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THE SEMANTICS OF FOCUS IN SANGIHÉ

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Linguists investigating the structure of Philippine languages are often confronted with such questions as: "What is the function of voice or focus in Philippine languages? What does it do in the stream of speech?" I feel that this question is clearly answerable for at least narrative discourse in Sangihé.[1]

The study which provides the basis for this claim has revealed two important facts. First, in a sequence of Sangihé clauses, voice or focus provides a certain flexibility in expressing semantic relationships while simultaneously retaining relatively fixed and simple grammatical relationships. The speaker of Sangihé, therefore, may easily and naturally make different kinds of predictions about a given action participant--casting him as agent, patient, recipient, or whatever role--without changing his status as topic, or subject through the sequence of clauses. Maintaining an unchanged topic seems to be a desirable end for the speaker of Sangihé; the varying of voice relations by means of verb inflection accomplishes this end.[2]

To illustrate, the following English sentences are comparable to those outlined above for Sangihé in that participant relationships vary while the subjects of successive clauses are maintained invariant. For each clause, the type of participant relationship is indicated in parentheses. Contrary to the situation in Sangihé, such English constructions are not always "easily and naturally" expressed.

> 1a. The boy hit the dog. (agent)
> b. The boy was bitten by the dog. (patient)
> c. The boy was given medicine by his father. (recipient)
> d. The boy was the one on whom the medicine was applied. (site)

> 2a. The medicine caused the wound to smart. (agent)
> b. The medicine was applied a second time. (patient)
> c. The medicine was that with which the boy was treated. (concomitant)
> d. The medicine was that over which the bandage was applied. (site)

Before stating the second fact suggesting the utility of voice, the statement above must be somewhat refined. Though the maintenance of an invariant topic may be desirable, for the purposes of the discourse the continuity must occasionally be interrupted and a new participant placed in primary consideration for one or more succeeding clauses. The second fact then follows, that wherever such an interruption is to be made in Sangihé narrative, voice facilitates the transition to the new topic in that only one type of change--topic change rather than that plus role change--need be made at a time. The implication is simply that the language appears to favor holding the number of simultaneous innovations to a minimum.

Typically, the occurrence of an action participant in a given role occurs first in what I am calling the transition clause and, without that role changing, the introduction of the participant in its topic function occurs in the following clause.[3]

Compare the following English sentences which may serve to illustrate the above, namely, that differing participant functions are introduced consecutively rather than simultaneously, and that voice facilitates this step-by-step change.

> 3a. The dog trotted across the lawn and was seen by the boy.
> b. The boy stooped and patted the dog.

Here, 'boy' is agent in the first sentence and only in the second, becomes subject as well.

> 4a. The man went to the lake every weekend and boated.
> b. His boat was powered by a 40 h.p. Johnston.

Here, in a situation very characteristic of Sangihé semantic structure, 'boat' is introduced in the first sentence as a kind of patient or goal implicit in the verb; in the second sentence 'boat' becomes subject in addition to its role as explicit goal.

In this introduction I have thus far referred to some general findings which may have implications for the comparative study of Philippine languages. I turn now in the main body of the presentation to the more specific results of this project. The objective here is (1) to sketch the semantics of a Sangihé narration and (2) thereby to make an important generalization about its discourse structure.

The tape-recorded text, approximately 500 words in length, was provided in 1961 by Johannes Mamoba, a man 35 years of age and a native speaker of the Tabukang dialect of Sangihé. Mr. Mamoba is also a fluent speaker of his national language, Bahasa Indonesia. The transcribing of the text was done with Mr. Mamoba's assistance. Though the text is not long in itself, the conclusions reached through its study have been supported by less intensive examinations of other Sangihé narratives.

1. Semantic Structure: The Episode

In general, the semantic structure of Sangihé narrative discourse may be characterized as sequences of units tied together by particular types of relationships. Graphically the arrangement is:

$$U \longrightarrow U \longrightarrow U \longrightarrow U \ldots$$

where U indicates "unit" and "relationship" is indicated by arrows, the heads of which point to the units that are chronologically successive.

On the highest, or narrative level, the units are termed episodes, and the relationship which unites them, temporal juncture. The episode corresponds

in the grammar structure to a coextensive unit set up for some languages, the paragraph. On the episode level, the constituent units are <u>event clusters</u> and the integrating relationship <u>temporal sequence</u>. The event cluster is roughly equivalent in grammatical structure to the sentence, which of course in the simple sentence consists of but a single main clause (ideally, one event). Most sentences in the present text are of this type. Apart from the introducing and the concluding of the discourse, which I will not be dealing with in detail in this paper, Sangihé narrative can be conveniently described in terms of the internal structure of the episode. This approach is possible because inter-episode relations are normally signalled in association with the first event of the episode and intra-episode relations, with the succeeding events. I center the discussion, therefore, on the episode.

For present purposes, the episode is distinguished by two types of components. (1) Prior to each event there occurs a <u>temporal</u>, which expresses the unifying relationship mentioned above. In the case of the episode-initial event this temporal, called the <u>setting temporal</u>, signifies the timing of the events in the episode following the juncture between it and preceding episode. In the case of non-initial events the temporal, now termed the <u>sequence temporal</u>, signifies the timing of individual events in relation to the events which precede them within the same episode. The essential difference between setting and sequence temporals is that all and only the latter are contextually relative, fixing the time of one event solely with reference to another. In the grammatical units corresponding to these two kinds of temporals, there is some overlap, but the two are semantically distinct and their discussion proceeds accordingly.

(2) The other type of episode component is, of course, the <u>event</u> itself. The events within each episode--but not between episodes--are organized in a <u>focus system</u> which is even more revealing of the genius of Sangihé narrative than the sequential factors noted above. Tentatively, this is the system which is represented grammatically by the intricate inter-clause voice relationships referred to at the outset, but a more comprehensive description waits its turn following the temporals.

1.1 The Temporals

1.11 Setting Temporals

The setting temporals are represented in the grammar by three types of constructions: (1) a stative clause, e.g. <u>Napélò su pasaré</u>, 'Having arrived at the market place,' (S 12), <u>I sire natanaé</u>. 'They had gone down.' (S 32); (2) a direction phrase, e.g. <u>Bou kimaeng</u>, 'From eating,' (S 28), <u>Bou ene</u>, 'From that,' or 'From then,' (S 20); and (3) a setting phrase, e.g. <u>Su tempong sasongong Presiden Sukarno su Tahuna</u>, 'At the time of the coming of President Sukarno to Taruna,' (S 1), this last phrase type occurring only at the beginning of the present text but medially as well in other Sangihé stories.

Of these three types of discourse-medial setting temporals only the stative clause, in either its dependent or independent form, must occur; in addition, one or more other stative clauses or one of the phrases may occur.[8] The phrase, if it occurs, always precedes the clause. In any given episode, the time quality signalled by the setting temporals is one of linearity or duration which spans the entire episode; the narrative-initial temporal may signal a span that extends through all or most of the narrative, as with the present text.

1.12   Sequence Temporals

The sequence temporals are realized in the grammar by two distinctive sets of markers, depending on whether these markers join separate sentences or just clauses within the same sentence. Linking separate sentences sequentially, the following markers occur: (1) a clause, e.g. I Presiden napélò sene, 'The President having arrived there,' (S 13), Bòu nénalang, 'Having danced,'[9] (S 17), Su kakangenange, 'When he was at the eating place,' (S 23)[9]; (2) a sequence phrase, e.g. Bò ene, 'After that,' (S 11), Bò kere, 'After that,' (S 3); (3) the temporal adverb, e.g. Tangu 'Then,' (S 25); (4) the temporal enclitic -e (-ke after ng) 'already, now' (S 29); and (5) a zero marker $\emptyset$ (S 26). Conjoining the independent clauses of non-simple sentences, the sequence markers are: (1) the connective kù 'then' (S 26) (which possesses a simultaneous function to be described under The Focus System; sec. 1.21); and (2) a zero marker $\emptyset$ (S 27).

In contrast to the setting temporals, no one type of sequence marker is obligatory. Any sequence marker can occur individually or, in the case of the sentence-linking markers, in combination with any other marker, the clauses and the enclitic in addition being repeatable. The inter-sentence $\emptyset$ occurs only before a quotation rendered as the response to a preceding quotation, the exchange itself conveying sufficient indication of sequence though sequence markers may occur even then (S 24). Now quoted speech is of at least two kinds: that which serves to carry forward the action and that which does not. The latter, like any other type of explanatory material, is clearly considered a break in the narrative in that the Resumption-of-Narrative marker o 'well, anyway' occurs between such a quote and the sequence marker (S 26), or even interpose between two markers (S 22).[10] Except for the resumption marker, the sentence topic and, of course, the temporal enclitic -e, which attaches to the main predicator of dependent or independent clause, sentence-linking sequence markers occur sentence-initial in the present text.

We have seen that the temporal setting marker of a given paragraph is sometimes an independent stative clause. When it is, the event sentence which follows is introduced by an element that grammatically resembles the sequence marker. That this element is not a sequence marker is attested to by the fact that there is no prior event in the episode from which sequence could be asserted. Such a sentence-initial element is taken to be simply a restatement or further specification of the preceding setting sentence, a semantically vacuous requirement of the grammar (S 29). This restatement of the setting marker contrasts with the true sequence marker, which orders the temporal relationship between two contiguous events and normally

signals only punctilear time with but a single event cluster in its scope (S 3).

1.2 The Focus System

In the preceding sections, it was necessary to go into some detail on the temporal markers since these play such a key role in the determining of the boundaries of the episode. But once the episodes are isolated, the way is clear to examine the structure which distinguishes the interior of these episodes but does not cross their boundaries. This structure, the focus system, cannot be analyzed in terms of the grammar but it does yield, I believe, to the semantic analysis proposed herewith.

In the focus system the individual main events of the episode are tied together not only by the relationship of temporal sequence described in the preceding section, but in a more significant sense by the focus relationship itself. This integrating function may be predicated of focus precisely because of the dual mechanism of topic continuity and controlled change sketched for Sangihé at the outset. The focus system, then, may be defined as that set of semantic relationships by which certain predication participants are introduced and retained in special prominence throughout the episode.

Perhaps the Sangihé focus system may best be characterized by comparison with two other languages of the general area: Katê of New Guinea as reported by H.A. Gleason, Jr., and Atta of the Philippines as reported by Virginia Morey Austin via Gleason.[11] Contrasting the New Guinea language with the two from the Philippines, a series of verbal actions in the former is tied together only directly, whereas such actions in the latter two are tied together by considerations other than sequence alone. Contrasting the two Philippine languages, that which ties together the action in Atta is reference to a single entity, viz. the entity in that part of the discourse which the speaker intends as the center of attention. That which ties the action together in Sangihé is a single relationship, viz. focus, in which more than one entity may be involved.

The following diagram attempts to summarize for each of these languages the main feature which binds together its actions into unified episodes or equivalent units. In the diagraming, squares symbolize semantic units, and lines the relationships that obtain between them.

Diagram 1.

Katê:
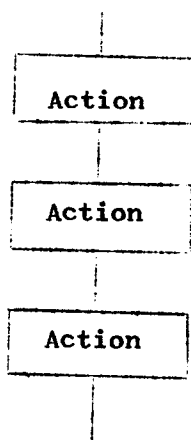
Atta:
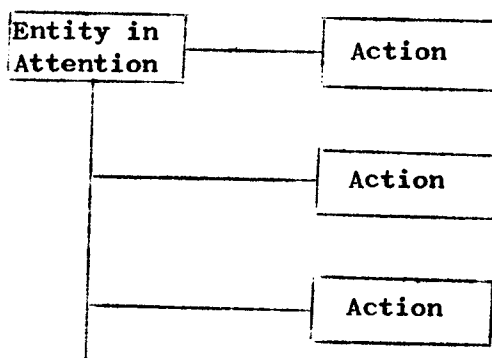
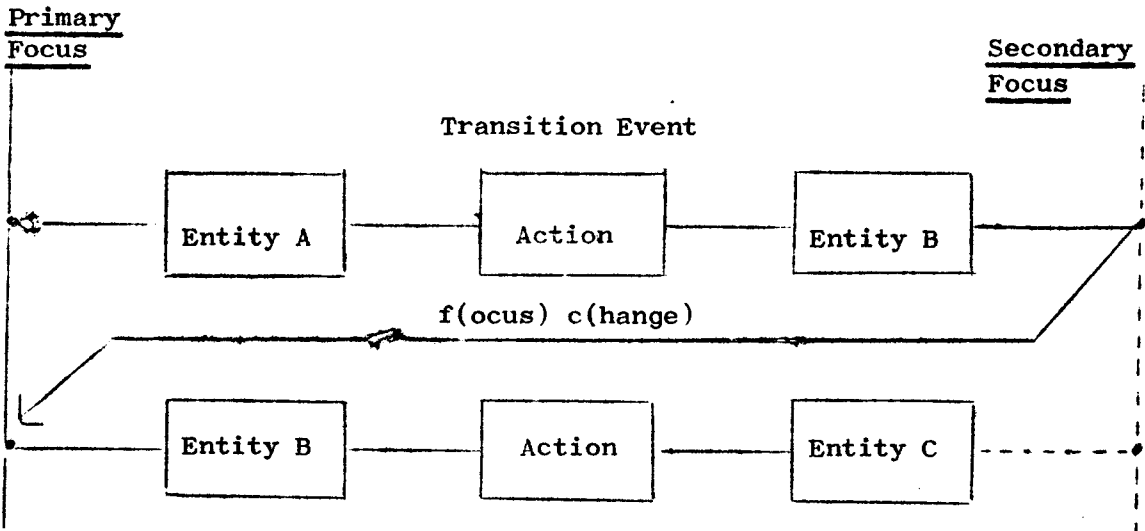**Sangihé:**
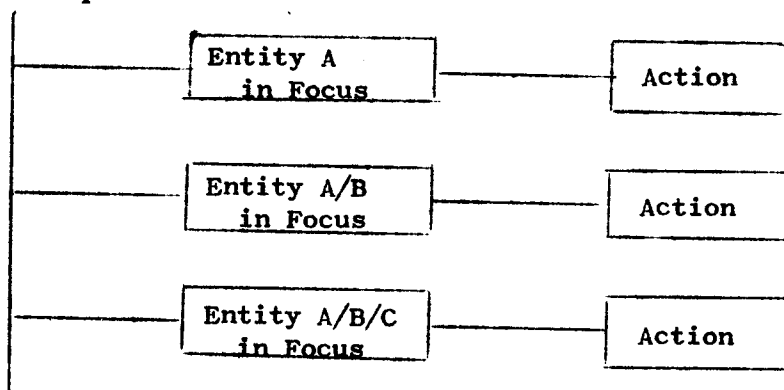
1.21 Secondary Focus, Transition, and Shift

It has been shown for Sangihé that within a given episode the focus may
shift and more than one entity succeed another in focus. The first focused
entity in the episode is selected without restriction; there is no necessary
continuity between episodes with respect to the entity in focus. However,
any entity to be introduced into focus thereafter in the episode must first
have occurred in an immediately preceding transition event. (Reference has
already been made to the transition clause, which typically is the gramma-
tical correlate of the transition event.) In a given episode any main
event except of course the last is a potential transition event, though it
is possible that none will actually be used as such.

In the transition event, (1) the entity to be dropped from focus occurs in
focus,[12] and (2) the entity to be introduced into focus occurs with a pecu-
liar relationship to the action which we here designate secondary focus.
That which I have been referring to simply as "focus" will from this point
on be modified to primary focus (grammatically, however, it is still "topic").
An entity in secondary focus is that event element toward which an action
is directed and in which it terminates.[13] In the grammar, this element
normally is realized as a distinctive unit here termed the clause orientor,
which is often similar to direct object in English transitive active
clauses, though this is by no means the only kind of unit by which the
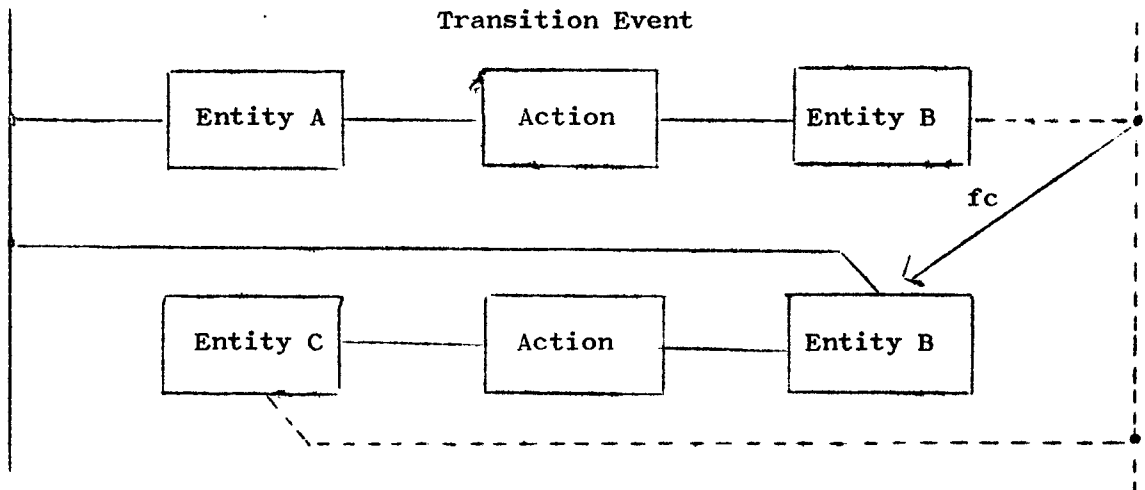orientor manifests itself (see sec. 2.2).

A shift of focus is signalled grammatically (1) in a new sentence, by the
explicit restatement for the new topic of the orientor of the preceding
clause, and (2) in a new clause of the same sentence, by (a) restatement,
explicit or implicit, and optionally (b) the topic-change/sequence marker
ku occurring in a position just prior to the new topic.[14] When restatement
is implicit and the change particle does not occur, it is solely the voice
(or "focus") inflection of the main verb in the new clause that signals the
topic shift. Similarly, in the transition clause which precedes, the
orientor introducing the new topic participant occasionally is itself im-
plicit and identifiable only from the orientation inflection or stem class
of the verb in that clause. In either case, implicit topic or implicit
orientor, the needed units are posited in the semantics and the requirements
for a consistent analysis thus fulfilled; in the grammar, anaphora accounts
as easily for the lacunae as it does for the prolific pronominalization of
these same noun phrases.

The following diagram again summarizes the focus system of Sangihé discourse,
this time with the addition of the secondary focus relationship. This rela-
tion line is broken partly to suggest that, contrary to the situation with
primary focus, there is no necessary continuity nor restriction on change
from event to event in secondary-focus elements. Included in the diagram is
a representation of the manner in which an entity in secondary focus may
substitute for that in primary focus immediately following the transition
event. Alternate methods of diagraming this same substitution are shown in
2b and 2c. The assigning of letter identities to elements in the diagram
(Entity A, Entity B, etc.) is done for illustrative purposes and the choice
is purely arbitrary.

Diagram 2a.

Transition Event

| Entity A | → | Action | → | Entity B |

f(ocus) c(hange)

| Entity B | → | Action | ← | Entity C |

2b.

Transition Event

| Entity A | → | Action | → | Entity B |

fc

| Entity C | → | Action | → | Entity B |

2c.

Transition Event

| Entity B | → | Action | ← | Entity A |

fc

| Entity B | → | Action | → | Entity C |

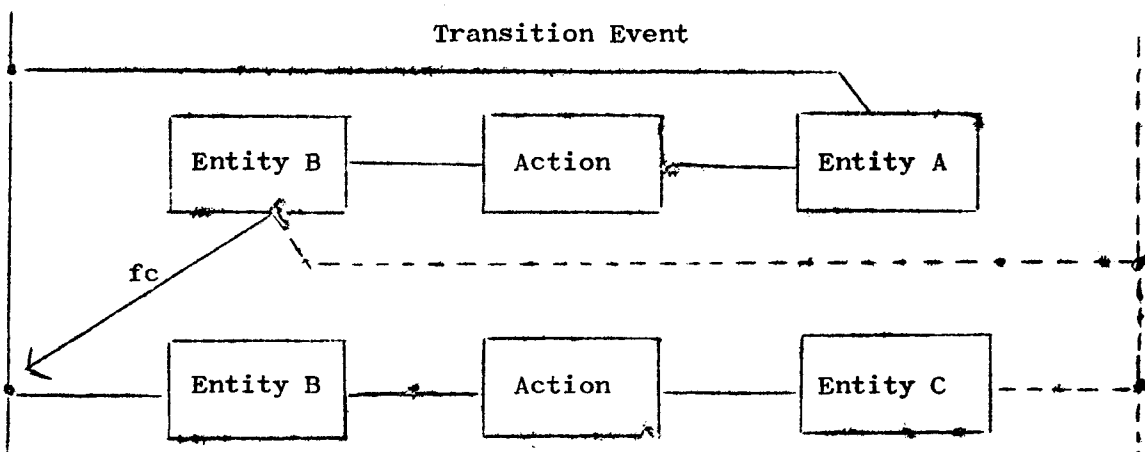## 1.22 Stative Events

Now, though narrative events most frequently involve an action, such events may occasionally be characterized by a condition, or state. In either case, these central elements of the event, which in some respects are comparable to the grammatical verb, will be called predicators. Roughly, events with action predicators correspond grammatically to active clauses and events with state predicators, to stative clauses. State events as well as action have primary-focus elements: either element is realized in the grammar by a noun phrase termed the topic phrase. And like action events, state events have secondary-focus elements; either element may be realized by another noun phrase called the orientor phrase, though alternative realizates will be described in sec. 2.

Both with respect to the occurrence of topic and orientor phrases and also their actual functioning in topic continuity and change, stative clauses are equivalent to active clauses in their power to realize the focus system. Of course, this realization is not affected by any clauses which function as temporal markers or other dependent sentence adverbials (e.g. cause or condition clauses), and embedded materials of other genre such as description also do not participate in the focus system.[15] But the statives that do realize the system include even that subclass of clauses that manifest no explicit verb and are only the "equational" or "copulative" clauses of other languages. The fact is that pure state of being in Sangihé requires no overt verb as, for example, Indo-European languages do, but only as other meaning components are added (say, 'change', 'ordering', 'motion') must distinctive verb forms become explicit.

Diagram 3 builds on the preceding diagrams by bringing in a simplified segment of the text, and showing how a transition event may employ either a state or an action to introduce a new entity for primary focus in the following event. The "unit" boxes are dropped for the sake of convenience, and particular semantic units are now symbolized with capital letters. Notice also that instead of particular events that occur more than once in the example being needlessly repeated, they are symbolized in full only once, then "stretched" through the diagram by means of dotted lines, their pertinent relation lines being connected to them at the indicated nodes. These relation lines are labelled according to the particular relationships they represent, and arrowheads indicate the direction of these relationships. Thus, PRESIDENT --agent--⟶ EAT is to be read: "The participant PRESIDENT is in a relationship of agent with respect to the action EAT", i.e. "The President eats." The notion that at least some semantic structures are unordered is reflected in the notation which may rearrange the elements from positions they would occupy in the normal clause order. Since narration is usually cast in past tense, the action/state elements may be represented in their basic (tenseless) forms and the past tense morephemes automatically added when grammatical realization yields the verbs.

Diagram 3.
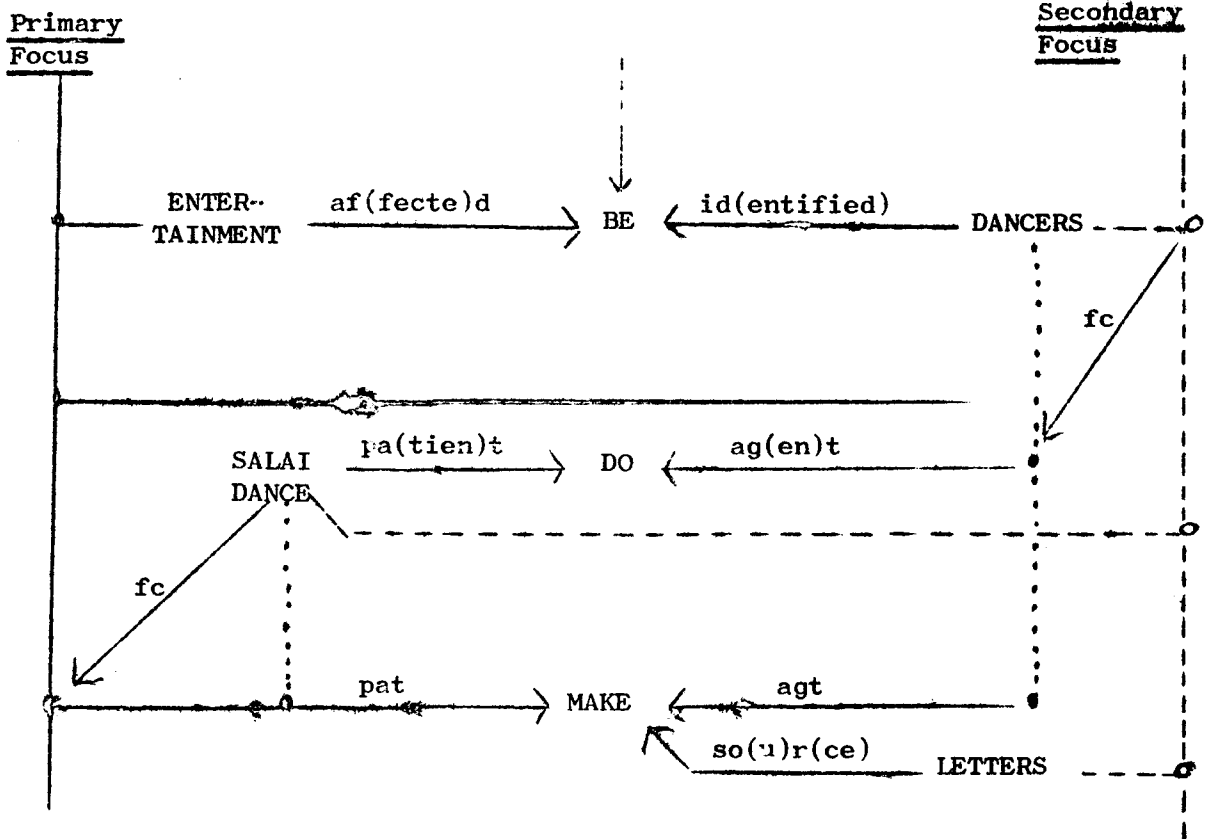
(Nalang)   gunde... némpésallai   i   sire,
entertainment dancers   did salai dance (topic phrase marker) they

kù   nikoà   bòu
(topic change marker) was made (orientor phrase marker)/from
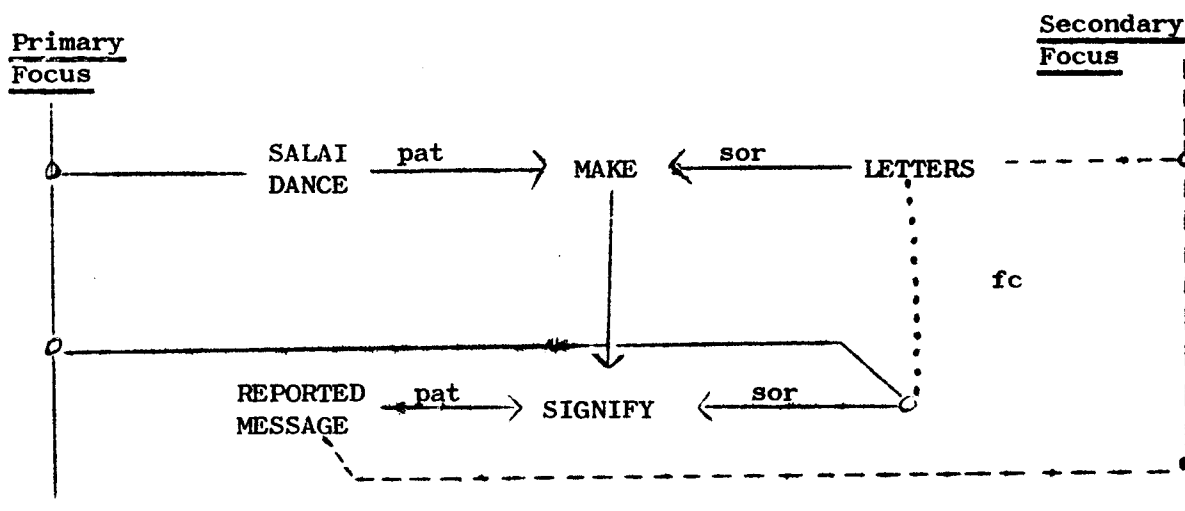
hurupé...
letters

'The entertainment (topic) was now dancers (orientor)...
The dancers (topic) did the salai dance (orientor) and
the salai dance (topic) was "made" by them from the shapes of
letters (orientor)...' (SS 3, 10)

1.23 Discrepancies in Focus Realizates

Occasionally, an entity which has been or will be in primary focus reaches
the grammar in a given clause not as topic or orientor per se but only as
a phrase recursively embedded in one of these constructions. Such con-
structions consist of a noun head plus a modifying genitive phrase or its
substitute, the embedded phrase being marked by the relational -ng (after
consonants: u 'non-personal'., i 'personal') and the substitute being the
enclitic -ne (-e after consonants). Taken together the entire construction
frequently signifies a relationship of 'part to whole', the noun head indi-
cating the 'part' and the genitive element the 'whole'. Or, the relationship
may be one respectively of 'possessed to possessor', 'deed to doer, or done
to', or any of a number of other such dependency relationships (e.g. cf.
English of).

Whatever the particular relationship involved, complex phrases of this type
are readily explainable in terms of nouns or relational particles in the
grammar deriving from (verb-like) predicators in the semantics. To observe
the process involving first the nouns, consider the following fragment of
text. The predicator SIGNIFY is realized grammatically as the nominalization
mangalle 'signification', to which the realization of the primary-focus
LETTER is then added as the genitive phrase -ng hurupé 'of the letters'.
(Pertinent morpheme breaks within words are always indicated by the hyphen
in cited text and in literal glosses beneath.)

Diagram 4.

Primary
Focus   Secondary
Focus

SALAI DANCE — pat → MAKE ← sor — LETTERS

fc

REPORTED MESSAGE — pat → SIGNIFY ← sor

Ø   nikoà   bòu   hurupé,
salai was made (orientor phrase marker)/from letters

kù   mangalle-ng   hurupé   ene:
(topic change marker)/then signification-of letters those

"Sélamat datang kedatangan Presiden".
welcome   arrival   President

'The salai dance (topic) was "made" from the shapes of
letters (orientor), and the signification of those letters (topic)
was: "Welcome on Your arrival" (orientor).' (S 10)

As stated above, these derivations from predicators sometimes emerge in the
grammar as relational particles. In such cases, the derivation may require
the positing in the semantics of an additional, subsidiary event in such a
way that the conversion and the coalescence of this with an associated main
event accounts at the end of the process for the embedding of the focused
elements. So then, we may say that certain relationals derive from a dual
event, not unlike the way prepositions are derived by transformationalists
of the generative semantics persuasion from the "predicates" of "sentences"[16]
that are the "complements" in turn of other, containing "sentences".

In the dual event here proposed for the Sangihé semantics the main element
contains entities in primary and secondary focus, though one of these en-
tities participates in the focus system only indirectly, being related to
the true focused entity through the mediacy of the subsidiary element of
the dual event. This subsidiary event, apart from its role as intermediary
in the focus of a certain entity, has no other relation to focus and only
makes a tenseless, non-sequential predication concerning the entity in the
main element which is indirectly focused. The result grammatically is a

single clause with a complex topic or orientor phrase in which the inter-
mediately focused entity is now head, the true focused entity has been em-
bedded, and the predicator of the subsidiary event has become the relational
between the two.

Compare the following examples showing this derivation from dual events of
complex topic and orientor phrases, respectively.

Diagram 5.
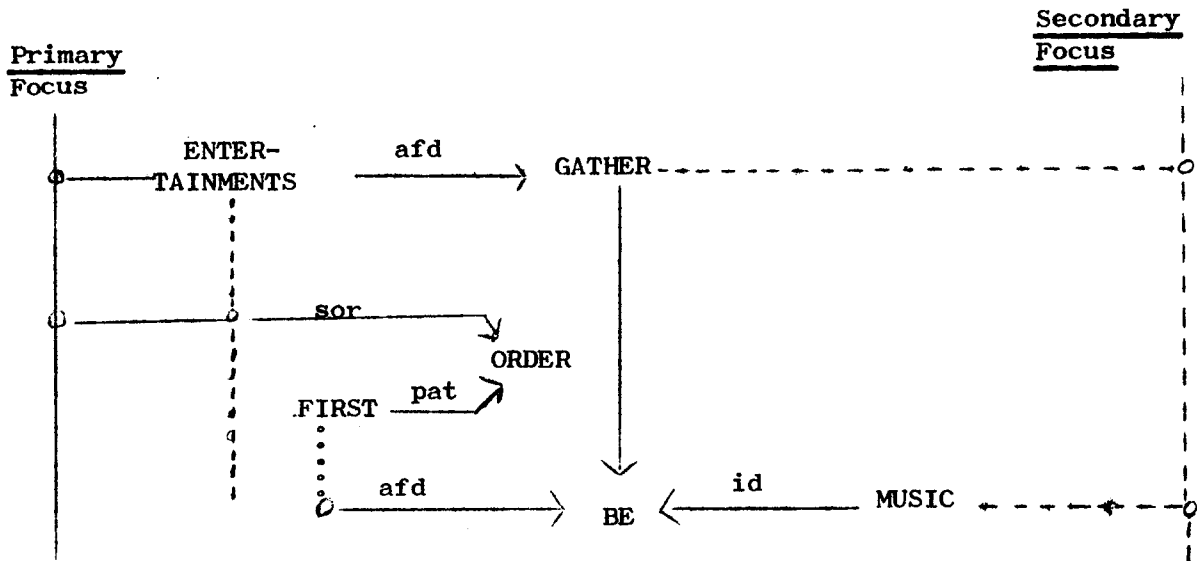
Patikù nalang   nasue   natampung...
all   entertainments finished gathered

kakallamonaéng-e...musiké...
first-of them   music

'All entertainments (topic) were exhaustively gathered (orientor)...

The first of them (topic) was music (orientor)...' (SS 1, 2)

Diagram 6.
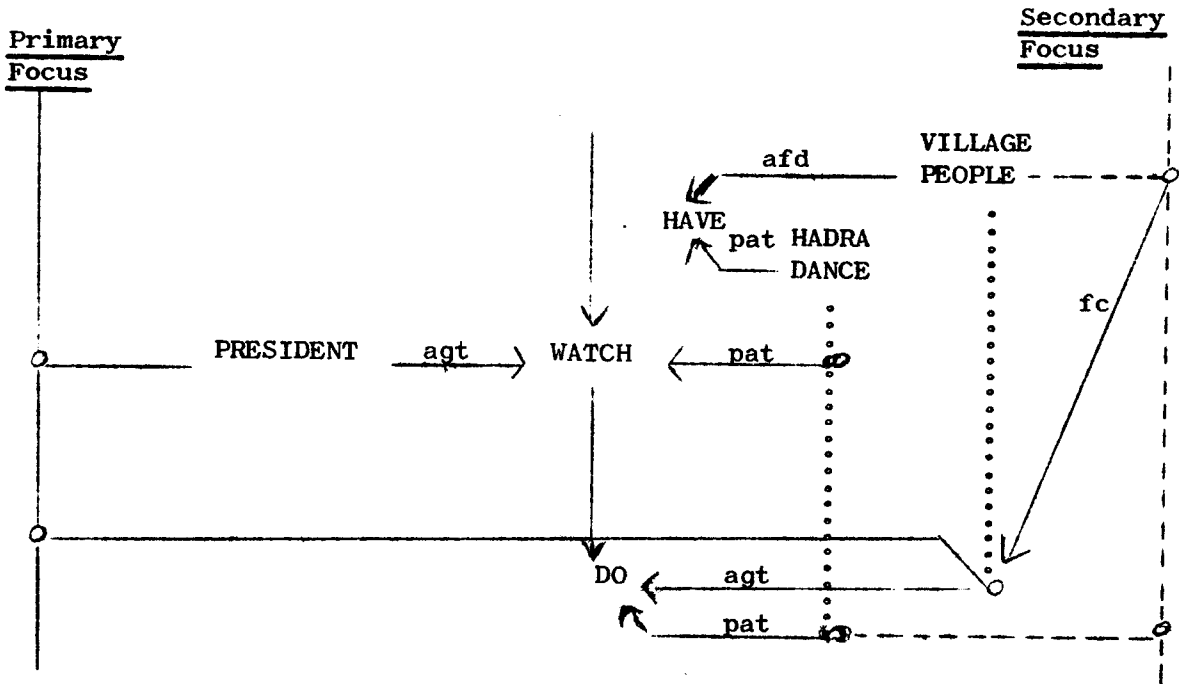

```
Ø                     timuhù-e-ng                           nalang
President's party followed-now-(orientor phrase marker) dance

u  tau   kampong;  Ø              némpéhadra...
of people village  village people did hadra dance
```

'The President's party (topic) now watched the dance of the
village people (orientor); the village people (topic) did the
hadra dance (orientor)...'   (S 30)

Note from the first of these examples as well as from that in Diagram 4 that,
from the standpoint of the grammar, once a clause has established as either
topic or orientor the phrase meaning 'whole', or the referent of some other
such dependency relationship, that phrase may embed in the topic phrase of
the succeeding clause even though that topic phrase has a head with the
meaning 'part', etc., which is completely new information. The requirements
of discourse structure are met just provided that the constituent meaning
'whole' previously occurred as topic or orientor and is now included some-
how in the new topic phrase. At least with respect to Philippine "focus"
elements pattern similarly to the 'wholes' of which they are 'part'.[17]

2. Further Grammatical Correlates

At this point it is necessary to add certain salient facts concerning the grammatical structure of Sangihé, viz. the phrase structure of topic and orientor, and the verb inflection which signals these clause relationships.

2.1 The Phrase

The structure of both topic and orientor phrases is described as binary and exocentric. Both phrases are pronominalized with personal pronouns of the set (sie), and both are affected by the basic dichotomy which exists between personal and non-personal constructions. A phrase is personal when its head noun or pronoun is either a personal name or title, a kinship term of address, or a personal pronoun. A non-personal phrase is one in which the head is a word other than those personal substantives specified above.

The topic phrase, when personal, is marked by the preposed particle i and when non-personal, by the significant absence of this particle.[18] The topic phrase occurs in the first pre-verb position of the clause or, with compensatory intonation change, immediately following the position of the orientor phrase. The topic phrase may be illustrated as follows.

> 5. i Presiden 'the President'
> i sie 'he'
> tau 'people'
> kaeng 'food'

The orientor phrase is not marked by any one set of particles, but is identified by: (1) its obligatory occurrence in the clause except where subject to anaphoric deletion, (2) its clause position following the verb phrase, (3) its distinctive behavior in clause transformations, and (4) the significant absence of marking particles under most conditions except a complex few involving voice, verb stem classes, and specificity or definiteness of reference.[19] These features are used to display the particles in the following chart.

Diagram 7.

Voice	Verb Stem Class	Topic	Personal	Non-personal Specific	Non-specific
Subjective	⟨pélò⟩	agent	i*	u*	∅
Subjective	⟨ampang⟩	agent	∅	∅	
Subjective	⟨suraté⟩	agent	si$^+$	su$^+$	∅
Objective	⟨pélò⟩	patient	si	su	
Objective	⟨pélò⟩	direction	i	u	
Objective	⟨ampang⟩	patient	i / si	u/ su	
Objective	⟨ampang⟩	concom't or direction	∅	∅	
Objective	⟨suraté⟩	patient	i	u	
Objective	⟨suraté⟩	concom't	si	su	

*i and u throughout the diagram occur following consonant-final words; -ng replaces them following vowel-final stems (irrespective of the personal/ non-personal dichotomy).

$^+$si and su throughout actually constitute classes the members of which are, respectively, si, bòi 'from', sarang 'to', and su, bòu 'from', sarang 'to'.

The variety in the particles as revealed by the chart suggests something of the multiplicity of participant roles the orientor phrase is called upon to express,[20] though we have nothing approaching a one-to-one correlation between the particles and those participant roles. The topic phrase may accommodate just as many or even more such roles but these are identified, not by marking particles and the other orientor criteria, but by distinctions in associated verb inflection. Examples of the orientor phrase are:

6. i Presiden 'with the President'
    si sie 'him' or 'to him'
    kaéng 'food'
    sarang Tahuna 'to Tahuna'
    bòu hurupé 'from letters'

2.2 Verb Inflection

The verb inflection which signals voice and orientation relationships may be summarized in the following chart.

Diagram 8.

Mode	Voice	Orientation		
		Objective	Predicative	Subjective
Active	Subjective	⟨meńg-⟩[21]	⟨mé-⟩	⟨-um-⟩
	Objective	⟨-ang⟩	⟨i-⟩	⟨-ang/i-⟩
Stative	Subjective	⟨maka-⟩	⟨ma-⟩	⟨maki-⟩
	Objective	⟨ka...ang⟩	⟨ika-⟩	⟨ki...ang⟩

(21)

Consider first the active mode and, within the active mode, the vertical dimension of voice. The topic of a clause in which verbs are inflected by the subjective voice affixes, e.g. mang-, is thereby indicated to realize the agent of the action. Correspondingly, where verbs are inflected by objective affixes, e.g. -ang, the topic is shown to carry some such function as patient, concomitant, recipient, source, destination, or site of the action.

7a. <u>I sie mangallà sakaeng.</u> (he (topic), gets
(subjective voice), boat (orientor) 'He gets the boat.'

b. <u>I sie allakeng (-ang) sakaeng.</u> (he (topic),
is-gotten-for (objective voice), boat (orientor))
'He is the one for whom the boat is gotten.'

Turning to orientation, verb inflection classified in the horizontal dimension of the chart is concordant with the three types of orientation. The first type, objective orientation, has been touched on already in connection with the orientor phrase. It is that phrase which the objective orientation affixes, <u>mang-</u> etc., indicate as expressing the target and terminal of the underlying action.

8a. <u>I sie mangallà sakaeng.</u> (he (topic), gets
(objective orientation), boat (orientor)) 'He gets the boat.'

b. <u>I sie allakeng (-ang) sakaeng.</u> (he (topic),
is-gotten-for (objective orientation), boat
(orientor)) 'he is the one for whom the boat is gotten.'

In predicative orientation, the orientor is not a separate phrase type but is within the verb itself, where it is frequently isolable by means of a pro-verb transformation comparable to the following for English: <u>They danced.</u> ⟶ <u>They did a dance.</u> The predicative orientation affixes like <u>mé-</u>, then, terminate the action in the verb although semantically this terminal often patterns as a separate unit.

9a. <u>I sie mésakaeng.</u> (he (topic), operate-boat
(predicative orientation) (implicit orientor))
'He operates a boat.'

b. <u>I sie mésake.</u> (he (topic), entertain-traveller
(predicative orientation) (implicit orientor))
'He entertains a traveller.'

Subjective orientation is identified primarily by meaning contrasts with other clauses containing either the objective or the predicative orientor. Clauses containing the subjective orientor are semantically reflexive, with the agent of the action being also its target and terminal. It is such subjective orientation affixes as <u>-um-</u> that signify this return of the action upon the actor, so that in subjective voice clauses of this category the topic phrase assumes a portmanteau capability as orientor in addition to being topic.
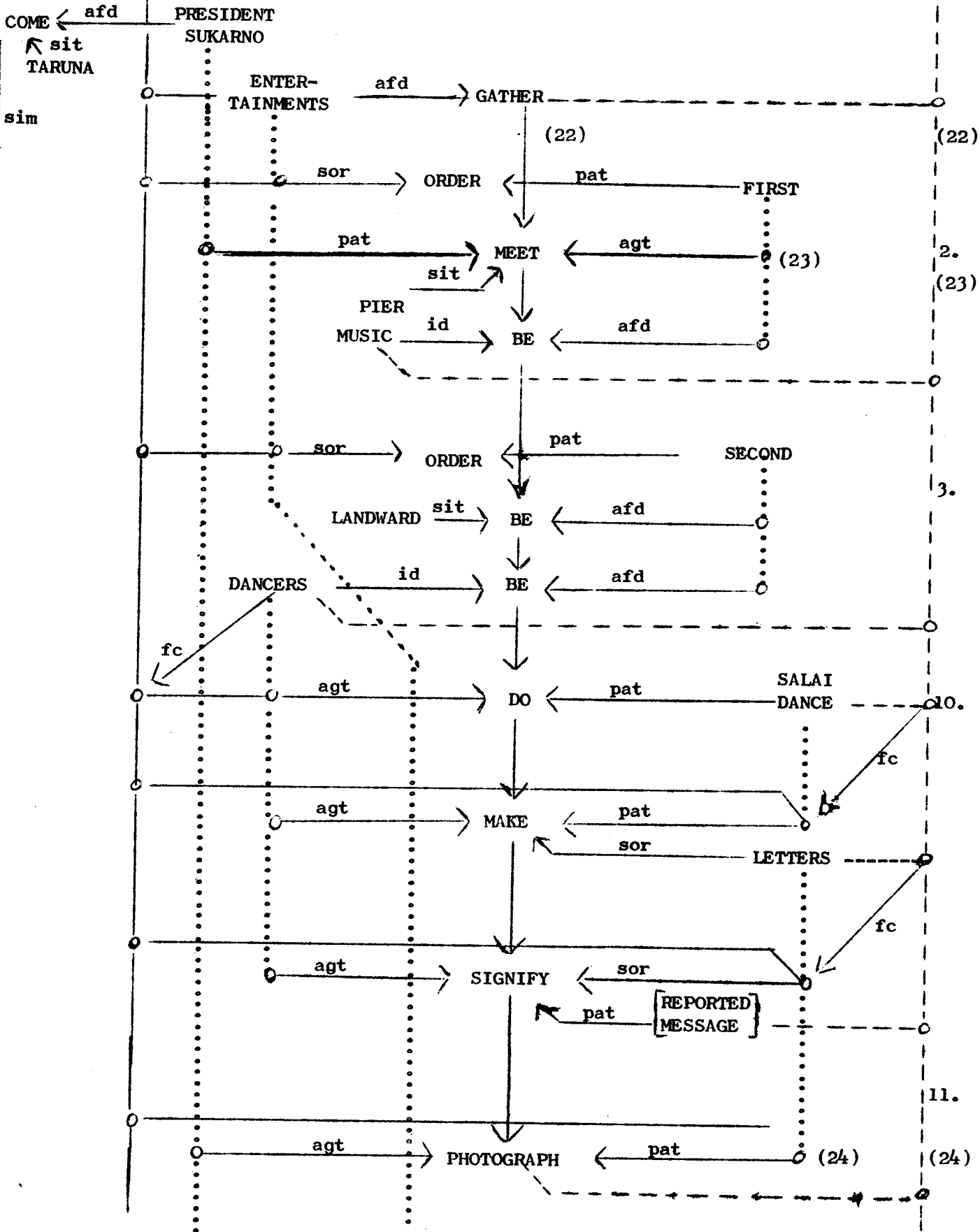
10a. <u>I sie dumalleng.</u> (he (topic and orientor),
paths (subjective orientation)) 'He "paths" himself', i.e. 'walks'.

b. <u>I sie sumake su kapallé.</u> (he (topic and orientor), travellers
(subjective orientation), in, ship) 'He "travellers" himself in
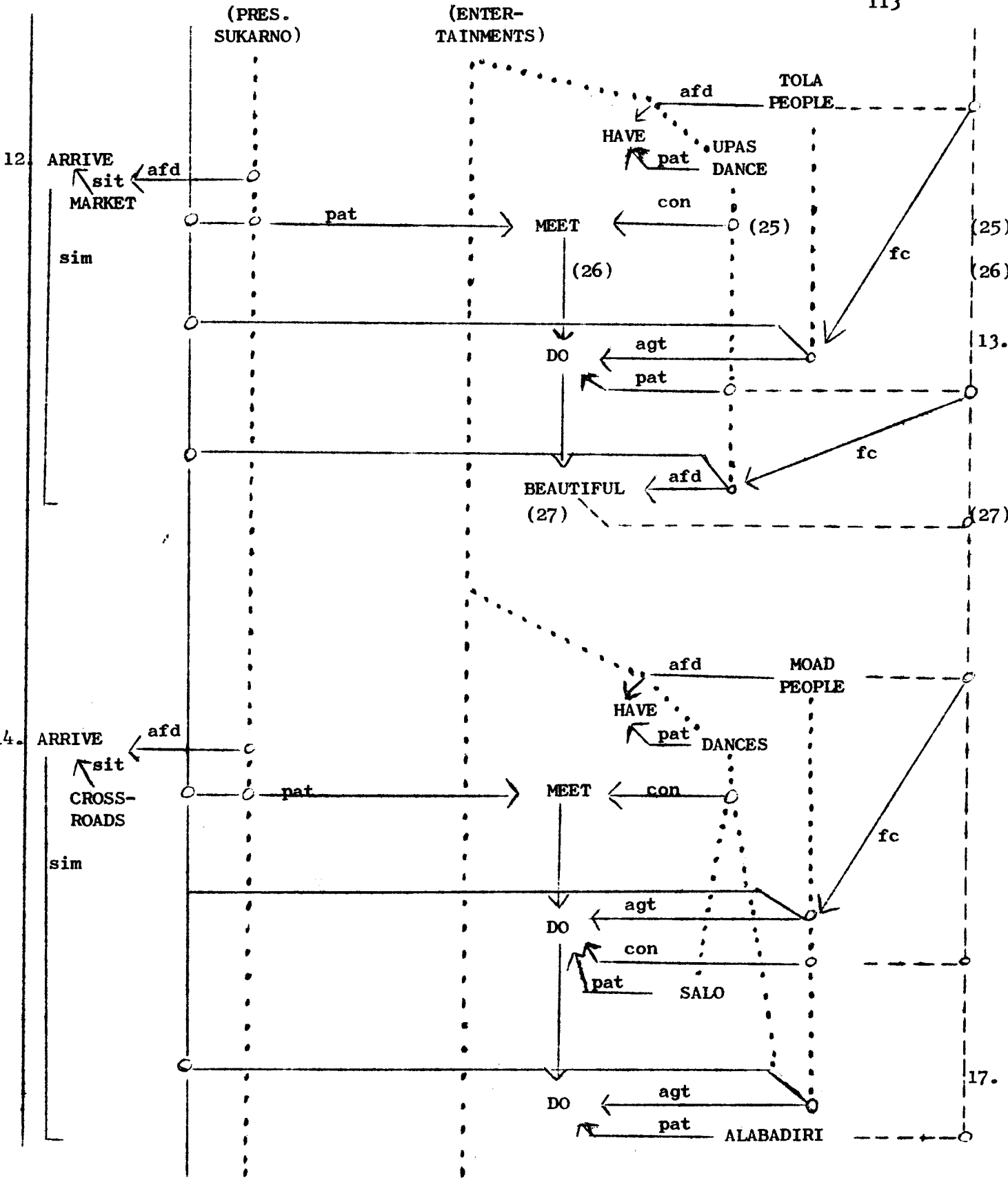the ship', i.e. 'embarks'.

In the stative mode, voice and orientation inflection corresponds to that just outlined for the active mode and need not be separately illustrated. Actually, the parallelism between the two modes is remarkably close, as revealed by the fact that their potential for primary and secondary focusing of underlying participant roles is almost identical, their clauses transform in an equivalent manner, and they are both characterized by verb stem classes that distort but do not invalidate the system as a whole.

One of the more interesting features concerning the statives is that the topic of their subjective-voice predicative-orientation verbs is indeterminate (apart from context) with respect to its semantic status as agent or patient in the action which led to the state. Though this action is itself often asserted in the verb, the really central information is the state that results from that action. And so, for example, it is immaterial in the stative I sie napélò sene 'He had arrived there' whether the person came by himself or was brought; the point is he came (somehow) and was then in a state of being in that place. It was primarily this indeterminacy of role that led to the assigning of the label "affected" to the relationship between participant and predicator, the relationship that would be labelled either "agent" or "patient" in the active mode equivalent. The relationship "affected" may even be thought of as signalling the realization grammatically of the predicator by a stative verb, and then no further indicator of "state" (as opposed to "action") is required in the notational representation of the semantics.

3. Representation of the Text

I conclude with the presentation of the entire text, albeit simplified, in diagrammatic form followed by the text itself. Most of the notational conventions have already been introduced or are self-explanatory. For the rationale of the method generally the reader is referred to the standard works on stratificational linguistics by S. Lamb, H.A. Gleason, Jr., and especially Charles Taber (1966).

Primary
Focus

Secondary
Focus

COME ← afd — PRESIDENT
SUKARNO

↖ sit
TARUNA

sim

ENTER-
TAINMENTS — afd → GATHER

(22)

(22)

sor → ORDER ← pat — FIRST

pat → MEET ← agt — (23)

sit

PIER
MUSIC — id → BE ← afd

sor → ORDER ← pat — SECOND

LANDWARD — sit → BE ← afd

DANCERS — id → BE ← afd

fc

agt → DO ← pat — SALAI
DANCE

10.

fc

agt → MAKE ← pat

sor — LETTERS

fc

agt → SIGNIFY ← sor

pat — REPORTED
MESSAGE

11.

agt → PHOTOGRAPH ← pat — (24)

(24)

2.
(23)

3.

(PRES. SUKARNO)

(ENTER- TAINMENTS)

TOLA PEOPLE

afd

HAVE

pat ∙UPAS DANCE

12. ARRIVE ∠afd

sit MARKET

sim

pat

MEET ⟵ con (25)

(25)

(26)

fc

(26)

DO ⟵ agt

13.

pat

fc

BEAUTIFUL ⟵ afd

(27)

(27)

afd MOAD PEOPLE

HAVE

pat ∙DANCES

14. ARRIVE ⟵ afd

sit CROSS- ROADS

sim

pat

MEET ⟵ con

fc

DO ⟵ agt

con

pat SALO

DO ⟵ agt

17.

pat ALABADIRI

DO ⟵ agt

(PRES. SUKARNO)   (ENTER- TAINMENTS)

NEXT
aim
20. ARRIVE   afd
loc
OFFICE
sim

afd   (28)   (28
SIT   21.

pat   CALL   afd   HOSTS   22.

agt   GO EAT   pat   FOOD   23.

rec

agt   EXPRESS   pat   CURIOSITY   24.

con   [REPORTED SPEECH]

(29)   (29)

pat   TELL   agt

con   [REPORTED SPEECH]

rec   SERVE   agt   25.

pat   SANGIR FOOD

afd   HAVE
VEGETABLES   pat
SAGO   id   fc
(30)   id   BE   afd

fc   (30)

26.
agt   SIP   pat

agt
pat   LOOK UP

fc

rec

agt   SPEAK   pat   WORD

con   [REPORTED SPEECH]

agt   DIP IN   pat

agt   EAT   pat

NEXT
sim
28. GO
afd
des
PLAYING
FIELD

(PRES.
SUKARNO)

PRESIDENT'S
COMPANIONS

(ENTER-
TAINMENTS)

HAVE
afd
afd
pat
GAMES

SCHOOL
CHILDREN

29.

agt
GO
ATTEND
pat

WATCH
pat

sit
TOBOE

agt

sim

SOFT HAND
BALL BALL

NEXT
sim
30. GO
TOGETHER
afd
des
TOBOE

afd
HAVE
pat
HADRA
DANCE

VILLAGE
PEOPLE

agt
GO
ATTEND
pat

sim
agt
WATCH
pat

(31)

(31)

fc

DO
agt
pat

(PRESIDENT & COMPANIONS) (ENTER-TAINMENTS) (HADRA DANCE)

32. RETURN ← afd

sor
TOBOE
sit ↓ agt
ATTEND

pat

↓ sim

DESCEND ← afd

↓ sim

GO ← afd

des
OTHER
SIDE

sim

ANCESTORS → afd → HAVE ← pat ← EPIC SONGS

MANALU
PEOPLE → afd → HAVE ← pat ← EPIC SONGS

(32)

id

BE ← afd

agt → HEAR ← pat

fc

PRES. ← agt → SING ← pat

cau

33.

fc

afd ← PEOPLE

HAVE ← pat ← INFOR-MATION

afd → DESIRE ← pat

fc

34.

con [REPORTED SPEECH]

rec → EXPLAIN ← agt ← TARUNA PEOPLE

35.

[REPORTED SPEECH]
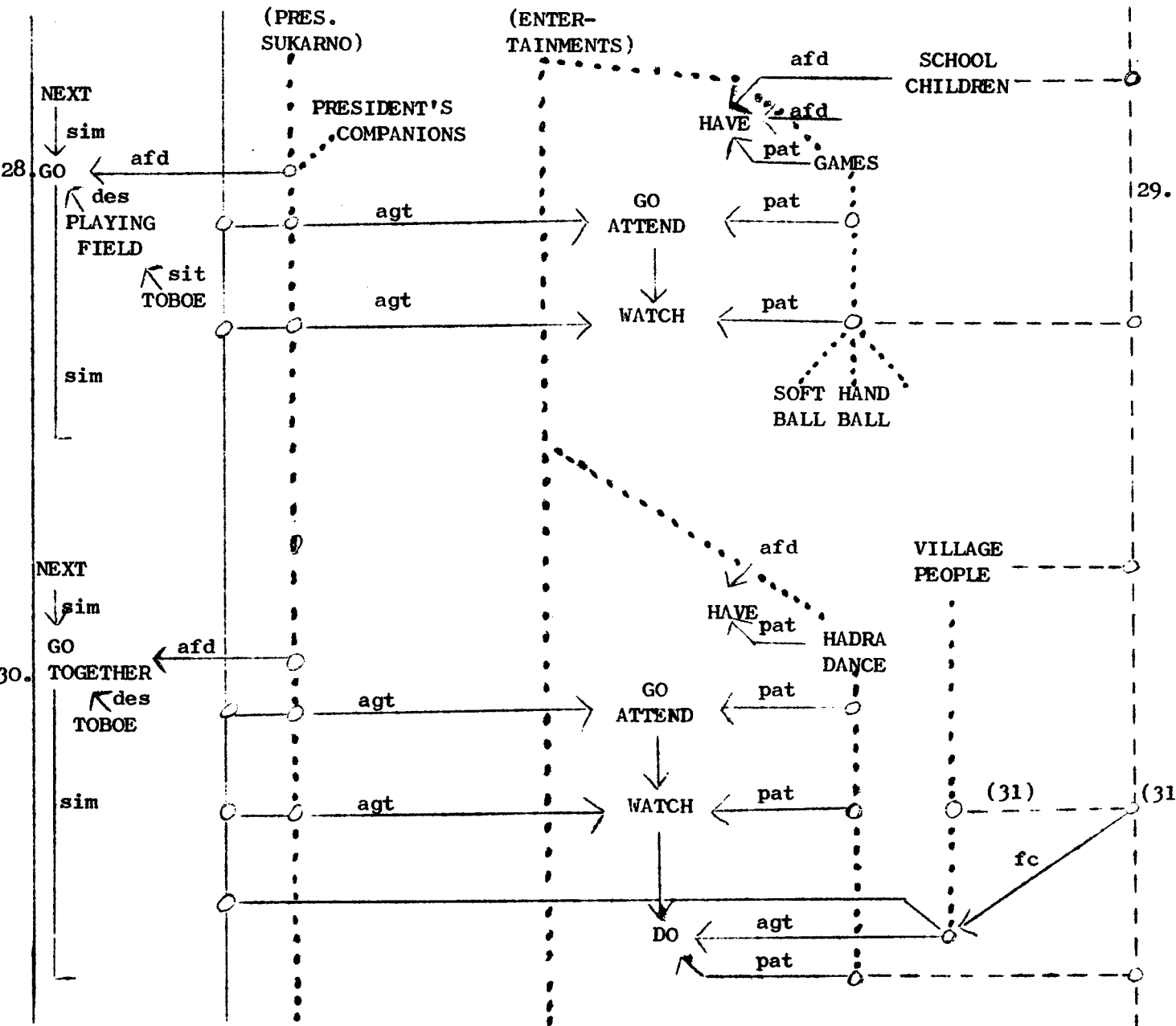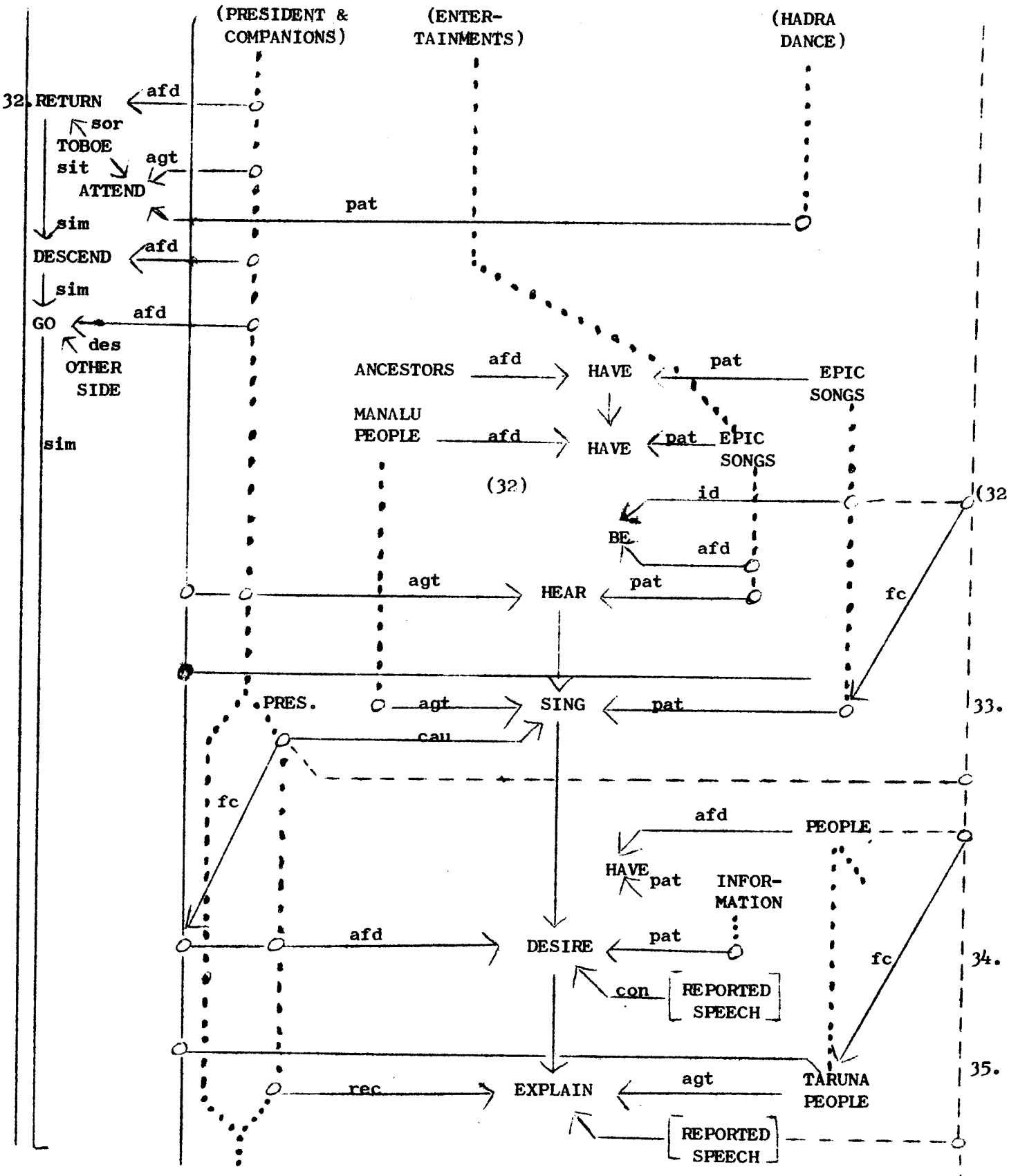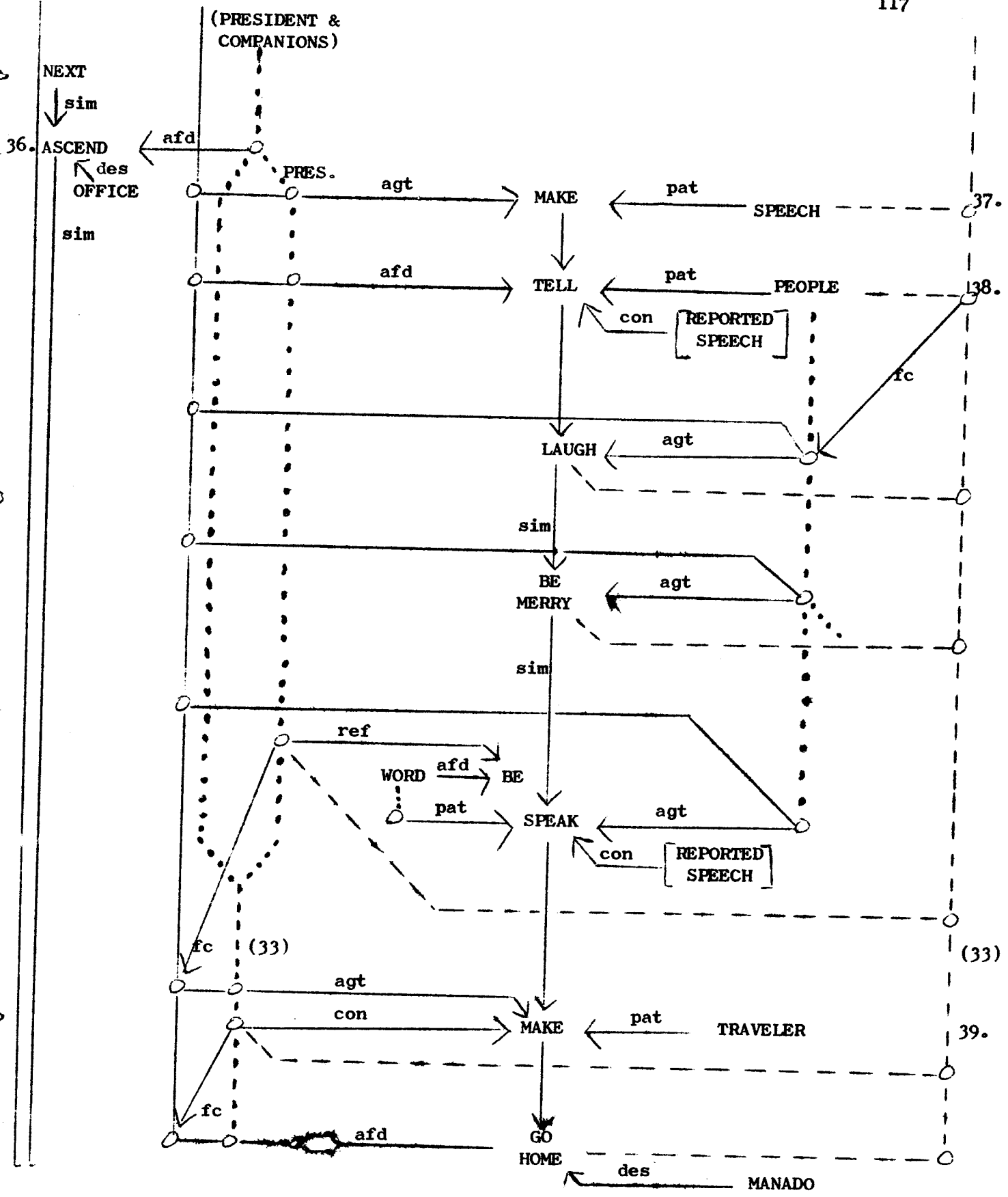
PRESIDENT SUKARNO'S VISIT TO SANGIHÉ

1. Su tempo-ng sasongo-ng Presiden Sukarno su
   TM time-of coming-of President Sukarno LC

Tahuna, ene e patikù nalang nasue
Taruna then DC all entertainments finished

natampung, baugu Presiden Sukarno napélò su
gathered because President Sukarno arrived LC

Manaro, nénuraté sarang Tahuna kallamona: "Patikù
Manado wrote O/to Taruna first all

apa-ng atorang u tau Sangihé arau adaté
that-of customs of people Sangihé or traditions

kébì asaheng u tau Sangihé, harusé koà," kerèu
all boasted of O people Sangihé must do if

i sie mahumpà su Tahuna. 2. Tangu, néngampang
T he goes as far as LC Taruna then met

ø kakallamonaéng-e su jambatang-e ute musik u
him first-of them LC pier-its CR music of

sentrum Tahuna. 3. Bò kere, karua-ne
band Taruna after like that second-of them

dala gunde-ng tau Bungallawang. (4. Gunde-ng
landward dancers-of people Bungalabang dancers-

tau Bungallawang e, ene e kapael-e!
of people Bungalabang DC those DC beauty-of them

5. I sire mapullodua. 6. Pangataseng-e sémbaù.
   T they twelve leader-their one

7. Tagonggong-e i sire mapullodua. 8. Pakeang-e
   drums-their T they twelve clothes-their

pakeang-ke-we-ng kébangsàang; lakù-e
clothes-now-CS-of native group dresses-their

manandù, ballì. 9. Mésasambo-ne kere ene lai.)
long abaca chanter-their like that also

1. At the time of the coming of Pres. Sukarno to Taruna, all kinds of entertainments had been exhaustively gathered together, because Pres. Sukarno, having arrived in Manado, wrote a letter to Taruna first: "All the customs of the Sangihé people, or all the vaunted traditions of the Sangihé--be sure to do them," if he reached Taruna. 2. Then, the first of the entertainments, which met him on the pier, was the music of the Taruna band. 3. After that, the second of them, on the shore, were the dancing girls of the Bungalabang people. 4. The dancing girls of the Bungalabang, those were the beauties! 5. They were twelve in number. 6. Their leader made one more. 7. Their drums, they were twelve. 8. Their clothes were native costumes; the dresses were long and of abaca. 9. Their chanter wore the same thing.

10. Tangu, lépasé napélò su pià i sire i
    then   as soon as arrived LC had O them T

Presiden Sukarno, apidé némpésallai i sire,
President Sukarno immediately did salai T they

kù ∅ nikoà bòu hurupé, kù
TC/then salai was made O/from letters TC/then

mangalle-ng   hurupé ene: "Sélamat datang
signification-of letters those welcome

kédatangan Presiden." 11. Bò ene, nikodak
arrival   President   after that were photo-

      i Presiden i sire, su apang bòu
graphed AC President T they when   PA

némpésallai.
did salai

10. Then, as soon as Pres. Sukarno had arrived where they were, immediately they did the salai dance, and the salai was done with letters, and their message was: (in Indonesian) "Welcome on Your arrival." 11. After that, the letters were photographed by the Pres. when the girls had danced.

12. Napélò su pasaré, ∅ niampangeng
    arrived LC market place President was met

    u tau Tolla, nalang i sire ute upasé. 13. I
with O people Tola dance of them CR upas   T

Presiden napélò sene, i sire némpénalang,
President arrived there T they did dance

kù nalang i sire mapaele, nalang u upase.
TC/then dance of them beautiful dance of upas

12. Having arrived at the market place, the Pres. was met by the people of Tola, whose dance was the upas. 13. The Pres. having arrived there, they did their dance, and it proved to be beautiful, the upas dance.

14. Napélò su pérémpatan, ∅
    arrived LC crossroads President

niampangeng u nalang u tau Moadé;
was met with O dance of people Moad

kahumotongang-e ∅ simalo. (15. I sire pià
first-its   they did salo   T they had

dallégah-e.   16. Pià sakapeti, paporong u
ornamentation-their had helmets headgear of

matatimadé, u tahasalo.)
elders   for dancers

14. Having arrived at the crossroads, the Pres. was met with the dance of the people of Moad; first they did the salo dance. 15. They were in full regalia. 16. There were helmets, the ancestral headgear, for the salo dancers.

17. Bồ   kere,   bồu nénalang, bồu némpésalo i
    after like that PA did dance PA did salo   T

sire, ∅   nénalang allabadiri. (18. Iséséba
they they performed alabadiri   is being

         allabadiri ∅   mésésallai-ng   peda
expressed alabadiri   dancers are doing salai-AS bolos

dingangu pisồ. 19. ∅   mésullung u nalang u
with   knives   alabadiri is same AS dance of

tau Buda.)
Buddhists

17. After that, hav-
ing danced, having
done the salo, they
danced the alabadiri.
18. It is called the
alabadiri when they
do the salai with bo-
los and knives. 19.
It is the same as the
dance of the Buddhists.

20. Bồu   ene, i Presiden napélồ su kantoré.
    DR/from that T President arrived LC offices

21. Tangu, napélồ su kantoré, i sie màaiang.
    then   arrived LC offices T he is sitting

22. Bồu màaiang,   i sie, i sire nekakui, ∅
    PA is sitting ST he   T they called   he

kimaéng.   23. Su kakangenang-e, i sie kai
went to eat   LC eating place-its T he EP

nétoneng   ménsang kaéng u tau   Sangihé
expressed curiosity   whether food of people Sangihé

sude, baugu   i sie kai mapulu   kumaéng kaéng u
which because T he EP wants to eat   food of

tau   Sangihé. 24. Tangu, ∅ pirua,   ∅
people Sangihé   then   he poor man! was told

atorang u matatimadé arau biah u tau
custom of elders   or   fare of people

kallamona-ne kai humbia; dukù-e   pinihu
first-of them EP sago   vegetables-their greens

ta-we   bangồ-e.   25. Tangu, i sie nipélokang-
not have-CS coconut-its   then   T he was set on

ke-ng   kaéng u tau   Sangihé, kù   ∅   humbia
for-now-O   food of people Sangihé TC/then   food sago

dingangu dukù-e   tinawagé.
with   vegetables-his   prepared in broth

20. Next, the Pres.
arrived at the govern-
ment offices. 21. Then,
having arrived at the
offices, he sat awhile.
22. After he had been
sitting, when they
called he went to eat.
23. When he was at the
eating place, he asked
which was the food of
the Sangihé for he
wanted to eat Sangihé
food. 24. Then, poor
man! he was told that
the custom of the an-
cestors, or the fare
of the forefathers was
sago, and their vege-
tables were greens
with no coconut milk.
25. Then, he was
served with the food
of the Sangihé, and
it proved to be sago
with his vegetables in
broth.

26. I   sie, bòu nénehò ∅,   ∅ méngkate dimallingara,
    ST he PA sipping food he only   looked up

kù   ∅ nébera u "Kai kere ini nàung éng, biah u
TC/then he said QM EP like this PT   IM   fare of

tau   Sangihé, éng?" 27. O bò   ene, i sie nénaedé
people Sangihé IM   RN after that T he ladled

∅,   ∅ kimaéng.
food he ate

26. Having tasted it, he just looked up and said, "So it was like this before, was it--the fare of the Sangihé?" 27. Well, after that, he ladled some out and ate.

28. Bòu   kimaéng, i sire nakoà sarang
    DR/from ate   T they went DR/to

tanalapang su Towòe. 29. Napélò su Towòe, i sire
field   in Toboe   arrived in Toboe T they

nétaghunalang, ∅   timuhù-e-ng   nalang u manga
went to sports they followed-now-O games   of GN

dario   sikolla: kasti,   balé u lima, nalang u
children school   softball ball of hand games of

sikolla.
school

28. From eating, they went to the playing field in Toboe. 29. Having arrived in Toboe, they attended a sports meet and watched games such as school children play: softball, handball--school games.

30. Bòu   ene, i sire népaparingang saù
    DR/from that T they went together again

sarang Towòe, ∅   nénalang,   ∅
DR/to Toboe they went to entertainment they

timuhù-e-ng   nalang u tau   kampong; ∅
followed-now-O dance of people village they

némpéhadra, tuhù-e-we   atorang u tau   Islaéng.
did hadra   sequel-its-CS custom of people Islam

(31. Nalang i sire, kai hadra, turunang   ∅
     dance of them EP hadra is gone down in by them

u manguté.)
O trance

30. Next, having returned together to Toboe, they went to further entertainment and now watched the dance of the village people; the villagers did the hadra after the custom of the Muslim. 31. Their dance, which was the hadra, is one in which they fall into a trance.

32. Nawallì   bòu   nénalang nalang u   tau
    returned DR/from   enjoyed dance of Muslim

Islaéng, i sire natanaè,   nakoa sarang apeng sémbéka,
        T they went down went DR/to shore other side

Ø   timuhù-e-ng   nalang   u tau
they went to follow-now-O   entertainment of people

Manallu. (33. Nalang   u tau   Manallu e,
Manalu   entertainment of people Manalu DC

ta-we   u balline, kétà-be-ng   Ø nàung
not have-CS O other   only-CS-(only) it PT

nalang   u matatimadé,) dingà   kù
entertainment of elders   sometimes TC/then

niapapékantarì   Ø   Ⱡ
were caused to be sung by the Manalu people by the

            kantari u matatimadé, areng-e
President songs   of elders   name-its

mékumbaedè.   34. Bòu nékumbaedé e, méngkate
singing epics   PA sang epics DC only

nakiwallo   Ø   i Presiden Sukarno ménsang
desired information of them T President Sukarno whether

kai apa éndaì ini   mangalle-ne.   35. Ungkung
EP what there these signification-its   saying

i sire su Taruna, "Ini   e ute adat   u tau
of them LC Taruna   these DC CR traditions of people

Sangihé, arau kakantarì u matatimadé; kai
Sangihe or   songs   of elders   EP

balline-we kakantarì manga guna-ng   ipédalo
other-CS   songs   GN   purpose-of be praised with

manga setang arau apa balline, ene   kai kakui
GN   spirits or   what other   those EP call

ballahani takadeàu bahani sumongo. U kai ene
brave   so that bravery comes   QM EP those

atorang u matatimadé."
customs of elders

32. Having returned from enjoying the dance of the Muslim, they went down to the other shore, and now went to hear the entertainment of the people of Manalu. 33. The entertainment of the people of Manalu, it was incomparable, but it had been solely an entertainment of the ancestors and, as at certain times, these songs of the ancestors were now caused by the Pres. to be sung by the people of Manalu, the name of this being "singing epic songs". 34. When they had sung, Pres. Sukarno just asked what the meaning of these things was. 35. The explanation of **those of** Taruna was: "These are the traditions of the Sangihé, or the songs of the ancestors; they are not songs with such purposes as praising evil spirits or anything else, but they were a call to the brave heroes so that courage would come on themselves. It is those that were the customs of our ancestors."

36. Bòu   ene, i sire nataraì saù   sarang
    DR/from that T they went up again DR/to

kantoré. 37. Napélò su kantoré i sire, i sie népidato.
offices   arrived LC offices T they T he made

        38. (Papidato-ne ta-we   u balline,)
speech   speech-his not have-CS O other

kétàeng ∅ naullì ∅   u su Indonesia su dallung u
but   he told people QM LC Indonesia TM inside of

sédétik,   énung u ekoré taumata masongo su Indonesia,
one second six   of tails people come   LC Indonesia

kù   taumata méngkate némpélége dingangu némpéluasé,
TC/then people only   laughed with   were merry

dingangu sénggà ∅   ute kai nébera ∅,   "Kai
with   some   of people CR EP said   of him EP

apa mangalle-ng   bawera: 'Di dalam satu détik
what signification-of words   within   one second

orang-orang Indonesia lahir énam ekor'?" bangu
people   Indonesia born six tails   because

ekor e   balline-we mihino su taumata, ka-we mihino
tail-its other-CS   correct LC people   EP CS correct

su manga barang pià tolle-ne   arauwe si Presiden
LC GN   things have tails-their but   ST President

Sukarno, nipépidato-ne   "Di dalam
Sukarno was made speech with-AC/by him within

Indonesia antara orang-orang lahir di dalam satu
Indonesia among people   born within   one

détik, énam ekor lahir," diadi taumata méngkate
second six tails born   so   people only

némpélége. 39. Bò kere,   i sire saù   simake
laughed   after like that T/O they again embarked

su kapallé, kù   ∅   napullè   sarang Manaro.
LC ship   TC/then they went homeward DR/to Manado

36. Next, they
went up again to
the offices. 37.
Having arrived at
the offices, he made
a speech. 38. His
speech was incom-
parable, except that
he told the people
that in Indonesia,
six tails of people
are born each second,
and the people just
laughed with merri-
ment and some said,
"What is the meaning
of his words:
'(Ind'n) Each second
six tails of Indo-
nesians are born'?"
because the classi-
fier "tail" is not
correct for humans
but only for such
things as have tails,
but for Pres. Sukarno,
what was said with his
speech was, "(Ind'n)
In Indonesia, among
those persons born
each second are six
tails of them!" and
so the people just
laughed. 39. After
that, they boarded
their ship again and
went homeward toward
Manado.

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

afd	affected	AC	Actor Phrase Marker
agt	agent	AS	Associate Phrase Marker
cau	causative	CR	Correlator
con	concomitant	CS	Contrast Indicator
des	destination	DC	Discontinuity Marker
fc	focus change	DR	Direction Phrase Marker
id	identified	EP	Emphatic Predicate Marker
pat	patient	GN	Generalizer
seq	sequence	IM	Interrogative Marker
sim	simultaneity	LC	Location Phrase Marker
sit	site	O	Orientor Phrase Marker
sor	source	PA	Perfective Verb Auxiliary
tem	temporal	PT	Past Tense Auxiliary
ref	referent	QM	Quotation Marker
		RN	Resumption of Narrative Marker
		ST	Sentence Topic Marker
		T	Topic Phrase Marker
		TC	T pic Change Marker
		TM	Temporal Phrase Marker

Topic Phrases are underlined thus

Orientor Phrases are underlined thus

Topic/Orientor Phrases are underlined thus

( ) parentheses enclose descriptive materials in the narrative if they are whole independent clauses or larger constructions.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sangihé is perhaps better known as the Indonesian/Philippine language Sangir.

The question referred to above was put to me most forceably by H.A. Gleason, Jr. who, not incidentally, has also contributed heavily to its solution in matters theoretical, procedural, and inspirational, if not in actual detail. Much encouragement also from Howard Law is hereby acknowledged with similar gratitude. The research itself was done by the author and his wife, Alice Maryott, in the early 1960's on Sarangani Island, Davao Province, Republic of the Philippines, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The initial version, little different from the present in its essentials, was submitted as a term paper in 1966.

2. In a random sampling of Sangihé narrative text, there are approximately twice as many clauses that retain a preceding topic as there are that change it for another.

3. In effect, a certain qualification of this statement is made in Sec. 1.23, viz. that the sameness of role applies to an additional underlying predication which is not separately realized in the grammar. But in S(entence) 38 of the text there is an outright exception, unless possible historical processes are taken into account.

4. I feel that what needs to be said for Sangihé about the structure on this higher level can be said--and said better--in terms of the semantics of the language, with implications for the grammar and for the phonology as well. I do not, therefore, posit an additional and redundant unit in the grammar with a label such as "paragraph".

5. For further on Sangihé sentences, see K. Maryott (1969).

6. What may be disconcerting on occasion to the analyst is the minimal difference in time, the virtual simultaneity of actions explicitly marked by the story-teller as sequential. In such cases we just have to assume that in the preceding action the aspect to which attention is being drawn is its initiation, or that the converse is true of the following action, even though Sangihé verbs are not explicitly marked as "inceptive", "consumative", or the like. A good example of this sort of thing is found in S 22, where it is said that the President, literally, "ate". But if anything is clear from the context it is that a good many things happened before he settled down to his dinner, and so without apology we render the verb "went to eat". Compare also S 13, where a dance was done and "then" was beautiful--in retrospect.

7. Discourse intially, the stative clause may be replaced by the setting phrase, which often as here is nothing more than a nominalized stative clause.

8. The situation depicted in the setting temporal is never <u>necessarily</u> associated with any action of the preceding episode. Accordingly, the episode-initial "Arriving at the market" in S 12 constitutes the first mention of the market, and "From eating" in S 28 would probably be equivalent to our "After dinner" or "In the afternoon", whether or not eating had been mentioned in the preceding episode.

9. See sec. 1.22 for a discussion of clauses without verbs, which, when accompanied by a topic that regularly deletes, can leave only a locative phrase explicit, as here.

10. Alternate analysis: The "Sentence Topic" here may be only the topic of the clause, in which case we must make allowance for the alternate realization of the sequence marker as a relative clause embedded within the main clause.

11. Personal communication.

12. In contrast to some other languages of the Philippines and elsewhere, so-called "existential" clauses in Sangihé like "There were helmets for the dancers" manifest as topic a content word which is definite and identifiable if the context requires. In fact, Sangihé "existentials" are indistinguishable from "possessive" clauses except perhaps in the degree of explicitness in the latters' topics. Compare back-to-back clause of these kinds in SS 15 and 16 of the text.

13. This analysis, which is foundational to the present study, was first proposed by A. Maryott (1963), who applied the concept not only to "transitive active" verbs but also to "passive". The term "secondary focus" is taken from K.L. Pike, who in 1963 suggested the notion for Philippine languages but to the best of my knowledge did not further develop it.

14. In their generally excellent Sangihe dictionary, Steller and Aebersold (1959) give the inter-clause uses of <u>ku</u> as (1) the conjunction 'and', and (2) the relative pronoun 'that, which' where "the complexity demands these senses". They also refer the reader to Adriani (1893) who gives the additional meanings of 'then, next, subsequently,' etc. All of these meanings are insightful, especially the relational one which captures the idea of a noun phrase being transferred from the terminating of one clause to the initiating of the next. For this to constitute the whole story, however, there are just too many problems: the frequent non-adjacency of the phrases, the occasional implicitness of the preceding phrase in a verbform, and the optionality of the phrases or even of <u>ku</u> itself, all these phenomena being exemplified in our text.

15. In the text here analyzed, descriptive sections seem to function in accordance with the focus system like the narration itself, but such materials have been excluded from the present discussion because of unresolved problems encountered in other texts.

16. See, for example, McCawley (1973).

17. I reported a similar feature for English in K. Maryott (1966).

18. The one occurrence in the text (before I edited it) of a personal topic phrase without a marking particle (S 20) I take to be a lapse by the narrator into Indonesian, where the unmarked title <u>Presiden</u> would be correct.

19. The specificity option is not limited to the orientor phrase but extends to at least some location phrases.

20. In a previous study that was intended to be purely syntactic (K. Maryott 1968), I used the terms "referent" and "reference" for what I am now calling "orientor" and "orientation", claiming that the referent function always occurred in composite with some participant function such as goal, associate, or benefactor. It seems to me now that it is unnecessarily redundant to bring such semantic material into the grammar when the analyst can provide a semantic correlate to the grammar and realizational rules to relate to each other the units in each. Perhaps the latter should have been formalized in a thoroughgoing fashion for the present study, but that did not seem in any way vital to the purpose I had in mind. However, such realization rules are an important item of unfinished business for further efforts along this line.

21. It may be helpful to place before the reader some means by which he can discover to what class the affixation of a particular verb in the text belongs. With this in mind I have listed below all the verbs from the narrative portions of the text according to their appropriate categories in Diagram 8.

(1) Active Mode, Subjective Voice, Objective Orientation: néngampang (S 2), nénalang (S 17, 32), nénehò (S 26), nénaedé (S 27).

(2) Active Mode, Subjective Voice, Predicative Orientation: némpésallai (S 10, 11), némpénalang (S 13), nénalang (S 17, 30), némpésalo (S 17), nétoneng (S 23), nébera (S 26, 38), nétaghunalang (S 29), némpéhadra (S 30), nékumbaedé (S 34), népidato (S 37), némpélége (S 38), némpéluasé (S 38).

(3) Active Mode, Subjective Voice, Subjective Orientation: simalo (S 14), kimaéng (S 22, 27, 28), timuhù (S 29, 30, 32), simake (S 39).

(4) Active Mode, Objective Voice, Objective Orientation: niampaneng (S 12, 14), nipélokang (S 25).

(5) Active Mode, Objective Voice, Predicative Orientation: nikoà (S 10), nikodaké (S 11).

(6) Active Mode, Objective Voice, Subjective Orientation: none.

(7) Stative Mode, Subjective Voice, Objective Orientation: none.

(8) Stative Mode, Subjective Voice, Predicative Orientation: natampung (S 1), napélò (S 10, 12, 13, 14, 20, 37), mapaelé (S 13), màaiang (S 21, 22), nékakui (S 22), nakoà (S 28, 32), népaparingang (S 30), nawallì (S 32), natanaè (S 32), nataraì (S 36), naullì (S 38), napullè (S 39).

(9) Stative Mode, Subjective Voice, Subjective Orientation: nakiwallo (S 34), dimallingara (S 26).

(10) Stative Mode, Objective Voice, Objective Orientation: none.

(11) Stative Mode, Objective Voice, Predicative Orientation: niapapékantarì (S 33).

(12) Stative Mode, Objective Voice, Subjective Orientation: none.

The explanation for the entry of nénalang under both (1) and (2) is that before stem-initial nasals the néng- and né- prefixes lose their contrastiveness, or become homophonous.

22. The setting and sequence markers are inconsistently represented in the diagraming in that the former are shown in detail, with particular predicators and entities and the relationships between them all explicitly indicated, whereas the sequence markers are signified by abstractions so general that only unlabelled single vertical lines between events serve to symbolize them. We can do this because sequence but not setting markers are largely redundant, repeating material from the preceding context and little else. (For the data that require the qualification, see S 22 and S 26, which do add material that would not otherwise be known; the two kinds of sequence signals, viz. inter-predicator relation lines and separate events, are handled in terms of portmanteau realization--a plurality of units in the semantics to one in the grammar.) In using the abstract symbolization between predicators we are already moving away from a purely etic, text-specific representation toward an emic, generalized presentation like the "wiring diagrams" that are the hallmark of stratificational notation, which diagrams we can produce, according to Gleason, when we have done enough of the text-specific kind to be able to formalize thereby most of the structures that occur in the semantics.

23. This sentence provides a good example of three of the types of events (excluding only the temporal event) which are posited for the semantics of Sangihé narrative, respectively: subsidiary, delimiting, and main events. The latter has been sufficiently elaborated, being the subject of a major part of the paper. The subsidiary event explicates the grammatical relationship between head and included phrase of topic or orientor, and by so doing provides a definitive connection between main event and entity in focus in the semantics. The subsidiary event in this sentence as well as the next is strung out in a straight line for notational convenience (cf. the configuration of the same unit in S 12) and is to be read: "From the (unordered group of) entertainments the first one is ordered." The delimiting event is realized in the grammar as a relative clause. The noun phrase which it modifies is specific by virtue of its referent being part of a whole made specific by its previous introduction into the story and, therefore, the relative construction here is non-

restrictive. Subsidiary and delimiting events can always be distinguished in the diagraming because (1) since predicators in the latter are much more likely than in the former to become overt verbs contributing to the content of the narrative, they are therefore lined up and related to the predicators of the main events whereas predicators of subsidiary events are placed to the side and not so related; and (2) subsidiary events are shown related to one of the focus relation lines (here via the entity ENTERTAINMENTS) whereas delimiting events have nothing whatever to do with focus and are not connected to those relation lines.

24. That which was photographed may have been the dancers themselves rather than the letters that spelled out the message of welcome. Such a possibility would in no way vitiate the analysis, but would simply require the insertion of a subsidiary event connecting LETTERS to DANCERS via the "possession" predicator HAVE.

25. In this sentence the particle occurring with tau Tolla is formally ambiguous between marking non-topic actor, on the one hand, and non-topic associate, on the other. Since the verb is inflected for objective orientation, however, and since such affixes never indicate the actor, I take it that the Tola people are here being viewed not as actors in the meeting but as the entertainment associated with that meeting. But this points up another problem: Are the entertainments in this text then people, or the activities which people engage in? A check of the context yields a somewhat inconclusive answer. In S 3 the second of the entertainments was definitely DANCERS. In S 2 I have translated musiké 'music', though the word could also have been rendered 'musicians' (the unambiguous form taha musiké 'musician' might have been used but would not be if the storyteller saw no reason for such specificity). But the entertainments in the succeeding context are all dances, singing, or games, not the people who perform them. So while the evidence allows us to interpret PEOPLE as the entertainment here in S 12, because of the immediate mention of the dance they brought with them and the repeated identification subsequently of the entertainments with the performances, I have opted for the latter and shown the entertainment, not the people, to be the concomitant in this event.

26. The sequence marker here might appear to be a repetition of the setting marker in the preceding sentence, and if so there would be no sequence at all between the actions in the two sentences. I feel this is not the case, if only because I have myself observed the elaborate preparations that intervene between the confrontation of performers and audience, and the performance itself! As I see it, the explanation is simply that the sene 'there' in S 13 does not refer to the market as such but only to the more limited locality within the market at which the actual meeting took place. In this case, the apparent repetition becomes in fact new information and the subsequence of the following sentence is preserved.

27. In sec. 1.22 it was stated that in narrative discourse past tense morphemes are automatically added when semantic predicators become grammatical verbs. In S 13, however, the morpheme that has been added is not n-

'past' as expected but m- 'non-past', since the state of the dance being beautiful is considered to be still in effect.

28. Cf. the preceding Note, but though the 'non-past' m- occurs here as well as in S 13, the explanation in the two cases is not the same. Here it cannot be said that the state signalled by the ma- verb is still in effect, since in fact President Sukarno rose and went to dinner after a relatively short time of being seated. Rather, what we have here is the imperfect or continuative verbal aspect, which is always marked as if for non-past tense and for its actual tense must be interpreted in the light of the context. (This verb also features stative mode affixation: for an example of continuous aspect affixes in the active mode, cf. S 18, which, though in a descriptive section of the text, contains both objective and subjective voice verbforms, in that order.)

29. Note in this sentence the lacunae for which I have supplied the presumed omissions. If pirua 'poor thing(s)!', instead of referring to President Sukarno as I have concluded happens to refer to the ancestors--as in itself it easily could, then we have an instance in the story of flashback to a much earlier time stage and I am at a loss to explain the "sequence Marker" tangu.

30. The food set before the President in S 25 was "sago with his vegetables in broth", a compound orientor phrase and hence the plural "identified" entities with the single predicator. Should it turn out that this structure is actually a compounding of the two events "the food was sago" and "his vegetables were in broth", the requirements of the focus system are still met, the first clause restating for its topic the orientor "food" of the preceding sentence, the next repeating this topic "food", and the following for its topic picking up "President" from the preceding orientor, where semantically it was indirectly focused. Cf. S 38 for a construction that would then be quite parallel to this one.

31. This seems as good a place as any to explain why such information as VILLAGE PEOPLE is entered into the diagraming before the point at which it is actually used in the story. For this purpose, I could hardly improve upon a statement by Taber (1966), who writes of a Sango animal fable in which "a certain rat" is introduced first and "a very small one" later. Says Tabor:

> We have an asymmetrical identification of the two: for one, no
> particular identifying quality is cited; for the other, the quality
> of smallness is cited. Then in the next nominal reference to the
> first rat, he is suddenly identified as "this big rat". Quite ob-
> viously, this identification, especially with the "this" which in-
> dicates that it is a rat already known, rests on the contrast be-
> tween "small" and "big". In other words, the assignment of "small"
> as an identifying abstraction to one automatically assigns "big" to
> the other even if "big" is not realized in the first occurrence.
> If...the network represents all references to a particular object
> as a point, then it follows that all pertinent identification for
> that object will have to be attached at that point, including that

identification which is implicitly assigned by contrast with identification furnished for another object [italics his] (124,5).

Now while identificational features may well occur in the semantics before they are realized in the grammar, the same cannot be said of focus phenomena. If a new entity is to appear in primary focus in a given event, it must first have occurred in secondary focus in the immediately preceding, or transition event, even if that event was not the first in which it occurred. And if it was not, then that event will have the peculiar configuration we note here in the WATCH event of S 30, where the secondary focus relation line joins to that event not directly but only through a complex of relationships in preceding events.

32. The situation here is similar to that discussed in the preceding note: Certain information is introduced in the semantics before it appears in the grammar. Thus even before it develops that "the Manalu people have epic songs" we show that "the ancestors have epic songs", indicating by a separate sequence line that the ancestors' possession antedates that of the Manalu people. Then by means of a subsidiary event we proceed to identify both sets of sons as one and the same, and in primary focus we duly switch from the "peoples'" songs to those of the "ancestors".

33. The splitting and merging of groups, subgroups, and individuals has been observed throughout the text. This, however, is the only point at which the process causes any awkwardness for the focus analysis; the sudden inclusion of the President's companions in primary focus in addition to himself is decidedly unexpected apart from an episode break or its occurrence in non-focus material. Either the system regularly accommodates such changes and I have seen only this one instance of them, or else this change is to be associated with conclusion phenomena, perhaps the retirement of the main participants of the story.

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