THEMATIC CONTINUITY AND DEVELOPMENT
IN TOMBONUO NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Various syntactic devices are employed in Tombonuo[1] narratives to provide discourse continuity (Givón 1983:7ff.). In the broad area of thematic continuity, topic/participant continuity (participant reference) is the device most widely discussed cross-linguistically (Givón 1983; Hinds 1978). This is considered for Tombonuo in a separate paper by King and Levinsohn (this volume), and so is mentioned only briefly here. In this paper I present the function of various other syntactic and morphological devices which are involved in continuity or discontinuity in Tombonuo narrative discourse. In particular, I consider the use of tense-aspect markers and verb morphology, the use of connectives, and the topicalisation of NPs.

I also propose that, in addition to the notion of thematic continuity (or discontinuity), the notion of thematic development must be addressed (see the introduction to this volume). Thematic development is not well developed in the literature to date, although the matter is touched on or alluded to by a number of writers. Longacre (1976:213), for instance, talks in terms of plot as the deep structure counterpart in discourse to case relations on the clause level.

It is true that discourse is held together by certain means and that episodes are separated from each other by certain other means. That is all well and good as far as it goes. There is also the fact that, within the episode, there must be thematic development. Sentences in a discourse are not arranged randomly, but rather follow logically so as to facilitate maximum intelligibility for the addressee. Take the following example from English:

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[1]The language described in this paper is spoken by roughly 10,000 people living along the Sugut and Paitan rivers of the Labuk-Sugut District in Sabah, Malaysia. Tombonuo (formerly 'Tambanua') is a North-western Austronesian language of the Paitanic language family (Smith 1984:18f.). Speakers of this language go by various ethnonyms. Tombonuo is used mostly by those who are 'pagan', to use their term. When these people become Muslims, they most often refer to themselves as Orang Sungai 'river people'. However, the ethnonym Tombonuo was chosen for this paper so that the language under discussion here would not be confused with Orang Sungai languages of the Dusunic or Ida'anic families.

I would like to express my appreciation to the people of Menungan village in Sabah for their cooperation in recording the texts used for this analysis and also to Moumin Moijin and Justin Sansalu of Lubang Buaya, Paitan for help with the text material.

(1)   So, she ran away for fear of her life. That wolf chased the girl. In the woods she met a wolf. A little girl set out on her own to her grandmother's house.

Because of the random ordering of the sentences, this excerpt from an English discourse does not cohere semantically or syntactically. The result is minimal or complete lack of communication. This is because, in English discourse, topicality (processing of new and old information) and logical, sentential and clausal connectives are used to bring coherence to the discourse, as well as to indicate that the overall discourse theme is developing. Simple rearrangement of the sentences in (1) makes the passage perfectly intelligible and maximum communication is achieved in (2):

(2)   A little girl set out on her own to her grandmother's house. In the woods she met a wolf. That wolf chased the girl. So, she ran away for fear of her life.

In Tombonuo narratives also, there are syntactic features which indicate that the theme of the discourse is moving forward (developing), rather than remaining static or looking backwards. I propose here that a discussion of thematic development is essential to an overall theory of discourse analysis.

Section 2 of this paper deals with features of Tombonuo narratives which give continuity to the whole discourse and to its subunits (episodes and thematic paragraphs) and with features which separate subunits or signal discontinuity at episode or thematic paragraph boundaries in the discourse. I argue here that connectives in Tombonuo narrative discourse encode logical semantic relationships, and at the same time mark thematic continuity at points of action discontinuity (e.g. *jadi*; section 2.2.1) or topic/participant discontinuity (e.g. *nga*; section 2.2.2). Topicalisation (L-dislocation) of spatio-temporal references is also discussed; such references signal topic-situational discontinuity at episode boundaries and establish new temporal or local settings in the discourse (section 2.1). The use of past tense is featured, which in Tombonuo functions typically as a boundary feature and also as a highlighting device (section 3.3).

Section 3 looks in more detail at the discourse and its subunits to describe how thematic development and lack of thematic development are signalled. Foreground versus background enters in here, as well as development of or towards the climax(es) of the discourse. I demonstrate that verbal cross-referencing to the pivot (section 1.1), aspectual morphology (section 1.1) and post-verbal aspectual markers (section 3.2) contribute to marking foreground and the development of the discourse theme in Tombonuo narrative.

Finally, in section 4 I discuss the matter of highlighting or foregrounding, in particular, the raising of clauses from less significant status within the discourse to a position of prominence. This is accomplished in Tombonuo narrative by the use of *sono* 'now'.

1.1 OVERVIEW OF TOMBONUO VERB MORPHOLOGY

Word order in Tombonuo is basically VSO; however, front-shifting (L-dislocation) for topicalisation is relatively common (cf. section 3.1.2). Tombonuo has a system of verbal affixation similar to other Philippine-type languages. Verbs in Tombonuo are typcially cross-referenced with the "pivot" NP of the clause (Foley & Van Valin 1984:153). For the purposes of this paper this system is referred to as the pivot cross-referencing system. The pivot NP in Tombonuo may be viewed as the grammatical subject of the clause (King, J.K., forthcoming). Four basic types of pivot cross-referencing are distinguished in Tombonuo; to

actor as pivot,[2] marked typically with the prefix *m-*,[3] to patient as pivot, marked with *-on* in present tense and unmarked in past tense; to referent as pivot, marked with *-an*; and to theme as pivot, marked with *i-*. In addition, there are three types of cross-referencing to derived pivots: to instrument as pivot, to location as pivot and to setting as pivot. The following examples demonstrate the basic pivot cross-referencing system in Tombonuo:[4]

(3)   *Momaal[m-poN-waal]   aku   nu   waloi.*
           ACT-TRAN-make I.PIV NPV house
       I am making the house.

(4)   *Waal-on   ku   waloi tu.*
       make-PAT I.NPV house this.PIV
       This house is being made by me.

(5)   *Waal-an   mu   ya   aku   nu   waloi.*
       make-REF you.NPV TDM I.PIV NPV house
       For me, you are making the house.

(6)   *I-waal   ku   papan   iri   nu   waloi.*
       THM-make I.NPV wood(PIV) that NPV house
       That wood I'm using to make the house.

Tense in Tombonuo is relative rather than absolute, that is, the deictic centre or time axis is fixed relative to other events and may be specified by peripheral temporal phrases or adverbials (cf. Boutin, this volume, section 5). The only tense-marking morphology in Tombonuo is for the simple past tense (see section 2.3 for a discussion of its function).

Past tense in Tombonuo is marked by *n-*.[5] When the simple past affix combines with the stative prefix *o-*, the resulting past stative verb form functions almost like a perfect. Having the element of 'stativeness' and so being relatively low in transitivity, verbs marked with *no-* typically cross-reference patient pivot. On verbs inherently low in transitivity, a verb prefixed by *no-* typically lacks an actor. On verbs inherently high in transitivity, the prefix combination *no-* effects what functions like an English passive. The semantics of the verb is modified to indicate lack of intention or volition to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the inherent transitivity of the verb root. This feature of verbs prefixed with *no-* distinguishes them from their active counterparts which receive the past tense marker *n-* without the stative *o-*.

(7)   *No-bolou   asu   ono.*
       PAST.ST-blind dog DISTANT
       The dog was blinded.

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[2]Abbreviations used are as follows: ACT – actor, INT – intensifier, NPV – non-pivot, PAT – patient, PERF – perfective, PIV – pivot, PM – person marker, QUES – question marker, RED – reduced-focus marker (cf. Ida'an NL), REF – referent, ST – stative, TDM – thematic developmental marker (cf. Ida'an DEV), THM – theme, TRAN – transitiviser.

[3]Some verbs cross-reference actor pivot with the infix *-um-*, which is realised as *mu* on vowel-initial roots.

[4]Whenever there is an infix in an example or a morphophonemic change obscuring the affixes or the root which is relevant to the matter being exemplified, the component parts of the verb and its affixes are repeated in brackets following the example.

[5]In active sentences, past tense is marked by the infix *-in-* (prefix *in-* on vowel-initial roots). *N-* is used in conjunction with the stative prefix *o-*.

(8)   *Na-ambai[no-ambai]   nai   likud ku   no   nu   rui.*
               PAST.ST-hit there back   my   DISTANT NPV thorn
        The thorn hit my back.

(9)   *Nosipak   ku iri   watu ri.*
               PAST.ST.kick I   that rock that
        The rock was kicked accidentally by me.

Example (7) demonstrates the use of the past tense and stative prefix *no-* on a single-argument clause with low transitivity and lacking an actor. Example (8) illustrates the use of the same prefix on a two-argument clause, higher in transitivity but still lacking an actor. In (9), *no-* is attached to a verb high in transitivity but still lacking an intentional actor. The 'pastness' of verbs marked with *no-* (including those prefixed with *noko-* (considered below)) is discussed in section 2.3.

A verb marked with the timeless perfective prefix *ko-* presents an event viewed as a whole. The event is perfective in that it is complete in the mind of the speaker. It is timeless in that the verb itself gives no temporal (deictic) orientation. Verbs with *ko-* are therefore context independent to the extent that they are not attached to the deictic centre of any preceding event. Verbs with this prefix often have nuances of 'recentness', 'potentiality', 'intention', 'wilfulness' or 'future'. Such nuances are either inherent to the clause, given the cognitive universe of speaker and hearer, or can be made explicit using post-verbal aspectual markers (see section 3.2) or temporal adverbials. Verbs marked with *ko-* are high in transitivity and so typically cross-reference actor pivot. Examples:

(10) a.   *Ko-sigup   aku sisuna.*
           PERF-cigarette I   just.now
           I just now smoked (but I'm not smoking now).

     b.   *Monigup [m-poN-sigup]   aku.*
               ACT-TRAN-smoke I
           I am smoking.

(11) a.   *Ko-siou   aku yo   sono nu   lobu.*
           PERF-see I   TDM   now NPV person
           I can now see the people (I couldn't before).

     b.   *Mon-siou aku nu   lobu.*
            ACT-see   I   NPV people
           I am looking at the people.

Timeless perfective verbs can receive the past and stative prefix combination *no-*. When this occurs, *noko-* encodes past plus perfective. The event prefixed with *noko-* is viewed as a whole, completed at some point and effecting a result (stative). Verbs prefixed with *noko-* are high in transitivity by virtue of *ko-*; typically they are accomplishment verbs, expressing a result and cross-referencing actor pivot.

As in the case with verbs prefixed by *no-*, those roots inherently low in transitivity lack an intentional actor. Those verbs inherently high in transitivity have an intentional actor, but the nuance conveyed by the combination of *no-* and *ko-* indicates that the agent was not confident (s)he would succeed when (s)he acted. In other words, the combination *noko-* prefixed to a verb high in transitivity, means that the agent 'managed' or 'happened' to accomplish something. Examples:

(12)   *No-ko-siit*   *baju ku no   so kayu.*
        PAST.ST-PERF-catch shirt I   DISTANT to tree
        My shirt got caught on the tree.

(13)   *No-ko-sagid*   *akod ku no   nu   rui.*
        PAST.ST-PERF-prick foot I   DISTANT NPV thorn
        My foot was pricked by a thorn.

(14)   *No-ko-solamat*   *aku nu   lolaing sisuna.*
        PAST.ST-PERF-save I   NPV child   just.now
        I managed to save the child just now.

1.2 THE DISCOURSE

Tombonuo narrative discourse typically consists of a setting and a number of episodes which lead up to and include a climax and a resolution. Longacre (1976:199ff.) describes narrative discourse as being "... rooted in real time; it recounts events supposed to have happened somewhere, whether in the real or in an imaginary world. What is recounted is considered to be accomplished". He further describes narrative discourse as being "+ 1st/3rd person", "+ agent orientation", "+ accomplished time" and "+ chronological linkage".

In Tombonuo narrative discourse, the setting is very stative and is where major participants are introduced for the first time. The discourse conflict or theme is also introduced in the setting. An episode may be relatively simple and comprise a single thematic paragraph (see section 1.3), or it may be complex and comprise one or more 'embedded discourses', each of which may in itself be complete with setting and episodes (including climax and resolution). These embedded discourses appear most commonly in long Tombonuo folktales. A break between embedded discourses is effected when there is a major shift in the discourse location and that location shifts for all major participants relevant to that embedded discourse. The following example shows the embedded discourse boundaries in one Tombonuo folktale approximately 300 propositions in length.[6] (See example (24) for a fuller summary of the folktale.)

(15)   (Sultan: 1) There were two orphaned brothers. They decided to try to seek a wife at the Sultan's (5-9).

        (Sultan: 10) The two brothers went together to the Sultan. The Sultan asked for help clearing his fields (21-24).

        (Sultan: 25) The elder brother went to clear a field for the Sultan. He got hit in the back with an axe (80).

        (Sultan: 94) The next day the younger brother went to clear the field for the Sultan. The Sultan died, killed by the younger brother (248).

        (Sultan: 259) In the afternoon the maiden came to get the young man. The Sultan was brought back to life (295).

At sentences 10, 25, 94 and 259 of 'Sultan', there is a major locational shift for all major participants in the following embedded discourses. Each of these propositions begins a new

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[6]Examples in this paper come from various discourses. Where possible, however, they are taken from a text entitled, 'The Sultan, the youth and the maiden' (hereafter 'Sultan'). In (15), (24) and Table 1, the original sentence numbers from the transcribed text are included to orientate the reader.

episode or embedded discourse. That the use of major locational shifting with respect to all major participants in a discourse indicates a more significant break than one between thematic paragraphs is clear from the use of marked past tense as a boundary feature (see section 2.3) and topic/participant discontinuity involving a significant change in the cast of major participants who interact in the different episodes or embedded discourses.

Episodes, including the build-up, climax and resolution of the discourse, are marked for continuity and discontinuity where appropriate. The devices used to effect continuity and discontinuity in Tombonuo are presented in section 2.

1.3 THE THEMATIC PARAGRAPH

A thematic paragraph, as perceived by Givón (1983:7) and as understood throughout this paper, is a chain or sequence of clauses which combine into larger thematic units. Givón discusses three aspects of discourse continuity which are manifested through the thematic paragraph: thematic continuity, action continuity, and topic/participant continuity (see the introduction to this volume). In Tombonuo these three categories of continuity receive structural expression within the sentence by the use of connectives, expanded spatio-temporal and participant references and the use of marked past tense.

Tomlin (1987) recognises the thematic paragraph or episode as a significant unit in discourse. He relates participant referencing in discourse to thematic paragraph or episode boundaries. According to him, and in the experiments conducted by him, the speaker uses full nominal reference when reinstating a reference across episode boundaries and pronominal reference within episodes.

Rather than a bipartite distinction between nominal and pronominal referencing, Givón (1983:17ff.) proposed an iconicity hierarchy for the encoding of the topic identification domain which is similar to that operating in Tombonuo. In Tombonuo, there is a hierarchy from zero anaphora to full expanded participant reference, with intermediate distinctions as well (cf. King & Levinsohn, this volume, section 1). As was noted by Tomlin, expanded forms of reference to major participants in the narrative generally occur at boundaries between thematic paragraphs or episodes, as in (16b) below.

(16) a. So the youth threw the betelnut out of the basket.

   b. *Noowi'an-a iri   ingkakung iri   nu   buyu.*
       finished-also that basket   that NPV betelnut
       The basket was completely emptied of the betelnut.

   c. The youth grabbed the basket and threw it to the ground. When it hit the ground, the Sultan died.

In Tombonuo, such expanded references also occur at highly significant points within an episode such as the build-up to a climax. This is demonstrated in (17). (Expanded forms of participant reference in Tombonuo involve the full form of the appropriate demonstrative, after as well as before the noun.)

In (17b) the youth continues as the major participant in the narrative but he is referred to with the expanded form of reference which follows a thematic paragraph break. In other words, topic/participant continuity is maintained but action continuity is disrupted.

(17) a. When he got to the basket, the youth kicked it and rolled it away. The basket reached the betelnut tree.

    b. *Nokologa' ya   itu omulok itu so puun nu   buyu   tu.*
       arrived   TDM this youth this to tree   NPV betelnut this
       This youth also arrived at the betelnut tree.

    c. He didn't just pick the betelnut but snatched it all down from the tree and stuffed the basket full.

In (17b) there are no syntactic markings of a shift in the discourse theme except the expanded participant reference. The expanded participant reference functions to shift the topic from the basket (a prop) to the young man, prior to his climactic action of snatching down the betelnut and branches and stuffing it all into the basket.

In (18b) below, the expanded participant reference signals a break in action continuity. In addition, the connective *na* indicates overall thematic continuity (see section 2.2.1), while the overt temporal margin *nu susuab tu* 'this morning' indicates a discontinuity of temporal situation. That the time margin is not L-dislocated indicates that the shift from speech to action is primary and the temporal-situational shift only secondary.

(18) a. After the Sultan attacked the youth, he went home and reported to his brother that he had done all that the Sultan had asked and still the Sultan attacked him. So the younger brother said that he would take his place and do the clearing and be the one seeking a wife at the Sultan's.

    b. *Na minian oyo   sono itu adi'   itu nu   susuab tu.*
       so went   TDM now this younger.brother this NPV morning this
       So the younger brother went in the morning.

2. CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY

Givón (1983:36, fn.4) observes the three unities of time, place and action, recognised already by the Greek playwrights, and adds the unities of theme and topics/participants. He observes further that, when these unities are maintained, the unity or thematic continuity of the discourse remains intact. However, where there are shifts in one or more of these features, discontinuity of a greater or lesser degree occurs.

Levinsohn (1987:xiv) relates these five unities to thematic, topic/participant and action continuity (see the introduction to this volume). Because topicalisation includes front-shifted spatio-temporal references (Foley & Van Valin 1984), he broadens topic/participant unity to cover "continuity of situation" or spatio-temporal continuity (1987:66).

In Tombonuo there are devices for maintaining and for causing shifts in the five unities. In section 1.3, I considered the use of expanded participant reference when there is discontinuity of topics/participants. In this section I discuss the use of front-shifted spatio-temporal references which indicate a change of spatial or temporal setting (section 2.1), the use of connectives which generally indicate thematic continuity (section 2.2), and the use of tense to cause 'detachment' of the clause from discourse time at discourse boundaries, and in connection with out-of-sequence events and climactic portions of the narrative (section 2.3).

2.1 FRONT-SHIFTED SPATIO-TEMPORAL REFERENCES

The use of front-shifted spatio-temporal references in Tombonuo narratives is a high level discourse feature which most often signals a boundary between episodes or thematic paragraphs. For example:

(19) a.   The youth arrived and cleared not only the trees but also all the coconuts.

     b.   *Tonga runat tu   nokologa' yo   sono su' roraa,*
          mid   day   this arrived   TDM now   the maiden
          At noon the maiden arrived,

     c.   following with the food (for the youth).

Front-shifted spatio-temporal references typically signal action discontinuity, since their function is to replace a corresponding earlier setting (Levinsohn 1987:xiv).

2.2 CONNECTIVES

Givón (1983:8) says that "thematic continuity is most commonly coded via conjunction ... particles in the SVO or VSO typologies". Connectives in Tombonuo narrative discourse are used at points of action discontinuity to indicate thematic continuity and also thematic development. Their primary function, to indicate thematic continuity, is dealt with first; their secondary function, in connection with thematic development, is dealt with at the end of the section.

Connectives in Tombonuo are discussed here in terms of both their overall discourse pragmatic function (continuity/discontinuity) and their local clause/sentence level function (encoding semantic relationships). In section 2.2.1, I discuss how sequentiality is encoded in Tombonuo via ZERO (the absence of a connective) and the connectives *om*, *jadi* and *na*. In Tombonuo, "natural sequential order" (Givón 1983:8) is typically unmarked in narrative. The associative *om* at the discourse level marks a close association between the two events it connects. *Jadi* marks action discontinuity for groups of sequential events with sometimes large time gaps in between. *Na* marks sequential events if the relationship between them is primarily logical, or more specifically resultative. In section 2.2.2, I discuss the function of the adversative or contra-expectation connective *nga*.

2.2.1 SEQUENTIAL CONNECTIVES: ZERO, *om*, *jadi*, *na*

According to Givón (1983) action continuity is maintained as events are presented in a discourse in natural sequence with little time gap between each event. Action discontinuity typically occurs when a new temporal setting is established, as the effect of the new setting generally is to extend the time gap between events. Action discontinuity also occurs when there is a change in the NATURE of the action, such as when the narrative shifts between conversation and action, or when it shifts between a background comment and action.

In Tombonuo, natural sequence is unmarked (see examples (20c) and (20d) below).

(20) a.   Not long afterwards Inuwung heard a sound afar off, like the voice of Woyon.

     b.   *Indadi tinarak   sono ni   Inuwung.*
          so   went.toward now PM NAME
          So Inuwung went toward (the sound).

    c. *Nokologa' ya*
       arrived   TDM
       (She) arrived,

    d. *Dinium so tontong pinuut   giniakan-i,*
       sought to place   followed shouting-that
       (and) sought the place, following the shouting,

    e. but there was nothing there.

There are two uses of the associative *om* 'and'. In both, *om* connects two events and indicates that the latter event is more important than the former. The first use of *om* is to effect simple sequentiality of events controlled or performed by a single actor, and to draw the audience's attention to the second of the events. Example:

(21) a. The youth took the axe

    b. *om laaso   su' pinoianan nu   okanon ...*
       and chopped the container NPV rice
       and chopped open the rice container ...

With the second use of the associative *om*, a closer than natural connection is effected between two clauses with different actors. Even the normal clause-level pause for breath is absent when *om* is employed in this way to indicate the close association of the clauses.

(22) a. *"Au nokuro ka   dai ko mongokan?" koo roraa   tu*
       oh why   QUES not you eat   said maiden this
       "Oh, why aren't you eating?" said the maiden.

    b. *om "owasug aku po" koo omulok tu.*
       and full   I   still said youth this
       AND "I'm still full", said the youth.

This discourse function of the associative is often used prior to a direct conversation, giving the impression that the latter clause (the content of the conversation) is more important than the former clause:

(23) a. So the maiden returned and arrived at the house.

    b. *Ko-loga'   yo   so waloi*
       PERF-arrive TDM to house
       She arrived at the house

    c. *om "ado   ya   ka   norusak nu   iri niou-i?"*
       and not.have TDM QUES destroyed NPV that coconut-that

       koo itu Sulutan tu.
       said this sultan this
       and, "None of the coconuts were destroyed, were they?" asked the Sultan.

Jadi [7] and *na*, in their discourse pragmatic function, occur at points in the narrative where there is action discontinuity (see above), to indicate that there is thematic continuity (and development) through the linking of one section of the narrative to the next. Neither *jadi* or *na* occur sentence medially. In highly stylised folktales where a second person provides an affirmative response to the storyteller, *jadi* and *na* only occur after such a response, indicating a significant break.[8] *Jadi* and *na* are then used to indicate maintenance of thematic continuity in the light of such a break or discontinuity.

The use of *jadi* and *na* often coincides with other features which also may reflect the existence of a discontinuity (e.g. expanded participant references; section 1.3), or which themselves signal a discontinuity (front-shifted spatio-temporal references, use of past tense to detach boundary events from unmarked mainline events; section 2.3).

The functions of *jadi* and *na*, and their coincidence with other features which reflect discontinuities, are illustrated in the following summary of 'Sultan':

(24)   There were two orphaned brothers who hunted and trapped. One day they decided, in a conversation, that it was time to seek a wife at the Sultan's.

      10 – *Jadi*   (conversation > action)

      The brothers went to the Sultan. They used to take him things like pigs or whatever they caught in their traps.

      17 – *Jadi*   (new temporal setting)

      When the Sultan figured out that the young men were looking for a wife, he asked them to clear his field. He said it had to be done in a certain way so that no coconut trees were harmed.

      25 – *Jadi*   (conversation > action)

      The older brother went to go. The Sultan added that the youth didn't need to return at noon for lunch but that the maiden would bring his lunch out to him. The youth agreed.

      31 – *Jadi*   (conversation > action)

      The youth went and saw how huge the trees were in the area that he had to clear.

      36 – *Jadi*   (perception > action)

      He started to clear it and saw that some coconuts were withered from being sheltered by the overgrowth, so he cleared those away as well.

      42 – *Jadi*   (new temporal setting)

      At noon the maiden came bringing his lunch. He saw it but didn't know how to open the container, so sent her back home. She saw his work and reported back to the Sultan that the youth hadn't cut down any coconuts but had cleared away ones that were withered from being sheltered by overgrowth. So the Sultan ordered that the youth be brought back for his disobedience.

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[7]There are dialectal and idiolectal variants of the connective *jadi* which include *adi*, *dadi*, *nadi* and *indadi*.
[8]Tombonuo folktales often must be told by one person with a second person providing the response *'oo'* at appropriate places in the story.

71 – ZERO   (new temporal setting)

In the afternoon, the youth returned and, on his way, stopped by and ate at the Sultan's. When he turned his back to leave, the Sultan hit him in the back with an axe.

81a – *Na*   (stationary interaction > movement)

From there he bled all the way home.

81b – *Na*   (action > conversation)

His younger brother asked what had happened and he gave his report. This made the younger brother tell his older sibling that he would replace him.

94 – *Na*   (conversation > action)

He went the next day and told the Sultan the new plan. The Sultan gave him the same orders about clearing and about the maiden coming out at noon with his lunch. He agreed.

105 – ZERO   (conversation > action)

The youth arrived at the field and cleared not only the overgrowth from it but all the coconuts as well.

112 – ZERO   (new temporal setting)

At noon the maiden came with his lunch. Since he couldn't figure how to open the container, he just slashed at it and some spilt out. Then he sent the maiden home, saying that he was full anyway.

124 – *Na*   (conversation > action)

The maiden returned and, when her father asked her what had happened, she reported that the youth had chopped down everything. "Send him back here!" said the Sultan. "How could he do this to me?"

134 – ZERO   (conversation > action)

The youth returned and the Sultan lay in wait for him with an axe. The youth didn't go up to the Sultan's but rather went home and reported to his injured older brother about what he had done.

153 – *Jadi*   (new temporal setting)

After a couple of days the maiden came to the youth and said the Sultan needed his help picking betelnut. The youth agreed.

163 – *Jadi*   (conversation > action)

The youth went. The Sultan had hidden in the basket, waiting to stab him when he put the basket on his back.

169 – *Jadi*   (flashback > action)

The youth arrived but, rather than putting on the basket, he kicked it and rolled it to a betelnut tree, where he cut down the nuts, leaves and branches and stuffed them all in the basket. When the basket was stuffed full, he hit the basket and started rolling it home. As he rolled it home, he would hear groaning inside. When he would threaten to slice up the basket, the groaning would stop. He finally threatened to kill what was inside and, when he got to the house, he emptied the betelnut from the basket.

244 – ZERO

The contents were all out; he then grabbed the basket and threw it to the ground. The Sultan died. "So you got just what you deserved for your evil deeds, Sultan!" The youth went home.

259 – *oongo*[9] (new temporal setting)

That afternoon the maiden came to the youth at her mother's request, and asked that he give the Sultan his life back. The youth said he would.

268 – ZERO   (new temporal setting)

After a while the youth came and described all that he wanted if he were to restore the Sultan to life (riches, the Sultan as his slave, and the maiden for his wife). The Sultan's wife agreed.

282 – ZERO   (conversation > action)

He restored the Sultan to life and told him what had been agreed. He threatened to kill him again if he didn't agree. The Sultan agreed.

295 – *Na*   (conversation > action/result)

The Sultan lived and the youth became king. He had all the riches and the maiden for his wife.

Example (24) above shows that *jadi* and *na* occur at points of action discontinuity (when there are shifts from conversation or perception to action, or vice versa) and of situational discontinuity (reflected in the presence of front-shifted temporal expressions to establish new temporal settings).

TABLE 1: FUNCTIONS OF *jadi* AND *na*

Part 1		
10	*Jadi*	build-up
17	*Jadi*	build-up
25	*Jadi*	build-up
31	*Jadi*	build-up
36	*Jadi*	build-up
42	*Jadi*	build-up
71	ZERO	climactic episode (climax of cycle 1)
81a	*Na*	result/build-up
81b	*Na*	result/build-up
94	*Na*	result/build-up
105	ZERO	climactic episode (lst climax of cycle 2)
112	ZERO	climactic episode (2nd climax of cycle 2)
124	*Na*	result/build-up
134	ZERO	climactic episode (3rd climax of cycle 2)

---

[9]The form *oongo* has been found to date only in folktales and is used to effect a pause within a clause.

Part 2			
153	*Jadi*	build-up	
163	*Jadi*	build-up	
169	*Jadi*	build-up	
244	ZERO	climactic episode	⎫
259	*oongo*	climax pause	⎬ (Climax of
268	ZERO	climactic episode	⎪ part 2)
282	ZERO	climactic episode	⎭
295	*Na*	result	

Although both *jadi* and *na* occur at points of discontinuity, their functions are different, as Table 1 shows. *Jadi* is used to indicate thematic continuity and development as the episodes build up to a climax. The climactic episodes themselves typically are not introduced by sentence connectives. Episodes which result from the climax typically are introduced by *na*.[10]

2.2.2 ADVERSATIVE CONTRA-EXPECTATION CONNECTIVE: *nga*

The discourse function of the connective *nga*, which locally denotes contrast or contra-expectation, is to signal a shift of action or topic. It can therefore be said to signal discontinuity of actions and/or topics/participants. It is often found at the end of a major episode. Typically, the information following *nga* is more important than the information preceding it, whether the shift is from a comment or action to a resultant decision or state (25, 26, 27), or is from a topic to a comment (28).[11] Consequently, a similarity of function between *nga* and the associative *om* (see section 2.2.1) can be seen.

Examples (25), (26) and (27) demonstrate the function of *nga* to indicate a shift in action. In (25), the shift is from a discussion of past actions (*nga*) to a resultant present decision.

(25) a. The Sultan was angry and said, "How could he do this when I told him I didn't want any coconuts to be cleared away?"

    b. *Nga   pouli'on po omulok-i.*
      SHIFT send.back also youth-that
      "Get that youth back here!"

In (26) and (27), the shift is from the action (*nga*), to the resultant state:

(26) a. The youth took the axe.

    b. *om laaso   su' pinoianan nu   okanon*
      and chopped the container NPV rice
      and chopped open the rice container

    c. *nga   minonompias.*
      SHIFT scattered
      and it was scattered all around.

---

[10]In Ida'an (Moody, this volume, section 4.3), *na* is used not only at points of discontinuity but also to relate events in natural sequential order, if the relationship between them is primarily logical.

[11]In Coastal Kadazan (Miller & Miller, this volume, section 5.4), *nopo nga* is highly productive and used also to signal a shift in topic.

(27) a. So in the afternoon the youth returned. He stopped by at the Sultan's to eat. As
  he turned to go, the Sultan hit him with his axe.

  b. *Nga nororai su' likud.*
    SHIFT was.torn the back
    So his back was torn open (by the axe).

In (28b) and (28d), *nga* is used in conjunction with topicalisation (L-dislocation) to effect
a shift of topics. In both sentences, it separates the topic and the comment.

(28) a. So when the youth raised the Sultan back to life, he told the Sultan the agreement
  he had made with his wife if he healed him.

  b. *Roraa ri nga pilion nio*
    maiden that SHIFT chose he
    As for that maiden, he chose her

  c. *nu' olapo nu sawo.*
    which take NPV spouse
    and he took her for his wife.

  d. *Itu tontong itu nga io monjadi nu raja.*
    this place this SHIFT he became NPV king
    As for this place, he became the king.

The common feature in both of these discourse functions of *nga* is that it indicates a shift
(in topic or action). This feature may be viewed as a logical extension of its local adversative
function of expressing contrast or contra-expectation.

2.3 PAST TENSE

Waugh and Monville-Burston (1986) explain the simple past in French as functioning to
bring 'detachment' within a discourse. The notion of detachment is similar to that of ground
and figure, with the detached form being the figure or marked form. The term detachment is
preferable here, however, as figure implies increased importance, whereas the effect of
detachment in Tombonuo may at times be downgrading in importance.

In Tombonuo narrative, tense is most often unmarked and so derived from the discourse
context. As was stated in section 1.1, tense is relative in Tombonuo; the deictic centre in
narrative is not the time of utterance but 'discourse time' that is, the time of the last mainline
event. The function of the form with the past tense marker is to detach that clause from its
discourse context. The effect of detachment is to make the clause context-independent. In
other words, it is not chronologically or deictically attached to the previous event; rather, the
presence of the past tense marker detaches the event from discourse time (see Boutin, this
volume, section 6.2, for further discussion of detachment).

I now discuss three different circumstances in which detached clauses are used in
narrative discourse: 1) to present boundary events; 2) to present climactic events; and 3) to
present out-of-sequence events.

The first use of past tense is to detach boundary events from the body of the episode,
whether they are preliminary to or following unmarked mainline events, and whether or not
they are subordinated. Though the event is detached from the episode in which it occurs,

thematic continuity can be maintained by means of connectives (section 2.2) and the thematic development marker *yo* which ties the event to the prior events (see section 3.2.1). This is illustrated in (29):

(29) a. The younger brother said he would take the injured older brother's place seeking a wife and working for the Sultan.

    b. *Na m-in-ian   oyo sono itu adi'   tu nu   susuab tu.*
       so ACT-PAST-go TDM now this younger.brother this NPV morning this
       So the younger brother went in the morning.

    c. *Ko-loga'   ya,*
       PERF-arrive TDM
       He arrived,

    d. (and he explained the new arrangements and asked where the place was that he was to clear).

In this example, the presence of the past tense marker detaches (29b) from the body of the episode to follow, although the sentence still coheres with the prior episode semantically ('he said he would go and he went') and structurally, because of the resultative connective *na* and the marker *oyo.* Then, in (29c), the time of the body of the episode is established by virtue of the perfective form of the verb 'arrive' (section 1.1).

This same type of boundary event detachment is illustrated in (30a-c), but in a subordinate rather than independent construction.

(30) a. The youths would bring the Sultan whatever they caught in their traps. So, after a long time,

    b. *pogka no-ilaan-o   sono nu Sulutan-i nu' mononsawo*
       when PAST.ST-realise-TDM now NPV sultan-that that betrothed

       itu omulok itu di so nosiro,
       this youth this there to them
       when the Sultan realised that the youth wanted to marry (his daughter),

    c. there came a time when the Sultan asked for help clearing his fields.

This type of boundary detachment is most clearly illustrated on verbs of motion as in (29b) but, as can be seen from (30) above, detachment of boundary events which do not involve motion occurs as well.

The second use of past tense is to detach climactic events or states resulting from a climactic action. In this usage, which is very frequent in Tombonuo narrative, the marked events are typically upgraded relative to the immediately prior context. This use of the past tense is similar to the first, in that detached climactic information may often be interpreted also as boundary information. This is illustrated in (31b-e), (32c-d) and (33b-c).

(31) a. Inuwung saw something that looked like fruit hanging from a tree.

    b. *Indadi minongalap[-in-m-poN-alap]   sono si Inuwung nu*
       so   PAST-ACT-TRAN-take now PM NAME NPV

       tumbolang
       pole
       So Inuwung took a pole.

c. *om   winaal[-in-waal]   nu   bolibu,*
   and   PAST-make NPV harvesting.stick
   and made a harvesting stick,

d. *om   in-indakod   nio kororong-i mongalap*
   and PAST-climb she tree-that   take
   and she climbed that tree with it

e. *om   pinigis [-in-pigis].*
   and   PAST-cut
   and cut (the fruit).

(32) a. ... and the youth went up a while, ate with the Sultan and then went home. (The youth) turned to leave

b. *om bolingo nu   Sulutan tu   nu   kapak,*
   and hit   NPV sultan   this NPV axe
   and the Sultan hit him with the axe,

c. *nga   no-rorai   su' likud,*
   SHIFT PAST.ST-tear the back
   and his back was torn,

d. *no-suat   nu   kapak,*
   PAST.ST-hit NPV axe
   being hit by the axe,

e. and from there he bled all the way home to his brother.

The climactic action in (32b) is followed in (32c-d) by two clauses with verbs detached with the past tense plus stative prefix *no-* (see section 1.1), indicating the resultant states of the climactic action.

(33) a. "You can have everything that you want", said the maiden; "just bring the Sultan back to life!"

b. *Winiau [-in-wiau] oyo   itu   nu   omulok tu.*
          PAST-live TDM this NPV youth   this
   The Sultan was revived by the youth.

c. *No-wiau   su' Sulutan*
   PAST.ST-live the sultan
   The Sultan was alive

d. and the youth told the Sultan the agreement they had made.

In (33a-c) again, the past tense functions at a climactic point in the narrative to detach and upgrade the event in the narrative. Both the act of reviving the Sultan (33b) and the resultant state, 'the Sultan was alive' (33c), receive the past tense marker.

The third use of detachment is to mark out-of-sequence events. In (34), the past tense is used in connection with supplementary information. The information of (34c-d) is detached from the flow of the discourse, using the past plus perfective *no-ko-*.

(34) a. *Awi-awi tu   ya   muli' oyo   itu   omulok itu.*
      afternoon this TDM return TDM this youth   this
   That afternoon the youth returned (home).

b. *Ko-loga'   ya   so   waloi*
   PERF-arrive TDM to   house
   He arrived at the house (of the Sultan)

c. *om no-ko-indakod   sontagal omulok tu,*
   and PAST.ST-PERF-go.up a.while   youth   this
   and the youth went up a while,

d. *no-ko-okan   di   so   Sulutan-i*
   PAST.ST-PERF-eat there to   sultan-that
   ate at the Sultan's

e. *om muli' oyo.*
   and return TDM
   and returned.

Examples (34a) and (34e) refer to the same event. The events marked with the past tense marker, (34c) and (34d), are detached, as they took place before (34a).

In the following example, both an out-of-sequence event and a subordinate occurrence of the past tense are in evidence in a single sentence:

(35) a. The youth chopped down the trees. There was not even one fallen coconut.

b. *Na pogka m-in-osa'   iri niou   iri nu'   no-tongob*
   so when ACT-PAST-rot that coconut that which PAST.ST-shelter

   nu   oba'on-i,
   NPV jungle-that
   Now when there were coconuts that had rotted, that had been sheltered by the jungle,

c. he was throwing away the withered leaves.

In (35), the presence of the past tense marker detaches downgraded (in this case, background) information from the flow of the events in the narrative. The events are not in chronological sequence; rather, the narrator is providing information about the situation that the young man found. With respect to the time of 'was throwing away' (35c), 'had rotted' (35b) is out of sequence. Similarly, with respect to the time of 'had rotted' (35b), 'had been sheltered' (35b) is out of sequence.

3. THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT

In Tombonuo narratives, thematic development is manifested in connection with foreground actions, that is, "events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse" or "which are on the main story line" (Hopper 1979:213). By contrast, background provides information to the narrative which is "subsidiary or supportive" (Hopper, p.213) and which does not pertain to thematic development. Background by definition encodes information of less importance to the overall discourse theme than foreground or mainline actions.

Cross-linguistic evidence abounds to show that languages possess ways of distinguishing, syntactically as well as semantically and sometimes morphologically, between information that is foreground and that which is background (Hopper 1979; Wallace 1982:208). Jones and Jones (1979) go even further and claim that, for some meso-American

languages, the bipartite distinction into foreground and background should be further subdivided to allow for a hierarchy of five or six levels or degrees of grounding.[12] Though there is currently some debate as to the validity of the binary distinction between foreground and background (Givón 1987:175ff.), this two-way distinction seems most appropriate for discussing Tombonuo narrative, and several devices contribute to the marking of the distinction. In particular, foreground events in Tombonuo narrative discourse may be recognised from verb morphology (section 3.1) and from the distribution of thematic development markers (section 3.2). Background information is typically encoded in subordinate (dependent) clauses, in stative verbal clauses (in contrast with active clauses) and in clauses whose verbs carry full cross-referencing to a non-actor pivot, when they are found under conditions other than those designated in section 3.1.

3.1 VERB MORPHOLOGY AND THE FOREGROUND-BACKGROUND DISTINCTION

Foreground events in Tombonuo narrative discourse are coded morphologically in three ways: verbs cross-referenced to an actor pivot ('actor-focus verbs') plus verbs with reduced cross-referencing to a non-actor pivot ('reduced-focus forms') (section 3.1.1); verbs with full cross-referencing to a non-actor pivot ('full-focus forms') when these verbs occur at climactic points (and) in connection with topicalisation of non-actor (section 3.1.2); and verbs marked for simple past tense and/or perfective aspect (section 3.1.3).

3.1.1 UNMARKED FOREGROUND – FORMS CROSS-REFERENCED TO ACTOR AND REDUCED FORMS

Tombonuo is an actor-prominent language where, in the unmarked case, attention is directed from the actor to the patient. Strong preference is shown in Tombonuo for encoding mainline events in narrative discourse either with cross-referencing to actor pivot or with reduced forms (cross-referenced to a non-actor pivot), rather than with full forms. Full forms (cross-referenced to a non-actor pivot) typically are detached with the past tense marker (see section 2.3) or else occur in topicalised clauses (see section 3.1.2). Of the 247 two-argument clauses with definite patients from six texts which were surveyed for verbal cross-referencing, two forms predominated. Among forms unmarked for tense (-Past), those cross-referenced to actor pivot predominated (83 out of 136, or 61 per cent). Among forms marked for past tense (+Past), those cross-referenced to non-actor pivot predominated (90 out of 111, or 81 per cent). See Table 2 (reduced forms never occur in past tense).

TABLE 2: VERBAL CROSS-REFERENCING OF TWO-ARGUMENT CLAUSES
WITH DEFINITE PATIENTS

verbal cross-referencing to:	ACTOR	NON-ACTOR (full forms)	NON-ACTOR (reduced)
-Past	83	28	25
+Past	21	90	—

---

[12]Jones and Jones interpret markers of thematic development as foregrounding devices (cf., for example, *-tz* in Aguateca; 1979:100). In the present volume, thematic development and grounding are considered to be different variables; cf. section 4.

The correlation between the choice of cross-referencing to non-actor pivot and the function of past tense to detach the clause from the discourse flow is outside the scope of the present study. It is significant to note, however, that there appears to be a strong correlation between them, which should be investigated in the future.

Tombonuo narrative discourse has a strong tendency to begin subunits cross-referencing to actor pivot and for the subunit to shift back to cross-referencing to actor pivot within the subunit. At episodic boundaries, both the closing verb of the first episode and the opening clause in the new episode are typically cross-referenced to actor pivot. In between, major participants and minor participants (including props) interact and so there occur instances of verbal cross-referencing to non-actor pivot.

The use of reduced forms implies topic continuity, since full forms occur when there is topic/participant shift or topic discontinuity (see section 3.1.2). In the following example, reduced forms occur in (36b) and (36f).

(36) a. *Mom-panou oyo sono iri omulok-i.*
ACT-go   TDM now that youth-that
The youth went.

   b. *Siowi   nu   omulok-i itu ipoinduas   itu-no*
RED.see NPV youth-that this to.be.cleared this-DISTANT
The youth saw the land to be cleared

   c. *su'   soro soko ono kukutuu nu   itu kayu itu.*
which much as   this big   NPV this tree   this
where the trees were so large.

   d. *Iri yo su' i-poinduas   di   so niou   nio-ri.*
that TDM which THM-to.be.cleared there to coconut his-that
That was what was to be cleared, at the coconuts.

   e. *Dai mongo nu   otungan iri niou-i.*
not want   NPV fallen   that coconut-that
(The Sultan) did not want any coconuts to fall.

   f. *Jadi, togadi   yo   sono itu omulok tu.*
so   RED.cut.down TDM now this youth   this
So, the youth cut down (the trees).

   g. *Ado   ya   bo   nima otungan iri niou   iri.*
not.have TDM INT even fallen   that coconut that
There was not even one fallen coconut.

   h. *Na pogka minosa' yo   iri niou-i   nu'   notongob*
so when rotted   TDM that coconut-that which sheltered

   nu   oba'on-i,
NPV jungle-that
When there were coconuts that had rotted, that had been sheltered by the jungle,

   i. *oiduan-o   po sono nu   gouton lumingoi-o   raun-i.*
throw.away-TDM also now NPV jungle withered-TDM leaves-that
he was throwing away those withered leaves into the jungle.

In (36a-i) above, the mainline events are those cross-referenced to actor pivot (36a, 36h, 36i) and those coded with reduced forms (36b, 36f). In addition, the highlighting device *sono* (cf. section 4), is used in (36i) to raise the status of the full (though stative) form *oiduan* which is cross-referenced to referent pivot. Subordinate clauses containing background information are encoded with a full form (36d) and with stative constructions (36g, 36h).

3.1.2 MARKED FOREGROUND – FULL FORMS

There are two circumstances under which mainline events are not coded with verbs cross-referenced to actor pivot. The first is at climactic points in the narrative when a major participant is interacting with a minor participant or a prop and that minor participant or prop is the pivot of the clause. The other is when NPs are topicalised.

As already noted in section 2.3, at climaxes in the narrative mainline events are encoded using the (full) past tense form of the verb, to detach the climax from the other events. This was illustrated in (31), repeated here as (37):

(37) a. *Indadi minongalap[-in-m-poN-alap]*   *sono si   Inuwung nu*
         so   PAST-ACT-TRAN-take now PM NAME   NPV

         tumbolang
         pole
         So Inuwung took a pole

    b. *om winaal[-in-waal]   nu   bolibu,*
        and   PAST-make NPV harvesting.stick
        and made a harvesting stick,

    c. *om in-indakod   nio kororong-i mongalap*
        and PAST-climb she tree-that   take
        she climbed the tree (with it)

    d. *om pinigis[in-pigis].*
        and   PAST-cut
        and cut (the fruit).

In (37), all the clauses are marked with the past tense marker and so are detached from the body of the discourse. Example (37a) is a boundary event (see section 2.3) and so is also cross-referenced to actor pivot, while (37b-d) are climactic events in the narrative and so are detached for that purpose.

That the verbal cross-referencing in the narrative should shift at the climactic point from actor to patient pivot reinforces the detachment of the climax from the body of the discourse (see section 2.3). Such a climax is not developmental per se; this is evidenced by the absence of a thematic development marker (see section 3.2).

Prior to a major climax where significant developments occur, a collateral structure is used to highlight the following important event(s) which lead to the climax. This is illustrated in (38).

(38) a. The youth arrived and the maiden directed him to the basket that the Sultan
         wanted him to carry. The youth got to the basket,

    b. *om okon-a ko   iniba su' ingkakung;*
       and not-also even carry the   basket
       (but) he did not put the aforementioned basket on his back (as expected);

    c. *somito yo*
       grab   TDM
       rather he grabbed it

    d. *om pilayo yo   so tana'.*
       and throw TDM to ground
       and threw it to the ground.

(In a construction such as (38b-d), each event of the climax is marked with the thematic development marker; see section 3.2)

Front-shifting (L-dislocation) has two functions in Tombonuo narrative discourse: 1) for topicalisation, most commonly in connection with background information (the topicalised NP is always anaphoric); and 2) for emphasis. These functions are illustrated respectively in (39) and (40).

(39) a. At noon the maiden arrived and brought the youth's food. He saw it but didn't know how to open it.

     b. *Omulok itu witilon.*
       youth   this hungry
       The youth was hungry.

     c. So the youth took the axe and slashed at the food container and the food spilt.

(40) a. *Okon-a ko   kayu rus   tinogad[in-togad],*
       not.just even wood immediately   PAST-cut.down
       (He did) not just cut down the (other) trees;

     b. *muad niou-i   su' in-awi'*
       but   coconuts-that the PAST-finished
       (he also cut down) all the coconut palms.

(NPs front-shifted for emphasis commonly occur at climaxes, in conjunction with the simple past.)

3.1.3 VERBS MARKED FOR PERFECTIVE ASPECT

Section 2.3 described how the past tense functions in Tombonuo narrative discourse, and suggested that such verbs, unless occurring in subordinate clauses, also encode mainline events. Verbs marked for perfective aspect also encode mainline events. Perfectiveness is often not the only criterion for marking mainline events. Tombonuo has several categories of mainline event marking, of which perfective is only one.

The timeless perfective aspect (see section 1.1) in Tombonuo narrative discourse functions to: 1) designate the event as definitely completed, even though the actual time of completion is indefinite with respect to the time of the last event; and 2) reattach the events of the ongoing narrative to discourse time, following the use of the past tense marker which functions to detach the event with which it is associated from discourse time (see section 2.3). In other words, the use of the timeless perfective marker *ko-* re-establishes discourse

time as the deictic centre for the ongoing discourse, the relationship of this centre to the time of the last event being left indefinite. Example (41b) illustrates this use of the timeless perfective aspect.

(41) a. So, at noon the maiden went bringing the food to the youth.

    b. *Ko-loga' yo sono iri*
       PERF-arrive TDM now that
       The maiden actually arrived (after an indefinite time)

    c. and gave the food to the youth.

3.2 THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT MARKERS

As can be seen from the above discussion, verbs encoding mainline events in Tombonuo narrative are those which are cross-referenced to actor pivot and are not subordinate, together with reduced forms, plus those full forms which are marked with simple past and/or occur at climactic points with or without topicalisation.

In Tombonuo, mainline events can be marked to indicate development of the discourse theme with the use of the post-verbal aspectual markers *-o/yo*, *-a/ya*, and *po*.[13]

3.2.1 COMPLETIVE *-o/yo*

Whether in conversation or in narrative, *yo* always ties the event with which it is associated to a corresponding part of the context, whether verbal or non-verbal, and presents the current event as completed. Examples (42) and (43) demonstrate the function of *yo* as a completive aspect marker in conversation.

(42) *Na-aas   mai yo owa' ri.*
     PAST.ST-check we TDM trap that
     The traps were checked by us.

(43) *No-solamat   ku yo   ono   lolaing-o.*
     PAST.ST-save I TDM DISTANT child-DISTANT
     The child was saved by me.

Example (42) might be used in response to some query as to whether the traps had been checked.

The function of *yo* in narrative is to tie the event so marked to the event preceding it, to indicate that the current event represents a development from the previous one. It functions also to indicate that the current event is viewed as completed, with respect to the event which in turn will develop from it.

In narrative, the first occurrence of this thematic development marker typically occurs after the introduction of the participants in the narrative and the presentation of the "inciting moment" which gets the story going (Longacre 1976:214f.). This is illustrated in (44).

(44) a. There were two people. The two brothers were orphans; they had no parents.
       Their work was farming and trapping.

---

[13]The basic forms of the thematic development markers *yo* and *ya* have variants *oyo* or *-o* and *-a*, respectively.

b. So one time the older brother said, "So far it's been okay that we haven't gone to marry at the Sultan's, but now it is better that we go and try to marry at the Sultan's". "Okay", said the younger brother.

c. *Dadi minian-o   sono iri nosiro di   so Sulutan-i.*
so   went-TDM now that they   there to sultan-that
So they then went to the Sultan.

In (44c) the TDM *-o* relates back to the presentation of the inciting moment in (44b), when the brothers discussed going to the Sultan. It also indicates that they followed through with their stated intention to go and that (44c) is viewed as completed, with respect to the performance of the next event in the discourse. The same function of *yo* can be seen in (45), which is from the opening episode of another discourse.

(45) a. So it was like this for Woyon and Inuwung. Woyon had seven baskets of rice and livestock. He had a lot of livestock like buffalo, cattle and chickens. Once Woyon spoke to Inuwung, "Do this, Inuwung! At dawn prepare me some yams, because I'm going on a journey", said Woyon. "Okay", said Inuwung.

b. *Jadi kodung duruk sumuab   minongoluu yo*
so   when   dawn become.morning prepared   TDM

iri Inuwung-i.
that NAME-that
So when morning dawned Inuwung prepared (yams).

After the first occurrence of the TDM, each subsequent event manifesting thematic development is marked with the completive marker *yo*, the anticipatory marker *ya* or the continuative/incompletive marker *po*.

The discourse function of the completive marker *yo*, as stated above, is thematic development. Inasmuch as thematic development presupposes thematic continuity, *yo* accomplishes both. In addition, in ongoing discourses, *yo* not only ties the current event to the preceding event (development); it also prepares for the subsequent event by indicating that the current one is viewed as completed. Subsequent events then build on the current one.

The following example from 'Sultan' illustrates the discourse pragmatic function of *yo* to tie each current event to a prior one and to pave the way for the following event by presenting the current one as completed.

(46) a. "When I empty out this basket and see what's inside (making all that groaning noise), I'm going to kill it", said the youth.

b. *Idui   yo   nu   omulok tu nu   kapit so ingkakung*
throw.out TDM NPV youth this NPV tie   to basket
The youth got rid of the tie on the basket.

c. *om sintako yo   su' buyu   mongidu.*
and took.out TDM the beletnut throw.away
and took out the betelnut and threw it away.

d. *Somito yo   nu   omulok-i su' ingkakung koimbagu.*
grab   TDM NPV youth-that the basket   again
The youth grabbed the basket again.

e. *Popilayo yo   nga   duui so tana'.*
    throw   TDM SHIFT there to ground
    He threw it to the ground.

f. When it hit the ground, the Sultan died. "You're the one, Sultan, who did those
    bad things to my older brother and tried to get me", said the youth.

3.2.2 ANTICIPATORY *-a/ya*

The overall meaning of the post-verbal aspectual marker *-a/ya* is to indicate intention or
anticipation.

(47) *Mian aku ya   ong   oopod mongokan.*
      go   I   TDM when finish eat
      I intend to go when I finish eating.

(48) *Piniidan mu ya   ka   ono nu   tuala?*
      wipe   you TDM QUES it NPV towel
      Were you intending to wipe that with the towel?

In narratives, *-a/ya* replaces *-o/yo* to anticipate further information relevant to the
development of the theme of the discourse. The functions of *yo*, to tie the current event to
the preceding event and to view the current event as completed for the performance of the
next event, are still in effect when *ya* is used, but the notion of anticipation is added. By
replacing *yo* with *ya*, the narrator tells the hearer/reader to expect some further information of
importance. In some cases this further information adds an unexpected twist to the plot. In
other words, the event is viewed as complete in itself, but *ya* directs the reader's/hearer's
attention to the subsequent event which may not be expected but which will nevertheless
further develop the theme in a significant way.

An example of the distinction between the function of *-o/yo* and *-a/ya* can be seen in the
following example from 'Sultan':

(49) a. After the older brother was injured, the younger brother said that he would take
         his place as the one seeking a wife at the Sultan's and the one clearing the
         Sultan's fields.

b. *Na mian oyo sono itu adi'   tu nu   susuab tu.*
    so go   TDM now this younger.brother this NPV morning this
    So the younger brother went on his way in the morning.

c. *Ko-loga'   ya   om ...*
    PERF-arrive TDM and
    He arrived (anticipation) and ...

d. "Where, Sultan, is the land that you want cleared?" said the youth. The Sultan
    said, "It's over there and do it just the right way!" "Okay", said the youth, "and
    I'm the one seeking a wife now". "That's fine", said the Sultan. "The maiden
    will bring your lunch to you at noon".

In (49b), *yo* is used to tie the event to the previous one ('he said he would go to take the
injured brother's place' and 'he went'). Example (49c) ('he arrived') develops from this
event, but *ya* functions to direct the audience's attention to what took place upon his arrival,

namely, his discussion with the Sultan in (49d). In (50a), which immediately follows (49d) in the text, the same use of *ya* to direct the audience's attention to (50b) is in evidence. This is the case also with (50c-d).

(50) a. *No-loga'   ya   itu no   nu   omulok tu,*
PAST.ST-arrive TDM this DISTANT NPV youth   this
(When) the youth was there (anticipation),

   b. he saw how big the trees were in the place he had to clear.

   c. *Ko-loga'   ya   omulok itu   no.*
PERF-arrive TDM youth   this DISTANT
The youth arrived (anticipation).

   d. He cleared not only the trees but also all the coconuts.

   e. *Tonga runat tu   no-ko-loga'   yo   sono su' roaa.*
mid   day   this PAST.ST-PERF-arrive TDM now   the maiden
At noon the maiden arrived.

The sentences in (49) and (50) demonstrate that *ya*, while relating the current event to the one that precedes and marking the current event to be completed with respect to the following event, also anticipates a significant following event. Each of the verbs marked with a TDM is important to the development of the overall theme. However, (49c), (50a) and (50c), which are marked with *ya*, though independent in one sense, are also dependent, inasmuch as they anticipate the action of each subsequent clause. Something more relevant to the theme has yet to be presented, when clauses are marked by *ya*.

3.2.3 CONTINUATIVE *po*

The overall function of the marker *po* is to indicate that an event or state is viewed as incomplete. It can thus be translated locally as 'still', 'yet' or 'also'.

(51) a. "Take the food home!" said the youth.

   b. *Ingku po oingin owasug aku po.*
not   yet want full   I   yet
"I don't want it yet; I'm still full".

In its discourse pragmatic function as a TDM, *po* indicates both development of the overall theme and that the event so coded is viewed as incomplete, with respect to the performance of the following event.

(52) a. So the youth cut down the trees and not the coconuts. But there were some that were withered from having been sheltered from the sun.

   b. *Oiduan-o   po sono nu   gouton lumingoi-o   roun-i.*
throw.away-TDM also now NPV jungle withered-TDM leaf-that
He was throwing away those withered leaves into the jungle.

   c. The maiden came with his food ...

The event in (52b) is incomplete with respect to the event in (52c), in the sense that the youth was still throwing away withered coconuts when the girl came.

4. THEMATIC HIGHLIGHTING WITH *sono* 'now'

In Tombonuo narratives, *sono* 'now' is used as a highlighting device to mark events which are particularly significant to the overall theme of the discourse. *Sono* places the mainline events it marks at centre stage in the narrative as events crucial to the narrative theme. *Sono* can also mark background information, with one of two functions: 1) a contrastive function with respect to a previous occurrence, in which case it still highlights the clause it marks; and 2) a reiterative function which does not effect highlighting.

This highlighting function of *sono* could also be viewed as denoting a third and fourth level of grounding (Jones & Jones 1979). However, I prefer to deal with *sono* separately, as highlighting appears to be an independent variable, raising both foreground events to a position of greater prominence and background information to the main-event line of the discourse.

The past tense marker has already been discussed with regard to its highlighting function in narrative (see section 2.3). In detaching both climactic and boundary events, its function relates closely to the overall structure of the discourse.

As a discourse level highlighting device in Tombonuo narratives, *sono* places mainline events into a temporal framework. Since tense in Tombonuo is relative rather than absolute (see section 1.1), the point of reference or deictic centre for most foreground events is discourse time, the time of the last foreground event. In its highlighting function in Tombonuo, the use of *sono* 'now' makes explicit that the event so marked took place at the deictic centre. In other words, *sono* places the event at centre stage.

The first actual movement in time affecting the major participant(s) in the discourse, or rather the shift to specific time from non-specific time, is typically highlighted with *sono*. This is illustrated in (44), which is repeated here as (53).

(53) a. There were two people. The two brothers were orphans; they had no parents. Their work was farming and trapping.

 b. *Nadi koo sono itu ongko ...*
    so   said now this older.brother
    So one time the older brother said ...

 c. "So far it's been okay that we haven't gone to marry at the Sultan's, but now it is better that we go and try to marry at the Sultan's". "Okay", said the younger brother.

 d. *Dadi minian-o   sono iri   nosiro di   so Sulutan-i.*
    so   went-TDM now that they   there to sultan-that
    So they then went to the Sultan.

In (53b), *sono* is used when the narrative moves from general, stative setting information to the first actual event which occurs at a specific (though unspecified) time, the 'now' of the discourse. Thereafter, *sono* is used to highlight significant developments in the narrative which are crucial to the overall discourse theme, as in (53d) above. The development is most often physical, but can also be cognitive as in coming to a realisation about something (cf. (54b) below). The significant point is that the proposition containing *sono* is crucial to the theme.

(54) a. So, after a long time,

   b. *pogka noilaan-o   sono nu   Sulutan-i*
       when realised-TDM   now NPV   sultan-that
       when the Sultan realised

   c. *nu' mononsawo itu omulok itu di   so nosiro ...*
       that betrothed   this youth   this there to them
       that the youth wanted to marry ...

When the discourse theme has developed to the point where the central conflict and the part played in the overall theme by the major participants are revealed, *sono* drops out while the conflict continues, sometimes through several climaxes. This is especially the case in long, well-told Tombonuo folktales. It is as though extra highlighting is unnecessary, once the momentum of the story has been established, so the action continues with little or no temporal gap between the events.

Sono typically occurs with the thematic development markers described in section 3.2, as in (53) and (54) above, where *sono* functions in combination with *yo*. *Yo sono* marks a significant development in the narrative, which is viewed as completed with respect to the performance of the next event (e.g. (55a-c) below). (Compare below on *yo sono* in (55d).) *Ya sono*, as illustrated in (55e), marks a significant development in the narrative which, though viewed as completed, also anticipates further significant information.

(55) a. *Mompanou kai yo   sono.*
         go   we TDM now
         So we went.

   b. *Olanggau-langgau runat kai mompanou.*
       all.the.long   day we go
       All day long we went.

   c. *Nokorongou kai yo   sono nu   bongut nu   agung.*
       heard   we TDM now NPV voice NPV   gong
       We now heard the sound of a gong.

   d. *Nopung-lopung nopung-lopung yo   sono agung-i.*
       gong-gong   gong-gong   TDM now gong-that
       The gongs went "gong-gong" "gong-gong".

   e. *Jadi torako mai ya   sono agung iri,*
       so   chase we TDM   now gong that
       So we chased after the gong,

   f. *siombo iri kai-kai nu   agung iri.*
       where that noise NPV   gong that
       where the noise of the gong was coming from,

   g. *dii   kai tumarak mai yo   sono.*
       there we chase   we TDM now
       there we chased after it.

The function of *ya sono* in (55e) is to highlight the event, while anticipating and directing the hearer's attention to the next event.

Po sono is slightly more rare than *yo sono* or *ya sono*. It marks a significant development which is viewed as incomplete with respect to the information presented next. Example (56c-d) illustrates the use of *po sono* in contrast with *yo sono*.

(56) a. *Indadi naawi' yo   sono ongo mookan ni   Inuwung-i.*
        so   finished TDM now all food   PM NAME-that
        So now all of Inuwung's food was finished up.

   b. *Na mongokan-o sono nu   lokou nu   ropuan.*
       so eat-TDM   now NPV coals NPV kitchen
       So she ate only the coals in the kitchen.

   c. *Minukai po   sono pimpikau-i*
       call   TDM now bird-that
       The bird kept calling

   d. *om ado   yo   sono.*
       and not.have TDM now
       (but) there was nothing left.

In (56), all four clauses are marked with *sono* as crucial to the discourse theme. Example (56c), marked with *po sono*, indicates that 'the bird was still calling' – the event is viewed as incomplete, against the state described in (56d).

Only five instances of *ko sono* were found in discourses with a total of more than 600 propositions. This use of the timeless perfective *ko* (cf. section 1.1) with the highlighting device *sono* reflects chronological sequence with an indefinite time gap, and thus action discontinuity. The translation 'then', indicating an indefinite time later, reflects this. *Sono*, in turn, indicates that the event concerned is crucial to the discourse theme. Example (57b), for instance, presents a significant new stage in the preparation for a sacrifice. In a separate discourse, the event of (58b) immediately leads to a crisis which produces the climactic event of (31) above (cf. section 2.3).

(57) a. We got a lot of rice and a lot of chickens ...

   b. *Minomasok ko   sono nu   langgar.*
       set.pilings PERF now NPV altar
       We then set the pilings for the altar.

(58) a. Woyon said, "Look for something that has grown back!"

   b. *Minokiulit   ko   sono si   Inuwung.*
       seek.something PERF now PM NAME
       Inuwung then sought something that had grown back.

As was stated above, *sono* also functions both contrastively and reiteratively, in connection with background information. In both of these functions, the deictic centre to which *sono* relates is either the time of utterance (e.g. (59b) below) or the time of the last foreground event, in which case that event also is typically marked with *sono* (e.g. (56b-c) above). This may be understood to mean that, when the story has not developed from the event marked with *sono*, the presence of *sono* in connection with background information indicates that that information is applicable to the 'now' of the last development.

When *sono* is used contrastively, in connection with background information, the event or state applicable at the deictic centre to which it refers contrasts with a corresponding earlier

event or state. In (59b) below, for instance, the way the younger brother is behaving 'now' is contrasted with the way the older brother had behaved:

(59) a. "Were there any broken coconuts out in the field, daughter?" said the Sultan.

b. *Au na sondiang sono apa' ponginduas,*
oh so different now father cutting
"Oh, it is different this time the way he is cutting, Father,

c. because he's cutting down not only the trees but also the coconuts", said the maiden.

In its reiterative function, in connection with background information, *sono* relates the information to the deictic centre which is the same 'now' as that of the previous clause marked with *sono*. This reiterative use is illustrated in (55d) and in (60c).

(60) a. *Dadi minian-o sono iri nosiro di   so Sulutan-i.*
so   went-TDM now that they there to   sultan-that
So they went to the Sultan.

b. They went to the Sultan and brought him as much as a pig.

c. *Mompanou sono iri   nosiro mian di   so Sulutan-i*
go   now that they went there to   sultan-that
They walked, going to the Sultan

d. and took him whatever had been caught in their traps.

5. CONCLUSION

Tombonuo employs L-dislocation and a system of sentential connectives to mark discontinuity of situation and maintenance of thematic continuity. Marking for past tense in narrative discourse detaches the event concerned from its context, for the purposes of highlighting or downgrading it. In addition, in this actor prominent language, there is a strong correlation between the choice of verbal cross-referencing to non-actor pivot and the marking of past tense to detach events.

Thematic development is different from both thematic continuity and the traditional foreground-background distinction in discourse. Tombonuo indicates development of the discourse theme using post-verbal aspectual markers. Foreground events and background information can both be marked or unmarked for development.

Finally, highlighting is also considered to be a variable separate from the foreground-background distinction. Foreground events and background information in Tombonuo narrative discourse can both be highlighted or 'brought to centre stage' using *sono* 'now'.

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