TOPIC AND EMPHASIS IN TIMUGON MURUT

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1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.1 CASE MARKING OF NOMINAL ARGUMENTS

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

Arguments are divided into common and personal sets.

TABLE 1: CASE MARKERS OF ARGUMENTS

	PIVOT	NON-PIVOT	
		Actor (Genitive)	Non-actor (Oblique)
Common	*Ø*	*ru*	*ra*
Personal	*i-*	*ri*	*ri*

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

TABLE 2: PRONOUN SETS

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

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

1.2 VERBAL CROSS-REFERENCING TO THE PIVOT

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

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

TABLE 3: MARKING OF VERBAL CROSS-REFERENCING

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

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

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

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

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

Non-past				
	full-focus	*-um-*	*mag-*	*mang-*
	reduced-focus	*Ø*	*pag-*	*pang-*
Past		*-imin-*	*nag-*	*nang-*

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

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

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

1.3 UNMARKED CONSTITUENT ORDER IN THE CLAUSE

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

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

1. The overall order is: verb – pronoun – modifiers – reportative – full phrases.

2. If there is more than one pronoun or if the roles of the oblique phrases are ambiguous, then the order is according to the following hierarchy: actor – patient – referent – instrument – associate.

3. Long phrases are usually final, especially when modified by a relative clause.

4. With full phrases, pivot precedes non-pivot, except where the pivot of the last sentence is restated.

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

2. SUPERFICIAL HOMOPHONY OF IDENTIFICATIONAL AND THEMATIC CLAUSES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(6)   *Min-ongoi ak ruandu' i ra kadai.*
       The woman just went to the shop (and did nothing else) (lit. Just the woman went to the shop).

(7)   *Ruandu' i ak [min-ongoi ra kadai].*
       It was just the woman who went to the shop.

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

(8)   (Basic Clause)
       Pimping-on mai   kou.
       thrash-PAT we.GEN you.PIV
       We will thrash you.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(12)   (Basic Clause)
        Min-ongoi   kou   ra   kadai.
        ACT.PAST-go you.PIV OBL shop
        You went to the shop.

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

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

(14)   (Basic Clause)
        Min-ongoi   io   ra   mai'   i.
        ACT.PAST-go he.PIV OBL afternoon the
        He went yesterday.

(15)   (Thematic Clause)
        Mai'   i,   min-ongoi   io.
        afternoon the ACT.PAST-go he.PIV
        Yesterday he went.

(16)   (Identificational Clause)
        Mai'   i   [inangay-an   no].
        afternoon the PAST.go-AST he.GEN
        Yesterday was when he went.

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

(17)   (Basic Clause)
        Min-ongoi   ra   giu' i-apa'.
        ACT.PAST-go OBL there PIV-dad
        Dad has gone over there.

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

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

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

3. TOPICS AND THEMATIC CONTINUITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(20)   (Prentice 1971:242)
    Galing i   kunu' m-a-suang   ulun   ru   tana' ti.
    before the REP   ACT-ST-many person GEN earth this
    In the old days, the people of the earth were many.

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

(21)   (Prentice 1971:244f.)
    a. *Katalu ra   orou,   ratu-i'   no   bo   kunu' ra   gili.*
       third   OBL day   drop-REF he.GEN then REP   OBL that
       On the third day, he threw that thing down (into the mud).

    b. It did not bury itself.

    c. The old coconut fruit bounced.

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

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

       pusat kunu' ru   ruandu'   lusungon i.
       poof! REP   GEN woman   ringworm the
       At the time when he had just reached the ground, there suddenly appeared the woman with ringworm.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(24)   (Prentice 1971:250)

    a. You didn't pay attention to my words.

    b. *Ba   ginio am andu-on   mu   ak i-ali'   ti.*
        well that   and marry-PAT you.GEN just PIV-younger.sibling this
        Well, since that is the case, you'll have to marry this younger sibling.

Topics may be pivots. In (25) below, 'the woman with ringworm' (both topic and pivot)[12] replaces 'the youth' (thematic participant[13] of the preceding episode) as thematic participant:

(25)   (Prentice 1971:247)

    a. *Buayoi no   min-ugar   kunu' ra   buoi ti,*
        youth   that ACT.PAST-travel REP OBL time this

    b. *ruandu' lusungon ti, pambaal kunu' ra   sinungkalalaing ra   tana'.*
        woman ringworm this ACT.make REP OBL doll.figure   OBL earth
        During the time that that youth was travelling, the woman with ringworm was making a figure out of earth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(26)   (Prentice 1971:255f.)

   a.   When it is dark presently, get into this ricebin; the number of mosquitos is not trivial.

   b.   *Aku am t-imin-utup   aku ak   ra   tunturing ti.*
        I   and *-ACT.PAST-shut.self I   just OBL ricebin   this
        As for me, I just shut myself up in this ricebin.

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

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

(27)   (Prentice 1971:248)

   a.   *Gitio ga[14] bo   ra   [itakau m-a-pandai   m-(p)atoi] ti.*
        this TOP then OBL we.INC ACT-ST-able ACT.die   this
        This then is why we are able to die.

   b.   Immediately afterwards, the youth arrived. He looked at this (figure).

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

(28)   (Prentice 1971:257)

   a.   *Tawang pi   bo   kunu' ra   [io suabon],*
        light   again then REP OBL it dawn
        (When) it was again daylight when it dawned,

   b.   the man was now dead.

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

(29)   (Prentice 1971:243)

   a.   Just one person survived, the youth,

   b.   *ra   n-(p)angkiwa'   io ak   kunu' ra   layou ru   piasau.*
        OBL ACT.PAST-climb he just REP OBL tall GEN coconut
        because he climbed up a tall coconut tree.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> (30) a. "Yes, if you're not with me when I return, I'm certain to get a beating", said the dragonfly.
>
> b. *Ba   ginio poyo bubul-in   tokou ak   ra   bulu   kuno ...*
>   well that   also pluck-REF you   only OBL feather my
>   "Well, if that is the case, I'll just pluck out one of my feathers for you..."

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

4. EMPHATIC CONSTRUCTIONS

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

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

> (31) a. I am asking for the fruitbird.
>
> b. PREDICATE COMPL PIVOT
>   *Ati   intok ru   sikakaput ti?*
>   where   place GEN fruitbird   this
>   Where is the place of this fruitbird?

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

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

a.   We will thrash you.

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

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

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

  (32)   (Prentice 1971:243)
      a. Just one person survived, the youth, because he climbed up a tall coconut tree.

      b. And while the water was receding,

        PREDICATE COMPL   PIVOT
        piasau   ayuk kunu'   [n-a-(b)ayag-an   ru   buayoi]   i.
        coconut just REP   PAST-ST-live-ASC GEN youth   the
        just coconuts was what the youth lived on.

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

  (33)   (Prentice 1971:242f.)
      a. When the flood came, the people who lived on the earth were destroyed.

      b. According to the old men,

        PREDICATE COMPL   PIVOT
        sangulun   ak   kunu' bo   [buayoi i   n-a-(b)ayag] ...
        one.person just REP   then   youth   the PAST-ST-live
        just one person, the youth, was who survived ...

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

  (34)   (Prentice 1971:247f.)
      a. ... she was making a figure out of earth. The woman who had ringworm chewed betelnut; she spat it out onto it (the figure); it became a human being; and it was a beautiful maid.

      b. This then is why we are able to die, because

        PREDICATE COMPL   PIVOT
        tana'   *[b-in-aal*   *ra*   *ulun]*   *ti.*
        earth   *-PAT.PAST-made OBL   person this
        earth was what was made into this human being.

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

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

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

(35)   I am willing, because ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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