

TRANSITIVITY AND DISCOURSE GROUNDING IN BANGGI*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Is transitivity a discourse - derived relationship as claimed by Hopper (1983 : 71)? This paper addresses this question along with the question : At what grammatical level do the features of transitivity operate?

Hopper & Thompson (1980 : 280, 294) claim that transitivity is a global property of clauses but that it is the discourse function of grounding which underlies clause level distinctions in degrees of transitivity. Thus, high transitivity correlates with foregrounding and low transitivity with backgrounding (op. cit. 294). Hopper (1983 : 74) further states that the features of transitivity (cf. sec. 2.1) are discourse features which have typological effects on the morphosyntax of the clause. He says, "... no approach to grammar (morphology and syntax) that separates LOCAL (more or less : clause level) from GLOBAL (more or less: discourse level) factors can work" (op. cit. 68).

This paper shows how the features of transitivity primarily operate at a LOCAL level in Banggi and that there is no direct correlation between transitivity and discourse level grounding.

I begin with a theoretical framework for discussing transitivity (sec. 2.1) and Banggi morphosyntax

(sec. 2.2). This is followed by a discussion of transitivity in Banggi (secs. 3 & 4) and discourse - pragmatic grounding (sec. 5).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Transitivity

Transitivity is traditionally understood as a property of an entire clause in which an action is "carried-over" or transferred from the semantic agent to the semantic patient. Givon (1984 : 20) points out that two prototypical conditions are associated with the notion of transitivity.

- 1) There is a visible volitional controlling agent.
- 2) There is a visible result - registering patient.

Hopper & Thompson (1980 : 280) claim "that languages universally possess morphosyntactic structures which reflect the degree of Transitivity of a clause." For them, transitivity is not a dichotomy (transitive or intransitive) but a continuum (cf. Givon 1984 : 152).

Hopper & Thompson identify ten features of transitivity which are concerned with the effectiveness with which the action is transferred from the semantic agent to the semantic patient. They are as follows (1980 : 252).¹

FEATURE	HIGH TRANSITIVITY	LOW TRANSITIVITY
1. PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants A and P	1 participant
2. KINESIS	action	non - action
3. ASPECT	telic/perfective	atelic/imperfective
4. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non - punctual
5. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non - volitional
6. AFFIRMATION	affirmation	negation
7. MODE	realis	irrealis
8. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
9. AFFECTEDNESS OF P	P totally affected	P not affected
10. INDIVIDUATION OF P	P highly individuated	P non - individuated

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Each of the above features involves a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from the agent to the patient in a clause. Taken together, they allow clauses to be characterized as more or less transitive. The more features a clause has in the "high transitivity" column, the more transitive the clause.

Hopper & Thompson (1980 : 252 - 53) and Hopper (1983 : 74) define the above features in the following manner.

1. Participants : A clause with both an agent and a patient is more transitive than a clause with only one of these.
2. Kinesis : Clauses which signal an action of some kind, involving movement in either patient or agent, are more transitive than those in which no action is signaled. Actions can be transferred from the agent to the patient but states cannot. E.g. 'I hugged Sally' vs. 'I like Sally.'
3. Aspect : An action viewed from its endpoint, i.e. a telic action, is more transitive than an action viewed as only partly carried out.
4. Punctuality : A clause whose predicate occurs without a perceptible transition between onset and conclusion is more transitive than one whose predicate has discernible duration.
5. Volitionality : A clause whose action is carried out deliberately by the agent is more transitive than one whose agent is acting without intention.
6. Affirmation : Affirmative clauses are more transitive than negative clauses.
7. Mode : Clauses containing a predicate which reports a real occurrence are more transitive than those which report an event that did not occur or that occurred in a non - real world.
8. Agency : A clause whose agent is human or animate is more transitive than one whose agent is inanimate or incapable of spontaneous action.
9. Affectedness of patient : A clause that contains a patient which is physically affected by the action of the verb is more transitive than one whose patient is not affected.
10. Individuation of patient : Clauses whose patients are definite or referential are more transitive than clauses whose patients are indefinite or nonreferential.

Hopper & Thompson found that the features of transitivity co-vary extensively and systematically. This

led them to formulate the TRANSITIVITY HYPOTHESIS : "If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity according to any of the features 1 - 10, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity..." (1980 : 255).

The transitivity hypothesis is stated in such a way that the transitivity features can be manifested either morphosyntactically or semantically.

2.2 Role and Reference Grammar

The theoretical framework for this discussion of morphosyntactic structures in Banggi is role and reference grammar which is outlined in Foley & Van Valin (1984).

Foley & Van Valin (1984) provide a framework for classifying the verbs of any language which is based on Dowty's theory of verbal semantics (Dowty 1979). They claim that ACTOR and UNDERGOER, the two arguments of a transitive predication, are universal semantic macro-roles (1984 : 30) which constitute an interface between syntactic relations such as subject and semantic relations such as case roles (op. cit. 32). They consider the prototypical ACTOR to be an agent and the prototypical UNDERGOER to be a patient (op. cit. 60). The mapping of the semantic roles agent and patient onto ACTOR and UNDERGOER is equivalent to the 'cardinal transitivity relationship' defined by Hopper & Thompson (1980 : 253). However, other deep structure case roles may map onto the two macro-roles ACTOR and UNDERGOER (Foley & Van Valin 1984 : 59). Either ACTOR or UNDERGOER can occur as the single argument of an intransitive verb (op. cit. 27).

3. OVERVIEW OF BANGGI

Banggi is a North-western Austronesian language spoken by about 1,400 people on the islands of Banggi and Balambangan in the Kudat District of Sabah, Malaysia.²

3.1 Pivot

Like other Philippine-type languages, Banggi has a pivot system, the domain of which is the verbal clause. "The pivot of a syntactic construction is the NP which is crucially involved in it; i.e., it is the NP around which the construction is built" (op. cit. 110). The pivot is marked by a special particle introducing the NP, or a special set of pronouns in place

of the NP, or word order. The verb is usually affixed, primarily indicating the situation type (cf. sec. 3.2) and not the semantic role of the referent encoded by the pivot NP. The pivot system marks a special syntactic relationship between the predicate of a clause and one NP in the clause.

In this paper, pivot is described in terms of ACTOR and UNDERGOER. The ACTOR is the person or thing that performs, instigates or controls the state or action expressed by the predicate. The UNDERGOER is the person or thing affected by the state or action expressed by the predicate.

ACTOR and UNDERGOER are the two core arguments in a clause. The core arguments are not marked for case except for nominals that refer to humans. Prepositions mark the non-core or oblique arguments in a clause. Non-pivot ACTORS which are pronouns are marked for oblique case. Word-order is used to distinguish between the core arguments with the pivot argument occurring first.

Since both transitivity and pivot relate to the clause, it is not surprising that at times a correlation has been sought between the two. Hopper & Thompson (1980 : 288 - 94) point out that in Tagalog, if the pivot of a clause is a patient (UNDERGOER), then the UNDERGOER must be referential. Conversely, if the UNDERGOER is referential, it must normally be marked as the pivot (op. cit. 289). Therefore, in Tagalog, UNDERGOER pivot clauses are more transitive than ACTOR pivot clauses since the UNDERGOER pivot clauses mark referential or highly individuated patients. ACTOR pivot clauses tend to occur when the patient (UNDERGOER) is non-individuated or non-referential. In Sama, a language of the Southern Philippines, all pivots must be definite and referential (Walton 1986 : 4).

3.2 Verb Classes

Banggi uses a system of verbal semantics and a system of verbal affixes to distinguish verb classes. The concept of deriving one verb form from another is not applicable in terms of the primary verb classes. Variations are not derivations from some assumed basic organization; rather they are the organization. The choice of variants is functionally motivated. With respect to the major verbal situations recognized by Foley & Van Valin (states, achievements, activities and accomplishments), each class has a different affix.

3.2.1 Stative Verbs

States are static situations which are ongoing. The logical structure of stative verbs is predicate' (x) where x = patient. The single argument of a one-place stative predicate is a patient which maps onto UNDERGOER. These verbs are derived from adjective roots and noun roots. The stative verb class marker is m-. Before the consonants /g, l, r/, an epenthetic vowel is inserted following the m-. Before vowels, m- is realized as /m-/; otherwise m- assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant. The following illustrate stative verbs :³

- (1) Sia mo - lompukng (m - lompukng).
he ST - fat
'HE is fat.'
- (2) Louk nti m - aal (m - aal).
fish this ST - expensive
'THIS FISH is expensive.'

3.2.2 Achievement Verbs

Achievements are dynamic situations which are initial - endpoint - oriented. They refer to non-volitional changes of state which a patient experiences or undergoes. The logical structure of achievement verbs is BECOME predicate' (x) where x = patient. The patient maps onto the macro-semantic role UNDERGOER. These verbs are derived from adjective roots and verb roots.

Achievement verb clauses can contain an effector which is usually marked by the oblique preposition ga'.

Achievement verbs which are derived from adjective roots are morphologically marked by kVm-.⁴ Before vowels and the consonants /p, b/, kVm- is realized as /kVm-/; otherwise it is realized as /-Vm-/. The morphophoneme /V/ is a copy of the first vowel in the root. The following illustrate achievement verbs which are derived from adjective roots :

- (3) Ndou kim - ingad (kVm - ingad).
not. I ACH - near
'I do not get near.'
- (4) Molok ou l - om - ompukng (kVm - lompukng).
scared I *-ACH-fat
'I am scared I will get fat.'

Achievement verbs which are derived from verb roots are morphologically marked by mV-. Before vowels and the consonants /p, b/, mV- is realized as /m-/. The following illustrate achievement verbs which are derived from verb roots :

- (5) Undaa', ma - dabu' (mV - dabu') aha.
careful ACH - fall you
'Be careful YOU do not fall.'
- (6) Sia taas m - bareit (mV - bareit).
it quick ACH - tear
'IT tears quickly.'

3.2.3 Activity Verbs

Activities are dynamic situations which are activity - oriented. They refer to events which involve a volitional actor and which often have no clear endpoint (i.e. atelic events). The logical structure of activity verbs is DO' (x, [predicate' (x)]) where x = agent. The agent maps onto the macro - semantic role ACTOR which is always the pivot. Some activity verbs have an additional argument which maps onto UNDERGOER. However, activity verbs are activity - oriented, even when an UNDERGOER is present (cf. Reid 1967 : 23). UNDERGOERS are typically generic ((7), (9)) or given information (10). If the UNDERGOER is pivot, an accomplishment verb is used, with its accompanying morphology.

Activity verbs are marked by g- or -Vm-.⁵ It is difficult to assign a single semantic feature which distinguishes them. Furthermore, the contrast is neutralized in many cases.

Before the consonants /l,r,s,t/, -Vm- is realized as /-Vm-/ and g- is realized as /gV-/. Before vowels, -Vm- is realized as /m-/ and g- is realized as /g-/. Before the consonants /p,b,k,g/, the contrast between -Vm- and g- is neutralized and realized as a homorganic nasal stop. Before /d/, the contrast is neutralized and realized as /-Vm-/. In some words, before /s, t/ the contrast is neutralized and realized as /n-/. The following illustrate activity verbs :

- (7) Sia m - ohodn (-Vm-ohodn) louk.
he ACT-eat fish
'HE eats fish.'
- (8) Sia l - om - oon (-Vm-loon).
he *-ACT-oppose
'HE opposes.'
- (9) Ng-g-ahut (N-g-ahut) ou karukng.⁶
SP-ACT-carry I sack
'I am carrying sacks.'
- (10) Sigalama na ng-gi-limut (N-g-limut) diaadn.
they REF SP-ACT-slander me
'THEY are slandering me.'

3.2.4 Accomplishment Verbs

Accomplishments are dynamic situations which are final-endpoint-oriented (i.e. telic). They refer to a single change of state which is brought about by a volitional actor. Accomplishment verbs are prototypically transitive and final - endpoint - oriented even when the UNDERGOER is not present (cf. Reid 1967 : 27). Clauses with these verbs have both core arguments ACTOR and UNDERGOER, either of which can be the pivot. Agent maps onto ACTOR and patient is the prototypical semantic role which maps onto UNDERGOER. The logical structure of accomplishment verbs is (DO (x, [do' (x)]) CAUSE [BECOME predicate' (y)]).

ACTOR pivot accomplishment verbs are marked by ng-. Before the consonants /g,d,l,r/, an epenthetic vowel is inserted following ng-. Before vowels, ng- is realized as /ng-/; otherwise ng- assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant and that consonant is deleted. The following illustrate ACTOR pivot accomplishment verbs :

- (11) Si Nunga m - upuk (ng - pupuk) kumut.
P Nunga ACC - wash clothes
'NUNGA washes clothes.'
- (12) Sia nga - dabu' (ng - dabu') louk dii gimbatadn.
he ACC-fall fish on dock
'HE drops fish on the dock.'

UNDERGOER pivot accomplishment verbs are marked by -Vdn. They are illustrated in the following:

- (13) Pupuh - udn (pupuk - Vdn) i Nunga.
wash - UP.ACC NONP Nunga
'IT will be washed by Nunga.'
- (14) Onu dubu - udn (dabu' - Vdn) nu?
what drop - UP.ACC you
'WHAT are you going to drop?'

A few verbs may be morphologically marked as either an ACTOR pivot activity verb or an ACTOR pivot accomplishment verb. Such pairs illustrate the core meaning distinction between the two types of verbs, viz., activity verbs are activity - oriented, whereas accomplishment verbs are final - endpoint - oriented with the action being transferred to the patient.

The following example, from running text, illustrates the above distinction. In the first sentence, attention is on the act of medicating; in the second, it is on the patient :

- (15) a. Ama' Numpang ng-g-uru (N-g-uru)
tina robi.
father Numpang SP-ACT-medicine
later tonight.
' NUMPANG'S FATHER is medicating
later tonight. '
- b. Sia ng-uru (ng-uru) diaadn.
he ACC-medicine me
' HE will medicate me. '

The following examples provide a further contrast between ACTOR pivot activity and accomplishment forms of a single verb. (16) illustrates an activity verb; the action is not transferred from the

ACTOR to a patient. (17) illustrates an accomplishment verb :

- (16) Lori na ng-go-lobokng (N-g-lobokng).
lorry REF SP-ACT-bury
' THE LORRY got stuck (lit. buried). '
- (17) Esi ngo - lobokng (ng - lobokng) banggi?
who ACC-bury corpse
' WHO burys the corpse? '

3.2.5 Inherent Transitivity Features in Situations.

Table 1 characterizes the salient features which distinguish the four types of situations described above :

Table 1: Salient features of situation types

	state	achievement	activity	accomplishment
dynamism/kinesis	-	+	+	+
volitionality	-	-	+	+
telicity	-	+	-	+

The three transitivity features in Table 1 (Hopper and Thompson's Features 2, 5 & 3) are derived from inherent properties of situations and not from a higher discourse level (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984 : 371). The importance of volitionality is elaborated in the discussion of causatives (cf. sec. 4; cf. also Ferrell (1981) for a discussion of the role of volition in Austronesian syntax). Activities are activity - oriented while achievements and accomplishments are telic verbs which are endpoint - oriented (cf. Smith 1983 : 488, and Foley & Van Valin 1984 : 371). Achievements are oriented to the initial endpoint whereas accomplishments are oriented to the final endpoint.

The number of participants in a clause (Hopper & Thompson's Feature 1) is related to the logical structure of verbs and whether there is a potential choice of pivots. Although activity verbs may have two arguments, the pivot is always the ACTOR. Only accomplishment verbs have two core arguments, either of which may be the pivot. Thus the transitivity feature " Participants " is also inherent in situations.

Punctuality (Hopper & Thompson's Feature 4) is not a salient feature of situations. (States by definition are non - punctual, and this is reflected in

the feature kinesis.) Achievements and accomplishments are not limited to punctual situations (e.g. (4), (11)). Some verbs can be viewed as inherently punctual (e.g. drop (12)), whereas others are inherently non - punctual (e.g. wash (11)), but this distinction is not encoded in the morphosyntax of Banggi.

Agency (Hopper & Thompson's Feature 8) is also not encoded in the morphosyntax of Banggi. This feature is closely related to volitionality which is a salient feature of situations. Only activities and accomplishments have volitional agents. Achievements can have a non - volitional effector (cf. 3.2.2). ACTORS tend to be high in animacy but animacy is not encoded in the morphosyntax. Inanimate ACTORS can occur with accomplishment verbs as shown in the following :

- (18) Dolok ngu - lumak (ng-lumak) tana'.
rain ACC-soft ground
' RAIN softens the earth. '

Affectedness of patient (Feature 9) is not encoded in the morphosyntax of Banggi. Activities may have affected patients (e.g. (7)) or unaffected

ones (e.g. (10)). Likewise, accomplishments may have affected patients (e.g. (11), (12)) or unaffected ones as in (19) below:

- (19) Ng-adak (ng-adak) ou obu ayad.
 ACC-smell I odor good
 'I smell something good.'

Individuation of patient (Feature 10) is discussed in sec. 3.3. This leaves only two features: affirmation (Feature 6) and mode (Feature 7). Negation and irrealis are types of collateral information which are used to tell what does not happen in a narrative (Grimes 1975: 64-69). Both negation and irrealis are prototypically background according to Grimes.

3.3 Reciprocal and Reflexive

I now discuss the morphological marking of reciprocal and reflexive clauses, which are distinguished from non-reciprocal and non-reflexive clauses by Hopper & Thompson's Feature 10, individuation of patient (cf. Payne 1982: 370-71). This feature concerns the degree of distinctness of the UNDERGOER from the ACTOR (cf. Austin 1982: 46; cf. also Wouk 1986a, who claims that individuation of patient is an important feature of Austronesian languages). Reciprocal clauses are encoded as activities, whereas reflexive clauses are encoded as accomplishments.

As mentioned in sec. 3.2.3, most activity verbs are marked by either *g-* or *-Vm-*. These prefixes, along with *ig-* 'reciprocal', *ng-* 'ACTOR pivot accomplishment', *mag-* 'extended duration' and *pag-* 'immediate', all assign the semantic role ACTOR to the pivot. However, they are not interchangeable.⁷ Each prefix indicates a specific semantic feature (cf. Dik 1981: 87).

The valency of a verb concerns the number and type of core arguments associated with the verb: one argument for statives and achievements, one or two for activities, and two or three for accomplishments.

Reciprocal verbs combine ACTOR and UNDERGOER of the basic verb into a single compound ACTOR (Comrie 1985: 326). Reflexives are verbs whose ACTOR and UNDERGOER are coreferential. The valency of reciprocal verbs is reduced from two arguments to one argument, while reflexives have a valency intermediate between one and two arguments (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980: 277). In Banggi, reciprocal clauses are encoded as ACTOR pivot activities, whereas reflexive clauses are encoded as ACTOR pivot accomplishments.

The following illustrates an ACTOR pivot accomplishment verb (cf. (8)):

- (20) Sia ngo - loon (ng - loon) ibal na.
 he ACC-oppose friend REF
 'He opposes his friend.'

The following illustrates reciprocal clauses which correspond to the accomplishment verb above:

- (21) Sia ig - loon (ig - loon) ma' ibal na.
 he REC - oppose with friend REF
 'He and his friend oppose each other.'
- (22) Sigalama na ig - loon (ig - loon).
 they REF REC - oppose
 'THEY oppose each other.'

The reduced valency of reciprocal clauses is achieved by marking the UNDERGOER in otherwise non-reciprocal clauses as an oblique argument. The presence of the oblique marker suggests that the nouns so marked are not co-agents (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984: 84). When co-agency is desired and the referent is referential, the third person plural pronoun with the referential particle *na* is used, as in (22).

Reflexives are not marked with special verbal morphology; instead, the UNDERGOER is expressed by a reflexive pronoun which indicates that the ACTOR functions equally as UNDERGOER. Reflexivization is a detransitivizing device associated with the transitivity feature individuation of patient, since the UNDERGOER is not distinguished from the ACTOR (cf. Aissen (1982: 8), who claims that reflexives are detransitivized by elimination of the direct object relation (i.e., UNDERGOER)).

The following illustrate ACTOR pivot accomplishment verbs which are reflexive:⁸

- (23) Ngo - lompukng (ng - lompukng)
 ou deri hu. (cf. (1), (4), (25))
 ACC - lompukng
 I self my
 'I am fattening myself up.'
- (24) Sia ngo - loon (ng - loon) deirdn na.
 he ACC - oppose self REF
 'HE opposes himself.'

4. CAUSATIVES

There are two types of morphological causatives in Banggi: volitional causatives marked by *pV-* or *M-*, and non-volitional causatives marked by *kV-*.⁹ The formal and semantic parameters which underlie the mapping of the Causee onto different case roles are discussed for both types of causatives.

4.1 Volitional Causatives

In Banggi, volitional causative constructions are accomplishment verbs which map Causer onto ACTOR. The corresponding non-causative verbal situations are: achievements, activities or accomplishments.

Morphological causatives typically have a valency one higher than that of corresponding non-causatives, due to the addition of the Causer (Comrie 1981 :

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique object

Comrie's principle is not directly applicable to Banggi in that, for many linguists, subject equals pivot in Phillipine-type languages, and Causee can be pivot. However, his hierarchy holds to the extent that the Causee is UNDERGOER in constructions which correspond to one-argument non-causative clauses, while there is a strong tendency for the Causee to occur in the oblique case in constructions which correspond to two-argument non-causative clauses. Clauses which obey this principle are unmarked; they are signalled morphologically by *pV*-. Clauses which do not obey this principle are marked; they are signalled morphologically by *M*-.

Formally, the Causee may be encoded as a core argument (case: 0) or as an oblique argument (case: *dii*). When the Causee is a core argument, it has a lower degree of control than when it is an oblique argument. Thus, there is a correlation between formal marking and semantic degree of control (cf. Comrie 1981 : 174). (This is true also for non-volitional causatives; cf. sec. 4.2.)

The core argument with achievement verbs is a patient which maps onto UNDERGOER. In causative constructions which correspond to non-causative achievements, the Causee (original patient) remains the UNDERGOER. The following illustrates an ACTOR/Causer pivot volitional causative which is derived from an adjective root (cf. (1), (4), (23)):

- (25) Sia po - lompukng (pV - lompukng)
manuk na.
he CAU - fat
chicken REF
'HE fattens his chickens.'

The UNDERGOER/Causee can also be the pivot. UNDERGOER/Causee pivot volitional causatives are always morphologically marked with *-in*.¹⁰ The following illustrates an UNDERGOER/Causee pivot volitional

causative (168). With volitional causatives, the Causer is mapped onto ACTOR and the Causee is mapped onto different case roles. Comrie (1981 : 169 - 71) claims that there is a strong universal tendency for the Causee in morphological causative constructions to occupy the highest (leftmost) position that is not already filled in the following hierarchy of grammatical relations :

- (26) Manuk na p - i - lompukng (pV - in -
lompukng) ngia.
chicken REF CAU - IN - fat
him

'THE CHICKEN was fattened by him.'

Most activity verbs have a single core argument which maps onto ACTOR. (Cf. below for a discussion of causative constructions which correspond to non-causative activity verbs with two core arguments.) In causative constructions which correspond to non-causative single-argument activity verbs, the Causee (original actor) maps onto UNDERGOER because it is the highest available argument of the hierarchy (cf. above).

The following illustrates an ACTOR/Causer pivot volitional causative which corresponds to a non-causative activity verb :

- (27) M - p - odop (N - pV - odop) ou anak ku.
SP - CAU - sleep I child my
'I put my child to sleep.'

The following illustrates an UNDERGOER/Causee pivot volitional causative with the same verb :

- (28) Anak ku p - i - odop (pV - in - odop) ku.
child my CAU - IN - sleep me
'MY CHILD was put to sleep by me.'

The following illustrates the same verb in an ACTOR pivot non-causative construction :

- (29) Sia nda 'pa m - odop (--- Vm - odop).
he not yet ACT - sleep
'HE has not slept yet.'

Accomplishment verbs have two core arguments which map onto ACTOR and UNDERGOER. In causative constructions which correspond to non-causative accomplishment verbs, the Causee (original actor) maps onto an oblique argument since ACTOR and UNDERGOER positions are already filled. The following illustrates an ACTOR/Causer pivot volitional cau-

sative which corresponds to a non-causative accomplishment verb (cf. (11)):

- (30) I - pu - pupuk (pV -- in - pupuk) ou kumut
dii i Nunga.
IN - CAU - wash I clothes
to NONP Nunga
'I got Nunga to wash clothes.'

In causative constructions which correspond to non-causative accomplishment situations, the Causee cannot be the pivot because it is mapped onto an oblique argument. Only ACTOR and UNDERGOER (original patient) can become the pivot in causative constructions. The following illustrates an UNDERGOER pivot volitional causative with the same verb as above:

- (31) Kumut p - i - pupuk (pV -- in - pupuk)
ku dii i Nunga.
clothes CAU - IN - wash
me to NONP Nunga
'I got Nunga to wash CLOTHES.'

Some activity verbs like mohodn 'eat' also have two core arguments which map onto ACTOR and UNDERGOER. (7) illustrates an ACTOR pivot activity verb with two core arguments. In constructions which correspond to non-causative activity verbs with two core arguments, the Causee (original actor) maps at times onto an oblique argument and at other times onto UNDERGOER. As noted above, this reflects the retention of differing degrees of control on the part of the Causee; oblique arguments correspond with higher control and core arguments with lower control. The following illustrates an ACTOR/Causer pivot volitional causative with the Causee in the oblique case:

- (32) Sia i - p - ohodn (- in - pV - ohodn)
louk dii anak na.
he IN - CAU - eat
fish to child REF
'HE gave fish to his child to eat.'

If the Causee (original actor) maps onto UNDERGOER in constructions which correspond to two-argument activity verbs, then the original patient in the non-causative construction is presumably no longer an UNDERGOER in the causative construction (e.g. (33), (34)). Neither is it marked as an oblique argument, however. The following illustrate ACTOR/Causer pivot causative verbs which map Causee (original actor) onto UNDERGOER:

- (33) Sia m - m - ohodn (N - M - ohodn)
anak na louk.
he SP - CAU - eat
child REF fish
'HE feeds his child fish.'
- (34) Sia i - m - ohodn (- in - M - ohodn)
anak na louk.
he IN - CAU - eat
child REF fish
'HE fed his child fish.'

Verbs like monsu' (ng - ponsu') 'bathe' are morphologically marked like accomplishment verbs but are inherently reflexive, the ACTOR and UNDERGOER being coreferential. This is illustrated in the following:

- (35) Sia m - onsu' (ng - ponsu') dii talaga.
he ACC - bathe at well
'HE bathes at a well.'

When the ACTOR is not coreferential with the UNDERGOER, the morphological marking of the verb suggests that the construction is causative, with the Causee (original actor) mapping onto UNDERGOER. The following illustrates this verb in an ACTOR/Causer pivot causative construction:

- (36) Sia m -- m - onsu' (N - M - ponsu')
anak na.
she SP - CAU - bathe
child REF
'SHE is bathing her child.'
- (37) Sia i - m - onsu' (- in - M - ponsu')
anak na.
she IN - CAU - bathe
child REF
'SHE bathed her child.'

The verb ponsu' can occur in double causative constructions, in which an Inducer/primary-Causer makes an Inducee/secondary-Causer make a Causee do something (Hetzron 1976: 379). Talmy (1976) refers to the semantics of these constructions as caused agency. The following illustrates this verb in a double causative construction in which the ACTOR/Inducer is pivot, patient/Causee is UNDERGOER and the Inducee is mapped onto an oblique argument:

- (38) Sia i - po - ponsu' (- in - pV - ponsu')
anak na dii i Nunga.
she IN - CAU - bathe
child REF to NONP Nunga
'SHE got Nunga to bathe her child.'

In summary, the prefix pV- marks volitional causatives with most verbs and occurs when the Causee

is encoded in the next available argument. The prefix **M-** marks volitional causatives which have ACTOR/Causer pivots, for a small class of verbs that encode the Causee as UNDERGOER.

4.2 Non - volitional Causatives

The prefix **kV-** marks non - volitional causatives (NVCs). Like volitional causatives, NVCs are accomplishment verbs. NVCs map the non - volitional Causer onto ACTOR which is always pivot. The corresponding non - causative verbs are achievements.

Achievement verbs have one core argument which maps onto UNDERGOER. As mentioned in sec. 3.2.2, achievement verbs can have an effector which is encoded as an oblique argument (e.g. (41) below). In NVC constructions, the effector is mapped onto ACTOR as pivot. The Causee (original UNDERGOER/patient) is encoded as a core argument (UNDERGOER), or as an oblique argument. Only first and second person singular pronouns can be encoded as an oblique argument. Once again, when the Causee is an oblique argument, it has a greater degree of control than when it is a core argument (UNDERGOER) (cf. sec. 4.1). The following illustrate ACTOR/Causer pivot NVCs which correspond to non - causative achievement verbs :

(39) Onu i - ko - lom pukng (in - kV - lom pukng)
diha?

what IN - NV - fat

you (core)

'WHAT fattened you?'

(40) Onu i - ko - lom pukng (- in - kV - lom
pukng) nu?

what IN - NV - fat

you (oblique)

'WHAT did you do to get fat?'

The following illustrates the same verb in a non - causative construction; (cf. also (4)) :

(41) L - i - m - ompukng (- in - kVm - lom pukng)
ou ga' louk.

* - IN - ACH - fat

I by fish

'I got fat on fish.'

The pivot is always the ACTOR/Causer in NVCs, as illustrated in the following :

(42) Si anu ko - togi' (kV - togi').

PIV indefinite NV - pregnant

'WHAT'S - HIS - NAME got her pregnant.'

The following is the non - causative construction which corresponds to (42) :

(43) Si anu t - i - m - ogi' (- in - kVm - togi')

PIV indefinite * - IN - ACH - pregnant

'WHAT'S - HER - NAME got pregnant.'

(Both (42) and (43) refer to non - volitional events which occur outside of marriage.¹¹)

Activity and accomplishment verbs may also be marked with **kV-**, in which case they are non - volitional. However, there is no valency increase comparable to volitional causatives and NVCs. These non - volitional events (activities or accomplishments) are always ACTOR pivot. Unlike NVCs corresponding to achievement verbs, the UNDERGOER never occurs in the oblique case, in two - argument non - causative situations. The following illustrates an ACTOR pivot non - volitional activity verb (cf. (7)) :

(44) Ndou bas i - k - ohodn (- in - kV - ohodn).¹²

not. I already IN - NV -

eat

'I happened not already to have eaten.'

The following illustrates an ACTOR pivot non - volitional accomplishment verb :

(45) I - ka - lag (- in - kV - lalag) ou pii' hu ma' badi'.

IN - NV - slice

I hand my with

machete

'I sliced my hand with a machete.'

5. DISCOURSE - PRAGMATIC GROUNDING

Thus far, I have shown that punctuality is an inherent feature of Banggi verbs (cf. Payne 1985 for a discussion of inherent transitivity in verb roots), that the following are inherent features of situations : participants, kinesis, aspect (telic/atelic), volitionality and individuation of patient, and that agency and affectedness of patient are not encoded in morphosyntax. I have also pointed out that negation and irrealis are prototypically associated with background.

Since eight of Hopper & Thompson's ten features are not derived in Banggi from a higher discourse level (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984 : 371), this undermines Hopper & Thompson's claim that grounding (the foreground - background distinction) " underlies the Transitivity generalizations " (1980 : 280, fn. 4).

I now discuss grounding and the role of - **in** - in grounding.

Grounding is a semantic concept which is en-

coded in the morphosyntax of some languages. Hopper (1979 : 213) defines foreground as the parts of the narrative which relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse or the actual story line. Background is defined as the supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events. Foreground events succeed one another in the narrative in the same order as their succession in the real world, whereas background events are not in sequence to the foreground events, but are concurrent with or prior to them. Background events usually amplify or comment on foreground events (op. cit. 214; cf. also Hopper & Thompson 1980 : 280, Wallace 1982 : 208).

There are no morphosyntactic devices in Banggi to distinguish foreground from background, insofar as the distinction is valid,¹³ the observed statistical correlation between activities and background, and between achievements plus accomplishments and foreground is nothing more than a product of the nature of narrative discourse (Foley & Van Valin 1984 : 371f), not of transitivity per se.

Although the foreground-background distinction is not marked morphosyntactically, Banggi does possess a grounding device which highlights or downgrades the event with which it is associated. This is the affix *-in-*, which does not occur with states, and whose primary function is to detach a "figure" (one or more events) from its context (other events; cf. Waugh & Monville-Burston 1986 : 853). Detached events are typically highlighted or downgraded against the other events. Because figure implies importance as against ground, I use the more neutral term detachment since events which are detached may be either highlighted or downgraded. I recognize a continuum of related functions of *-in-*, with the common denominator being detachment (op. cit. 852-53).¹⁴

One function of *-in-* is to detach an event from the expected deictic centre, time of utterance in conversation (e.g. (46)), and time of preceding event in narrative (e.g. (47)). (In (47), *-in-* is used to detach an out-of-sequence event (d) from the time of the foreground events (a, b, c); coconut is weighed at the warehouse, not on the boat or at the dock).¹⁵

(46) Onu in - ohodn (-in - ohodn) nu?

what IN - eat

you

'WHAT did you eat?'

0

-in-

-
- (47) a. Then we went (mindii) straight to Kudat.
 b. Then we came (matakng) to Kudat.
 c. Then we weighed (nimbakng) it (coconut).
 d. It had been carried (*in* - it) by us to Sukim's warehouse.
 e. I received (tirima) \$250.

Another function of *-in-* is to detach the climactic events of a story from the non-climactic events. This is interpreted as a rhetorical device for signalling climax (cf. Longacre 1981 : 349). In (48), the climactic events (d, e, and g) are detached from the non-climactic events:

0

-in-

-
- (48) a. Then she pulled-back (munggas) the cover on the boat.
 b. She immediately saw (pagliid-liid) a plant.
 c. "Don't take it," said (kaadn) her sister-in-law.
 d. Well, she went (*i* - ngua')
 e. She took (*i* - ngai) the plant.
 f. There she took (ngai) it.
 g. Well, she was swallowed up (t-*i* - moronos).
 h. She was no more (ndaardn na).

A third function of *-in-* is to detach 'boundary events' from non-boundary events (cf. Waugh & Monville-Burston 1986 : 856ff.). In (49), the first two clauses are detached. These two clauses establish the setting for the rest of the story and draw attention to the main topic of the story that follows:

0

-in-

-
- (49) a. Nairi was litigating (*i* - guhubm) yesterday.
 b. She was litigated (*in* - uhubm) by Laum.
 c. But she opposed (magloon) him.
 d. She did not follow (miaa') what he said to do.

A further function of **-in-** is to detach an event which is contrary to expectation. Sentences (50) and (51) are both viewed imperfectly but they are used in different circumstances. (50) is used prior to the expected time of eating, but (51) is used after the expected time of eating and suggests contra - expectation :

(50) Sia nda' pa m - ohodn(- Vm - ohodn).
he not yet ACT - eat
'HE has not eaten yet.'

(51) Sia nda' pa m - i - ohodn (- Vm - in - ohodn).
he not yet ACT - IN - eat
'HE has not eaten yet (even though I expected he would have).'

Sometimes two clauses refer to the same event, in which case, the verb in one clause may be reiterated in a following clause, as in (52) where the verb in (a) is reiterated and detached in (b). Event (b) is detached from its context in order to highlight it. Speakers choose which points they wish to highlight. This speaker may have wanted to emphasize to others that he did not make his son - in - law (Likig) do all the heavy work (i.e. carrying coconut to the dock). (The same verb is reiterated again in (e), but the absence of **-in-** indicates that it is not highlighted.)

0 - **in** -

- (52) a. Then we carried (nggahut) it to the landing place there.
b. We two, Likig and I, carried (i - gahut) it to the dock there.
c. We two went back (balik).
d. We each went back again and again (igbalik - balik).
e. We carried (nggahut) gunnysacks.

-in- has the following functions : 1) detach an event from the expected deictic centre (e.g. (46), (47)); 2) detach climactic events (e.g. (48)); 3) detach boundary events (e.g. (49)); 4) detach events which are contrary to expectation (e.g. (51)); and 5) detach an event in order to emphasise it (e.g. (52)). The diversity of functions associated with detachment arise from the fact that they are context dependent (cf. Waugh & Monville - Burston 1986 : 872).

To summarize, **-in-** is a grounding device in narrative discourse for highlighting (e.g. (48), (52)) and downgrading (e.g. (47), (49)).

6. CONCLUSION

Certain features of transitivity have been shown to be important in defining the notion transitivity in Banggi (sec. 3.2.5). These features may be the most salient ones from the list proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980), but further research is needed along these lines.

Transitivity is primarily an inherent feature of situations which are distinguished in the verbal morphology. Banggi formally marks situation types in the morphology. Because transitivity is an inherent feature of situations, a cursory analysis of transitivity in Banggi and similar Austronesian languages would suggest that transitivity is formally marked in the verbal morphology (cf. Wolff 1980 : 154, who defines transitivity in Fijian in terms of the presence or absence of a transitivity affix). Both situation and transitivity are semantic concepts, but situation is the more basic concept (cf. Slobin 1982 : 409). There are four prototypical situations (states, achievements, activities and accomplishments) which are encoded in Banggi verbal morphology.

A highly transitive verb is defined morphologically in Banggi as having an accomplishment verb affix (**ng** - or **Vdn** depending on whether the ACTOR or the UNDERGOER is pivot).

The transitivity hypothesis, as formulated by Hopper & Thompson (1980 : 255), is correct (cf. sec. 2.1). Transitivity features do covary in Banggi. However, the Banggi data provide evidence that the claimed correlation between transitivity and the discourse function of grounding is incorrect (cf. Kalmar 1982, who argues that the correlation between transitivity and foregrounding needs refinement; cf. also Wouk 1986b : 406).

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accomplishment verb
ACH	achievement verb
ACT	activity verb
CAU	causative
DES	desiderative mode
NONP	non - pivot

NV	non - volitional
NVC	non - volitional causative
PERF	perfect
PIV	pivot
REC	reciprocal
REF	referential
SP	single argument pivot & actor pivot
ST	stative verb

UP • ACC undergoer pivot accomplishment verb
 * part of the stem, where the stem has
 been divided by an infix

Orthographic conventions

ng = /ŋ/ ' = /ʔ/

FOOTNOTES

1. The features listed here are adapted from Hopper & Thompson (1980 : 252) and Hopper (1983 : 74). I follow Hopper (1983) and use the semantic label patient (P) where Hopper & Thompson (1980) use the syntactic label object.

2. The information for this paper was collected in Limbuak Darat and Palak Darat on Banggi Island between January 1983 and March 1988. The main sources of information were Tareib bin Seib, Tagi binti Limbatan, Lima binti Doud, Liad bin Alouk and Nunga binti Latip. The term " Banggi " is used by outsiders to refer to the island and the people. However, the Banggi refer to themselves as " Bonggi. " I use the " Banggi " spelling throughout this paper.

3. Abbreviations are found just before the footnotes. The pivot is capitalized in the English translations, in secs. 1 - 4.

4. The verb class marker **kVm-** appears to be related to the non - volitional causative **kV-** which is discussed in sec. 4.2. It probably developed from a **kV-** prefix which meant non - volitional, plus **-Vm-** which marked *UNDERGOER pivot with verbs derived from adjective roots*. The **kV-** was then lost in some places in the paradigm, perhaps because achievement verbs are non - volitional by nature.

5. The hyphens indicate that **-Vm-** is prototypically an infix. Posture activity verbs(e.g. **upug** 'sit', **ilakng** 'lie', **usag** 'stand', **ogot** 'hold') may be morphologically marked with either **g-** or **-Vm-**, **-Vm-** (realized as /m-/) being the unmarked (basic) form. These verbs look like statives (cf. (2)) but, unlike the stative verbs described in sec. 3.2.1, they may be marked with **-in-** (cf. sec. 5). The **g-** which occurs with posture verbs does not seem to be the same **g-** as that which marks other activity verbs, because in Talmy's terms, /m-/ signals the act of " getting - into - a - state ", whereas **g-** signals " being - in - a - state " (continuing non - permanent state) (Talmy 1985 : 86). The following illustrate posture activity verbs :

(53) Sia m - upug. (-Vm -upug).

he ACT - sit

' HE sits down. '

(54) Sia g-upug (g-upug).

he ?-sit

' HE is sitting. '

6. Upper case **N-** is realized as a syllabic nasal which assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant. This morpheme groups together the single argument (S) of one - argument clauses with the ACTOR (A) of two - argument clauses. It does not occur with imperatives and appears to be optional in many other situations. The reasons for this optionality have not yet been determined. The function of **g-** is described in sec. 3.2.4.

7. The activity verb class markers **mag-** and **pag-** are not discussed in this paper.

8. Reflexive pronouns can be used with an activity verb, but the resulting situation is not reflexive.

This is shown in the following :

(55) Sia m - ohodn (-Vm - ohodn) deirdn na ga.

he ACT - eat

self REF contrast

' HE eats by himself. '

9. Upper case **M-** is used here to distinguish this causative marker from the stative verb class marker **m-**.

10. The affix **-in-** may be realized as an infix or as a prefix. (Cf. sec. 5 for a description of its function.)

When **pV-** is used to signal a " converse " (cf. below), UNDERGOER pivot can occur without **-in-** as in (56):

- (56) Onu po - bolos - odn (pV - bolos - Vdn) nu?
 what CAU - borrow - UP.ACC you
 'WHAT are you loaning?'

Converses are pairs of opposites which express a relationship between two entities such that when one member of the pair is substituted for the other in a sentence, the new sentence is logically equivalent to the original one by interchanging two of the noun phrase arguments (Cruse 1986 : 231).

When **pV-** signals a converse, it is not valency increasing. (Furthermore, converses have no real Causer and Causee.) Thus, they can occur with UNDERGOER pivots which are not marked with **-in-**, as in (56) above. The following are ACTOR pivot converses:

- (57) Si Jaruk m - olos (ng - bolos) siidn dii i Mual.
 PIV Jaruk ACC - borrow money from NONP Mual
 'JARUK borrows money from Mual.'

- (58) Si Mual po - bolos (pV - bolos) siidn dii n Jaruk.
 PIV Mual CAU - borrow money to NONP Jaruk
 'MUAL loans money to Jaruk.'

11. Pregnancies which occur outside of marriage are viewed as non - volitional events.

12. Activity verbs can occur in desiderative mode which is marked by **ku-**. Desiderative mode correlates with imperfect aspect. The following illustrates an activity verb in desiderative mode (cf. (44)):

- (59) Ndou ku - ohodn (ku - ohodn).

not I DES - eat

'I do not want to eat.'

Sometimes the contrast between **kV-** and **ku-** is neutralized as in the following:

- (60) Ku - tumang (ku - tumang/kV - tumang) ou ngia.
 DES/NV- leave.behind I him

'I want to leave him behind.' / 'I accidentally left him behind.'

Banggi **kV-** is comparable to Indonesian **ter-**, as described by Wouk 1980.

13. When there are no morphosyntactic devices for distinguishing foreground from background, subjective judgments are required (cf. Kalmar 1982, Wouk 1986b : 399). Three major problems are associated with the semantic notion of grounding. The first is determining the scope of grounding, i.e., does it relate to events (Hopper 1979 : 213 - 14), clauses (op. cit. 215) or sentences (Kalmar 1982 : 249)? The second problem concerns the criteria for the division. The third problem concerns the number of levels of grounding (cf. Jones & Jones 1979).

14. Boutin (1988) shows how an analysis of **-in-** as past tense is inadequate.

15. For brevity, a free translation of the immediate context is provided with only the verbs given in Banggi. Clauses are divided into two groups, those without **-in-** and those with **-in-**.

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