

VERBAL FOCUS IN KIMARAGANG

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1. INTRODUCTION

Kimaragang is a Dusunic language spoken by approximately 10,000 people living in the Kota Marudu and Pitas districts of Sabah, East Malaysia. The Dusunic languages, like most of the languages spoken in the interior of the state, can be characterised as Philippine-type languages, both lexically and grammatically.

Verbal Focus is an aspect of clause level morphosyntax characteristic of Philippine-type languages. It is roughly equivalent to the system of voice in English; the verb morphology signals the semantic relationship of a particular NP argument to the predicate. The purpose of this paper is to describe the verbal focus affixes in Kimaragang and their range of semantic functions.

Three of the seven possible focus types are illustrated below. In the free translation of each sentence, the subject of the English sentence corresponds to the focused NP of the Kimaragang. This is not necessarily the best possible translation equivalent; the pragmatic functions of voice in English and focus in Kimaragang are very different. But the superficial correspondence between English subject and Kimaragang focused nominal is used here to provide a preliminary, intuitive grasp of what is happening.

- (1) Minanaak (m-in-poN-taak) ih kamaman kuh do pe'es sid dogon.
NomF-past-trans-GIVE P/def uncle my nonP/indef knife to me(nonP)
My uncle gave me a knife.
- (2) T-in-aak-an okuh dih kamaman kuh do pe'es.
*-past-GIVE-DatF I(P) nonP/def uncle my nonP/indef knife
I was given a knife by my uncle.
- (3) Itih pe'es n-i-taak dih kamaman kuh sid dogon.
this(P) knife past-TF-GIVE nonP/def uncle my to me(nonP)
This knife was given to me by my uncle.

1.1 Focus and Pivot

In each main clause in Kimaragang, and in most dependent clauses, one NP must be marked as the clause-level topic or theme. The choice of an appropriate label for this thematic NP has been, and continues to be, a matter of considerable debate. Both of the traditional choices, "Subject" and "Topic", are somewhat misleading when applied to Philippine-type languages. Rather than using either of these terms, I will adopt the term used by Foley and Van Valin (1984), *Pivot*.

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The Pivot NP in a clause is identified by the determiner *ih* (for definite) or *oh* (for indefinite), or by Pivot forms of deictics (*this*, *that*, etc.).¹ There are also distinct pronoun sets distinguishing Pivot from non-Pivot forms. For instance, in example (1) above, *my uncle* is marked as Pivot by the use of the determiner *ih*. In example (2), the pronoun used (*okuh*) is the Pivot form of the first person singular (cf. dogon in ex. (1) and (3)). The knife is marked as Pivot in example (3) by the use of the Pivot form of the deictic *itih this*.

Core NPs which are not Pivot are marked by *dih* (definite) or *do* (indefinite), or by non-Pivot deictics.

Every active verb in Kimaragang carries morphological markings which signal the semantic relationship of the participant or argument named by the Pivot NP to the event described by the verb. This system has generally been referred to in Philippine linguistics as *Focus*.

As mentioned above, the focus system in Kimaragang is analogous to diathesis or voice in Indo-European languages. But rather than the two or three possibilities typical of Indo-European languages, e.g. active, passive and middle, there are seven focus possibilities in Kimaragang. The five most frequently used are Nominative Focus (NomF), Accusative Focus (AccF), Dative Focus (DatF), Translative Focus (TF) and Locative Focus (LocF). Two additional focus possibilities, Instrument Focus (IF) and Setting Focus (SF), are more restricted in their usage.

The correlation between the morphological focus marking on the verb and the semantic role of the Pivot is not absolutely regular - such is the nature of human language. In the discussion that follows, this correlation is treated in terms of prototypes rather than in terms of rigid definitions. In other words, rather than stating a set of necessary and sufficient conditions under which a given semantic role will be encoded by a given focus choice, the core meaning(s) of each focus type will be presented, and the range of permitted variation discussed.

Briefly, Nominative Focus (NomF) marking on the verb indicates that the Pivot fills the semantic role of Agent (as in example (1) above), Force or Experiencer. NomF is also used for the argument of certain states (e.g. 'alive' and 'dwell') and changes of state (e.g. 'die').

Accusative Focus (AccF) encodes true Patients (i.e. affected Patients) of transitive predicates. Translative Focus (TF) indicates that the Pivot is a Theme, i.e. something whose physical location is changed by the event (e.g. the knife in example (3)). Locative Focus (LocF) marks the Pivot as Location or Goal (Destination), almost always with intransitive verbs.

Dative Focus (DatF) is the focus type with the widest range of semantic possibilities. DatF marks the Pivot as being the Recipient (as in example (2)), Benefactive or Goal of an action; the Goal (or Range) of predicates of perception, emotion and cognition; and Patient (with reduced transitivity) of some transitive verbs.

In addition to the five basic focus types discussed above, there are two more distinct focus possibilities in Kimaragang. Instrument Focus (IF) is used to mark the Pivot NP as Instrument, and Setting Focus (SF) is used to mark the Time or Location of a (generally transitive) action. These focus types are infrequent, SF occurring mainly in questions and IF in questions or subordinate purpose clauses. It may be that SF and IF should be considered nominalised forms, but the difference between Noun and Verb in Kimaragang is somewhat hazy. Virtually any verb form can be used as a noun simply by inserting a determiner before it, e.g. *ih mongomot the harvester(s)*. (Contrast this with relativisation

as described in section 4 below; in the present example, there is no relativised head noun.)

The semantic functions of six focus types (all but Locative) are illustrated in the following examples, using the verb *boli* *buy*. In each example, the Pivot NP is underlined.

- (4) Nom: Momoli (m-poN-boli) okuh do tasin.
 NomF-trans-BUY I(P) nonP/indef salt
I am going to buy salt.
- (5) Acc: Amu kuh boli-on itih tasin ditih.
 not I(nonP) BUY-AccF *this*(P) salt *this*
I won't buy this salt.
- (6) Dat: Boli-ai okuh poh do tasin!
 BUY-DatF/imper *me*(P) yet nonP/indef salt
Buy me some salt!
- (7) Thm: N-i-boli kuh it siin kuh dot tasin.
 past-TF-BUY I(nonP) P/def *money* *my* nonP/indef salt
I spent my money on salt.
- (8) Inst: Songkuroh ot pinomoli (-in-poN-boli) nuh dinoh
how.much P/indef *-past-IF-BUY you(nonP) that(nonP)
 pondulung nuh?
 ring your
How much did you pay for your ring?
- (9) Set: Siongoh pinomolian (-in-poN-boli-an) nuh dilo gampa nuh?
 where *-past-SF-BUY-SF you(nonP) that(nonP) machete your
Where did you buy your machete?

A relatively large inventory of semantic roles is mentioned in this paper. Most of these roles are familiar from the work of Fillmore, Cook and others: Agent, Patient, Experiencer, Benefactive, Instrument, etc. Other roles involve finer semantic distinctions: Force (inanimate agent) is distinguished from Agent; Item (used here for the argument of a stative or change of state) and Theme (the entity whose physical location is changed by an action) are distinguished from Patient (used here only for the entity affected by an action).

It is too early to think of identifying a minimal set of semantic roles sufficient to describe the grammar of Kimaragang. In using various role labels, I am (at this point) making no claims about their systematic or theoretical status, either in Kimaragang grammar or in any particular theory of Case Grammar. My aim in this preliminary study has been to use familiar terms wherever possible to capture particular semantic distinctions which need to be made.

1.2 Grammatical case

In this paper, traditional case names have been used for the three most common focus types (Nominative, Accusative and Dative). The primary reason for this is to capture the range of semantic functions associated with these focus types, but there is in fact a close relationship between verbal focus and grammatical case.

In the previous section it was pointed out that focus and voice are in some ways analogous. However, in many respects focus is more similar to case than to voice. Many writers have described verbal focus as a case marking system for various Philippine-type languages. For example, Schachter (1976) describes the focus-marking affixes of Tagalog as case-marking morphemes affixed to the verb.

The notion of case is usually associated with NP markers, rather than verb morphology, and there are several devices in Kimaragang for marking the case of non-Pivot NPs. However, unlike Tagalog, the set of cases defined by these NP markers is not isomorphic to the set of focus types. Thus, while verbal focus is treated here primarily as a case-marking system, there is a distinct (but related) system of grammatical case defined by the marking of non-Pivot NPs by means of word order, choice of pronoun set, prepositional elements, etc. This system is best described in terms of the concepts Actor and Undergoer, as developed by Foley and Van Valin (1984).

Kimaragang is a verb-initial language (and predicate initial in non-verbal clauses), and the word order is more flexible than that of English. But the preferred order for nominal elements of a verbal clause is Actor-Undergoer-Oblique. This preferred order is often obscured by the fact that pronouns must precede full NPs, but if more than one pronoun occurs in a clause, the same ordering principle tends to apply (i.e. Actor before Undergoer).

As stated in section 1.1. above, the Pivot NP will always be preceded by the determiner *ih* (for definite), *oh* (for indefinite); or by the Pivot form of a deictic (*this*, *that*, etc.). Non-Pivot Actor and Undergoer are marked identically, either with *dih/do* or a non-Pivot deictic form.

Two other non-Pivot cases are distinguished: Referent and Oblique. Referent, including both Location and Goal, is marked with the determiner *sid*.

Oblique elements (e.g. destination, origin, instrument, etc.) must be preceded by verbal prepositions (*mantad from*, *kuma'a arrive at*, etc.), full verbs (e.g. *mamakai use*) or prepositional phrases like *gisom sid until*, *silo id over there*, etc.

For some pronouns, Actor and Undergoer have distinct non-Pivot forms. These are 1st and 2nd person singular, 1st person plural exclusive, 1st person dual inclusive, 2nd person plural, and sometimes (but not consistently) 3rd person singular:

PERSON	TOPIC	PIVOT	NON-PIVOT ACTOR	OTHER NON-PIVOT
1sg.	yokuh	okuh	kuh	dogon
2sg.	ikau	ikau/koh	nuh	dikau
3sg.	yalo	yalo	yoh (~ dialo)	dialo
1du.incl.	ikitoh	kitoh	toh	-
1pl.incl.	itokou	tokou	-	daton
1pl.excl.	yokoi	okoi	yah	dagai
2pl.	ikoo	ikoo/kou	duyuh	dikoo
3pl.	yaalo	yaalo	-	daalo

Since Actor precedes Undergoer and pronouns precede nouns, the Actor forms shown above (kuh, nuh, etc.) normally occur immediately following the verb. In some Dusunic languages, these are written as clitics, but in Kimaragang they are not phonologically bound to the verb.²

The case marking system described above distinguishes four grammatical cases: Actor, Undergoer, Referent and Oblique. The focus marking on the verb adds a finer set of case distinctions for one NP in the clause, the Pivot.

Nominative Focus (NomF) marks the Actor as Pivot. As the label suggests, NomF is used both for the subject of an intransitive verb and the Agent of a transitive.

Accusative Focus (AccF) prototypically marks the Patient of a transitive verb; Dative Focus (DatF) is prototypically Recipient or Benefactive. But, as in many other languages, some transitive verbs require their Patients to be marked as Dative (i.e. when the Patient of these verbs is in focus, the verb will be marked as DatF).

Some verbs may allow either AccF or DatF when the Patient is in focus. For example:

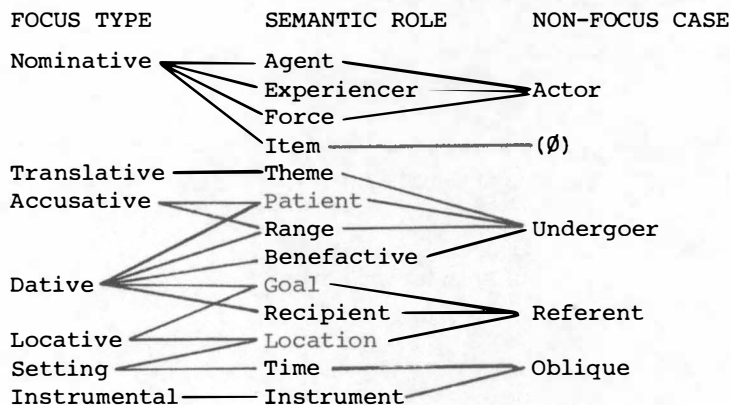
- (10) Acc: Tobuk-on kuh it sada.
 STAB-AccF I(nonP) P/def *fish*
I will stab the fish. (implies stomach swollen with gas or fluid)
- (11) Dat: Tobuk-an kuh it sada.
 STAB-DatF I(nonP) P/def *fish*
I will clean the fish.

The semantic distinction here is partially idiosyncratic, but also appears to be related to an aspectual distinction. The Accusative Focus tends to mark punctiliar actions, whereas Dative Focus is often used for durative actions. Thus AccF may be said to be higher in transitivity than DatF, with respect to the parameter of Punctuality.

Foley and Van Valin (1984) define Actor and Undergoer as semantic macro-roles. In Kimaragang, these categories could be said to function as grammatical macro-cases, which are further subdivided by the focus system. The Undergoer, when it is in focus, may be marked as Accusative, Dative or Translative. When the Referent is Pivot, it may take Dative or Locative Focus.

It is standard practice in both descriptive and theoretical works to distinguish between thematic (semantic) role and grammatical case. For Kimaragang, as has been shown, it is necessary to distinguish between two distinct systems of grammatical case, in addition to the system of semantic roles. The system of case marking for non-Pivot elements I will refer to as *syntactic case*. The system of case marking for the Pivot, i.e. the focus system, I will refer to as *morphological case*. Thus Kimaragang distinguishes four syntactic cases, seven morphological cases, and something over a dozen thematic roles.

The correlations between the two systems of grammatical case and the set of thematic roles is illustrated in the following diagram:



In the preceding discussion, nothing has been said about grammatical relations. As many writers have pointed out (notably Schachter 1976), the notions of Subject and Object are not entirely appropriate for Philippine-type languages. There appears to be only one "grammatical relation" in Kimaragang, i.e. one NP "position" in the clause which is relevant to syntactic processes like those discussed in section 4 below. That relation is what we have labelled *Pivot*.

2. FOCUS MARKING AND INTERPRETATION

2.1 Nominative Focus (NomF)

Nominative Focus is marked by the prefix *m-*. When the *m-* occurs before a consonant other than /p/, it is realised as the infix *-um-*. When the *m-* precedes /p/, the /p/ is deleted. For example:

- (12) M-ongoi okuh sid kadai.
 NomF-GO I(P) to town
I'm going to town.
- (13) Modsu (m-podsū) okuh poh.
 NomF-BATHE I(P) yet
I'm going to take a bath.
- (14) Induwo t-um-akad sid sokid.
*twice *-NomF-CLIMB at hill*
You have to climb two hills.

Nominative Focus forms may be marked as "transitive" or "intransitive", the transitive verbs bearing the transitivity prefix *poN-*. The NomF morpheme *m-* immediately precedes the *poN-*, creating the merged prefix *moN-*. The final nasal *N-* assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant, if any. Before a vowel, *N-* is realised as a velar nasal /ŋ/.
N- merges with certain consonants in the following ways:

N + /b,p,w/ → /m/
 N + /t,s/ → /n/
 N + /k/ → /ŋ/

Before the consonants /d,g,r,l,j/, an epenthetic vowel /o/ is inserted following the *N-*; thus *poN-* is realised as /pongo-/ before these segments. A rule of vowel harmony changes any /o/ in the prefix to /a/ when /a/ occurs in the following syllable. Note the following examples:

- (15) Mangakan (m-poN-akan) koh-i do wogok oi?
 NomF-trans-EAT you(P/sg)-emph nonP/indef pig Q
Do you eat pork?
- (16) Aku oubas yokuh monigup (m-poN-sigup).
not.I accustomed I(P) NomF-trans-TOBACCO
I don't smoke.
- (17) Mama'al (m-poN-wa'al) okuh do tinsod.
 NomF-trans-MAKE I(P) nonP/indef pig.pen
I'm building a pig-pen.

- (18) Mongoguring (m-poN-guring) okuh do ranau.
 NomF-trans-HARROW I(P) nonP/indef *paddy.field*
I am harrowing my paddy field.
- (19) Obbulih koh mongoruang (m-poN-koruang) dogo³ oi?
can you (P/sg) NomF-trans-COMPANION me (nonP) Q
Can you accompany me?

The morpheme poN- marks "high transitivity" in the specialised sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980), rather than "transitive" in the traditional sense of "taking a direct object". Several of the parameters of transitivity discussed by Hopper and Thompson are relevant here. But again, the correspondence between form and meaning is not perfectly regular and is best discussed in terms of tendencies or prototypes.

AGENCY. The Actor of a NomF-transitive verb is always animate and almost always carries the semantic role of Agent. The Actor of a NomF-intransitive verb need not be animate. Verbs dealing with the weather and other natural phenomena are often marked as NomF-intransitive, as in the following examples:

- (20) T-um-akad ih sarup.
 *-NomF-CLIMB P/def *wind*
The wind blows from the west.
- (21) S-um-ilau ih taddau.
 *-NomF-RISE P/def *sun*
The sun is rising.
- (22) T-um-onob noh ilo taddau.
 *-NomF-SET *already that (P) sun*
The sun is setting.

The Actor of a NomF-intransitive verb may carry the semantic roles of Agent, Force (as in the examples above), Experiencer or Item (argument of a stative or change of state). Note the following examples of the Experiencer and Item usages:

- (23) Nokuroh tu r-um-asang yalo?
*why for *-NomF-ANGRY he (P)*
Why is he angry?
- (24) R-um-osi okuh dot apalid.
 *-NomF-FEAR I(P) COMP *lost*
I'm afraid of getting lost.
- (25) Engin koh-i m-iyon sitih oi?
like you (sg/nonP)-emph NomF-DWELL here Q
Do you like living here?
- (26) M-iyau poh ih tidi nuh oi?
 NomF-LIVE *yet P/def mother your Q*
Is your mother still living?
- (27) Ih tanganak nopoh dih s-um-olusuk dirih ...
 P/def *child only REL *-NomF-GROW.UP this*
The children growing up these days ...

KINESIS. NomF-transitive verbs always encode an action, whereas NomF-intransitives may encode actions or such non-actions as states (*miyau alive*), emotions (*rumosi afraid*), etc.

PARTICIPANTS. The traditional distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs (i.e. the presence or absence of a direct object) is relevant to Kimaragang only as a general tendency. Not all NomF-transitive verbs require an overt "object" (i.e. Undergoer). In fact, many such verbs rarely occur with an overt Undergoer, because they are lexically specific to a particular Patient which need not be stated. Some examples are:

- (28) Managad (m-poN-tagad) okuh.
NomF-trans-FELL.TREE I(P)
I am felling trees.
- (29) Mongurak (m-poN-urak) okuh.
NomF-trans-GATHER.LOGS I(P)
I am gathering the unburnt logs.
- (30) Monibor (m-poN-sibor) okuh.
NomF-trans-DIKE I(P)
I am building dikes in my rice field.
- (31) Managou (m-poN-sagou) okuh.
NomF-trans-FETCH.WATER I(P)
I am fetching water.
- (32) Mongolumbid (m-poN-lumbid) okuh poh.
NomF-trans-ROLL.SMOKE I(P) yet
I want to roll a cigarette.
- (33) Pong-indad poh, monorimo (m-poN-torimo) okuh poh.
trans-WAIT yet NomF-trans-COOK.RICE I(P) yet
Wait a minute; I'll cook some rice.

In certain contexts, the Undergoer of these verbs may be made explicit. However, there are a very few verbs with NomF-transitive marking which can never take an Undergoer, e.g. *mamanau to walk/go*, and *mongiruk to act shy*. The root *panau walk*, occurs in several other constructions, including Locative Focus (*pana'on the distance walked*). But *mongiruk* seems to be the only occurring form of what is presumably its root, **iruk*, and is probably a fossilised form.

Just as the NomF-transitive verbs do not always require an overt Undergoer, some verbs marked as NomF-intransitive may occur with an Undergoer. However, the Undergoer of an intransitive verb is never affected by the action, never a true Patient (unlike the Undergoer of a transitive verb, which normally is affected). Note the following examples:

- (34) S-um-ambat okuh dialo.
*-NomF-MEET I(P) him(nonP)
I will go to meet him.
- (35) Maya (m-waya) okuh dikau.
NomF-FOLLOW I(P) you(nonP)
I will go with you.
- (36) Lo-logot-i, s-um-u-su'ut okuh-i dikau.
dup-slow-emph *-NomF-dup-FOLLOW I(P)-emph you(nonP/sg)
You go on ahead; I'll come along behind/after you.

Most verb roots can be classed as either transitive or intransitive, but a few roots may take either transitive or intransitive morphology. These roots occur as transitive-intransitive pairs like the following:

- (37) Mangagamas (m-poN-gamas) okuh dih tumo kuh.
 NomF-trans-GRASS.CUTTER I(P) nonP/def *field my*
I am weeding my rice field (cutting the grass between rice stalks).
- (38) G-um-amas okuh sid tumo kuh.
 *-NomF-GRASS.CUTTER I(P) *in field my*
I am cutting grass in my rice field.
- (39) Abagos yalo k-um-araja.
*industrious he(P) *-NomF-WORK*
He works hard.
- (40) Mangaraja (m-poN-karaja) okuh do tana kondiri.
 NomF-trans-WORK I(P) nonP/indef *land own*
I work my own land. (i.e. I'm a farmer)
- (41) T-um-utud okoi.
 *-NomF-BURN *we (excl/P)*
We are burning/going to burn (our fields).
- (42) Monutud (m-poN-tutud) okuh dit tagad kuh.
 NomF-trans-BURN I(P) nonP/def *field my*
I am going to burn off my field.

2.2 Accusative focus (AccF)

The Accusative Focus is marked by the suffix -on in non-past tense, and by -Ø in the past tense. The primary use of AccF is to signal that the focused NP, i.e. the Pivot, is the affected object (Patient) of a transitive verb (as in examples (43)-(47) below), or the object of a causative construction (as in example (48)).

- (43) Tombir-on kuh ih pilat nuh.
 SEW-AccF I(nonP) P/def *wound your*
I will put stitches in your wound.
- (44) Kadung aa kou pendakod (po-indakod), tibas-on tekoo (kuh-ikoo)!
if not you(pl/P) caus-CLIMB SLASH-AccF I(nonP)-you(pl/P)
If you don't let me come up, I'll slash you!
- (45) Ong o-puriman-an nuh dot oruol, akan-on nuh nogi
if stat-FEEL-DatF you(nonP) COMP sick EAT-AccF you(sg/nonP) then
 itih tubat.
this(P) medicine
Only take this medicine when you feel sick.
- (46) Lapak-on kuh dati inoh tulu nuh!
 SPLIT-AccF I(nonP) *likely that(P) head your*
I'll split your head open if you don't watch out!
- (47) P-in-atai-Ø dirih it wogok ...
 *-past-DIE-AccF *this P/def pig*
When the pig had been killed ...

- (48) Penumon (po-inum-on) ih tanak nuh ditih tubat.
 caus-DRINK-AccF P/def *child your this* (nonP) *medicine*
Have your child drink this medicine.

Another use of AccF is to encode the Range of verbal actions, i.e. that which is said (b-in-oros-Ø), told (t-in-angon-Ø), written (s-in-urat-Ø), etc. Note, however, that the AccF form of the verb boros *say*, is ambiguous; it may point to either the utterance or the addressee. These different meanings of AccF may correspond to two distinct senses of the root, *speak* vs. *tell*, or may even point to distinct homophonous roots.

- (49a) Isai ot boros-on nuh?
who P/indef SAY-AccF *you/nonP*
Who are you talking to?
- (49b) Tongoh ot boros-on nuh?
what P/indef SAY-AccF *you/nonP*
What do you want to say?
- (50) Isai b-in-oros-Ø nuh?
who *-past-SAY-AccF *you* (sg/nonP)
Whom did you tell?
- (51) Tongoh ot b-in-oros-Ø dialo dikau?
what P/indef *-past-SAY-AccF *he* (nonP) *you* (sg/nonP)
What did he tell you?

2.3 Dative Focus (DatF)

Dative Focus is signalled by the suffix -an. As noted above, DatF is semantically the most diverse focus type, but its primary (or prototypical) usage is to mark the Pivot as being either Recipient or Benefactive. These two uses were illustrated in examples (2) and (6) above; other examples are listed below.

- (52) Nurud-an poh dit sawo yoh it tanak dot samangkuk
 EXPRESS-DatF *yet* nonP/def *spouse his* P/def *child* nonP/indef *one.bowl*
 ot gatas ...
 P/indef *milk*
His wife squeezed out a bowlful of milk for the child ...
- (53) Isai b-in-oli-an nuh ditih tubat ditih?
who *-past-BUY-DatF *you* (nonP) *this* (nonP) *medicine this*
Who did you buy this medicine for?
- (54) Owit-ai okuh poh dot mangga!
 TAKE-DatF/imper *me* (P) *yet* nonP/indef *mango*
Bring me some mangoes!
- (55) N-a-lapak-an nuh noh do niyuw it wogok oi?
 past-stat-SPLIT-DatF *you* (nonP) *already* nonP/indef *coconut* P/def *pig* Q
Have you split some coconuts for the pigs (to eat) yet?

Another sense of the Dative related to the Benefactive sense is what may be called the Negative Benefactive: the participant who suffers a loss, an affliction, etc. For example:

- (56) Napatayan (n-o-patai-an) yalo do tanak songinan.
 past-stat-DIE-DatF he (P) nonP/indef child one.body
One of his children died. (He suffered the loss of a child.)
- (57) Tudu poh, o-puun-an koh dati.
 touch yet stat-TABOO-DatF you (P/sg) probably
Touch it (the glass) so no curse will fall on you.
- (58) lh ta'ap kuh n-ongo-tilib, n-ajang-an do sarup.
 P/def roof my past-pl-BLOW.AWAY past-STOP.BY-DatF nonP/indef wind
My roof was blown off by the wind.
- (59) Sera poh norikatan (n-o-rikot-an) koh?
 when yet past-stat-ARRIVE-DatF you (sg/P)
When did you have your last period?
- (60) Ong o-tobpus-an koh noh do tumos, kada noh
 if stat-SQUIRT-DatF you (P/sg) already nonP/indef sweat don't already
 monongkumut.
 wear.blanket
If you break into a sweat, take off the blanket.

The common greetings and leave-takings listed below are probably best understood as Benefactive or Negative Benefactive senses: *Will you suffer yourself to be visited/left/passed by?*

- (61) Tolib-an koh, ki?
 PASS-DatF you (P/sg) okay
I am going past you (sg.).
- (62) Endakadan (o-indakod-an) kou-i oi?
 stat-CLIMB-DatF you (P/pl)-emph Q
May I come in?
- (63) Eduan (o-idu-an) kou!
 stat-LEAVE-DatF you (P/pl)
Goodbye, everyone!

Another important usage of DatF is to encode the Range (or Goal) of predicates of cognition, perception and emotion. Foley and Van Valin (1984) analyse verbs of sensation as being essentially locative, treating the Experiencer as the locus of the event. This would be quite consistent with marking the Experiencer as a Recipient (with dative case marking). However, Kimaragang morphosyntax uses DatF to point to the perceived object, rather than the Experiencer, apparently treating the Range (or "object") of the experience as the locus of the event. Note the following examples:

- (64) Aso poh ot o-tutun-an kuh sitih.
 not.exist yet P/indef stat-KNOW-DatF I(nonP) here
I don't know anyone here yet.
- (65) Aku o-tolunung-an ih ralan.
 not.I stat-KNOW.WAY-DatF P/def trail
I don't know the trail.
- (66) Siongoh ot ela'an (o-ilo-an) duyuh ot waro oh
 where P/indef stat-KNOW-DatF you (nonP/pl) P/indef exist P/indef

talipon sitih?

telephone here

Where around here do you know of a telephone?

- (67) Amu a-sagka-an kuh ot ko-sogit.
 not stat-ENDURE-DatF I(nonP) P/indef able-COLD
I can't stand being cold.
- (68) Okitanan (o-kito-nan)-i mari it balai.raya.
 stat-SEEN-DatF-[emph] surely P/def balai.raya
You can see the balai raya (community hall).
- (69) Nunuh ot o-puriman-an nuh dinoh?
 what P/indef stat-FEEL-DatF you(nonP) that
What hurts? Where does it hurt?

With stative roots, Dative Focus conveys the sense of being affected by the quality named in the root. The Experiencer is in focus, as in the following examples:

- (70) Adis agagayaan (o-ga-gayo-an) yalo dit ro'o dit kanas.
 my! stat-dup-BIG-DatF he nonP/def jaw of wild-pig
My word! he was amazed at the size of the pig's jawbone.
- (71) Apaganan (o-pagon-an) okuh ditih.
 stat-DIFFICULT-DatF I(P) this(nonP)
I find this (task) difficult.

The terms for *thirsty* and *hot* are further instances of this usage of DatF (example (72)). However, the corresponding forms of *hungry* and *cold* mark the Experiencer in the accusative⁴ (example (73)).

- (72a) O-tuuw-an okuh.
 stat-DRY-DatF I(P)
I am thirsty.
- (72b) Losuan (lasu-an) okuh.
 HOT-DatF I(P)
I feel hot.
- (73a) Witol-on okuh.
 HUNGER-AccF I(P)
I am hungry.
- (73b) Sogit-on okuh.
 COLD-AccF I(P)
I feel cold.

Dative Focus is typically used for Undergoers of actions involving fire and water. The transitive verbs *tutud burn*, and *pupu wash (clothing)*, require their Patients to be marked as dative.

- (74) It botung kuh n-o-liyud-an, om n-olot-an
 P/def paddy.field my past-stat-FLOOD-DatF and past-COVERED-DatF
 do togis ih parai kuh.
 nonP/indef sand P/def rice my
My rice field was flooded, and my rice covered with sand.

- (75) N-o-weeg-an ih talun-alun silo id Rakit.
 past-stat-WATER-DatF P/def road there at Rakit
The road is flooded at Rakit.
- (76) Tutud-ai poh ilo karatas.
 BURN-DatF/imper yet that(P) paper
Burn up that paper!
- (77) N-o-pupu-an noh dialo dati.
 past-stat-WASH-DatF already he(nonP) likely
He has probably washed it.

There are other verbs which take dative Patients but which are more difficult to characterise or group into natural semantic classes. The verb *tunuw roast*, is marked for DatF when the Patient is in focus; this seems consistent with the observation above about actions of fire. However, the verbs for *boil*, *steam* and *fry*, like the generic term *ansak to cook*, mark the Patient as accusative. Note the following examples (and cf. example (129) below):

- (78) Kukuoyon mangansak (m-poN-ansak) itih sada ditih? Rapa-on ko,
 how NomF-trans-COOK this(P) fish this BOIL-AccF or
 guring-on ko, tunuw-an?
 FRY-AccF or ROAST-DatF
How should I cook this fish? Boil it, fry it or roast it?
- (79) Topuru-on nopoh boh.
 STEAM-AccF only [part]
Just steam it.

The verb *posut whip*, takes DatF (*posutan*) when the patient is in focus. But the verbs *lapos whip severely* and *bobog beat (with a stick)*, take AccF when the Patient is marked as Pivot (*loposon*, *bobogon*).

For some roots, there is a semantic contrast between AccF and DatF forms. The expected distinction would be between Undergoer as Patient vs. Undergoer as Benefactive, as in examples (5) and (6) above and examples (46) (*lapakon*) vs. (55) (*lapakan*). Also notice the contrast between the dative (*owitai*) used in example (54) and the accusative in the following example:

- (80) Owit-on kuh-i.
 TAKE-AccF I(nonP)-[emph]
I'll take it.

In examples (10) and (11) above, both AccF and DatF forms of *tobuk stab*, focus on the Patient. The contrast involves an aspectual distinction related to the degree of transitivity.

The verb *irak laugh*, normally takes DatF when the object of the laughter is in focus. However, AccF is also possible, with a different connotation:

- (81) Irak-on koh dih Lucy.
 LAUGH-AccF you(sg/P) nonP/def Lucy
Lucy is laughing at you (for no reason).
- (82) I-ra-rak-an koh dot tulun.
 *-dup-LAUGH-DatF you(sg/P) nonP/indef person
People are laughing at you.

The difference here is that the DatF form (example (82)) implies that you are doing or wearing something funny which provokes laughter: *You are making everyone laugh*. The AccF form implies that there is nothing funny about you; indeed, there may be something funny about Lucy: *She is laughing at you for no reason* (like a crazy person).

The distinction here seems to hinge on volitionality: the dative form is used for non-volitional laughter, the accusative for volitional (unprovoked) laughter. Thus, as in examples (10) and (11) above, the AccF form seems higher in transitivity than the DatF form.

A similar contrast is found with the root *ondom* *remember*. The usual form of this verb is in Dative Focus (andaman), with the Range (i.e. the thing remembered) in focus. This implies that the memory is there in the Actor's consciousness; he doesn't need to work at remembering. If the Accusative Focus form *ondomon* is used, the Range of the memory is still in focus. However, this form implies that the Actor must think hard to recall something which has been forgotten.

Once again the contrast seems to involve volitionality. The DatF form *andaman remember*, is non-volitional; the Actor remembers whether he wants to or not. The AccF form, *ondomon try to remember*, is volitional, and hence more transitive than the DatF. Interestingly, the NomF-transitive form of the verb, *mongondom*, used when the Experiencer is in focus, corresponds to the volitional sense conveyed by the AccF form. No form of this verb has yet been found with the Experiencer in focus which carries the non-volitional sense (corresponding to that of the DatF form).

The verb *ogom sit*, is used primarily as an intransitive. However, the transitive form *mongogom* is also used, meaning *to sit on*. In the intransitive sense, when the location of the sitting is in focus, a Locative Focus form (*ogomon*) is used which would be homophonous with AccF (see section 2.5 below). Therefore, DatF is used when the Patient of the transitive sense (the thing that gets sat on) is in focus:

(83) Siomoboh ot ogom-on kuh?
where P/indef SIT-LocF I(nonP)
Where shall I sit?

(84) Nagaman (n-ogom-an) kuh it tupi nuh.
past-SIT-DatF I(nonP) P/def hat your
I sat on your hat.

Similarly, the intransitive verb *odop sleep*, normally uses the LocF form *odopon* to mark the Pivot as Location. But if the choice of sleeping place is high in volitionality, the DatF form is used:

(85) Adapan (odop-an) dogo itih walai kuh tu, kapayig okoi.
SLEEP-DatF me(nonP) this(P) house my because go.out we(excl/P)
Come sleep in my house for me because we are going away.

(86) Sid disai ot odop-on nuh?
at who(nonP) P/indef SLEEP-LocF you(sg/nonP)
Whose house will you sleep at?

The DatF form would also be used, for example, in daring something to sleep in a graveyard, a haunted place, etc.

As pointed out above, we have used traditional grammatical case labels for the three most common focus types of Kimaragang. Other analysts of Philippine languages have tended to use either semantic role labels (Actor, Goal, Beneficiary) or vague and somewhat arbitrary labels (Referent, Accessary, Concomitant).

The great advantage of the traditional grammatical labels is that they allow for the kind of semantic variation or irregularity discussed above. Very similar phenomena are common in the case systems of European and other languages where certain verbs or prepositions may require the dative (or other case) rather than the expected accusative. At the same time, the core areas of meaning of NomF, AccF and DatF in Kimaragang are clearly identifiable with the traditional meanings of nominative, accusative and dative.

2.4 Translative Focus (TF)

Translative Focus is marked by the prefix *i-*. It is used primarily to indicate that the Pivot carries the semantic case Theme, i.e. the thing whose physical location is changed by the action.

- (87) N-*i*-atod dih Jaiwan itih sada ditih.
 past-TF-BRING nonP/def *Jaiwan this* (P) *fish this*
These fish Jaiwan brought over.

See also examples (3) and (7) above.

Sometimes the use of Translative Focus introduces an element of motion into verbs that do not normally involve motion. Note the following examples:

- (88) Mamanau (m-poN-panau) itih pen ong i-tutud.
 NomF-trans-WALK *this* (P) *pen if* TF-BURN
This pen will work if you stick the point into a flame.
- (89) Intang-an tinoo it kumut dit n-i-sidang.
 WATCH-DatF soon P/def *cloth* REL past-TF-DRY
Check on the clothes (I) put out to dry.

Normally the Patient of the verb *to dry* (monidang) would take Accusative Focus (sidangon). The use of TF here conveys the idea of being 'put out to dry'. Similarly, compare the sense of TF in example (88) with the DatF used in example (76) above.

There is something inherently causative about the sense of Translative Focus. TF verbs encode actions that cause the physical location of the Theme (marked as Pivot) to change. The causative force of TF is seen even more clearly in certain verbs, especially intransitives, where the occurrence of Translative Focus is unexpected. For example:

- (90) Ong taak-an okuh dikau do siin, {i-talib /
if GIVE-DatF *me* (P) *you* (sg/nonP) nonP/indef *money* TF-PASS /
 potolibon (po-talib-on)} kuh ikau.
 caus-PASS-AccF *I* (nonP) *you* (sg/P)
If you give me money I will let you go past.

- (91) N-i-odop kuh yalo sid dagai.
 past-TF-SLEEP I(nonP) *him*(P) *at us*(nonP)
I invited him to sleep at our house.
- (92) N-i-odop-odop kuh poh inoh tanak om n-i-sulung kuh
 past-TF-dup-SLEEP I(nonP) *yet that*(P) *child and* past-TF-PUT.ON I(nonP)
 nogi inoh soruwai.
then that(P) *pants.*
I laid the child down first, then put its pants on.

Note that *italib* in example (90) could equivalently be replaced by an overtly causative form *potolibon* (caus-PASS-AccF).

The duplication of the root *odop* *sleep*, forms *odop-odop* *lie down*. Thus the TF form *niodop-odop* in example (92) means *caused to lie down*.

Another example is the verb *dagang* *buy*. This verb is largely synonymous with the root *boli* *buy* (see examples (4)-(9) above). However, in the causative forms (formed by adding the causative prefix *po-*), there is a definite semantic distinction. *Poboli* means *cause to buy*, e.g. persuade or coerce someone to buy something. It implies that the person doing the persuading, the Causer, is not the person selling the item being purchased. *Padagang*, on the other hand, means simply *to sell*.

A related difference emerges in the Translative Focus forms of these two verbs. As seen in example (7) above, the TF form of *boli* marks the money which is spent as Theme. *Idagang*, on the other hand, marks the Pivot as that which is sold, as in the following example:

- (93) l-dagang dialo ih kuda yoh sid dogo.
 TF-BUY *he*(nonP) P/def *horse his* *to me*(nonP)
His horse he sold to me.

Note that for both verbs, Accusative Focus is used when the item purchased is in focus:

- (94a) Nunuh oh boli-on / dagang-on nuh?
what P/indef BUY-AccF / BUY-AccF *you*(nonP)
What are you going to buy?
- (94b) Nunuh oh b-in-oli-∅ / d-in-agang-∅ nuh?
what P/indef *-past-BUY-AccF / *-past-BUY-AccF *you*(nonP)
What did you buy?

Note that change of ownership is signalled differently from change of position. Verbs which involve transfer of ownership typically focus on the possessed item in the accusative, as in the above examples (94a,b); note also the following example with the verb *olos* *borrow*:

- (95) Olos-on kuh poh it gampa dih Maradan.
 BORROW-AccF I(nonP) *yet* P/def *machete of Maradan*
I will go borrow Maradan's machete.

The verb *taak* *give*, typically involves both a change of ownership and a change of location. But, as far as focus marking is concerned, the change of location appears to take precedence; note the use of TF, rather than AccF, in example (7) above. The Accusative forms (**taakon*, **tinaak*) are not permitted in

Kimaragang, though such forms reportedly occur in closely related languages, e.g. Rungus.

2.5 Locative Focus (LocF)

Locative Focus is marked by a suffix identical to (or homophonous with) the Accusative Focus suffix *-on*. Note the following examples:

- (96) Waro gam ot walai iyon-on do tulun ko-ri-rikot sitih?
exist is.it P/indef house DWELL-LocF nonP/indef person imm-dup-COME here
Is there a house where visitors can stay here?

Note also examples (83) and (86) above.

Locative Focus occurs primarily with intransitive stems, as in the examples cited above. A few transitive verbs, such as *asok* *plant dry rice*, are lexically so specific that their Patient is rarely stated. They virtually never occur in AccF, so the *-on* form can be used for LocF without ambiguity:

- (97) M-in-ongoi noh yalo sid tosokon (t-asok-on) yoh.
 NomF-past-GO *already he(P) to nom-PLANT.RICE-LocF his*
He already went to the field where he is planting rice.

Since *-on* marks AccF on transitive verbs and LocF on intransitives, it is tempting to collapse these two sets under a single category, i.e. to let Accusative Focus encode Location of intransitive verbs as one of its functions. However, this analysis is rejected here for two reasons. First, identifying forms like (83), (86) and (96) above as Accusative Focus would weaken the semantic unity of that focus type. Secondly, as was shown in section 2.2 above, the AccF marker *-on* is deleted (i.e. realised as $-\emptyset$) in the past tense. This is not the case with the *-on* which encodes LocF.

The verb *lapak* *split*, occurs in both transitive and intransitive forms. The NomF-transitive form *mangalapak* is used for someone splitting coconuts, areca nuts, etc. The NomF-intransitive form *lumapak* is used of things like tyres, tops, wooden handles, etc. which are prone to split by themselves.

There are two possible forms with the Location of the event in focus, Locative vs. Setting Focus, corresponding to the intransitive and transitive senses:

- (98) Siongoh l-in-apak-on dit tayar nuh?
*where *-past-SPLIT-LocF nonP/def tyre your*
Where did your tyre burst?
- (99) Sera / Siomboh pangalapakan (poN-lapak-an) kitoh ditih niyuw?
when / where SF-SPLIT-SF we(incl/du) this(nonP) coconut
When/Where shall we split these coconuts?

Note that in the intransitive example, the LocF suffix *-on* co-occurs with the past tense infix *-in-*. This would be impossible if the *-on* here encoded Accusative Focus. Compare the AccF form used in example (46) above (*lapakon*) and in the following example:

- (100) Orubat itih mija kuh, l-in-apak- \emptyset do tulun.
*wasted this(P) table my *-past-SPLIT-AccF nonP/indef person*
My table is ruined; someone chopped it in half.

2.6 Instrumental Focus (IF) and Setting Focus (SF)

Instrumental and Setting Focus are considered oblique focus types in Kimaragang because they focus on elements which are marked as Oblique (as opposed to the nuclear cases, Actor, Undergoer and Referent) when not in focus. IF and SF forms make use of the transitive prefix poN-.

IF forms consist simply of poN- plus the verb root and are thus homophonous with the NomF-transitive imperative form of the same root (see section 3 below). IF indicates that the Pivot NP functions as Instrument. Only transitive verbs can occur in Instrumental Focus.

- (101) Ong tagad dot tagayo, poring ot awasi do ponutud (poN-tutud).
if field REL large bamboo P/indef good COMP IF-BURN
For a large field, bamboo is the best thing to start the fires.
- (102) Tongoh ot pamatai (poN-patai) nuh dit tasu?
what P/indef IF-KILL you (sg/nonP) nonP/def dog
What will you kill the dog with?
- (103) Tongoh ot pomoli (poN-boli), aso sin kuh ditih.
what P/indef IF-BUY not.have money my this
What can we buy it with, I don't have any money.
- (104) Mongowit (m-poN-owit) okuh poh do dangol tu pomubu (poN-bubu)
NomF-trans-TAKE I(P) yet nonP/indef machete because IF-CUT.OPEN
 do niyuw.
nonP/indef coconut
I'll take a machete along to cut holes in coconuts (to drink).

In example (103), the Pivot *money* is marked as the Instrument of the action (buying). Note the contrast with example (7) above, where the same Pivot is marked as Undergoer, and specifically Theme, in the sentence *I spent my money on salt*.

Setting Focus is used for the time or place of the action. It is morphologically the most diverse focus type. For most transitive verbs, SF is marked by a combination of the transitive prefix poN- with the DatF suffix -an as in the following examples:

- (105) Osodu ot ponutudan (poN-tutud-an) nuh oi?
far P/indef SF-BURN-SF you (nonP) Q
Is the field you want to burn far away?
- (106) Sera pomoliyan (poN-boli-an) nuh dot korita?
when SF-BUY-SF you (nonP) nonP/indef car
When are you going to get a car?
- (107) Isai pinangalasan (p-in-oN-olos-an) nuh ditih gampa ditih?
*who (P) *-SF-past-BORROW-SF you (nonP) this (nonP) machete this*
Who did you borrow this bush knife from?
- (108) Irih nopoh t-um-olud nga pomupusan (poN-pupus-an) dot
*this (P) only *-NomF-TRANCE but SF-END-SF nonP/indef*
 mogondi.
sacrifice
The trance is the last step in the ritual sacrifice.

- (109) Itih oh we'eg pomoogan (poN-woog-an) do longon, ki!
this(P) P/indef water SF-WASH-SF nonP/indef arm okay?
Here is water to wash your hands.
- (110) Waro gam kadai pang-akan-an sitih?
exist is.it shop SF-EAT-SF here
Is there a restaurant (food stall) here?

A few other forms also occur that could be identified as Setting Focus. For example, the root *intong* *look at, watch*, requires an Undergoer but cannot take the transitive prefix *poN-*. The Nominative Focus form of this verb is *mogintong* (*m-poG-intong*). The prefix *poG-* is not well understood, but seems to indicate massive, diffuse or extended Undergoer. The combination *poG- -an* seems to encode SF for this verb, as in the following example:

- (111) Siomboh ot pogintangan (poG-intong-an) nuh dot T.V.?
where P/indef SF-WATCH-SF you(nonP) nonP/indef T.V.
Where are you going to watch T.V.?

As mentioned in section 1.1 above, this is an area where the distinction between verbal and nominal forms, and between inflectional and derivational morphology, is very hazy. Other prefix-suffix combinations which seem to be derivational (i.e. nominalisers) sometimes encode meanings similar to SF. The SF forms discussed here could possibly be analysed as nominalisations, but it is interesting to note the following example, where a Setting Focus form occurs as an imperative:

- (112) Pangalasai (poN-olos-ai) poh ih Pangadap do gampa.
SF-BORROW-SF/imper yet P/def Pangadap nonP/indef machete
Go see whether Pangadap will loan us a machete.

Hopefully some future study of Kimaragang derivational morphology will shed more light on this topic.

3. NON-FINITE FORMS

Of the seven focus possibilities, three have corresponding non-finite forms: NomF, AccF and DatF.⁵ The primary uses of the non-finite forms are: (1) as imperatives; and (2) as the "narrative tense", i.e. the tense that marks main-line events in narrative discourse. For simplicity, the examples of non-finite forms below are limited to imperatives.

For NomF verbs, the prefix *m-* is deleted (or replaced by \emptyset -) in non-finite forms. Thus NomF-transitive imperatives begin with *poN-*, while NomF-intransitive imperatives consist of a bare verb stem.

- (113) Pomo'og (poN-wo'og) poh, milang tokou mang-akan.
trans-WASH yet together we(P/pl/incl) NomF.trans-EAT
Wash your hands; let's eat!
- (114) Pongingat (poN-inggat) kou sitih, itih ot salapa.
trans-BETEL you(P/pl) here, this(P) P/indef betel.case
Have some betel; here is the box.

- (115) Indakod!
CLIMB
Come in!
- (116) Uli noh!
RETURN *already*
Go home now!
- (117) Waya dialo m-uli!
FOLLOW *him*(nonP) NomF-RETURN
Go home with him!

In AccF verbs, the non-finite mood causes -on to be replaced by -o, as in:

- (118) Podsu-o poh ih tanak.
BATHE-AccF/imper *yet* P/def *child*
Give the child a bath!
- (119) Lapak-o poh itih tinggaton!
SPLIT-AccF/imper *yet this*(P) *areca.nut*
Split this areca nut!

In non-finite mood, the DatF suffix -an is replaced by -ai.

- (120) Bolingkogot-on okuh, onuw-ai okuh poh dot we'eg
CAUGHT.IN.THROAT-AccF I(P) FETCH-DatF/imper I(P) *yet nonP/indef water*
t-inum-on.
nom-DRINK-AccF
The rice is caught in my throat; get me a drink of water.
- (121) Imuaw-ai poh itih walai, tu osupot.
SWEEP-DatF/imper *yet this*(P) *house because messy*
Sweep out the house; it is messy.
- (122) Tuduk-ai okuh poh dot m-in-la-lanu
SHOW-DatF/imper I(P) *yet* COMP NomF-incep-dup-SING
Teach me how to sing.

In addition to encoding imperatives and narrative tense, the non-finite AccF and DatF forms also occur following the pro-verb man/nan *do/did*, as in the following examples:

- (123) Man tekau (kuh-ikau) jarum-ai.
do I(nonP)-*you*(P) NEEDLE-DatF/non-fin
I will give you a shot.
- (124) Nan okuh rosun-o dot tulun.
did I(P) POISON-AccF/non-fin nonP/indef *person*
Someone poisoned me.
- (125) Nan okuh tinduk-o do wulanut.
did I(P) BITE-AccF/non-fin nonP/indef *snake*
I was bitten by a snake.
- (126) Nan okuh iit-ai do tompolulu'u.
did I(P) BITE-DatF/non-fin nonP/indef *scorpion*
I was stung by a scorpion.

- (127) Nunuh dot tubat nan nuh akan-o?
what nonP/indef medicine did you(nonP) EAT-AccF/non-fin
What kind of medicine did you take?

4. USES OF FOCUS

The verbal focus system clearly functions as an important component of the discourse grammar of Kimaragang. However, no systematic study of Kimaragang discourse structure has yet been attempted, so nothing definitive can be said about pragmatic function at this point.

Focus is also important on the sentence level. Again, no detailed study of Kimaragang sentence patterns has yet been undertaken, but some preliminary observations can be made here.

Any NP which is *topicalised*, i.e. fronted to sentence-initial position, must be in focus. Nouns and full noun phrases are marked as Pivot, and the Pivot form of fronted pronouns will be preceded by a topicalisation marker $i- \sim y-$. Note the topicalised NPs in examples (3), (58) and (74) above.

A special case of this type of topicalisation occurs in content questions (or queries). The question word (corresponding to the Wh- words in English) is usually fronted in content questions, and the focus marking of the verb relates to the semantic function of the participant/actant in question. Note the fronted question words in examples (8), (9), (49), (50), (51), (53), etc. above.

In some questions, the question word is not fronted but remains in its normal position in the clause. Then some other NP is marked as pivot, as in the following example:

- (128) M-ongoi koh siongoh?
 NomF-GO you(sg/P) where
Where are you going?

In *relative clauses*, the relativised NP must be marked as Pivot of the dependent (relative) clause, as in the following examples:

- (129) Lingkosu-on duyuh-i oi it we'eg dot inum-on duyuh?
 BOIL-AccF you(nonP/pl)-[emph] Q P/def water REL DRINK-AccF you(nonP/pl)
Do you boil your drinking water?
- (130) Nunuh ot i-pa-akan nuh dot tanak do s-um-usu poh?
 what P/indef TF-caus-EAT you(nonP) nonP/indef child REL *-NomF-MILK yet
What will you feed a child who is still nursing?
- (131) A-tarom ih pe'es n-i-ta'ak dih kamaman sid dogon.
 stat-sharp P/def knife past-TF-GIVE nonP/def uncle to me(nonP)
The knife my uncle gave me is sharp.
- (132) Penumo (po-inum-o) dirih dih Majabou dit gatas, it nan
 caus-DRINK-AccF/non.fin this nonP/def Majabou nonP/def milk REL did
 urud-o dit sawo yoh sid mangkuk.
 EXPRESS-AccF/non.fin nonP/def spouse his in bowl
Mjabou let the child drink the milk which his wife had squeezed into the bowl.
- (133) Waro noh tulun sirih dot s-in-um-ambat dih Majabou dot amu
 exist already person there REL *-past-NomF-MEET nonP/def Majabou REL not

mongoo (m-poN-oo) m-indakod ih Majabou sirih.
 NomF-trans-YES NomF-CLIMB P/def *Majabou there*
There were people there who met Majabou and wouldn't let him climb up there.

Notice that in examples (129) and (131), the relativised NPs (we'eg *water*, and pe'es *knife*) are Pivot of both the relative clause and the matrix (main) clause. In examples (130) and (132), however, the relativised NPs (tanak *child*, and gatas *milk*) are not in focus in the matrix clause, but only in the relative clause.

Comrie (1981:153) has noted a cross-linguistic correlation between limitations on relativisation and richness of voice systems. Kimaragang is a good example of a language with tight restrictions on relativisation - only the Pivot NP can be relativised. However, the voice system of Kimaragang is very rich; of the seven focus possibilities, at least five (NomF, AccF, DatF, TF, LocF) can be used in relative clauses.

NOTES

¹Note that the final -h in Kimaragang is an orthographic convention denoting the absence of final glottal stop. Thus words like do, which are written with final open vowels, are actually pronounced with a final glottal stop, [do'].

The determiners ih, oh, dih and do have alternate forms ending in -t: it, ot, dit and dot. The conditioning environment for the final -t is not yet known, and there is considerable variation among individual speakers. However, -t can never occur before proper names. Thus the possibilities of occurrence are as follows:

	PROPER NAME	COMMON NAME	
		definite	indefinite
Pivot	ih	ih ~ it	oh ~ ot
Non-Pivot	dih	dih ~ dit	do ~ dot

Any of these forms can apparently function as a relative pronoun; many examples occur here, glossed as REL. Note that dih and do also serve as possessive markers in genitive constructions, e.g. walai dih *Jaiwan Jaiwan's house*.

The Pivot, non-Pivot and locative forms of the common deictics are shown below:

Pivot	non-Pivot	Locative	
itih	ditih	sitih	<i>this, here</i>
inoH	dinoH	sinoH	<i>that, there (near hearer)</i>
ilo	dilo	silo	<i>that, there (distant)</i>
irih	dirih	sirih	<i>the aforementioned</i>
at	dat	-	<i>the (unique)</i>

²The non-focus actor pronouns listed here do not have the phonological properties of clitics. They do not affect the stress pattern of the word which they follow. However, these pronouns seem to have clitic-like positional properties, occurring in clause-second position. This normally means that they will follow the verb but if a negative or (non-topic) question word precedes the verb, these pronouns also precede the verb, as in example (5) above.

Topicalisation (or fronting) of an NP or question word does not affect the position of the non-Pivot Actor pronouns; they remain in postverbal position.

Note that the variation between kuh and dogon, etc. cannot be explained merely in terms of position, as shown by sentences like example (84) above. The variation in the second person Pivot forms, however, is determined by position rather than case. The forms koh and kou are used whenever there is no other nominal preceding them in the clause, whether or not they represent the Actor. They always occur in clause-second position. Note examples (15), (19), (44), (55), (59), (61), etc. above, and the following example:

Sera koh koo-uli?
when you (sg/P) imm-RETURN
When did you get back?

- ³The forms dogon and dogo appear to fluctuate somewhat freely, though native speakers have strong preferences for one or the other in certain environments.
- ⁴The root witol is a verb root rather than a stative, and so would not be expected to use the DatF in the manner illustrated in examples (70)-(72). The root sogit is arguably either a stative or a verb. The transitive NomF form monogit *to cool down ritually* (i.e. to perform a sacrifice), and the related noun sogit *ritual sacrifice*, are at least as commonly used as the adjective osogit *cold*.
- ⁵The Setting Focus imperative shown in example (112) is so unusual that it can hardly be said to represent a regular pattern in the same way that the non-finite forms of NomF, AccF and DatF do.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

able	=	habilitative	NomF	=	Nominative Focus
AccF	=	Accusative Focus	non.fin	=	non-finite mood
CAPS	=	verb root	nonP	=	non-Pivot
caus	=	causative	P	=	Pivot
COMP	=	complementiser	part	=	particle
DatF	=	Dative Focus	past	=	past tense
def	=	definite	pl	=	plural
dup	=	reduplication	Q	=	question marker
emph	=	emphasis marker	REL	=	relative clause linker
excl	=	exclusive	SF	=	Setting Focus
IF	=	Instrumental Focus	sg	=	singular
imm	=	immediate past	stat	=	stative
imper	=	imperative	TF	=	Translative Focus
incep	=	inceptive	Top	=	topicalised
incl	=	inclusive	trans	=	transitivity marker
indef	=	indefinite	*-	=	initial consonant of stem split by infix
LocF	=	Locative Focus	∅	=	zero allomorph
nom	=	nominaliser			

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