phrases.

Examples of Alternative Interrogative Clauses:

The next example has noun phrases as alternatives.

	ALTERN-1	QU		TOPIC	ALT LINK	ALTERN-2
58	Uluu po	toi	nua'	ino	ko..atau	asu?
	person mod	qu	mod	that	or	dog

'Is that a person or a dog, I wonder?'

The following example has verb phrases as alternatives. The construction may be better analyzed as an alternative sentence with two clauses.

				ALTERN-1	QU	ALT LINK	ALTERN-2
59	Nokuo..nokuo	po	nua'	isio	nokoodop	toi	ataupun
	why	mod	mod	he	slept	qu	or
							nugad?
							went.away

'I wonder what happened to him: has he fallen asleep or has he left?'

16.2 Command Modification

Transitive and Intransitive Clauses can be modified to create commands. The actor is not usually explicit, but if it is, the clause has a hortatory sense.

A transitive verb has the suffix **-o'** (**-a'**) in undergoer focus or **-i'** in referent focus. A prefixed stem takes the **p**-form (atemporal). An intransitive verb occurs in its root or stem form with no suffix.

Examples of Command Clause:

The next example illustrates a transitive command clause. In the second one, the undergoer focus command suffix is **-a'** because the verb root ends in **-a**.

- 60 Alap-o' nio pisau ngalor, asa-a' isio!
take-comm there knife dull sharpen-comm it

'Take that dull knife and sharpen it!'

The following example illustrates a transitive command clause with the referent focus suffix **-i'**.

- 61 Akan-o', ruang-i' lagi' kanon!
eat-comm add-comm more cooked.rice

'Eat, take more rice!'

The following example has an explicit actor. The verb is in **p**-form.

- 62 Pa- m{w}ara' kau ani' bagu daki'!
...- inform you(pl) just mod me

'Just let me know!'

The following example illustrates an intransitive command clause. The verb has no suffix.

- 63 Suang situ'!
enter here

'Come in here!'

The following example illustrates an intransitive command clause with an explicit actor.

64 Ongoi kau o sakoi situ' do likud ku!
 come you(pl) ... climb here rel back my

'Come on and climb up onto my back!'

This completes the list of clauses we have found in Tatana' so far.

NOUN PHRASES IN TATANA'

by Phyllis Dunn and Charles Peck

Outline

- 0. Introduction
- A. Descriptive noun phrase
- B. Possessive phrases
- C. Coordinate noun phrase
- D. Alternative noun phrase
- E. Appositional noun phrase
- F. Illustration noun phrase
- G. Attributive noun phrase
- H. Compound noun phrase
- I. Adjunct phrase
- J. Number phrase
- K. Embedding of noun phrases

ABBREVIATIONS

Alter	Alternative	Inten	Intensifier
Appos	Apposition	Mod	Modifier
Apposl	Appositional	pn	pronoun
Attrib	Attributive	Poss	Possessive
coeff	coefficient	Possd	Possessed
Coord	Coordinate	Possr	Possessor
Descr	Descriptive	Posv pn	Possessive pronoun
det	determiner	Prtl	Particle
Emph	Emphasis	Post-det	Post-determiner
Illus	Illustration	Pre-det	Pre-determiner
		rel	relator

0. Introduction

Tatana' is a Dusunic language spoken by 5,500 speakers in the Kuala Penyu district of the state of Sabah in Malaysia.

Research for this paper was conducted in the villages of Kinontungan and Kulung-kulung during the years 1980, 1981, 1983 and 1984, by Phyllis Dunn and Inka Pekkanen, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Tatana' noun phrases have a Noun-Adjective and a Noun-Genitive order. In the main descriptive noun phrase, the noun head is preceded only by some particles and any numeral expression or quantity modifiers. All other adjectives, relative clauses, and demonstrative pronouns follow the noun head. And in possessed noun phrases, the possessor follows the noun that is possessed. Within the possessor phrase, the relator is a preposition that precedes the possessor.

A. Descriptive noun phrase

The descriptive noun phrase is one of the most common noun phrases in Tatana', and ranges from a single noun with a modifier to a very complex phrase with various other phrase types in its modifier slot.

Descriptive noun phrase

Pre-determiner ⁿ⁼²	+ Descriptive noun head	+ Modifier ⁿ⁼²	+ Post-determiner
particles (do, nu, i, ni, etc.)	noun	adjunct phrase	demonstrative pronoun
quantity word	pronoun	adjective size, color, quality, and others	particles (i, in, it, tu, no, etc.)
number phrase	possessed noun phrase	relative clause	adjunct phrase
	attributive noun phrase		

Rules:

- 1) When adjectives of size, color and quality cooccur, they must occur in that order.
- 2) The particles that occur in the pre-determiner slot never occur phrase finally. The *i* that occurs in this slot is a personal name marker and is not the definite marker *i* found phrase-finally. And the *nu* here marks an Actor noun phrase that is not in focus and is distinct from the possession relator *nu*.
- 3) Quantity modifiers nearly always occur before the noun head, with the exception of *somumua* 'all', which is usually found following the noun head. It is interesting to note that in almost every example containing quantity markers other than 'all', the noun phrases are fronted in their clauses.

- | | Pre-
det | Pre-
det | | Descr
noun head | | |
|----|-------------|-------------|-----|--------------------|---------|----------------|
| 1. | Mogumu' | o | do | ulun | Tatana' | (nokoidu' ...) |
| | many | Emph | ... | people | Tatana' | fled ... |

'Many Tatana' people fled ...'

In the example above, the emphatic particles **o** and **do** occur in the second pre-determiner slot to give added emphasis to the fronted quantity word. Also, an attributive noun phrase **ulun Tatana'** 'Tatana' people' expounds the noun head-slot.

- | | Pre-
det | | | | Pre-
det | Descr
noun head | |
|----|-------------|------|---------|-------|-------------|--------------------|-----------|
| 2. | ...loin | o | songkuo | gumu' | nu | Bisaya | (naatoi). |
| | not | Emph | so | many | ... | Bisaya | died |

'Many (lit. not-just-a-few) Bisaya people died.'

In the example above, there is a quantity phrase **loin o songkuo gumu'** 'not so many' expounding the first pre-determiner slot. There is a non-focus actor particle **nu** expounding the second pre-determiner slot.

- | | | Descr
noun head | Pre-
det |
|----|-----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| 3. | (... nokorikot) | isiro | somumua'... |
| | (... arrived) | they | all ... |

'... they all arrived ...'

The example above shows a pre-determiner expounded by **somumua'** 'all' and permuted to a post-noun head position. (This may be due to the fact that **somumua'** is derived from the Malaysian **semua**, and the Malaysian word order places **semua** after the noun it modifies.)

The number phrase modifier precedes the noun head and is composed of a number plus a plural marker plus a numeral coefficient.

- | | Pre-
det | Descr
noun head | Mod |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| 4. | (Kiaro) | song-ulun | bolou. |
| | (There was) | one-coeff | blind |
| | 'There was a blind woman.' | | |

A number phrase expounds the pre-determiner in the example above.

		Pre-det		Descr noun head	
5.	...	duo	ngo-inan	asu'	...
	...	two	pl-coeff	dog	...

'... two dogs ...'

A somewhat larger number phrase expounds the pre-determiner slot in the phrase above.

		Descr noun head		Mod		Mod			
6.	Anak	ku	kusoi	motuo	(pun	ingkoi	dino).		
	child	my	male	oldest	(also	like	that)		

'(with) my oldest son (it is also like that).'

There is a possessed noun phrase expounding the descriptive noun head in the example above. And the noun head is followed by two modifiers.

		Descr noun head		Mod				
7.	Batang	totoun	dogii	nipo	poloon	(naya'	disio).	
	trunk	tree	that	snake	really	followed	her	

'The tree trunk, which was really a snake, (followed her).'

In the example above, the descriptive noun head is expounded by an attributive noun phrase, and the post-modifier is expounded by a relative (equational) clause.

		Descr noun head		Mod				
8.	Anak	ku	do	andu'	(mopokawin	aku	...	
	child	my	...	female	cause.to.marry	I	...	

'(I married off) my daughter.'

Again, in the example above, a possessed noun phrase expounds the descriptive noun head. However, an adjunct phrase (with the **do**) expounds the post-modifier.

	Pre-det	Descr noun head		Mod		Mod	
9.	...	do	anak	ku	do	motuo	do andu' ..
		...	child	my	...	oldest	... female ...

‘... my oldest daughter ...’

Both of the post modifiers in the example above are expounded by adjunct phrases. The use of the **do** is functional, not semantic, and is not translatable.

	Pre-det	Descr noun head	Mod
10. (Sinumunsui)	do	bakag	gayo
followed	...	vine	big

Mod
kingaran do bakag bungkug.
called ... vine bungkug

‘(they followed) the big vine which is called the **bungkug** vine.’

The example above has a relative clause expounding the second post-modifier slot.

	Pre-det	Descr noun head	Mod	
11. (Mokuri)	iti	ulun Bisaya	do kiugama	do silam.
were.few	these	people Bisaya	... have.religion	... Islam

‘These Bisaya people whose religion was Islam (were few).’

The relative clause expounding the post-modifier in the example above is preceded by a **do**. It is unclear whether we should consider the **do** plus a relative clause as an adjunct phrase or simply allow a **do** to precede a relative clause.

		Pre- det	Descr noun head	Mod	Post-det
12. ...	(kosindual) make sick	do ...	ulun people	natatak left.behind	in. those

'The people who have been left behind (will become sick).'

In the example above, the modifier is expounded by a single word relative clause.

	Pre- det		Descr noun head	Mod	Mod	Mod	
13. ...	duo	ngo-inan	asu'	magayo	moitom	mararat	...
...	two	pl-coeff	dog	big	black	fierce	...

'... two fierce, big, black dogs ...'

The example above shows three modifiers in one noun phrase. Such a long string of modifiers is unusual, and this is the only example that could be elicited. Any change in the order of modifiers was quickly rejected by speakers of the language, indicating that they had a definite order for the adjectives.

			Descr noun head	Mod	Post- det
14. ...	(turui kabang nu)	ulun	mangatoi	i...	
...	drip mouths of	people	died	the...	

'(dripped it into the mouths of) the people who had died ...'

The descriptive noun phrase in the example above is expounding the possessor axis of a possessor phrase (see part B.2 below). The modifier is expounded by a relative clause of one word.

		Descr noun head	Post- det
15. (Harapan kotulus ...)	susuian	diti	
hope follow	report	this	

Mod

do sinakagod Tatana' ...
... descent Tatana' ...

'(Let's hope that) this report about the descent of the Tatana' (will follow ...)'

In the example above, the post determiner is permuted to a position preceding the modifier. Perhaps this occurred because the exponent of the modifier was to be so long.

B. Possessive phrases

There are three possessive phrases under this division. The first is the intensified possessor phrase, the second is the possessor phrase and the third is the possessed noun phrase.

B.1. Intensified possessor phrase

The intensified possessor phrase consists of a possessive pronoun followed by an intensifier particle **sondiri** 'own'.

Intensified possessor phrase

+ Possessor pronoun head	<u>±</u> Post- determiner	+ Intensifier
possessive pronoun	demonstrative pronouns focus particle i	sondiri 'own'

16. (Ginumuli' ondogii isio do podou)
went.back she ... boat

Posv	pn	Post-	Intens
head		det	
nisio	i	sondiri.	
her	the	own	

'(She went back to) her own (boat).'

The intensified possessor phrase in the example above modifies the noun **podou** 'boat'.

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Posv pn | Intens |
| head | |
| niro | sondiri. |
| their | own |

'... (they found out that it was the drum) of the Tatana' people ...'

In the example above, the possessor phrase encodes the possessors of the **gandang** 'drum'. The **ulun Tatana** is an attributive noun phrase.

				Poss	Poss		
				rel	axis		
19.	(Ino	poyo	idang)	nu	anak	nisio	in ..
	that's	when	offering	of	child	his	that

'(That is when the offering) of his child (is made) ...'

In the example above, the possessor phrase encodes more designation of undergoer than possession. The **anak nisio** is a possessed noun phrase expounding the descriptive noun head of a descriptive noun phrase, which, in turn, is expounding the possessor axis of the possessor phrase.

					Poss				
					axis				
20.	(Kaa	nopo	noii	gia')	ulun	mibobogo	om	ponyupi	i ...
	not	Emph	finish	words	people	priest	and	priestess	the

'(If the words of the) priest and priestess (are not finished ...)'

In the example above, the exponent of the possessor axis is a descriptive noun phrase with a coordinate noun phrase expounding its noun head. Also, this is the only example found in which the relator of the possessor phrase is absent--there is no **nu**.

B.3. Possessed noun phrase

The possessed noun phrase comprises a possessed noun head and a possessor. The possessor phrase expounds, then, the noun head of other noun phrases.

+ Possessed head	+ Possessor
noun	possessive pronoun
Alternative noun phrase	Intensified possessor phrase
Coordinate noun phrase	Possessor phrase
Adjunct phrase	

21. Anak ku (kusoi motuo pun ingkoi dino).
child my male oldest also like that

In the example above, the possessed noun phrase expounds the noun head of a descriptive noun phrase.

	Possd	Possr	
do)	akanon	niro	sondiri.
...	food	their	own

The possessed noun phrase in the example above has all slots filled.

	Possd				Possr		
23. ...	head aka' older.sister	no	om	motutuo	nu	nga-anak	dogiari
		...	and	parents	of	pl-children	those
(tarus	do	minonigagang) ...					
immediately	...	raise.alarm					

'... the older sister and parents of those children (immediately raised the alarm) ...'

In the example above, the possessed head is expounded by a coordinate noun phrase and the axis of the possessor phrase is expounded by a descriptive noun phrase.

	Possd head				Possr			
24. (Nunu pobagu) gia' toi dolou nu gandang i (doingkoi ...								
what then words or sound of drum the this.way								

'(Then what else,) the words or sound of the drum (sounded like this ...)'

In the example above, the possessor head is expounded by an alternative noun phrase and the axis of the possessor phrase is expounded by a descriptive noun phrase with a post-determiner i.

C. Coordinate noun phrase

The coordinate noun phrase comprises up to four coordinate noun heads conjoined by coordinate links expounded by *om* 'and'. The coordinate noun phrase is used in the heads and axes of other noun phrases.

Coordinate noun phrase

+ Coord noun head	(+ Coord link	+ Coord noun head) ⁿ
noun	om 'and'	noun
Descr noun phrase		Descr noun phrase

Rules:

1. There does not appear to be any fixed limit on the number of coordinate noun heads that may occur in a single phrase.
2. When only two coordinate noun heads occur, the link is obligatory.

			Coord noun head-1	Coord link	Coord noun head-2
25. (Do	monsokili-kili	o)	ngo-sandung	om	andus ...
...	holding.ready	Emph	pl-bushknife	and	spear

'(They were holding ready their) bushknives and spears ...'

This example shows a coordinate noun phrase with an obligatory coordinate link. It serves as the direct object of the clause it is in.

				Coord noun head-1
26. (Mogumu'	diro		songingkaraja	do)
many	them		work.for	...
		Coord noun head-2	Coord noun head-3	
do	kumpani,		kadai	...
...	company		shop	

'(Many of them work for) the government, companies, shops ...'

This coordinate noun phrase has three coordinate noun heads and no coordinate links. It expounds the head of an adjunct phrase.

				Coord noun head-1	Coord noun head-2
27. (Momiara	do	tinggom	miad.do)	karabau,	bogok,
take.care	...	rear.animals	like	buffalo,	pig,
		Coord noun head-3	Coord noun head-4	Coord link	Coord noun head-5
sapi,		kambing,	om	manuk	utik ngoi.
cow		goat	and	chicken	duck all

'(They take care of animals and raise such animals as) buffalo, pigs, cows, goats, and all kinds of fowls.'

The example above has one of the longest coordinate noun phrases found so far. The exponent of the last coordinate noun head is a compound noun phrase: *manuk utik*.

28. (Mogidang iro) do
serve they ...
- | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Coord noun
head-1 | Coord
link | Coord noun
head-2 | Coord
link |
| kolupis | om | kana' | om |
| ice.packet | and | fish | and |
-
- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Coord noun
head-3 | Coord
link | Coord noun
head-4 |
| dudungu' | om | kuui-kuuian. |
| banana | and | cakes |
- '(They serve) rice packets, fish, bananas, and cakes.'

D. Alternative noun phrase

The alternative noun phrase comprises two nominal constituents joined by a conjunction **toi** 'or'. So far, alternative noun phrases with only two main constituents have been found.

Alternative noun phrase

+ Alternative noun head	+ Alternative link	+ Alternative noun head
noun	toi 'or'	noun
descriptive noun phrase		descriptive noun phrase

29. (Labi-labi lagi)
many more
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Alter
noun head-1 | Alter
link |
| ponong tio do | Bundu toi |
| side here ... | Bundu or |
-
- | | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Alter
noun head-2 | |
| do kampung | bokon ... |
| ... village | other |

'(There were many more) here on the Bundu side or in other (nearby) villages ...'

In the example above, note how the repeated lexical item **ponong** was deleted in the second noun head. Or perhaps, we could restrict the alternative noun phrase

to just do **Bundu toi do kampung bokon** as an alternative noun phrase modifying **ponong tio**.

30. (Nunu pobagu) Alter Alter Alter
 noun head-1 link noun head-2
 gia' toi dolou nu gandang i
 word or sound of drum the

doingkoi ...

this.way

'(Then what else) the words or the sound of the drum which sounded like this ...'

In the example above, the second alternative noun head is expounded by a descriptive noun phrase.

E. Appositional noun phrase

In an appositional noun phrase, the second constituent encodes the same reference as the first does, but it is more specific or more generic than the first nominal expression.

Appositional noun phrase

+ Appositional noun head	+ Apposition
noun	noun
descriptive noun phrase	descriptive noun phrase
	coordinate noun phrase
	intensified possessor phrase
	possessor phrase

31. (Korikot pobagu) Apposl Appos
 arrive then ... person mibobogo, kusoi no tio!
 ... person chanter male ... this

'(Then) the chanter, (arrives), a man!'

The exponent of the apposition is a descriptive noun phrase that adds emphasis to the noun head **kusoi**.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------|-------|--------------|------------|
| | Apposl
noun head | | Appos | | |
| 32. | Kampung | nopo | diti | Kosugira om | Marabau |
| | village | Emph | these | Kosugira and | Marabau |
| | (nga | magaad | do | insan bawang | Kipolupu). |
| | ... | near | ... | shore river | Kipolupu |

'These villages, Kosugira and Marabau, (are near the bank of the Kipolupu River).'

There is a coordinate noun phrase expounding the apposition in the example above.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|---------|-------|-----------|--------|-------------|
| | | | | Apposl | Appos | |
| | | | | noun head | | |
| 33. | (kaa | buli' | dami' | do) | adat, | pantang mai |
| | not | allowed | us | ... | custom | taboo our |
| | do | magayo. | | | | |
| | ... | great | | | | |

'(It is not allowed by our) custom, our important taboo.'

F. Illustration noun phrase

The illustration noun phrase comprises a noun head followed by a link ('like' or 'such as') followed by a nominal expression that is an illustration of the first nominal. The chart and examples below will help to explain this construction.

Illustration noun phrase

+ Illustration noun head	+ Illustration link	+ Illustration
noun description noun phrase	miad do 'like' or 'such as'	noun coordinate noun phrase

34. (Nontatanom planted) bagu again ^{Illus} noun head (iro) they ^{do.nunu} whatever.Emph ^{Illus} link miad.do like ^{Illus} bilod, kosila rice tapioca
- om mogumu' pobagu.
and much besides
'(They again planted) all kinds of things, like rice, tapioca, and many other things.'

In this example, the illustration is expounded by a coordinate noun phrase. It illustrates what is intended by the **do.nunu** 'whatever'.

35. (Momiara) do ^{Illus} noun head tinggom ^{Illus} link miad.do ^{Illus} karabau, bogok, buffalo pig
take.care ... rear.animals like
- sapi, kambing, om manuk utik ngoi.
cow goat and chicken duck all
- '(They take care of animals and raise) animals such as buffalo, pigs, cows, goats, and all kinds of fowls.'

G. Attributive noun phrase

The attributive noun phrase comprises one nominal that modifies another nominal.

Attributive noun phrase

+ Attributive noun head	+ Attributive
noun	noun
noun phrase	noun phrase

36. (Nakalap caught) isio he ^{Attrib} noun head nipo snake ^{Attrib} lapung. python

‘(He caught a) python snake.’

Here the **lapung** modifies the **nipo**.

- Attrib Attrib
noun head
37. Batang totoun (dogii nipo poloon naya’ disio).
trunk tree that snake Emph followed her

‘(That) tree trunk (which was really a snake, followed her).’

Here the attributive noun phrase is expounding the noun head of a descriptive noun phrase. Note how **totoun** modifies the **batang**.

H. Compound noun phrase

In a compound noun phrase, an idiomatic pair of nouns refers to a collection of things that includes the referents of the two nouns.

Compound noun phrase

+ Compound noun head-1	+ Compound noun head-2
noun	noun

Rule:

Only certain idiomatic pairs of nouns ever occur is this phrase.

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 38. (Nongosugan o motiu do) | Compound
noun head-1 | Compound
noun head-2 |
| satiated Emph perhaps ... | adu’
grandmother | aki
grandfather |

(sabap ...)
because ...

‘(Perhaps) the ancestors (were completely filled, because ...)’

In the example above, the **adu' aki** together have the idiomatic meaning of 'ancestors'.

39. (Momiara do tinggom miad.do karabou, bogok,
take.care ... rear.animals like buffalo pig

			Compound noun head-1	Compound noun head-2
sapi,	kambing,	om)	manuk	utik (ngoi).
cow	goat	and	chicken	duck all

'(They take care of animals and raise such animals as buffalo, pigs, cows, goats, and) all kinds of fowls.'

Here the **manuk utik** go together to mean 'all kinds of fowls'. The compound noun phrase here is expounding the noun head of a descriptive noun phrase, which in turn is expounding the last coordinate noun head of a coordinate noun phrase, which in turn is expounding the direct object of the clause.

I. Adjunct phrase

The adjunct phrase comprises a nominal expression preceded by the frequently occurring **do**.

Adjunct phrase

+ Adjunct marker	+ Adjunct head
do	noun any noun phrase adjective relative clause

40. (Nongosugan o motiu) do Adjunct Adjunct
satiated Emph perhaps marker head
... adu' aki
grandmother grandfather

(sabap ...)
because ...

‘(Perhaps) the ancestors (were completely filled because ...)’

Here, a compound noun phrase, **adu’ aki**, is expounding the head of the adjunct phrase and the **do** expounds the adjunct marker.

		Adjunct marker	Adjunct head		
41.	(Anak ku) child my	do ...	andu’ female	(mopokawin aku ...) cause.to.marry I	

‘(I married off) my daughter.’

Here the adjunct phrase is expounding the apposition of an appositional noun phrase.

	Adjunct marker	Adjunct head					
42.	(...) do ...	anak child	ku my	do ...	motuo oldest	do andu’ ... female	(...)

‘(...) my oldest daughter (...)’.

In this example, the whole phrase is an adjunct phrase, but it also contains two more adjunct phrases in the exponent of its adjunct head. The two other adjunct phrases are expounding modifier slots in the descriptive noun phrase.

			Adjunct marker	Adjunct head	
43.	(Mokuri iti were.few these	ulun Bisaya) people Bisaya	do ...	kiugama have.religion	
	do ...	silam. Islam			

‘(These Bisaya people whose) religion was Islam (were few).’

The exponent of the adjunct head is a relative clause. The exponents of the object in the relative clause is also an adjunct phrase.

J. Number phrase

The number phrase comprises a number word followed by a combination of a plural marker clitic and a numeral coefficient. The numeral coefficient is a classificatory root, being different for different classes of objects.

Number phrase

+ Numeral	\pm Plural marker	\pm Numeral coefficient
number word	ngo- 'plural'	classificatory root

Rule:

When the number word is **song** 'one', the plural marker is absent and the **song**- is affixed to the classificatory root.

- | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------|--|------------------|--------|---------|
| | Numeral | | Numeral
coeff | | |
| 44. (Kiaro) | song- | | ulun | (andu' | bolou). |
| there.was | one - | | human | woman | blind |

'(There was) a (blind woman).'

The number phrase here comprises the number 'one' prefixed to the 'human' coefficient.

- | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|--------|---------|------------|
| | Numeral | Plural | Numeral | |
| | | marker | coeff | |
| 45. (...) | duo | ngo- | inan | (asu' ...) |
| | two | plural | animal | dog |

'(...) two (dogs ...)'

Here the number phrase is **duo ngo-inan**.

K. Embedding of noun phrases

As can be seen in some of the previous examples, embedding of noun phrases into other noun phrases is a common occurrence. The following example is very complex because of the embedding.

46. (Iti no) Apposition
 this Emph noun head
 susuian do sinakagon Tatana' Kuala Penyu,
 report ... descent Tatana' Kuala Penyu
 Apposition
 tangon banar intad do jo Adu'..Aki
 story true from ancestors

 nokosorita nu motutuo loid bokon
 told by old.ones... other

 do mula' i om monulus koturunan
 ... beginning the and following descent

 nu motutuo do singkoit om nga-anak
 of old.ones ... now and pl-child

 bagu nini do singkoit.
 again also ... now

'(This is) the report about the descendants of the Tatana' of Kuala Penyu, a true story from the ancestors as told by the earlier ancestors, which traces the descent of the ancestors down to their children of today.'

This long noun phrase apparently occurs at the beginning of an expository paragraph where it introduces the topic.

Below is another example that shows a descriptive noun phrase with a coordinate sentence in a (relative clause) modifier slot:

	Pre- det	Descr noun head	Mod		
47. (Kiaro)	kogumuan	diro	bokakabun	do	kampung
there.are	many	them	farming	...	village
boniaga	sondiri,	do	tinggom		
run.business	own	...	raise.animals		
miad.do	karabau,	bogok,	sapi,	kambing,	
like	buffalo	pig	cow	goat	
om	manuk	utik	ngoi.		
and	chicken	duck	all		

'(There are) many of them farming in the villages, running their own businesses, and raising animals such as buffalo, pigs, cows, goats, and all kinds of fowls.'

This completes the list of noun phrase types that we have found so far in the Tatana' language.

A SKETCH OF TIMUGON MURUT SENTENCE STRUCTURES

Richard Brewis

Outline

Abbreviations

0	Introduction
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1.2	Inner peripheral tagmemes
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Notes

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Article	Juxt	Juxtaposed
AF	Actor fronted	Loc	Locative
Afth	Afterthought	M	Margin
Alt	Alternative	Mod	Modifier
Antith	Antithetical	NA	Actor deleted
Circ	Circumstance	Nom	Nominal
Cl	Clause	Parap	Paraphrase
Cond	Conditional	Poss	Possessive
Coord	Coordinate	Pri	Prior
Dep Reas	Dependent reason	Purp	Purpose
Desc	Descriptive	Q	Quote
DirQ	Direct quotation	qt	Discourse marker
Equa	Equative	Reas	Reason
Exist	Existential	Recap	Recapitulation
Form	Formula	S	Sentence
Indef	Indefinite	Sens	Sensation
IndQ	Indirect quote	Sim	Simultaneous
IndQuest	Indirect question	SS	Simple sentence
Inst	Instrument	Sub	Subsequent
Intr	Intransitive	TM	Time margin
Intro	Introducer	Tr	Transitive
		Voc	Vocative

0 Introduction

0.1 Scope of this paper

This paper is mainly concerned with describing the structure of the sentence in Timugon Murut.¹ Although there are some comments on the use of some of these structures, no consistent attempt has been made to proceed up the hierarchy to describe how the sentence functions in the paragraph or, conversely, how the clause functions in the sentence. These are obviously topics that are closely related to the topic of this paper, but nothing more than the odd comment has been attempted here.

0.2 Model

The tagmemic model of analysis was used to describe the data. This is following the work done by SIL linguists in the Philippines. The two main reference works used were: A Survey of Grammatical Structures by Charles Peck, and Philippine Languages: Discourse, Paragraph and Sentence Structure by Robert E. Longacre. Both these works build on Pike's tagmemic theory.

0.3 The sentence--phonological, grammatical, or lexical?

The main focus of this paper is the grammatical sentence. But just how do we describe what constitutes a grammatical sentence? Do we rely on phonological criteria to establish grammatical sentences? Do grammatical sentence boundaries coincide with phonological sentence boundaries? Studies in other Philippine-type languages have discovered the same problem, and Lawrence Reid (in Longacre 1968:3) postulates the following rules for determining grammatical sentences (these specifically apply to Bontoc, a language of Northern Luzon, Philippines, but seem to apply equally to Timugon Murut and to be of general relevance):

- (1) Two clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of one Grammatical Sentence if there is a link (e.g. a conjunction) present functioning on the Sentence level.
- (2) Two clauses phonologically bound, form all or part of one Grammatical Sentence where no such link is present but one can be plausibly supplied.
- (3) Two clauses not phonologically bound (i.e. separated by final sentence intonation), form all or part of two Grammatical Sentences where no link is present, even though a link may be plausibly supplied.

(4) Two clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of two Grammatical Sentences where a link is present whose function is to link structures higher than the Sentence level.

(5) Two clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of two Grammatical Sentences when there is no link present and none can be plausibly supplied.

No attempt has been made to describe lexical sentences and what constitutes a lexical sentence in Timugon Murut.

0.4 Nucleus and periphery

The division into periphery versus nucleus enables us to describe the former once and for all before beginning the description of any particular sentence type, with its unique nucleus. The periphery is then assumed to occur with any sentence type, subject only to general and stateable constraints. (Longacre 1968:6)

It seems probable that a distinction between inner and outer periphery does hold for Timugon Murut. The outer periphery is often permutable but never occurs on embedded sentences, except in Direct Quotations. The inner periphery, though, may occur on embedded sentences expounding bases in other sentence types. More analysis is needed to further determine the true restrictions and distinctions here.

0.5 Topics still to be analyzed

There are many areas of the sentence that have yet to be analyzed, and therefore this paper is seen as only the starting point to what is hoped will be a fuller and more comprehensive description of the sentence in Timugon Murut. Many loose ends appear in the paper and require following up. For example: Actor fronting or omission, what is its purpose and meaning? Is the Simple Sentence a sentence at all? What function does the *am* play on the clause or sentence or paragraph level? Is non-permutability, as the only criteria, a valid basis for setting up the Conditional Sentence type? I hope to further investigate these and other questions at a later date.

1 Margin types

1.1 Outer peripheral

The outer peripheral tagmemes include sentence introducer, sentence modifier, exclamations, vocatives, responses, and hesitations. Almost all of these are single words; some are short phrases. These tagmemes do not occur when a sentence is embedded.

1.1.1 Sentence introducer

Sentence introducer tagmemes are expounded by any of the following:

kaa'	'but'
am	'and'
ba	'well'
ba ginio am	'well, that's it'

1.1.2 Sentence modifier

The sentence modifier is expounded by **topot** 'true, truly'.

1.1.3 Exclamation

The exclamation tagmemes are expounded by any of the following expressive words (all spoken with a drawled, rising intonation):

oo...	'wonder'
ai...	'reproach, wonder, pleasure'
aru...	'interrogative'
ali...	'pleasure'
eh...	'disbelief' (short high tone)
ani...	'pleasure'
ui...	'pain'
aa...	'accusation'
arira...	'wonder, astonishment'

1.1.4 Vocative

The vocative tagmemes are expounded by kinship terms and terms of endearment:

ina'	'mother'
ali'	'younger sibling, sweetheart'
lilia'	'darling'
i amur	'young friend'

1.1.5 Response

The response tagmemes are expounded by response words:

ba	'well, okay'
iou	'yes, affirmative'
tawa	'disinterest, don't know'
kua	'what?'
kalo	'no, nothing'

1.1.6 Hesitation

The hesitation tagmemes are expounded by hesitation words:

anu	'whatever'
am	'er'

Array of outer peripheral tagmemes

<u>±SIntro</u>	<u>±SMod</u>	<u>±Exclamation</u>	<u>±Vocative</u>	<u>±Response</u>	<u>±Hesitation</u>
kaa' am ba ba ginio am	topot	oo... ai... aru... ali... eh... ani... ui... aa... arira...	ina' lilia' ali' i amur kalo	ba iou tawa kua	anu am

Note: This chart does not indicate ordering or cooccurrence.

1.2 Inner peripheral tagmemes

The inner peripheral tagmemes consist of the following; time (setting, prior, simultaneous, and indefinite), condition, reason, sentence topic, and locative.

These tagmemes occur with all sentence types.

1.2.1 Time margin

The most common of the sentence level margins is the time margin. The time margin is divided up into a) time setting, b) prior time, c) simultaneous time, and d) indefinite time. Most time margins occur in the prenuclear position, although some do occur postmarginally.

The sentence level time margin is distinguished from the clause level time margin as it modifies the whole sentence, not just one clause.

a) Time setting

The time setting margin is used to give the sentence following it a general time allocation, thus providing the reader or hearer with some background information as to when the event occurs or occurred. Approximate English translations are: 'At the time of...', 'At that time', 'Long ago', 'Firstly...'.

The time setting margin has a structure of a time word, a time phrase, or a time clause.

Examples:

The following example shows the time setting (a time word) with a conditional sentence.

	Time setting	Cond S							
1	Pagulu firstly	amon if	sasangulun anyone	no A	mamukat dying	kaapo or	am	matoi, die	io he
	riwawin death.tune or	kaapo	am	tingkugin beat	ra **	agung. gong			

'First of all, if a person is dying or dead, the death-tune is played, that is, the gongs are beaten.'

The following example shows the time setting (a time clause) with a simple sentence.

2	Time setting						
	Paat masuku'	orou	pampalabangan	mai'	ra	ginio	
	time reach	day	burial	afternoon	**	that	

SS

mongoi	bo	pansapi'	ra	raun	ru	piasau.	
go	mod	take	**	leaf	of	coconut	

'Approaching the day of the burial, in the afternoon, the coconut leaves are collected.'

b) Prior time margin

The prior time margin has the approximate English translation of 'After having done such and such ...'. This is marked by the use of completive time words **malupus**, **mopongo**, **makai'** or by the use of the completive verbal prefix **maka-** 'future aspect' or **naka-** 'past aspect'.

Examples:

	Prior TM			Juxt S				
3	Malupus	ra	ginio	ruandu'	ru	tambului	mamparalaat	ra
	after	**	that	woman	of	guest	take.by.hand	**

ruandu'	uoton	pasubolon	ra	lamin.
woman	bride	led.into	**	room

'After that, the women guests take the bride by the hand and lead her into the room.'

	Prior TM			Coord S				
4	Makaakan	tambului	ruandu'	uoton	mongoi	pariu'	am	mangkan io.
	after.eat	guest	woman	bride	go	bathe	and eat	she

'After the guests have eaten, the bride goes to bathe and then she eats.'

c) Simultaneous time margin

The simultaneous time margin has the approximate English translation of 'While doing such and such ...'. This is marked by the use of the time word *liliwa* 'while'.

Example:

	Sim TM			SS				
5	Liliwa'	maginum	ra	kupi	tambului	tanduin	bo ru	mamagun
	while	drink	**	coffee	guest	drink	mod of	host
	ondo'	sinan-sanan		kalalair				
	that	prepare		before				

'While drinking coffee, the guests are invited to drink the already prepared rice wine with the inhabitants (of that place).'

d) Indefinite time margin

The indefinite time margin has the approximate English translation of 'sometimes' or 'always'. The indefinite time margin is non-specific as to a point in time but it does comment on the regularity of the event.

Examples:

	Indef TM			Cond M			Juxt S		
6	Sanganuan	ni	ayuk	amon	mamaar	ra	baloi muli'	ilo	ongoi
	sometimes	mod	mod	if	near	**	house return	they	go
	tangus	inum	ra	baloi.					
	rest	drink	**	house					

'Sometimes, if they are near the house, they go to rest and drink at the house.'

	Indef TM								
7	Mansasalok	ilo	kosolokon	luang nu	asok	no	am		
	always	they	next.to	hole of	padi.plant	A	and		
	umpasin	ra	bilor	kasuangon.					
	place.in.hole	**	seed	fill					

'Always they make the holes for the padi near to one another, and then put in the seed.'

1.2.2 Condition margin

The condition margin places a conditional restraint upon the nucleus. If something happens, then something else will happen or, inversely, something will happen if such and such happens.

The condition margin differs from the conditional sentence type in that the condition margin is permutable to the pre- or postmargin position. When permuted, no change in affixation occurs, nor are additional words or particles added. This is not so with the conditional sentence where, if permuted, a change in affixation or introduction of other words or particles occurs.

Condition dependent clause

+ Condition Relator	+ Condition Axis
amon	Clause

The clause may be a Tr Cl or an Intr Cl. The actor may be present or omitted.

The following example shows a condition margin in a simple sentence.

	Cond Margin			SS		
8	Amon manguyam	ra akanon	kalo mabuli	liputon.		
	if mix	** food	not can	stir		

'If you mix the food, you cannot stir it.'

The following example shows the condition margin as the second of two margins in a juxtaposed sentence.

	Indef TM		Cond M		Juxt S	
9	Sanganuan ni ayuk	amon mamaar	ra baloi	muli'	ilo ongoi	
	sometime mod mod	if near	** house	return	they go	
	tangus inum	ra baloi.				
	rest drink	** house				

'Sometimes, if they are near the house, they go to rest and drink at the house.'

1.2.3 Reason margin

The reason margin explains the why or wherefore of a statement. The reason margin has a structure of a relator-axis sentence. The relator is expounded by a reason word or phrase. The axis is expounded by any sentence or clause. The reason margin always occurs in the postmargin position.

Reason dependent sentence

+ Reason relator	+ Reason axis
nga gitio gitio bo ginio nga ginio noyo gino bo abis	Coord S Sens S SS Tr Cl

Examples:

The following example shows a reason margin on a simple sentence.

Time setting										
10	Intor	ra	io	lasakin	olo'-olo'	tulu'	kaapo	am	balu'	ngoorou
	from	**	it	dry	approx.	7	or	and	8	day
SS					Reason M					
	timugin	bo	saguli'	lanau	no	nga	malaa'	ra		
	water	mod	again	padi-field	A	because	fear	**		
matoi bilor no.										
	die	seed	A							

'From the time it was dry, approximately 7 or 8 days, the padi field is filled again with water because of fear the seed will die.'

The following example shows a reason margin on an antithetical sentence.

	Antith S				Reason M			
11	Mabuli	niak	mombolong	kaa'	mampapalit	gitio	malaa'	ra
	can	mod	sleep	but	take-turns	because	fear	**
	manginsalagon	bangkai		no	am	kalo	matutun	nilo.
	become-a-ghost	corpse		A	and	not	aware	they

'It is permissible to sleep, but they must take turns, because of the fear of the corpse becoming a ghost and their not being aware of it.'

1.2.4 Sentence topic margin

The sentence topic margin occurs at the beginning of a sentence announcing the semantic topic of the clause following it.

The sentence topic is expounded by a noun phrase or clause that is not part of any of the nuclear constituents, but is coreferential with some noun phrase, pronoun, or demonstrative somewhere in the nucleus.

The sentence topic has a structure of:

+ { Noun Phrase/
Clause }

Examples:

The following example shows the sentence topic expounded by a noun phrase and referred to by the demonstrative 'this' in the clause. This example shows that the sentence topic is being used to begin the discourse as well as determining the topic of the following sentence.

	Sentence	Topic			Clause	
12	Tunungon	ku	ra	gino	gitio	ayuk.
	story	my	**	now	this	mod

'Now, my story is simply this.'

The following example shows the sentence topic expounded by a clause and referred to in the nucleus three times by existential clauses.

- 13 Sentence Topic Juxt S
- Sampug nu bilor ti nansalinut mokoondo' talu ngambulan
 padi.seed of grain A varieties is 3 month
- buoi no, mokoondo' apat ngambulan am mokoondo'
 time A is 4 month and is
- ni ayuk limo ngambulan.
 mod mod 5 month

'There are varieties of padi-rice seed: some take three months to grow, some four months and some five months.'

1.2.5 Location margin

The sentence level location margin is distinguished from the clause level location margin as it places the whole of the sentence in a location rather than being just the location of one clause.

The sentence level location margin occurs only in the prenuclear position. All location margins occurring sentence-finally are, in fact, part of the final clause, and therefore clause level tagmemes.

Location dependent sentence

+ Location word	+ Noun phrase
giu' ralalom	NP

Examples:

The following example shows the location margin with a coordinate sentence. The location of both the actions of the verbs, sitting and removing, are the same.

- 14 Location M Coord S
- Giu' ra baloi ru ungkuyon ruandu' uoton am rangan-rangan
 over.there ** house of man woman bride and friends
- no pantuturungan am iruin ra linimparan.
 A are.seated and remove ** wedding.clothes

‘Over there at the man’s house, the bride and her friends are seated, and the bride’s wedding clothes removed.’

The following example shows a location margin providing the location for three consecutive sentences. The time margin of sentence three is a recapitulation of sentence one, showing the link between the three sentences.

	Location M			SS			
15	Ralalom	ru	lamin	ruandu’	uoton	panturungon	
	inside	of	room	woman	bride	seated	
	Prior TM						
	Malupus	ak	mapalitan	ru	tambului	konoon	pinaapin am
	after	mod	exchange	of	guest	cloth	dress and
			SS				
	pansurayan	aniin	maatus	am	limo	ngoopor	ngaringgit.
	comb	give	100	and	5	10	ringgit
	Prior TM				Coord S		
	Makaturung	ruandu’	ra	uoton	pambayangon	am	surayon
	seat	woman	**	bride	dress	and	comb

‘Inside the room, the bride is seated. After the exchange of the cloth to decorate the seat, M\$150 is given. After the bride is seated, she is clothed and combed.’

2 Sentence types

2.1 Quotation-oriented sentences

2.1.1 Direct quotation sentence

The direct quotation sentence is used to repeat exactly what someone has said.

The direct quotation sentence comprises an optional Pre Direct Quotation Formula, an obligatory Direct Quote and an optional Post DirQ Formula.

The Pre Direct Quotation Formula is expounded by Intr Cl whose verb is a verb of ‘saying’, i.e. ‘speak’, ‘answer’. The Pre Direct Quotation Formula has been

found in only two texts, one a myth and one a folk tale. In narrative and explanatory type texts, the Pre Direct Quotation Formula has not yet been observed.

I suspect that the Direct Quote can be expounded by any Cl or S. The Direct Quote is the nucleus of the sentence and can occur without either formula in a dialogue where the speakers are easily identified by the hearer.

The Post Direct Quotation Formula is expounded by an obligatory quote formula **koon kunu** 'thus quote' and an optional identification of the speaker. One example has been observed where the Post DirQ Formula is expounded by a paraphrase sentence, where the second Juxt base is a paraphrase of the first Juxt base. See example 18.

The direct quotation sentence has been found in myth, folk tale, and explanatory type of texts.

In one folk tale, the direct quotation sentences form the bulk of the text, being interspersed with narrative. This particular text has been explained to have a special teaching purpose in that it explains why one needs to be polite, and what can happen if one is not. So this use of the direct quotation sentence may be restricted to this one text.

Direct quotation sentence

\pm Pre DirQ Form	+ DirQ	\pm Post DirQ Form
Intr Cl verb of 'saying'	SS Juxt S Nom Cl Quest C Tr C Coord S Antith S Purp S	Quote Cl Coord S

Examples:

The following example shows the Pre and Post Direct Quotation Formula with a simple sentence expounding the Direct Quote.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------|--------|---|-----------|------|----------|------|
| | Pre DirQ Form | | | | DirQ | | | |
| 16 | Taam | kunu' | buayoi | i | "Kolondo' | bagu | najampa' | ku," |
| | answer | qt | youth | A | is.not | mod | meet | I |

Post DirQ Form

koon	kunu'	nu	buayoi	i.
thus	qt	of	youth	A

'The young man answered, "I didn't meet anyone," the young man said.'

The following example shows the direct quotation sentence expounded by a Direct Quote without any formula.

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|----|----------|-----------------|
| | DirQ | | | |
| 17 | "Susuab | no | rumondom | kou pangansak." |
| | tomorrow | A | dawn | you cook |

"Tomorrow at dawn, you cook for me."

The following example shows the direct quotation sentence expounded by a Direct Quote and a Post Direct Quotation formula.

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----------|------------|---------------------------|
| | DirQ | | | |
| 18 | "Kua, | makaulun | nai ginio? | Ati nua' ulun ra ginio?" |
| | why | is.person | mod there | where Mod person ** there |

Post DirQ Form

koon	kunu'	ru	buayoi	i	io mindagu.
thus	qt	of	youth	A	he say

"Why, are there people there? Are there possibly people there?" the young man said, he said.'

2.1.2 Indirect quotation sentence

The indirect quotation sentence is used to repeat what someone has said. The difference between the Indirect Quotation and the Direct Quotation is that in indirect quotations the pronouns and tenses of the verbs are changed to fit the time of the reporting, e.g.

Direct Quotation John said, "I am going home."

Indirect Quotation John said that he was going home.

The Indirect Quotation has the structure of an obligatory Indirect Quotation Formula and an obligatory Indirect Quote.

The Indirect Quotation Formula is expounded by an Intr Cl whose verb is a verb of 'saying'.

I suspect that the Indirect Quotation may be expounded by any S or Cl.

Indirect quotation sentence

+ IndQ Formula	+ IndQ
Intr Cl verb of 'saying'	Juxt S Tr Cl

Examples: The following example shows the IndQuot expounded by a Tr Cl.

IndQ Form	IndQ				
19 Saniel nambala'	masuang	ulun	masisang	risilo,	koson
Saniel tell	many	person	hate	they	like
ulun nu bokon.					
person of other					

'Saniel told that many people hate them, like those other people.'

The following example shows the IndQ expounded by a SS which is an Equative Cl with a Prior TM in the premargin and a Paraphrase M in the postmargin.

IndQ Form	IndQ						
20 Ragu ri Saniel	io kalo	poyo	minongoi	suang	ra MCCC,		
speak of Saniel	he not	also	go	enter	** MCCC		
io ti am sangulun	kalo	matanda',	mantatakou	io,	maniop		
he the and 1.person	no t	good	steal	he	suck		

io ra dadah am nambaal io po ra atan-atan ak ondo'
 he ** drugs and make he also ** whatever only that

kasisangan ri Aki Kapuuno'.
 hate of Grandfather beginning

'Saniel said that before he joined the MCCC he was not a good person; he stole, was on drugs, and did all the things that God hates.'

The following sentence shows the IndQ expounded by a Juxt S whose constituents are a SS and a Coord S.

	IndQ Form			IndQ				
21	Io	koon	no	suminikul	io	saboi	tingkatan	kalimo,
	he	thus	the	attend.school	he	until	form	5th
	nakapaas	io	ra	SPM	am	naalap	nali	poyo
	pass	he	**	SPM	and	get	his	also
							is	grade 3rd

'According to him, he attended school until Form 5; he passed the SPM examination with a grade of 3.'

2.1.3 Indirect question sentence

The indirect question sentence is used to introduce a topic by posing a question. The question is really rhetorical as it is always answered by the narrator. The interrogative words in the Indirect Question marker slot reflect an information question.

The indirect question sentence comprises optional pre- or postmargins and an obligatory nucleus of IndQuest Formula, Indirect Question Marker, and the Question.

The Indirect Question Formula is an Intr Cl whose verb is a verb of 'saying', such as 'tell' or 'narrate'. Two examples of other verbs have been found, 'count' and 'learn'.

The actor may permute to prepredicate position.

The Indirect Question Marker is expounded by interrogative words. Three have been observed so far, but I suspect others can occur:

atan kulaan ~ atan kulanon 'How?'
 kula-kula' 'How much?'
 sanggilan orou 'When?' Lit., 'When day?'

The Question itself is expounded by a SS, Tr Cl, Intr Cl, or a Poss NP. The Actor may permute to prepredicate position or may be omitted.

The IndQuest S is used to introduce a main topic into the discourse. Of the eight examples found in the texts, five were found in the beginning of the discourse introducing the main topic. The three other examples seem to be narrowing in on the main point within the topic, for example:

Text A

- S 1A Introduction of the main topic: getting
 engaged and married
 S 4A Deciding on the day for the parents to meet
 to arrange the bride price
 S 11A Discussion of the bride price

Indirect question sentence

$\pm M$	+ IndQuest Form	+ IndQuest Marker	+ Question	$\pm M$
Sim TM S Intro	Intr Cl verb of 'saying' or 'counting'	Interrogative word	SS Tr Cl Intr Cl Poss NP	Sim TM Indef TM

Examples: The following example shows the indirect question sentence occurring with a premargin.

	Sim TM				IndQuest Form		IndQuest Marker
22	Paat	pansusunuran	ra	gitio	ilo	maguguntob	kula-kula'
	time	discussion	**	this	they	count	how.much

IndQuest

mulo	kitaakon	ru	matuo	ru	ruandu'.
bride.price	ask	of	parent	of	woman

'At the time of this discussion they decide on how much of a bride price will be asked by the parents of the woman.'

The following example shows the indirect question sentence without margins present.

	IndQuest Form					IndQuest Marker		
23	Mantunung	aku	ri	ali'	Richard	atan	kulanon	
	tell.story	I	of	younger.sibling	Richard	what	much	
Question								
	nu	tuu'	lair rali	ra	galing	ra ilo	makakandoi	ra
	of	grow	old the	**	before	**	they work	**
								tindal.
								hill.rice

'I'm telling a story to younger brother Richard of how the forefathers long ago planted hill rice.'

2.1.4 Sensation sentence

The sensation sentence is used to describe the feeling or desire of the actor.

The sensation sentence comprises obligatory sensation formula, sensation marker, and sensation quote.

The sensation formula is expounded by an Intr Cl whose verb is a verb of 'sensation' such as 'fear', 'want', 'know'. The Actor may be omitted.

The sensation marker is **ra**.

The sensation quote is expounded by an Intr Cl or a NP. The Actor may be omitted.

All the examples observed so far are embedded, occurring as:

Reason axis	in	a Dependent Reason sentence
Quote	in	a Direct Quotation sentence
Base 2	in	a Coordinate sentence

Sensation sentence

+ Sens Form	+ Sens Marker	+ Sens Quote
Intr Cl Intr Cl NA verbs of 'sensation'	ra	Intr Cl Intr Cl NA

Examples: The following example shows the embedded sensation sentence occurring in the conditional protasis of a conditional sentence.

	Sens Form			Sens Marker		Sens Q	
24	Amon	mokotog	am masaga'	ilo	ra	malami	
	if	hard	and want	they	**	soft	
	abugon	nilo	ra	timug	malasu'	saboi lumami	am bagu moonsoi
	soak	they	**	water	hot	until soft	and Mod good
	akanon.						
	food						

'If it's hard and they want it to be soft, they soak it in hot water until it is soft and then it is good to eat.'

The following example shows the embedded sensation sentence occurring in the axis of a dependent reason sentence.

	Sens Form						
25	Mabuli	niak	mombolong	kaa'	mampapalit,	gitio	malaa'
	can	mod	sleep	but	take.turns	this	fear
	Sens Marker		Sens Q				
	ra		manginsalangan	bangkai	no	am	kalo matutun nilo.
	**		become.ghost	corpse	A	and	not aware they

'You can sleep but you have to take turns; this is because we are afraid that the corpse will turn into a ghost when we are not aware.'

26 Am amun maining ru ulun nasusuangan bolos ru agung no
 and if hear of person contents sound of gong A

Sens Form				Sens Marker		Sens Q			
ilo	ti	bagu	maala'	ra		mokoondo'	ra	ulun	minatoi.
they	A	Mod	know	**		is	**	person	die

'And if they hear the sound of the gong rythmn, they know a person has died.'

2.2 Logical structure sentences

2.2.1 Coordinate sentence

The coordinate sentence is used to join two or more clauses that make a coherent whole. The coherence between the clauses may be temporal (simultaneous, sequential) or there may be some logical coordination between the statements.

The coordinate sentence is said to be of a looser construction than the juxtaposed sentence.

The coordinate sentence may have the same actor throughout or it may have different actors. The actor may also be omitted.

The coordinate sentence has a structure of two obligatory bases joined by the free coordinate link **am**.

Pre- and postmargins are optional.

The maximum expansion observed is four bases.

I suspect that the obligatory bases may be expounded by any S or Cl.

Coordinate sentence

$\pm M$	+ Coord b1	+ (+ Coord link	+ Coord b2)n = 3	$\pm M$
S Intro Pri TM Sim TM Ind TM S Top M Loc M	SS Juxt S Cond S Purp S TrNameCl Tr Cl	am	SS Juxt S Cond S Alt S Parap S Tr Cl	SimTM

Examples: The following example shows both bases of the coordinate sentence expounded by a Tr Cl. No margins are present.

	Coord base 1	link	Coord base 2			
27	Ungkuyon mangkiwa'	am	ruandu' mansapi'	ra	raun.	
	man climb	and	woman take	**	leaf	

'The men do the climbing, and the women collect the leaves.'

The following example shows a two base Coordinate sentence with pre- and postbase time margins.

	S Intr	Sim TM				Coord base 1
28	Am	paat	ra suabon	rumondom	ra susuab	ti riwawin
	and	time	** dawn	early	** morning	A beat.death.tune

link Coord base 2	Setting TM					
am tangiin niak	ginio ra	jam	kalimo	talun	ngoopor	ngaminit.
and weep mod	that **	hour	fifth	three	ten	minute

'And early in the morning at dawn, the death-beat is played on the gongs and the weeping begins; this happens at 5.30 am.'

The following example shows a four base Coord S with the second base expounded by a Juxt S. Four bases is the maximum expansion observed.

	Pri TM		Coord base 1		link Coord base 2
29	Sanggilan	maatapan	pasuargon	ra tutuan	no am sungugin
	when	winnow	fill	** mortar	A and mix

ra	ruu'	nu	piasau	mamulok	kauron	asi	nu	piasau	no
**	juice	of	coconut	young	scrape	meat	of	coconut	A

link	Coord base 3									
am	palauko'		ra	mumuk	no	ra	io	tutuon	saboi	malami
and	mix		**	Mumuk	A	**	it	pound	until	soft

link	Coord base 4				
am	gili	io	bagu	akanon.	
and	then	it	mod	eat	

'When winnowing, fill the mortar and mix in the juice of a young coconut and then the scraped meat of the coconut and mix the Mumuk (mixture) pounding it until soft and then it is ready to eat.'

2.2.2 Antithetical sentence

The antithetical sentence is used to express contrasting parallelism, counterbalancing consideration, and unexpected outcome.

The antithetical sentence has a structure of obligatory thesis, antithetical link, and antithesis. Pre- and postmargins are optional.

I suspect that the thesis and the antithesis can be expounded by any sentence or clause.

The actor may be fronted or omitted.

The antithetical links **kaa'** and **ka** are the only exponents of the obligatory link. I posit that **ka** is an abbreviated form of **kaa'** as these links can be interchanged without any change in the meaning of the sentence.

Antithetical sentence

<u>±M</u>	+ Thesis	+ link	+ Antithesis	<u>±M</u>
Pri TM S Top M Voc M	Alt S Tr CI NA Tr CI AF Nom CI SS Intr CI NA Tr CI Desc CI Exist CI	kaa' ka	Juxt S Tr CI NA Tr CI AF Equa CI Reason S Intr CI NA Desc CI	Reason M

Examples:

The following example shows the antithetical sentence expounded by a contrast between two nouns in the Tr CIs.

	S Intr	Pri TM	Thesis						
30	Am	galing	i	bangkai	suangin	ra	rarapu'	kaapo	am balanga'
	and	before	A	corpse	fill	**	jar	or	and large.jar
	Link	Antithesis							
	ka	raino	pasuangan	ra	karanda'.				
	but	now	fill	**	coffin				

'And earlier, the corpse was put into a jar or a large jar, but now it is put into a coffin.'

The following example shows the antithesis of the antithetical sentence expounded by a Juxt S.

	Pri TM	Thesis						Link
31	Galing	i	kunu'	masuang	ulun	nu	tana'	ti ka
	before	A	qt	many	person	of	earth	A but
	Antithesis							
	ratong	kunu'	bo	rosob	i,	kaluus	kunu'	bagu ulun
	arrive	qt	mod	flood	A	destroy	qt	mod person

mamagun-magun ra tana' ti
 dwellers ** earth A

'Earlier, so it is said, there were many people on this earth, but the flood came and destroyed the dwellers of the earth.'

The following example shows the antithetical sentence expressing a contrast between two verbs in Intr clauses.

32 S Intr Setting TM Thesis
 Am galing i bangkai pasaralon kaapo am paturungan
 and before A corpse seated or and sat.up

Link Antithesis
 kaa' raino ti pombolongon ak.
 but now A lay.down Mod

'Well, earlier, the corpse was seated on the floor or sat up, but now it is laid down.'

2.2.3 Alternative sentence

The alternative sentence is used to express alternatives that contain some contrast.

The alternative sentence has a structure of two obligatory bases joined by the alternative link **kaapo am**. Pre- and postmargins are optional.

The bases of the alternative sentence are expounded by clauses. No examples have been observed of more complex sentences occurring in the bases. The actor may be fronted or omitted.

Alternative sentence

$\pm M$	+ Alt base 1	+ Link	+ Alt base 2	$\pm M$
S Intro APri TM Sim TM Sub TM Loc M Circ M	Tr Cl NA Intr Cl Intr Cl NA Intr Cl AF NP Tr Cl AF	kaapo am	Tr Cl NA Tr Cl Intr Cl NA Intr Cl Intr Cl Inst NP	Tr Name Cl Aft

Examples: The following example shows an alternative sentence with a Prior TM and both bases expounded by a Tr Cl.

	Pri TM				Alt base 1			
33	Intor	bagu	ra	gino	tumalimpuun	ilo	no	mamparagus
	from	mod	**	there	start	they	mod	harrow
	Link			Alt base 2				
	kaapo	am		ujokon	nilo	ayuk	ra	karabau.
	or			press.into	they	mod	**	buffalo

‘From there they start to harrow or use the buffalo to trample around.’

The following example shows an alternative sentence functioning as statement in a Paraphrase sentence.

	Alt base 1				Link		Alt base 2	
34	Ruandu’	mampalapos	ra	tantab	kaapo	am	mangagik	ra
	woman	thresh.stick	**	harvest	or		thresh.feet	**
	otol			malapos	am	maagik	no	umungon
	harvested. grain			thresh.stick	and	thresh.feet	mod	together
	ra	pantau	no.					
	**	shelter	A					

‘The women thresh the harvest with a stick or thresh the harvested grain with their feet; together they do the threshing with a stick and with their feet in the shelter.’

2.2.4 Conditional sentence

The conditional sentence is the result of bringing a condition margin into the nucleus, making the protasis and apodosis non-permutable.

The conditional sentence has a structure of obligatory protasis and apodosis. Pre- and postmargins are optional.

The protasis is expounded by a conditional clause.

The apodosis is expounded by any clause or sentence.

Conditional sentence

<u>±M</u>	+Protasis	+Apodosis	<u>±M</u>
S Intro Setting TM	Cond Cl NA Cond Cl	Tr Cl Tr Cl NA Intr Cl NA Coord S Juxt S Sens S	Setting TM

Examples: The following example shows a conditional sentence without margins.

Protasis				Apodosis					
35	Amun	maalur	ra	baloi	ibiton	ayuk	ngai-ngai'	inumon,	akanon
	If	for	**	house	take	mod	all	drinks	food
	rano	ra	intok	pangasakan	no.				
	their	**	place	place.dibble	A				

'If they are far from the house, the drinks and food are taken to the field.'

The following example shows a condition sentence whose protasis is a Cond Tr Cl and whose apodosis is a sensation sentence.

S Intro Protasis									
36	Am	amun	maining	ru	ulun	nasusunan	bolos	ru	agung no
	and	if	hear	of	person	contents	sound	of	gong A
Apodosis									
	ilo	ti	bagu	maala'	ra	mokoondo'	ra	ulun	minatoi.
	they	A	mod	know	**	there.is	**	person	die

'And if they hear the sound of the gong rhythm, they know a person has died.'

The following example shows two conditional sentences, both with Sim TM in the postmarginal position, functioning as bases in a coordinate sentence.

Protasis				Apodosis			Setting TM		
37	Amon	ruandu'	matoi	lobongon	paat	masuku'	koonom	ngoorou	
	if	woman	die	bury	time	reach	sixth	day	

Coord link

am

and

Protasis

Apodosis Setting TM

amon ungkuyon matoi lobongon paat masuku' katulu' ngoorou.
 if man die bury time reach seventh day

'If a woman dies she is buried on the sixth day and if a man he is buried on the seventh day.'

2.2.5 Purpose sentence

The purpose sentence has a structure of obligatory statement, purpose-link, and purpose statement. Pre- and postmargins are optional.

I suggest that the statement and purpose statement can be expounded by any Cl or S. The actor may be fronted in the statement and omitted in the purpose statement.

The purpose-link is expounded by **koson** and **ra**. **Koson** seems to be the preferred form as **ra** occurred only twice in the texts.

Purpose sentence

<u>±M</u>	+Statement	+ link	+ Purpose
Pri TM	Tr Cl	koson	Tr Cl
Sim TM	Tr CL AF	ra	Tr Cl NA
Sub TM	Intr Cl		Intr Cl
S Top M	SS		Intr Cl NA
Recap	Juxt S		SS
	Coord S		Juxt S
	NP		Coord S

Examples:

The following example shows a purpose sentence with a premargin. The statement and purpose are expounded by Tr clauses.

Pri TM

- 38 Paat kalo poyo masaboi orou alayan ru tambului
time not yet reach day go.up of guest

Statement		Link	Purpose
matuo ru ruandu'	manginasi	koson	pangunguma'
parent of woman	make.rice.wine	for	meet

ra ratangan ru tambului.
** arrival of guest

'When it is not yet time for the guests to arrive for the ceremony, the parents of the woman make rice wine for welcoming the guests on their arrival.'

The following example shows a purpose sentence embedded in the apodosis of a Cond S.

- 39 Paat maginaa ra orou pampalabangan, amon kalo masuang luton
time wait ** day burial if not many firewood

Statement	Link	Purpose
ruandu'-ruandu' mantutular ra mongoi ra luton	** go **	firewood
women separate		

am bokon-bokon soroi ra baloi.
and others stay ** house

'At the time of waiting for the burial, if there is not enough firewood the women separate into groups to go collect the firewood, and the others stay at the house.'

The following example shows a purpose sentence without margins. The actor in the statement is expressed by a dependent clause.

Statement

- 40 Ruandu'-ruandu' ondo' inakut kaapo am kinambo ra mangumpos
women that tell or invited ** enter

sipangingibit ra takinan kaapo am pupuran boborok
take ** tied.to or basket small

Link Purpose
 koson pambulian ra bilor paumposon ra luang nu asok no.
 for store ** grain put.in ** hole of dibble A

'The women who are informed or invited to come, take a small basket or something tied to (the waist) in order to store the seed when they are sowing.'

2.3 Paraphrase sentences

The paraphrase sentence is used to further explain, reiterate, or comment on a statement. Afterthought is also considered as a comment on the statement.

The paraphrase sentence has a structure of an obligatory statement and paraphrase with optional pre- and postmargins.

I suspect that any Cl or S may occur in both the statement and the paraphrase slots. Only a limited number of clauses and sentences show in the array because of lack of examples.

Paraphrase sentence

$\pm M$	+ Statement	+ Paraphrase	$\pm M$
Indef TM S Top M	Exist Cl Intr Cl NA SS Alt S	Poss Cl Intr C Nom Cl SS Coord S Reason S Tr Cl NA	Sub TM Loc M

Examples: The following example shows a paraphrase sentence whose statement is expounded by a Tr Cl and whose paraphrase is expounded by an explanatory Tr Cl with a multiple number of verbs.

Sim TM Statement
 41 Orou kasaa' ra alayan ru tambului mamagun masuang toojo kandayan
 day first ** go.up of guest host much very work

Paraphrase

koson mangagou mangansak am manansam.
 like carry.water cook.rice and cook.meat.&.veg

‘On the first day the guests arrive the host has much work to do, like carrying water, cooking rice, and cooking meat and vegetables.’

The following example shows a paraphrase sentence with a locative postmargin whose statement is expounded by an alternative sentence.

Statement

- 42 Ruandu’ mampalapos ra tantab kaapo am mangagik ra otol;
 woman thresh.stick ** harvest or thresh.feet ** grain

Paraphrase Loc M

malapos am maagik no umungon ra pantau no.
 thresh.stick and thresh.feet mod together ** shelter A

‘The women thresh the harvested grain with a stick and also tread out the grain; threshing and treading they work together in the shelter.’

The following example shows a paraphrase sentence whose paraphrase is an afterthought.

Sub TM

- 43 Makaaloi timug no tumalimpuun ilo no mamparadu’ kaapo am
 raise water A begin they A plough or

Paraphrase

mamparagus gitio ilo indanganon nu karabau.
 harrow this they help of buffalo

‘After the level of the water has risen, they begin to plough or harrow; in this they are helped by the buffalo.’

2.4 Simple sentences

2.4.1 Juxtaposed sentence

The juxtaposed sentence has a structure of two or more logically connected bases. No connecting link is present. Pre- and postmargins are optional.

The bases may be expounded by any clause or sentence.

Premargins occur more frequently than postmargins.

The relationship of the bases may be temporal (subsequent, simultaneous) or contrastive. Often the actor is omitted from base two (or three) when it is the same as the actor in base one. If the actor in base two is not omitted it is often referred to by a pronoun.

Juxtaposed sentence

<u>±M</u>	+ base 1	+ (+ base 2) ⁿ⁼²	<u>±M</u>
S Intro Pri TM Sim TM Indef TM S Top M Cond M	SS Coord S Alt S Reas S Tr Name Cl Intr Cl	SS Coord S Alt S Tr Name Cl Intr Cl	Loc M

Examples:

The following example shows base one expounded by an Intr Cl and base two by a Tr Cl.

	Pri TM				Juxt base 1				
44	Sangkinolor	lair	ra	gili	ratong	no	bo	buayoi i	
	one.moment	mod	**	that	arrive	mod	mod	youth A	
	Juxt base 2								
	ilai'	no	kunu'	ra	giti	ra	potokolou	kunu'	bo rala
	look	he	qt	**	this	**	spotless	qt	mod maid
	mantalur	ti.							
	beautiful	A							

'Just a moment later, the youth arrived; he looked at the beautiful maid and saw that she was spotless.'

The following example shows base two expounded by a Coord S.

	Setting TM			Juxt base 1			
45	Rondom	ra	ginio	mambaal	ruandu'-ruandu'	ra	timbu
	night	**	that	make	women	**	rice.packet

Juxt base 2

suangin	ra	bagas	am	ansakon.
fill	**	rice	and	cook

‘On that night, the women make the rice packets; they are filled with rice and cooked.’

The following example shows both bases expounded by Tr Name clauses.

46	Tr Name	Cl					
	Ruandu’	patayan	ra	ralaki	inggalanin	ra	napuor
	woman	dead	**	husband	named	**	widow

	Tr Name	Cl					
	ungkuyon	patayan	ra	andu’	inggalanin	ra	naumpalang.
	man	dead	**	wife	named	**	widowe

‘A woman whose husband has died is called a widow; a man whose wife has died is called a widower.’

Note: Example 46 may have the conjunctions **kaa** ‘but’ or **am** ‘and’ inserted between the bases, without a change in meaning.

2.4.2 Simple sentence

The simple sentence has a structure of a single base with some sentence margins.

The simple sentence base is expounded by a clause.

Pre- and postmargins are optional, but one or more must occur with the base.

<u>+M</u> +	Base	<u>+M</u>
S Intro	Intr Cl AF	Sim TM
Pri TM	Tr Cl AF	Sub TM
Sim TM	Tr Cl	Loc M
Indef TM	Tr Cl NA	Cond M
S Top M	Poss Cl	
Cond M	Desc Cl	
S Mod		
Circ M		

	Setting	TM	Tr Cl				
47	Paat	ra	gitio	masuang	kalo	maakan	nilo.
	time	**	this	many	not	eat	they

The following example shows a single Intr Cl and postmargin exemplifying the simple sentence.

	Intr Cl AF			Sub TM			
48	Tambului	am	mamugun	matatandu'	saboi	tanga'	ru rondom.
	guest	and	host	drink.rice.wine	until	middle	of night

The following example shows a single Desc Cl and a premargin expounding the simple sentence.

	Sim TM		SimTM		Desc Cl	
49	Galing	i paat	ra bangkayan	ti masuang	toojo	pantang.
	before	A time	** burial	A many	very	taboo

'Firstly, at the time of the burial, there are many taboos to be observed.'

NOTES

1. This paper was written at a linguistic workshop held under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah. The workshop ran April-May 1984, and the bulk of the work for this paper was done then, although source data was collected earlier. The consultant was Dr. Charles Peck of SIL, Philippine Branch. Language assistants were Majius bin Rundi, 44, and Silipa binti Majius, 18, both of Kg. Simpangan of the Tenom district in Sabah.

The Timugon Muruts form a distinct group within the Murutic language family in Sabah. They number around 8,000. They live in the district of Tenom, Sabah, which is approximately 170 km by road from the state capital, Kota Kinabalu. The Timugon are easily defined as a language group and Prentice (1971) suggests two dialects. The Murut language family in Sabah numbers around 50,000.

Many Timugon are farmers, farming cash crops such as rubber or cocoa. Most plant wet rice and some also plant dry (hill) rice too. Some Timugon have secured employment with the police or other government departments, but most are farmers.

The data sources for this paper were eleven different texts that had been collected over a period of ten months prior to the workshop. All the texts were offered voluntarily, sometimes spontaneously, and were recorded on cassette tape. The texts were then transcribed and edited for false starts, etc. Six texts were narrative discourses (four myths and two personal experiences), four were activity discourses, and one was an expository discourse.

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