# THE EVENT LINE IN KIMARAGANG NARRATIVE PAUL R. KROEGER

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Some years ago, one of the most keenly debated topics in theoretical linguistics was whether semantic rules should be generative or interpretive. That is, given a particular semantic structure, should the rules be able to 'generate' the surface structure utterance which a speaker would use to express the intended meaning? Alternatively, should semantic rules merely 'interpret' pre-existing surface representations (e.g. strings generated by an autonomous syntactic component) by assigning to them the correct semantic representation?

Discourse analysis can be viewed as a branch of semantics, and the generative versus interpretive debate points up two possible approaches to the study of discourse. The generative approach would frame questions along the following lines: for some specific semantic feature of the discourse, for example, a particular type of information, what surface structure realisation will it take? The interpretive approach would reverse the question: given a particular feature of the surface structure, for example, a particular grammatical construction or particle, what is its semantic interpretation or discourse function?

Any hard and fast rules about the discourse structure of a particular language will almost certainly have to be of the interpretive type ('Given grammatical structure X in the following environments, assign semantic interpretation Y'). Because of the complexity of the processes involved in text production, the wide scope for speaker's choice and stylistic considerations, predictions of the generative type ('Given semantic structure or discourse function Y, select surface construction X') can normally be stated only in terms of tendencies, prototypes or rules with exceptions. Nevertheless, the investigation of such generative hypotheses can sometimes offer much deeper insights into the discourse structure of a language than a purely interpretive approach.

This paper discusses an aspect of Kimaragang<sup>1</sup> narrative discourse. It focuses on the correlation between a particular grammatical construction – reduced verbs – and a particular type of information – mainline events in narrative.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Kimaragang is a Dusunic language spoken by roughly 8,000 people in the Kota Marudu and Pitas districts of Sabah, Malaysia. Data for this paper was collected during two and half years of fieldwork under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

In interpretive terms, this correlation can be expressed as an absolute rule:

(A) All reduced verbs in Kimaragang narrative (excluding material in direct quotes) encode mainline events.

The converse, generative-type rule is also true, but only as a general tendency:

(B) Mainline events in Kimaragang narrative are usually encoded as reduced verbs.

Investigation of the generative form of the hypothesis reveals several classes of systematic exceptions to rule (B): agentless events or events involving an unspecified agent (section 4.1); events at discourse or episodic boundaries (section 4.2); events which introduce new participants (section 4.3); topicalised NP constructions (section 4.4).

These exceptions suggest that the basic function of the reduced verbal forms is to encode thematic continuity. The mainline events in narrative are typically arranged in chronological sequence with little or no temporal gap between adjacent events (cf. Givón 1983:8 on "action continuity"). Reduced verb forms are used for events which maintain action, spatio-temporal and participant continuity. In contrast, agentless events generally involve topic discontinuity because the actor is the unmarked topic in Kimaragang. Episodic boundaries are points of temporal and/or spatial discontinuity (changes of scene). Topicalisation in Kimaragang is used to mark a change of topic, that is, topic discontinuity. Finally, introducing new participants with an "existential-presentative" clause (Givón 1983:25) is an obvious kind of participant/topic discontinuity.

Thus, if thematic continuity in narrative is the norm, the reduced verbal form is the unmarked coding device for mainline events.

# 2. NOTES ON VERB MORPHOLOGY

#### 2.1 REDUCED VERBS

Kimaragang verbs can be classified as active or stative. Stative verbs are those which bear the stative prefix o-, as in the following examples:

o-kodok small a-ragang red o-kito be seen

Active verbs take one of seven possible focus markings. The morphology and semantics of these focus types are discussed in Kroeger (1988). For the actor-, patient- and referent-focus types,<sup>2</sup> distinct reduced forms exist. These reduced forms correspond to forms found in various Philippine and Formosan languages which Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982:150) refer to as "dependent verbal inflections".

The full (i.e. non-reduced) and reduced forms of these three focus markers are listed in the following table.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Actor focus, patient focus and referent focus correspond to nominative focus, accusative focus and dative focus in the terminology of Kroeger (1988).

Focus type:	Actor	Patient	Referent
full	m-	-on	-an
reduced	Ø	-o	-ai

TABLE 1: FULL- AND REDUCED-FOCUS MARKERS

Reduced forms of active verbs, unlike non-reduced forms and statives, cannot be marked for tense or aspect. The main uses for the reduced forms are: 1) as imperatives; 2) following the rootless auxiliary verb *mangan* 'do' in periphrastic verbal constructions; and 3) to encode mainline events in narrative discourse.

The third of these uses is discussed in section 3 below. The first two, as imperatives and in periphrastic constructions, are illustrated in the following examples,<sup>3</sup> reproduced from Kroeger (1988).

- (1) a. Ø-ULI noh!
  ACT.RED-return already
  Go home now!
  - b. PODSU-O poh ih tanak! bathe-PAT.RED yet DEF.PIV child Give the child a bath!
  - c. IMUAW-AI poh itih walai, tu osupot. sweep-REF.RED yet this.PIV house because messy Sweep out the house; it is messy.
  - d. Nan okuh TINDUK-O do wulanut. did 1SG.NOM bite-PAT.RED INDEF snake I was bitten by a snake.

These same reduced forms of the focus-marking affixes are reported by Hurlbut (1987) for Labuk Kadazan, a Dusunic language closely related to Kimaragang. The imperative usage of reduced verb forms corresponds to what Hurlbut labels the "peremptory mode irrealis" (section 6.3.1) and the narrative usage (encoding mainline events) to Hurlbut's "dramatic present aspect" (section 3.5.4).

#### 2.2 TENSE AND ASPECT

There is only one tense-marking morpheme in Kimaragang, the infix -in-, which signals past tense. The absence of this morpheme on non-reduced verbs signals non-past tense. As noted in section 2.1, past tense verbs cannot take reduced forms of the focus markers.

Kimaragang, like all Dusunic languages, has an extremely rich system of aspect markers. One aspectual distinction which relates closely to tense and is especially relevant to the present discussion is the distinction between DEFINITE time and INDEFINITE time. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Abbreviations used are as follows: ACC – accusative, ACT – actor-focus, CAU – causative, DEF – definite (cf. Kadazan DD), EMP – emphatic, GEN – genitive, IMPERF – imperfective, INDEF – indefinite, MASS – non-individuated object, NMS – nominaliser, NOM – nominative, PAT – patient-focus, PERF – perfective, PIV – pivot, RED – reduced-focus marker (cf. Ida'an NL), REF – referent-focus, ST – stative, THM – themefocus, TOP – topicalised, TRAN – transitiviser, \* – part of stem when preceding an infix.

combination of indefinite time with past tense will be referred to as PERFECTIVE aspect, while indefinite time with non-past tense will be called IMPERFECTIVE aspect.

While non-past is the (morphologically) unmarked tense, definite time is the unmarked aspect. All seven focus types, as well as statives, can take the past tense infix -in-, but only actor-, patient-, referent- and locative-focus verbs may be marked for indefinite time. The specific marker used for indefinite time depends on whether the actor or undergoer is pivot.

When the undergoer is pivot (i.e. in patient, referent and locative focus), the indefinite aspect marker is identical to the stative prefix, o-. In perfective forms, the past tense infix becomes n- (as before any vowel), yielding no-. (The patient-focus marker, -on, reduces to  $-\emptyset$  in forms marked for past tense and/or indefinite aspect.) When the actor is pivot, the normal actor-focus prefix m- is replaced by noko- for perfectives, ko- for imperfectives. These forms are summarised below:

Focus type:	Actor	Patient/Referent/Locative	
Imperfective	ko-	0-	
Perfective	noko-	no-	

TABLE 2: INDEFINITE ASPECT MARKERS

Perfective aspect verbs refer either to an act which has been done or has happened at an indefinite point in the past, or to unintentional, involuntary or accidental actions. Imperfectives refer to an act which could happen, habitually happens or will happen at some unspecified time in the future. The non-volitional and potential senses (of perfectives and imperfectives, respectively) are more likely when the actor is selected as pivot. Indeed, potentiality is the preferred interpretation for many actor-focus imperfectives.

With some verbs, the choice of indefinite aspect signals reduced agency or volitionality, as in the following example:

- (2) a. T-IN-UTUD-AN dih Jaiwan it tagad nuh.

  \*-PAST-burn-REF DEF Jaiwan DEF.PIV field 2SG.GEN
  Jaiwan set fire to your field (without permission).
  - b. N-O-TUTUD-AN dih Jaiwan it tagad nuh.
    PAST-ST-burn-REF DEF Jaiwan DEF.PIV field 2SG.GEN
    Jaiwan burned off your field for you.

The simple past tense (2a) implies that the actor (Jaiwan) undertook the action on his own initiative, probably with malicious intent. The perfective (2b), however, implies that the actor performed the action in accordance with the desire (whether stated or implicit) of the owner of the field.

Both imperfectives and perfectives are also used in adverbial time clauses. Some examples of imperfective time margins are given here; perfective examples, which are more common in narrative, are pointed out in section 4.

(3) a. Ong KA-TAAK nuh noh, gumuli wagu sitih. if IMPERF-give 2SG.GEN already return new here When you have given (it to him), come back here.

b. Ong O-TUTUD-AN nuh noh inoh sigup, owit-on sitih. if ST-burn-REF 2SG.GEN already that.PIV tobacco bring-PAT here When you have lit that cigarette, bring it here.

## 3. THE EVENT LINE

In Kimaragang narrative, mainline events are uniquely marked by the use of reduced verb forms. Of course, since reduced forms are also used as imperatives, any imperatives occurring in direct quotes will also be encoded as reduced verbs. However, excluding reported conversational material for the purposes of this discussion, the following generalisation holds:

(A) All reduced verbs in Kimaragang narrative encode mainline events.

While it is true that only mainline events are encoded as reduced verbs, it is not the case that all mainline events are so marked. Systematic exceptions are discussed below. Nevertheless, reduced verbs are the normal form for mainline events; it is the variations from this pattern which must be accounted for.

The use of reduced forms is illustrated in the following short first-person narrative, reproduced here in its entirety. Mainline events are indicated by capital letters.

- (4) 'Linggang and the leopard'
  - a. Waro ot dogo do n-ajang-an, exist INDEF.PIV 1SG.ACC of PAST-stop.by-REF I had an adventure once,
  - b. it aso poh sawo kuh,

    DEF.PIV not.exist yet spouse 1SG.GEN
    when I was still single,
  - c. *Ø-POG-URAB* okuh noh. ACT.RED-MASS-hunt.with.blowgun 1SG.NOM already I went out hunting with my blowgun.
  - d. Aji, ka-laga okuh id timba'an, so IMPERF-arrive 1SG.NOM in forest When I got to the virgin forest,
  - e. NOKO-KITO okuh do kara.

    PERF-see 1SG.NOM INDEF monkey
    I saw some monkeys.
  - f. Om PONOPUK [θ-poN-sopuk] okuh, and ACT.RED-TRAN-blowgun 1SG.NOM I shot at them,
  - g. naka-anu okuh duwo nenan.

    PERF-take 1SG.NOM two object and got two of them.
  - h. Om MAI kuh ONUWO [anu-o] irih, and do.RED 1SG.GEN take-PAT.RED this.PIV I fetched them,

- i. ko-root okuh
  IMPERF-tie.up 1SG.NOM
  and, after I tied up their legs,
- j. om SANDANG-O kuh noh. and sling.over.shoulder-PAT.RED 1SG.GEN already I slung them over my shoulder.
- k. *Ø-ULI* okuh noh. ACT.RED-go.home 1SG.NOM already Then I started home.
- 1. Nela'an [n-o-ilo-an] kuh poh om
  PAST-ST-know-REF 1SG.GEN yet and
  The next thing I knew (before I knew it?)
- m. Ø-SAMBAT okuh noh do taanansad ACT.RED-meet 1SG.NOM already INDEF leopard mongogusa [m-poN-gusa].

  ACT-TRAN-chase
  I met a leopard, who was chasing me.
- n. Om PANANGKUS [Ø-poN-tangkus] okuh bala-ai dinoh and ACT.RED-TRAN-run 1SG.NOM also-EMP that ditih this
  I started to run,
- o. nga N-A-TATAK it s-in-andang-0
  but PAST-ST-fall.off DEF.PIV \*-PAST-sling.over.shoulder-PAT
  kuh,
  1SG.GEN
  but the monkeys I had slung over my shoulder slipped off,
- p. N-O-LO'O.

  PAST-ST-fall

  and fell to the ground.
- q. Om kokitanai [ko-kito-an-ai] dit taanansad irih, and IMPERF-see-?-REF.RED DEF leopard this.PIV When the leopard saw them,
- r. MAI AKAN-O irih; do.RED eat-PAT.RED this.PIV he ate them up;
- s. yokuh nga, aku noh n-o-gusa-Ø dirih. 1SG.TOP but not.I already PAST.ST-chase-PAT this he quit chasing me.
- t. Irih poh kinoposiyan [-in-ko-pasi-an] kuh.
  this.PIV yet \*-PAST-NMS-alive-REF 1SG.GEN
  That's what saved my life.

u. Ong amu, a-akan-Ø okuh dit taanansad. if not ST-eat-PAT 1SG.NOM DEF leopard If not, I would have been eaten by the leopard.

#### 4. EVENTS MARKED BY FULL FOCUS FORMS

The text displayed above is so short that it consists almost entirely of mainline events, with very little background material. However, even this short text has examples of mainline events which are encoded with non-reduced forms.

In (4c, f, h, j, k, m, n and r), mainline events are encoded as reduced verbs, according to rule B. Examples (4a, b, l and t) are non-events; (4d, i and q) record events demoted to time margins, (4s) records an event which did not happen and (4u) an event which might have happened, but did not; (4g) reports the result of the event recorded in (4f). Such result margins typically employ perfective verb forms,<sup>4</sup> as seen here. (The reduced patient-pivot form of the same root is used in (4h).)

This leaves the mainline events in (4e, o and p), which are discussed in section 4.1.

#### 4.1 AGENTLESS EVENTS

Reduced verbs are used only for mainline events involving a definite agent. Mainline events which have no agent, or which involve an indefinite agent, are generally encoded with (non-reduced) past tense forms.

An example of a non-agentive event is taken from a written folktale, 'Majabou'.

(5) Kadung nokooli [noko-uli] nopoh it tatod, when PERF-return only DEF.PIV soul

NOPOSIYAN [n-o-pasi-an] noh it koyuwan. PAST-ST-revive-REF already DEF.PIV body

When the soul returned, the body came back to life.

The event encoded by the verb *noposiyan* 'revived', is clearly a mainline event. In fact, it is one of the crucial events in the story. However, because no agent is involved, a non-reduced past tense form is used rather than the reduced form. The use of the perfective here, rather than the simple past, also signals reduced agency (see section 2.2).

The following example, taken from a written folktale entitled 'The man who divided his life-span with his wife', illustrates an event with an indefinite agent.

(6) LINO'OU [\*-in-lo'ou-\( \Theta \)] noh it tanak do raja om PAST-call-PAT already DEF.PIV child of king and

it tongondu sid piukuman.

DEF.PIV woman to judgement.place

The king's son and the woman were called to the judgement place.

Note the use of the full past tense form *lino'ou*. If a specific agent were stated, that is, the person who called them, the reduced patient-focus form *loowo* would have been used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Pekkanen (1984:4) notes the same pattern for Tatana: "Completive [forms are used for] ... verbs expressing logical consequences of preceding actions".

Many agentless events which would be lexicalised as intransitive verbs in English are expressed as statives in Kimaragang:

o-lo'o to drop (intransitive)

a-ratu to fall

o-sorob to burn down, burn up (intransitive)

o-liong to get lost (things)

For examples of such agentless events see (40) and (4p) above. The stative verbs encoding these events are marked for past tense. A further example comes from a second text by the same speaker, 'Linggang and the bear'. A past tense stative form is used in (7c), nogi'i 'broke off', as the event is agentless.

- (7) a. Om PANANGKUS [Ø-poN-tangkus] okuh id tuwod and ACT.RED-TRAN-run 1SG.NOM to dead.tree And I ran to a dead tree
  - b. om Ø-SINGKAKOD okuh, and ACT.RED-climb 1SG.NOM and started to climb.
  - c. N-O-GI'I it ra'an.
    PAST-ST-break.off DEF.PIV branch but the branch broke off.

Other events lexicalised as statives in Kimaragang are non-volitional sense acts like 'see' and 'hear' (as opposed to the volitional acts, 'look' and 'listen'). In Kimaragang these events are lexicalised with the object of perception in focus, rather than the experiencer:

o-kito to be seen o-rongou to be heard

To express the equivalent of the English words 'see' and 'hear', putting the experiencer in focus, the indefinite aspect prefixes ko- (for non-past) or noko- (for past) must be added. An example (noko-kito 'saw') was seen in (4e). Even though this is a mainline event, a full (perfective) form must be used.

To summarise, the first class of exceptions to rule (B), i.e. mainline events which take non-reduced forms, includes 1) events which involve no agent, 2) events which involve an unspecified agent and 3) events which are lexicalised as stative verbs.

#### 4.2 BOUNDARY EVENTS

The first and last events in a narrative are often, but not always, encoded as full past tense verbs. This can be illustrated by the opening two sentences of 'Linggang and the bear':

- (8) a. Waro iso taddau, exist one day.
  One day,
  - b. MINONGUKAD [-in-m-poN-ukad] okuh do tampasuk.

    \*-PAST-ACT-TRAN-dig 1SG.NOM INDEF manioc
    I went to dig manioc.

- c. Nopongo okuh nopoh mongukad do tampasuk, finished 1SG.NOM only digging INDEF manioc When I had finished digging manioc,
- d. Ø-PONG-OTOB okuh noh dit tangau dit pulut. ACT.RED-TRAN-cut 1SG.NOM already DEF vine of rubber I cut off the vines from my rubber trees.

The first event in the story (8b) is expressed in the (non-reduced) past tense form minongukad 'dig'. Thereafter, mainline events are encoded with reduced verbs, beginning with pongotob 'cut' (8d).

In longer narratives, the first and last events in each episode are generally encoded as past tense verbs. Each successive episode begins with an explicit grammatical indication of change in participants, time and/or location<sup>5</sup> (e.g. adverbial phrase of time or location, topicalisation), sometimes preceded by a particle such as *nah* 'well'.

In these longer narratives, there is usually a change of pace at the point where the main action of the narrative begins. The first few paragraphs or mini-episodes set the stage. A time span of many years may be covered in a few sentences, which means that the normal expectation of "temporal adjacency" (Givón 1983:8) between successive events must be suspended. Events reported in this introductory section generally take past tense forms, and so, unlike the reduced forms used in the body of the narrative, are not marked for action continuity. When the real action begins, the pace of the narrative picks up. A detailed, blow-by-blow account of events is given with little or no gap between successive events. The mainline events are therefore encoded with reduced verb forms.

Thus, full verb forms can be substituted for the expected reduced form to signal a discontinuity in the chain of events at episode boundaries, or a non-contiguous sequence of events in introductory material.

## 4.3 INTRODUCING NEW PARTICIPANTS

Another situation in which a mainline event is encoded as a full focus form is when the event serves to introduce a new participant, using an "existential-presentative" clause (Givón 1983:25).

The first example is taken from a written folktale about two brothers, 'Dondomon and Dandaman'.

- (9) a. Waro noh sada tagayo R-IN-UM-IKOT exist already fish big \*-PAST-ACT-come A big fish came up
  - b. om MANGAI noh yalo TOLON-O. and do.RED already 3SG.NOM swallow-PAT.RED and swallowed him (Dandaman).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Hurlbut (1979:257) reports that in Labuk Kadazan narrative discourse, paragraph boundaries are marked by a "change of time setting and/or location setting".

Both clauses encode mainline events, but only the second employs the reduced form. The first event is encoded as a past tense presentative verb, *rinumikot* 'come', because a new character (the fish) is brought on stage.

The second example is taken from 'The man who divided his life-span with his wife':

(10) Waro noh iso kusai, tanak do raja, exist already one man child of king

S-IN-UM-AKO do talud...

\*-PAST-ACT-mount INDEF boat

There was a man, a king's son, who got into his boat ...

Again, the new participant (the king's son) is introduced in a construction containing an existential and a mainline event encoded as a past tense verb. As mentioned in section 1, the use of full-focus forms in these cases signals topic discontinuity, which is entailed when the primary function of a clause is to introduce a new participant.

#### 4.4 TOPICALISED NOUN PHRASES

Kimaragang syntax is strongly predicate initial. However, the NP which is the pivot may be left-dislocated through a process of topicalisation; see Kroeger (1988) for examples.

Topicalisation is used very rarely in Kimaragang narrative. When it is used, it signals a CHANGE in topic, that is, a new participant is brought to centre stage as topic. The clause involved cannot contain a reduced verb, even when it encodes a mainline event, because of the topic discontinuity which is being signalled.

One example comes from a second version (a longer retelling) of 'Linggang and the bear':

(11) (... I ran and started to climb a dead tree, but the branch broke.)

It bouwang nga L-UM-AGA sid dogon.

DEF.PIV bear but \*-ACT-come to 1SG.ACC

As for the bear, he came after me.

In this example, the bear is not a new participant; he has been previously introduced. Rather, left-dislocation of the pivot NP is used to indicate that the bear has become the new topic, replacing the narrator himself. The non-reduced form of the verb (*lumaga* 'come') reflects the topic discontinuity.

A second example comes from 'The man who divided his life-span with his wife':

(12) (... The judge said, "If what you say is true, the king's son will be killed and all his goods will be yours to take". Well, the man looked up into the sky and said, "I take back the half of my life-span from my wife!" When he had spoken, the woman fell down from her seat, dead. When the judge saw this, he caught the king's son and hanged him until he died.)

Om kikiawi dit barang nga N-I-PA-ANU noh and all DEF goods but PAST-THM-CAU-take already

dit kusai.

DEF man

And all of the goods were given to the man (lit. caused to be taken by the man).

Again, the new topic is expressed by a pre-verbal (left-dislocated) NP, and the topic discontinuity is reflected in the non-reduced verb form, *nipaanu*.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This study has shown how reduced-focus verb forms are used in Kimaragang narrative to encode agentive mainline events which maintain thematic continuity with the context. The other two uses of reduced forms are consistent with these features of the narrative use. Imperatives are necessarily active (as opposed to stative) and agentive or volitional. The function of periphrastic verbal constructions (mangan + reduced verb) is to convey a sense of heightened agency in transitive verbs where the undergoer is in focus.

In an informal experiment, a short passage of translated narrative was presented to a native speaker in two forms; first with all events encoded with full-focus forms, then with mainline events encoded as reduced forms. The reaction of the native speaker was that the second version (with reduced forms) seemed like an eyewitness account, while the first version (no reduced forms) sounded like hearsay. The reduced forms seem to give a sense of vividness lacking with non-reduced forms.

The reduced form of the verb seems to be more active or dynamic, as well as more agentive, than equivalent non-reduced forms. The reduced construction is thus a natural choice to carry the event line of a narrative, to move the action along. At episodic boundaries, where there is a break in the chain of events and/or a shift in the action, less dynamic full forms are chosen. Similarly, in opening sections, which set the stage for the main action, and closing sections, which bring the action to a halt, reduced forms are avoided.

Pekkanen (1984) has come to a similar conclusion about narrative discourse in Tatana, a Dusunic language very different from Kimaragang. The verb forms she labels "timeless aspect forms" are equivalent to what are here called reduced forms, employing affixes clearly cognate with those listed in section 2.1. Pekkanen (p.4) writes:

Timeless aspect [i.e. reduced] forms express more significant events (than completive [past tense] forms) ... Timeless aspect verbs express actions that especially advance the theme of the story. Thus the events that are expressed by these forms are more significant in comparison with the events that are expressed by completive verbs.

Pekkanen (p.7) presents a "cline of dynamism" for Tatana narrative, a ranking of verb forms from most dynamic to least:

timeless aspect [reduced] > completive aspect [past] > non-completive aspect [non-past] > stative > adjectives > existentials > non-verbal clauses.

This ranking also fits very well with what is so far known about the use of these constructions in Kimaragang narrative.

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