SOME FEATURES OF NARRATIVE DISCOURSE IN KADAZAN

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0. INTRODUCTION

Some outstanding features of narrative discourse in the Labuk dialect of Kadazan[1] are described in this paper.

Several features of discourse were examined with a view to comparing native next with translated texts. It is hoped that such a comparison will point out areas of special difficulty which would hinder or distort a text resulting in an unnatural translation, and that guidelines can be formed to aid in future translation into the Kadazan language.

During the study of native first person narrative, the author felt subjectively that a translation of the Gospel of Mark seemed to have features that are found exclusively in folktales, so a comparison with features of folktales has been included.

1.0. *FEATURES OF ACTUAL-EVENT NARRATIVES*

The following is based primarily on an autobiographical narrative entitled 'My Marriage'. Reference is made to other narratives where necessary to illustrate certain features of discourse.

1.1. *OUTLINE OF SEMANTIC CONTENT*

The text is a first person report about a marriage ceremony. The story was related in November 1972 by a woman from the village of Kamansi, not far from the mouth of the Labuk River.

Paragraph 1: The narrator introduces herself and where she is from.
Her husband is introduced and where he is from.
The husband and friends go upriver to the wife's village.
He is to go up to the wife's house the next day.

Paragraph 2: They sleep one night.
            Many gather.
            The custom of carrying the bride and groom throughout the
              wedding is explained.

Paragraph 3: The next day the ceremony takes place.
            The bridal party goes downstream to the husband's house.
            Rain comes - all get wet except the bride and groom.
            Difficulties of travel in the rain are described - the
              rain stops on arrival.

Paragraph 4: Many Chinese guests are invited.

Paragraph 5: Description of feasting, drinking and dancing.
            Narrator expresses shame at what happened and gives more
              details.

Paragraph 6: Conclusion.

1.2. SURFACE STRUCTURE

Some of the outstanding features of the surface structure of narra-
tive discourse as found in the text 'My Marriage' and corroborated by
data from other texts are described and illustrated in the following
paragraphs.

1.2.1. Groups

"Within a discourse, the content is not presented in an undiffer-
entiated stream, like an inventory or shopping list. Whatever is to
be said is grouped, so that related material is together, and the
relationship of the groups to each other may be seen." (Callow 1974)
In this study clauses will not be dealt with, but sentences and para-
graphs and episodes will be described briefly.

1.2.1.1. Sentences

Sentences in Kadazan are composed of one or more independent clauses,
which are linked together.
A new sentence is recognised each time there is a change of partici-
pant or there is a change of time or location unless the sentences are
conjoined.
The length of sentences varies from one word to as many as 30. The
average length is about eight words.
So far 14 sentence types have been set up on the basis of the sem-
antic relationship between the parts of the sentence. On this basis

it was found that the various conjunctions occurred in more than one sentence type, and that each conjunction had a rather wide range of meaning.

Only five of these sentence types occur in our present narrative.

Simple Sentence

Tontok diri kumawin oku do ioku nopo nga sodi oku Kamansi. *(Time that marry I that I there I Kamansi.)* 'At the time that I got married, as for me I was at Kamansi.'

Non-sequential-juxtaposed

Varo sonsodoppo dii, nokoodoppo dii. *(There-was one-night, slept.)* 'There was one night, they slept.'

Merged

Minaja oku diri savoku mongoi sodi valai doisido. *(Followed I that husband-my go there house his.)* 'I accompanied my husband to go to his house.'

Co-ordinate

Jadi osusapo dino tumulak vagu poliad di talud, om au nogi antangan do osovutno iri kansang marun-darun. *(So-then difficult that push-off again push-away boat, and not also see for misty that heavy raining.)* 'So then it was difficult to push off the boat again, and one could not see also for that heavy rain made it misty.'

Addition

Na mongoi nopo modsu atau pun sitataai atau pun sisobu, na lumopot do nulou om mokibalung do tulun. *(Then going bathe or want-to-defecate or want-to-urinate, then wrap-up with cloth and ask-to-carry-on-shoulders person.)* 'Then as for going to bathe or wanting to defecate, or wanting to urinate, then one wraps up in a cloth and asks someone to carry one.'

1.2.1.2. *Paragraphs*

Paragraphs are set up on the basis of change of time setting and/or location setting. In the discourse 'My Marriage' all paragraphs are marked initially by a sentence with a temporal margin, and some are closed by a temporal margin also.

Paragraph 1

Tontok diri kumawin oku ... *(Time that marry I ...)* 'At the time that I got married ...'

Paragraph 2

Varo sonsodoppo dii ... *(There-was one-night ...)* *'There was one night ...'*

Paragraph 3

Jadi korikotpo dii susuvab ... *(So-then arrived next-day ...)* *'So then the next day having arrived ...'*

Paragraph 4

Korikot ikonoi sodi ... *(Arrived we there ...)* *'We having arrived there ...'*

Paragraph 5

Om kawin nopo gia di silo dagai di pogulu ... *(And marry there ours before ...)* *'And on getting married at our place before ...'*

Paragraph 6

Om irino dii tontok kumawin ... *(and that-is time marry ...)* *'And that was it at the time of getting married ...'*

1.2.1.3. *Episodes*

The present story 'My Marriage' does not have episodes as opposed to paragraphs, that is each separate episode is contained in one paragraph. There are however episodes in a third person narrative about 'Headman Tinggawi and the Bubua'.

Episode 1

The story begins with two paragraphs giving the setting and background about the wife before her marriage, and how she became a Muslim.

Episode 2

There are three paragraphs describing her married life, children, her final illness and death.

Episode 3

The main episode covers 12 paragraphs telling how her spirit indwelt a bubua (an animal) which came to bother her husband because he caused her to break her Muslim vows. It ends in the death of the bubua.

Episode 4

The last two paragraphs contain an overlay which tells the whole story again in an abbreviated form, giving the surprising information that the bubua did not die after all.

1.2.2. Function of the Groups

Various grammatical structures have been observed to have specific and repeating functions over the length of a text.

1.2.2.1. **Sentences** can function at both paragraph and discourse levels.

An equational sentence functions to introduce main participants, e.g. Tontok diri kumawin oku do ioku nopo nga sodi oku Kamansi. *(Time that marry I that I there I Kamansi.)* 'At the time that I got married, as for me I was at Kamansi.'

An existential clause has two uses. It introduces subordinate participants, e.g. Varo iri jaga-jaga-ka. *(There-were those care-for-say.)* 'There were those who took care, they say.' It is also used in a time clause to introduce the body of the discourse, e.g. Varo sonsodoppo dii ... *(There-was one-night ...)* 'There was one night ...'

A sentence with a time margin introduces paragraphs. A general time margin begins the introductory paragraph, and in the story 'My Marriage' it also begins the concluding paragraph, e.g. Tontok diri kumawin oku ... *(Time that marry I ...)* 'At the time that I got married ...' A more specific time margin begins other paragraphs, e.g. Varo sonsodoppo dii ... *(There-was one-night ...)* 'There was one night ...'

Certain sentence types occur more frequently in different types of narratives. In the present narrative only five types occur - simple, merged, addition, co-ordinate, and non-sequential-juxtaposed. At the peak the sentences are short, simple ones.

1.2.2.2. Analysis of the surface structure of **paragraphs** is still incomplete. However semantic functions of the paragraphs in the text 'My Marriage' can be given as follows.

Paragraph 1 functions as the introduction. In it the main participants are introduced and the setting is given for the whole discourse.

Paragraph 2 functions as a build-up one and an embedded procedural discourse is begun.

Paragraph 3 functions as climax/peak and ends the embedded procedural discourse. A further embedded discourse, a travel narrative is included as a digression.

Paragraph 4 functions as post-peak describing one group of wedding guests.

Paragraph 5 functions as a second post-peak describing what guests do at a typical wedding.

Paragraph 6 functions as closure and summarises the discourse.

1.2.2.3.   Analysis of the surface structure of **episodes** is still
incomplete. However semantic functions of episodes in the text
'Headman Tinggawi and the Bubua' can be given as follows.

Episode 1 functions as the setting and background of the narrative.

Episode 2 functions as the build-up of the narrative.

Episode 3 functions as the pre-peak and peak of the narrative.

Episode 4 functions as a conclusion.

1.2.3.   Features of Climax Points

Four features that help to highlight information are outlined here.
One or all of these features may occur at the peak, but can also occur
at other important points in the narrative.[2]

1.2.3.1.   **Rhetorical underlining** is the repetition of certain words,
phrases, clauses and even of whole sentences, sometimes word for word,
sometimes paraphrased, which helps to slow down the pace of the story
and to bring the repeated item into prominence.

At the peak of the narrative 'My Marriage' the ceremony itself is
repeated twice, e.g. **Popiurungno dii. Miurungno dii.** *(Cause-to-sit-
ceremonially-side-by-side. Sit-ceremonially-side-by-side.)* 'They are
caused to sit ceremonially side-by-side. They sit ceremonially side-
by-side.'

There is repetition of the particle **dii** which is often used as
emphasis, e.g. **Jadi korikotpo dii susuvab, popiurungno dii. Miurungno
dii. Mitingkuangpo dii kavagu-ka sodi valai diri kusai.** *(So-then
arrived the-next-day, cause-to-sit-ceremonially-side-by-side. Sit-
ceremonially-side-by-side. Return-to-the groom's-house again-they-say
there house that male.)* 'So then the next day having arrived, they are
caused to sit ceremonially side-by-side. They sit ceremonially side-
by-side. They return, it is said, to the house of the man.'

There is also repetition of setting, e.g. **Mitingkuangpo dii kavagu-ka
sodi valai diri kusai. Minaja oku diri savoku mongoi sodi valai doisido.**
*(Return-to-the-groom's-house again-they-say there house that male.
Followed I that spouse-my go there house his.)* 'They return, it is
said, to the house of the man. I accompanied my husband to go to his
house.'

Surprise may be indicated also by repetition in the form of a
negative-positive paraphrase, e.g. **Korikot ikoi sodi valai, na
notingkodno diri darun, auso-i diri, iri darun diri, nokorikot ikonoi.**
(Arrived we there house, then stopped that rain, nothing that, that

rain that, arrived we.) 'We having arrived at the house, then the
rain stopped, there was none of that, that rain, when we arrived.'

1.2.3.2. Heightened Vividness

Both dialogue and rhetorical questions heighten the vividness of
narratives.

Dialogue occurs in build-ups to raise the level of excitement. It is
in the form of questions and answers or commands which heighten the
vividness of the narrative. No dialogue occurs in the narrative 'My
Marriage', but the following example is taken from the story of 'The
Tandaau' (an animal), e.g. Jadi "Ai, onu ilo?" kangku. Na kadiolo,
"Taau-ka". *(So-then "Hey, what that?" say-I. Then say-they, "Don't-*
know-say".) 'So then "Hey, what's that?" I said. Then they said,
"I don't know", they said.'

Rhetorical questions are frequently embedded in sentences to give
heightened vividness to the pre-peak or post-peak information, e.g.
Kuro nong iolo vokon niopos kasangkat do sondiang diri talud do ogumu
iri injin sampai tolu. *(Why if they others wet all for different those*
boats for many those engines until three.) 'What about the others,
they were all wet for there were different boats for there were many
engines up to three.' Jadi onu okupo diti do manarino iri savoku om
suuon oku diolo manari. *(So-then what I-yet this for dances that*
spouse-my and ordered I by-them dance.) So then what about me for my
husband danced and they told me to dance.'

1.2.3.3. Change of Pace

This is marked by a variation in the size of the constructions and
in the amount of connective material.

The sentences at the peak in current event narrative are short, and
may be only one or two words at the height of the peak, e.g. Miurungno
dii. *(Sit-ceremonially-side-by-side.)* 'They sit ceremonially side-
by-side.'

There is a decreased use of sequential connectors between clauses
where one would expect them at the peak, e.g. Jadi korikotpo dii
susuvab, popiurungno dii. Miurungno dii. Mitingkuangpo dii kavagu-ka
sodi valai diri kusai. *(So-then arrived the-next-day, cause-to-sit-*
ceremonially-side-by-side. Sit-ceremonially-side-by-side. Return-to-
the-groom's-house again-they-say there house that male.) 'So then the
next day having arrived, they are caused to sit ceremonially side-by-
side. They sit ceremonially side-by-side. They return, it is said,
to the house of the man.'

1.2.3.4. *Change of Vantage Point*

This refers to the observer, the one through whose eyes we view the
narrative. In the narrative 'My Marriage' the vantage point changes
in the denouement from that of the bride and groom to that of the
guests. There is a digression in paragraph 5 where the narrator tells
of how she and her husband joined in the fun with the guests, but she
evaluates her present feelings about her actions, and then returns to
the description of the guests and the feast.

1.2.4. Prominence

Prominence refers to any device whatever which gives certain events,
participants, or objects more significance than others in the same
context (Callow 1974).

1.2.4.1. **Paraphrase** is saying the same thing in two different ways.
There are two ways of paraphrasing, either saying the same thing in
different ways in positive statements, or saying it first in a positive
statement and then restating it in a negative statement.

In the narrative 'My Marriage' there is an embedded procedural dis-
course in which sentence 2 paraphrases sentence 1 and sentence 4 para-
phrases sentence 3, e.g. Jadi ioku nopo diri nga nong dagai nopo bansa
kumawin, nga lumosok bo. Tolu tadau lumosok, au kovulai-vulai saralom
do kalambu. Na mongoi nopo modsu atau pun sitataai atau pun sisobu,
nga lumopot do nulou om mokibalung do tulun. Bolungon dino, au buli
papanawon si tana-ka, lopoton dino do nulou. *(So-then I that then if
our race marry, then hide. Three days hide, not can-come-out inside
mosquito-net. Then going bathe or want-to-defecate or want-to-urinate,
then wrap-up with cloth and ask-to-carry-on-shoulders person. Is-
carried-on-shoulders that, not can be-caused-to-walk there earth-say,
is-wrapped that with cloth.)* 'So then as for me, if it is our race who
marry, then one hides. One hides for three days, one is inside a
mosquito-net and cannot come out. Then as for going to bathe or
wanting to defecate, or wanting to urinate, then one wraps up in a
cloth and asks someone to carry one. One is carried on that person's
shoulders, one cannot be allowed to walk on the ground they say, one
is wrapped up in a cloth.'

In the same narrative there are examples of positive-negative and
negative-positive paraphrase, e.g. Au diri atantu iri dulung, mikaa-kaa.
(Not that certain that prow, go-back-and-forth.) 'The prow was not
steady, it went back and forth.'

1.2.4.2. Repetition of both nuclear and peripheral items of the sen-
tence may occur. It may be word for word repetition or be almost the
same.

Repetition of nuclear items occurs at the peak (see 1.2.3.1.).

Repetition of temporal phrases occurs at paragraph breaks, e.g.
Jadi sakali korikot ikoi sodi valai, nioposno i tongotulun do kansang
i tongodarun. Korikot ikoi sodi valai, nga notingkodno diri darun,
auso-i diri, iri darun diri, nokorikot ikonoi.

Korikot ikoi sodi, ogumu jinomput diolo tongoSino rinumikot siri.
*(So-then as-soon-as arrived we there house, wet the people for heavy
the rain. Arrived we there house, then stopped that rain, nothing
that, that·rain that, arrived we.*

Arrived we there, many invited they Chinese arrived there.) 'So
*then as soon as we arrived at the house, the people were wet for the
rain was heavy. We having arrived at the house, then the rain stopped,
there was none of that, that rain, when we arrived.*

We having arrived there, they invited Chinese to come there.'

Repetition of locatives also occurs, in this case to highlight the
difficulties of travel, e.g. ... jadi kosujur ino siri tongorabpa si
tosupot. ... kalanggar kobulang di tongokurimbang, i tongotosupot,
i rabpa. *(... so-then crashed-into that there reeds there undergrowth.
... crashed banged-into banks, the undergrowth, the reeds.)* '... *so
then that crashed into the reeds, into the undergrowth. ... it crashed
and banged into the banks, the undergrowth, the reeds.*'

1.2.4.3. The particle dii occurs frequently in Kadazan texts with
several uses one of which is to emphasise. It occurs at paragraph
breaks as a type of cataphoric pronoun to show that a new subject is
beginning. It also occurs in one type of topicalised phrase. It is
found most frequently at the peak. It is also used as an anaphoric
pronoun.

At a paragraph break it marks the introduction of a new subject
bringing it into prominence, e.g. Varo sonsodoppo dii, nokoodoppo dii.
(There-was one-night, slept.) '*There was one night, they slept.*'.

Dii is used in some topicalised phrases to increase the emphasis,
e.g. Om duduvo ikopoi dii, i pangantin do au niopos. *(And only-two
we, the bride-and-groom that not wet.)* '*And it was only the two of
us, the bride and groom that were not wet.*'

As an anaphoric pronoun the emphasis is not strong, e.g. Iri nogi
di kawin dii om nakapanari oku. *(That also that marriage that and
danced I.)* '*It was at that wedding also that I danced.*'

Dii is used frequently at and around the peak (see 1.2.3.1.).

1.2.4.4. The particle -i also indicates emphasis. Its domain is very
short, as it emphasises only a word or phrase, e.g. Auso-i diri.
(Nothing that.) 'There was none of that.'. Auso kinotontuan-i.
(Nothing orderliness.) 'There was nothing orderly.'. Kadang-kadang
do sumobu-i. (Sometimes that urinate.) 'Sometimes they urinate!'

1.2.4.5. Unusual use of **anaphoric pronouns** helps to bring out prom-
inence. The usual anaphoric pronoun used in discourse is iri or diri
which in real life refers to something far away and not visible. In
certain instances however one of the other anaphoric pronouns such as
iti or diti 'this' may be used to highlight some particular person,
e.g. Au oilaan nong tolu-ka iti duvo piniganding iti jungkung. (Not
know if three-say these two tied-side-by-side these motor-boats.) 'I
do not know if they said it was three or two of these motor-boats that
were tied side-by-side.'. Om korikotpo iti darun nga kansangno. (And
arrived this rain then heavy.) 'And this rain arrived, then it was
heavy.'. Jadi onu okupo diti do manarino iri savoku, om suuon oku
diolo manari. (So-then what I-yet this for dances that spouse-my and
ordered I by-them dance.) 'So then what about me for my husband danced
and they told me to dance.'

In the second example above emphasis is increased also by the word
order where the adjective is put in a separate clause. In the third
example emphasis is increased by the rhetorical question beginning with
onu 'what' and the topicalisation of the pronoun oku 'I'. This type
of prominence usually occurs later in the discourse and acts as a
device to reiterate the focus of the main theme.

1.2.4.6. Topicalisation refers to bringing a word or phrase forward
before the verb to bring it into prominence. Only something that is
in focus can be topicalised and so the verb form changes to harmonise
with what has been topicalised. It is most frequent early in a dis-
course as the main participants are introduced in a topicalised equa-
tional clause, but it can occur throughout the discourse at important
points as anything that is considered important can be topicalised in
Kadazan.

Topicalised pronoun, e.g. Ioku nopo nga sodi oku Kamansi. (I there
I Kamansi.) 'As for me I was at Kamansi.'

Topicalised noun, e.g. Iri nopo i savoku nga sodi Kalagan. (That
the spouse-my there Kalagan.) 'As for my husband, he was at Kalagan.'

Topicalised verb, e.g. Na mongoi nopo modsu atau pun sitataai atau
pun sisobu, na lumopot do nulou om mokibalung do tulun. (Then going

*bathe or want-to-defecate or want-to-urinate, then wrap-up with cloth
and ask-to-carry-on-shoulders person.)* 'Then *as for going* to bathe
or wanting to defecate, or wanting to urinate, then one wraps up in a
cloth and asks someone to carry one.'

Topicalised locative from the story of 'Headman Tinggawi and the
Bubua', e.g. Sirino dii mupol-gupol. *(There lying-curled-up.)* '*There
it was lying curled up.*'

Topicalised temporal phrase from the story of 'Headman Tinggawi
and the Bubua', e.g. Sodop-sodopno dii om sumukabaino dii di tukad-ka.
(Every-night and climbs steps-say.) '*It was every night* then it climbed
the steps, they say.'

1.2.5. Kinds of Information

A narrative discourse potentially has setting, background, collateral
information and main events.

1.2.5.1. Setting refers to where, when and under what circumstances
actions take place. It includes temporal and locative forms in the
discourses studied.

Temporal phrases and clauses refer to chronological setting of events
and function to connect the discourse together.

The first sentence in the body of a narrative discourse usually
begins with an existential clause containing a temporal word or phrase,
e.g. Varo sonsodoppo dii, nokoodoppo dii. *(There-was one-night, slept.)*
'There was one night, they slept.'

Paragraphs usually begin with a time margin. Time margins can also
occur at the end of a paragraph giving head-tail linkage between para-
graphs. They also can begin embedded paragraphs or discourses, e.g.
Jadi korikotpo dii susuvab, popiurungno dii. *(So-then arrived the-
next-day, cause-to-sit-ceremonially-side-by-side.)* '*So then the next
day having arrived, they are caused to sit ceremonially side-by-side.*'

Locative margins normally occur at the end of sentences, rarely in
the middle, e.g. Jadi sumulukno iolo sodi Kamansi. *(So-then go-
upstream they there Kamansi.)* 'So then they went upstream to Kamansi.'

1.2.5.2. Background information is secondary information such as
explanations or comments.

Evaluation is a type of background information, e.g. Oikuman okuno
do auso kinotontuan. *(Ashamed I for nothing orderliness.)* 'I am
ashamed for there was nothing orderly.'

Dialogue is background information also, but in our present narrative
none occurs. The following example is taken from the story 'A Tandaau'
(an animal): Jadi "Ai, onu ilo?" kangku. Na kadiolo, "Taau-ka". *(So-
then "Hey, what that?" say-I. Then say-they, "Don't-know-say".)* 'So
then "Hey, what's that?" I said. Then they said, "I don't know", they
said.'

1.2.5.3. Collateral information, instead of telling what did happen,
tells what did not happen (Grimes 1972), e.g. Jadi osusapo dino tumulak
vagu poliad di talud, om <u>au</u> <u>nogi</u> <u>antangan</u> do osovutno iri kansang
marun-darun. *(So-then difficult that push-off again push-away boat,
and <u>not</u> <u>also</u> <u>see</u> for misty that heavy raining.)* 'So then it was
difficult to push off the boat again, and <u>one</u> <u>could</u> <u>not</u> <u>see</u> <u>also</u> for
that heavy rain made it misty.'

1.2.5.4. Main events occur in main clauses, as opposed to temporal
and locative information which occurs in margins, and the introduction
of participants which occurs in topicalised equational clauses or
existential clauses. The margins of sentences or connectives provide
linkage from one event to the next. Lack of such connections between
events indicates a departure from the theme line, a return to the
theme-line or a paraphrase of what has gone before. At the peak there
are a decreased number of margins and connectors which gives the effect
of highlighting the events.

1.2.5.5. Overlay occurs in some biographical narratives in the form
of one or more concluding paragraphs to give a summary of the whole
story in a shortened form with some details added.

2.0. *FEATURES OF FOLKTALES*

The following is based primarily on a folktale entitled 'The Youth
and the Fool'. Reference is made to other folktales where necessary
to illustrate certain features of discourse.

2.1. *OUTLINE OF SEMANTIC CONTENT*

The text is a folktale told by the same woman who related the story
'My Marriage' outlined in 1.1. above.

Paragraph 1: The youth and the fool are introduced.

Paragraph 2: The youth goes fishing, his hook gets caught, so he dives
             in and finds a house full of fish-people.

Paragraph 3: The seven daughters of the fish king and the king are introduced.

Paragraph 4: The king asks for help to remove a hook from one daughter's mouth, so the youth does it.

Paragraph 5: The king gives his seventh daughter to the youth in marriage and they return to land.

Paragraph 6: The youth goes up to the house, the fool asks how to find such a beautiful wife, and the youth tells him.

Paragraph 7: The fool goes and copies all the youth's actions imperfectly and dies as a result.

2.2. SURFACE STRUCTURE

Some of the outstanding features of the surface structure of narrative discourse as found in the folktale 'The Youth and the Fool' and corroborated by data from other texts are described and illustrated in the following paragraphs.

2.2.1. Groups

Material in a discourse is related together and the relationship of the groups to each other may be seen. Sentences, paragraphs and episodes will each be described briefly.

2.2.1.1. Sentences are composed of one or more independent clauses which are linked together.

A new sentence is recognised each time there is a change of participant or there is a change of time or location unless the sentences are conjoined. A conjoined sentence occurs between two episodes, e.g.
Jadi nokotindal iri tomulok i valai om nokoontong vagu iri kulintagu. *(So-then went-up-from-the-water that youth the house and saw again that fool.)* *'So then the youth went up to the house and the fool saw him again.'*

Sentence length varies from three words to 45 words with the average about 11 words.

There are seven of the 14 sentence types used in the present narrative. These are simple, non-sequential-juxtaposed, sequential-juxtaposed, antithetical, direct quotation, co-ordinate and addition.

Simple Sentence
Jadi varo iso tadau do mongoi iri tomulok mangapon si tuunon. *(So-then there-was one day that went that youth to-fish-with-a-line there*

*landing-place.)   'So then one day that youth went fishing at the
wharf.'*

Non-sequential-juxtaposed

Jadi sakalipo dii do naanu disido i tapon om au dii okodong, nakasavit.
*(So-then as-soon-as that got by-him the bait and not pull-up, hooked-
on-something.)   'So then as soon as he caught something he could not
pull it up, it was caught on something.'*

Sequential-juxtaposed

Jadi tolongo dii tomulok bibido disido iri kinosovito, tau-tau do
nakasavit siri limbungan di valai si saralom di vaig, valai diri raja
do sada. *(So-then dives-in youth, unwinds he that place-that-was-
caught, what-do-you-know that caught there ridge-pole of house there
in water, house that king of fish.)   'So then the youth dived in, he
unwound the place that was caught, what do you know it was caught on
the ridge-pole of a house in the water, the house of the fish king.'*

Antithetical

Jadi ongoyono, ongoyo dii osuo disido iri valai diri, do ogumu do
tongosada si saralom, nga okon-i dii sada do tulun-i dii kasangkat-ka
iri. *(So-then goes, goes enters he that house that, for many fishes
there inside, but not fish for people all those.)   'So then he went,
he went into that house, for there were many fish inside, but they were
not really fish for they were really people.'*

Direct Quote

Jadi "Bulino" kadi tomulok. *(So-then "Can", said-the youth.)   'So
then "All right", said the youth.'*

Addition

Jadi ingkodomono diti tomulok i mato, om sakali pogingkalat-ka om sirino
diolo di bibir di vaig, sii tuunon dii. *(So-then shut-eyes this youth
the eyes, and as-soon-as as-soon-as-open-eyes-they-say and there they
at edge of water, there landing-place.)   'So then this youth shut his
eyes, and as soon as he opened his eyes there they were at the edge of
the water, at the wharf.'*

Co-ordinate

Jadi nokotindal iri tomulok i valai om nokoontong vagu iri kulintagu.
*(So-then went-up-from-the-water that youth the house and saw again
that fool.)   'So then that youth went up from the water to the house
and that fool saw him again.'*

2.2.1.2. *Paragraphs*

Paragraphs are set up on the basis of a change of participants or a group of participants.

Paragraph 1 is the youth and the fool.
Paragraph 2 has only the youth.
Paragraph 3 has the inhabitants of the fish king's house.
Paragraph 4 has the youth and fish king.
Paragraph 5 has the youth and king's youngest daughter.
Paragraph 6 has the youth and the fool.
Paragraph 7 has only the fool explicitly mentioned.

Some of the paragraphs are clearly marked at the end with a locative margin or a closure, e.g. **Jadi ino dii.** *(So-then that.)* *'So then that was it.'*

2.2.1.3. *Episodes*

In folktales there are often two or more clearly marked episodes consisting of one or more paragraphs each. In the story of 'The Youth and the Fool' there are two episodes with a transitional paragraph in between.

Episode 1 consists of 4 paragraphs 2 to 5 telling of the activities of the youth. Paragraph 6 is a transitional paragraph consisting of dialogue and Episode 2 consists of only one paragraph, paragraph 7, telling of the activities of the fool.

2.2.2. Function of the Groups

Various grammatical structures have been observed to have specific and repeating functions over the length of the text.

2.2.2.1. Sentences can function at both paragraph and discourse levels.

An equational sentence functions to introduce secondary participants, e.g. **Iri nopo i tongotama diri tongotongondu diri nga raja do sada.** *(Those fathers those women those then king of fish.)* *'As for the father of those girls, he was the king of the fish.'*
An existential clause is used in two ways. It introduces main participants, e.g. **Kivaro-ka iri sorita pogulu do duvo mikawan-kawan sama-sama kusai, om iso-i tomulok om iso-i kulintagu.** *(There-was-say that story before of two friends same male, and one youth and one fool.)* *'There was a story before about two friends, both men, they say, one a*

youth and one a fool.' It also introduces a time margin at the begin-
ning of the body of the discourse, e.g. Jadi varo iso tadau do mongoi
iri tomulok mangapon si tuunon. *(So-then there-was one day that went
that youth to-fish-with-a-line there landing-place.)* 'So then one day
that youth went fishing at the wharf.'

Direct quotation sentences are used in two dialogue paragraphs in
this discourse, and as monologue in two other paragraphs. In paragraph
4 the quotation sentences are used in dialogue mainly as repetition to
lighten the information load, and also to introduce some new information
to carry the theme along. In paragraph 5 the direct quotations are used
in the monologue to introduce some new information. In paragraph 6
again there is a dialogue in the form of questions and answers which
do not have new information. In paragraph 7 there is one direct quo-
tation sentence as monologue which is imperfectly formed, as it has no
closing quotation marker. This increases the feeling of suspense.

Early in the narrative there is a greater variety of sentences.
These include all seven types listed in section 2.2.1.1. At the peak
and pre-peak there are only simple, addition, and juxtaposed sentences,
both sequential and non-sequential.

2.2.2.2. Analysis of the surface structure of **paragraphs** is still
incomplete. However semantic functions of the paragraphs in the text
'The Youth and the Fool' can be given as follows.

Paragraph 1 functions as the introduction where the main participants
are introduced.
Paragraph 2 functions as the first build-up of episode 1.
Paragraph 3 functions as the introduction of the secondary partici-
pants.
Paragraph 4 functions as the peak of episode 1.
Paragraph 5 functions as the conclusion of episode 1.
Paragraph 6 functions as a transitional paragraph between episode 1
and episode 2.
Paragraph 7 functions as episode 2 containing build-ups, pre-peak
and peak. Its second function is that it carries the pre-peak and
peak for the whole discourse.

In this narrative there is no separate conclusion paragraph, but
conclusion is provided by the last clause of the last sentence.

2.2.2.3. *Episodes*

Episode 1 functions as the setting and background giving the details necessary for episode 2. It gives the events in which the first main participant and the secondary participants take part.

Episode 2 functions as the pre-peak and peak of the whole narrative. Episode 2 is shorter, more concise and is an imperfect repetition of episode 1 with a different participant and a different ending.

2.2.3. Features of Climax Points

Four of the features that highlight information are outlined in this section.

2.2.3.1. Various types of repetition are used at climax points to act as rhetorical underlining.

At the pre-peak there is repetition three times of the word sakali *'as-soon-as'* in the sentence margin, e.g. Sentence 31: Jadi sakali irino minongoi diri tomulok dii ... *(So-then as-soon-as that-is went that youth ...)* 'So then *as soon as* that youth went ...' Sentence 32: Jadi sakali "Ingkodomo ino matonu ... *(So-then as-soon-as "Shut-your-eyes those eyes-your ...)* 'So then *as soon as* "Shut your eyes ...' Sentence 34: Sakalipo dii om inurunan isido mangakan ... *(As-soon-as and swarmed he eat ...)* '*As soon as* he did that then he was swarmed and eaten ...'

At three places in the story there is repeated use of the particle dii. In paragraph 2 it is used to highlight verbs on the theme-line, e.g. Tolongo dii, ongoyo dii. *(Dive-in, go.)* 'He dove in, he went.' It is also used to highlight a surprising piece of information, e.g. Okon-i dii sada do tulun-i dii. *(Not really fish for people really.)* 'They were not really fish for they were really people.' In paragraph 4 it is used to emphasise location four times in two adjacent sentences, e.g. "Ombo dii do siti dii dikovu do kinosovito. Om mongoi oku dii siti, siti dii kinorikotoku," kadi tomulok. *("Where for here your place-it-was-caught. And go I here, here place-of-arrival-my," said youth.)* '"Where was it for it was here at your place that it was caught. And I came here, here is the place of my arrival," said the youth.' It is used extensively in the pre-peak and peak to highlight verbs, negatives and nouns. In the last sentence which is the peak, it is used three times, e.g. Sakalipo dii om inuranan isido mangakan di sada om napatai dii isido, au dii nokouli. *(As-soon-as and swarmed he eat by fish and died he, not returned.)* 'As soon as he did that he was swarmed by the fish and eaten, and he died, he did not return.'

At crucial points in the story there is positive-negative repetition,
e.g. Au dii okodong, nakasavit. *(Not pull-up, caught-on-something.)*
'It could not be pulled up, it was caught on something.'

There is also repetition of some setting information, e.g. "Ombo dii
do siti dii dikovu do kinosovito. Om mongoi oku dii siti, siti dii
kinorikotoku," kadi tomulok. *("Where for here your place-it-was-caught.
And go I here, here place-of arrival-my," said youth.)* *'"Where was it
for it was here at your place that it was caught. And I came here,
here is the place of my arrival," said the youth.'*

2.2.3.2. Heightened Vividness

Both dialogue and rhetorical questions heighten the vividness of
folktales.

Dialogue occurs in build-ups and in the transition paragraph. When
it occurs in the pre-peak it is imperfectly formed, and there is no
closing quotation marker. This increases the vividness of the narra-
tive, e.g. Jadi sakali "Ingkodomo ino matonu, nong 'ingkalat' kangku
nopo om ingkalatno." *(So-then as-soon-as "Shut-eyes those eyes-your,
if 'open-your-eyes' I say, and open-your-eyes.")* *'So then "Shut your
eyes, if 'Open your eyes' I say, then open your eyes."'*

In this narrative, one rhetorical question is used to begin a new
paragraph and highlight the beginning of the denouement of episode 1,
e.g. Onupo dii iri janji diri raja do pokowinon disido di tanak disido
di pongovian, i raraa diri. *(What that promise that king that cause-
to-marry he child his the last-one, the maiden that.)* *'What about the
king's promise for he caused his last child to be married, that maiden.'*

2.2.3.3. Change of Pace is marked by a variation in the size of the

constructions, and in the amount of connective material.

In folktales the sentences at the peak tend to be average or extra
long, as there is an increased number of events. The sentences contain
a serial sequence of clauses with a piling up of verbs telling what the
main participant does. The following sentence is the peak of a folk-
tale about 'The Youth and Wild Pigs', e.g. Nga sakalipo dii do nounus
iri gatan om pataamo dii di tomulok mivaja diri kuvo, om pinouli dii di
urang tua do bakas i tomulok do nolingasan-i dii iri tulun au kataru,
iri bakas au kataru, do mantad diri gatan nokotimporon siri kojuvan
disido. *(But as-soon-as was-pulled-out that spear and is-thrown-away
by youth along-with that what-do-you-call-it, and was-returned by
headman of wild-pigs the youth for healed-really that person not well,*

*that wild-pig not well, that from that spear broken-off-inside that
body his.)* 'But as soon as the youth pulled out that spear and threw
it away along with the what-do-you-call-it, and the headman of the
wild pigs let him go home because the sick person was healed, that sick
pig, which was sick from having a spear broken off in his body.'

There are fewer connectors at the peak where one would expect them,
e.g. **Jadi ingkodomno disido do mato, aupo nakatangar irad "ingkalat-ka",
om ingkalatno isido. Sakalipo dii om inurunan isido mangakan di sada,
om napatai dii isido, au dii nokouli.** *(So-then shut-eyes his eyes,
not-yet spoken like "open-eyes-say", and open-eyes he. As-soon-as and
swarmed he eat by fish, and died he, not returned.)* 'So then he shut
his eyes, she had not yet spoken like "open your eyes, she said" and
he opened his eyes. As soon as he did that, he was swarmed and eaten
by the fish, and he died, he did not return.'

2.2.3.4. *Change of Vantage Point*

This refers to the observer, the one through whose eyes we view the
narrative. In the narrative 'The Youth and the Fool' the first episode
is all from the vantage point of the youth. In paragraph 6 however
there is a transition, represented by dialogue between the youth and
the fool. The youth then drops out of the narrative and episode 2
completes the narrative from the vantage point of the fool.

2.2.4. Prominence

Prominence is a device which gives certain events, participants, or
objects more significance than others in the same context.

2.2.4.1. Paraphrase is a feature of sentences in which the same thing
is said in two different ways, e.g. **Om mongoi oku siti, siti dii
kinorikotoku.** *(And go I here, here place-of-arrival-my.)* 'And I came
here, here is the place of my arrival.'

2.2.4.2. Repetition of both locative and temporal phrases in the
sentence margins seems to denote emphasis that is limited to one part
of the narrative (see 2.2.3.1.).

2.2.4.3. The particle **dii** occurs as emphasis at various places in the
story (see 2.2.3.1. for three uses of **dii**).

It occurs occasionally at paragraph breaks both to end and to begin
a paragraph, e.g. sentence 18 (end of paragraph): **Jadi ino <u>dii</u>** *(So-*

then that.) *'So then that was it.'* Sentence 19 (new paragraph):
Onupo d̲i̲i̲ iri janji diri raja ... *(What that promise that king ...)*
'What about the king's promise ...'

2.2.4.4. The particle -i occurs relatively infrequently and has its
domain at phrase or word level. It has the area of meaning of *'really'*
or *'truly'*, but is more emphatic and less cumbersome to use than the
adverb itself would be, e.g. Okon-i dii sada do tulun-i dii kasangkat-ka
iri. *(Not-really fish for people-really all-say those.)* *'All those
were not really fish for they were people, they say.'*

2.2.4.5. Another device for giving prominence is the unexpected use
of certain **anaphoric pronouns.** The pronoun iti or diti *'this'* occurs
late in the narrative to reiterate the focus of a main participant,
e.g. Jadi ingkodomo i̲t̲i̲ tomulok i mato. *(So-then shut-the-eyes* <u>*this*</u>
youth the eyes.) *'So then* <u>this</u> *youth shut his eyes.'*

2.2.4.6. Topicalisation is used in equational sentences to introduce
new participants or to state some new fact about the participants, e.g.
Na ii nopo iri tongosada diri nga varo turu moisusulod-ka tongondu.
*(Now that those fishes those then there-were seven siblings-they-say
female.)* *'Now as for those fish then there were seven siblings, females,
they say.'*

2.2.5. Kinds of Information

   A narrative discourse potentially has setting, background, collateral
and main events.

2.2.5.1. **Setting** refers to where, when and under what circumstances
an action takes place. In the folktales studied it includes temporal
and locative forms.
   The body of the discourse begins with a **temporal** word in an exis-
tential clause, e.g. Jadi kivaro iso tadau do minongoi iri tomulok
mangapon si tunnon. *(So-then there-was one day that went that youth
to-fish-with-a-line there landing-place.)* *'So then one day that youth
went fishing at the wharf.'*
   Other paragraphs may begin with a temporal margin, e.g. Jadi korikot
iri tomulok diri ... *(So-then arrived that youth that ...)* *'So then
that youth having arrived ...'*

Locative margins normally occur at the end of sentences but can be highlighted in folktales by repetition, and by being moved from the margin of the sentence into a topicalised position, e.g. Ombo dii do siti dii dikovu do kinosovito. Om mongoi oku dii siti, siti dii kinorikotoku. (Where for here your place-it-was-caught. And go I here, here place-of-arrival-my.) 'Where was it for it was here at your place that it was caught. And I came here, here is the place of my arrival.'

2.2.5.2. Background is secondary information such as description, explanations or comments, e.g. Osuka isido diri tanak iri pongovian i taandai. (Likes he that child that last-one the good-one.) 'He liked that last child, the good one.'

2.2.5.3. Collateral information tells what did not happen, e.g. Napatai dii isido, au dii nokouli. (Died he, not returned.) 'He died, he did not return home.'

2.2.5.4. Main events are typically related to each other by sequential connectors. Some temporal and locative margins or clauses occur, and these connect one series of events to the next. Lack of sequential connectors occurs at the peak, before flashbacks and in dialogue.

2.2.5.5. Overlay occurs in some folktales and functions as the conclusion of the narrative.

3.0. *CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE SURFACE STRUCTURE OF ACTUAL-EVENT NARRATIVES AND FOLKTALES*

3.1. *GROUPS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS*

Sentences, paragraphs and episodes all occur in both types of narrative, but there are differences which are characteristic of each one. There are also differences of function of the groups apparent between an actual-event narrative and a folktale.

3.1.1. Sentences show a number of differences between the two types of narrative.

Sentences tend to be longer in folktales than in autobiographical narrative. In folktales the average sentence is 11 words with some as long as 45 words. In actual-event narrative the average length is eight words, but there are many short sentences of only two or three words,

and the longest one found was 30 words. The longer sentences in folk-
tales probably reflect the fact that the material is familiar and
readily understood.

In autobiographical narratives the main participants are introduced
in equational clauses, and the secondary participants are introduced
in existential clauses, e.g. Ioku nopo nga sodi oku Kamansi. *(I there
I Kamansi.)* 'As for me I was at Kamansi.' Varo iri jaga-jaga-ka.
(There-were those taking-care-they-say.) 'There were those who took
care they say.' In folktales this is reversed, the main participants
are introduced in existential clauses but secondary participants are
introduced in equational clauses, e.g. Kivaro-ka iri sorita pogulu do
duvo mikawan-kawan sama-sama kusai. *(There-was-say that story before
of two friends, same male.)* 'There was a story before, they say, about
two friends, both men.' Iri nopo i tongotama diri tongotongondu diri
nga raja do sada. *(Those fathers those women those then king of fish.)*
'As for the father of those girls, he was the king of the fish.'

In actual-event narratives the sentences at the peak are short and
simple, but in folktales they are long and complex.

3.1.2. **Paragraphs** in actual-event narratives usually begin with a
temporal margin, but this is rare in folktales. It was much more
difficult to recognise paragraph breaks in folktales for this reason.
Perhaps because folktales are well-known, temporal sequences are not
prominent.

In actual-event narrative some paragraphs function as embedded dis-
course such as procedural, hortatory, etc. In the folktales studied
this did not occur.

Actual-event narratives have one or two final paragraphs that function
as a closure tagmeme, but this is optional in folktales.

3.1.3. **Episodes** in actual-event narratives contain a progression of
events over a period of time with major time and location changes marking
a change of episode. In folktales, different episodes are recognised
when there is a change in major participant. In many folktales the
first participant carries out a series of activities to conclusion in
episode one, then a second participant repeats the same activities in
a little different manner with a different conclusion in episode two.

3.2. *FEATURES OF CLIMAX POINTS*

Three features used to highlight information contrast in the two
types of narrative.

Rhetorical Underlining

Repetition occurs in the periphery of sentences in both actual-event narratives and in folktales, but repetition of words on the event-line at the peak of the narrative only occurs in actual-event narratives.

Heightened Vividness

Dialogue is used in both types of narrative, but in the pre-peak of folktales the closing quotation markers are dropped which heightens the vividness of the story.

Change of Pace

The peak of actual-event narratives is marked by extremely short sentences of only two or three words, but in folktales the sentences at the peak are average in length or extremely long.

3.3. *KINDS OF INFORMATION*

One kind of information in actual-event narratives is evaluation which is found in background material. No examples of evaluation have been noted in folktales as yet.

4.0. *APPLICATION OF DISCOURSE STUDY TO TRANSLATED TEXT*

In the light of the study of narrative discourse several verses of the Gospel of Mark were revised. The passage that was revised was Mark 5:1-13.

The first three verses of the chapter were originally translated as follows: [1]Korikot iolo siri sondipau, vonuvo do Gadara. [2]Om tindalno dii i Yisus mantad siri talud, om kivaro iso tulun rinosukan do rogon sinumamung di Yisus do mantad siri kalabangan, [3]do monongijon isido siri kalabangan sabap rinosukan isido do rogon, om au dii kukuoyon di tongotulun mongogos vagu isido, insan kagasanpo do rantai nga au. *([1]Arrived they there opposite-side, country of Gadara. [2]And went-up-from-water Jesus from there boat, and there-was one person possessed by devil met Jesus for from there graveyard, [3]for lives he there graveyard because possessed he by devil, and not able-to-do people tie again him, although tie with chains then not.)* *'[1]They arrived at the other side, the country of Gadara. [2]Jesus went up from the boat, and there was one person possessed by a devil that met Jesus for he was from the graveyard, [3]for he lived in the graveyard because he was possessed by a devil, and the people could not tie him again, even with chains, they could not do it.'* In these three verses there are only two sentences. In natural actual-event text the average length of sentences is only

eight words with the longest sentence only having 30 words. The second
sentence here is unnaturally long and introduces too much new inform-
ation. This second sentence has now been divided into three sentences.
The information was also rearranged to make it conform more closely to
the style of the actual-event narratives examined. [1]Korikot iolo siri
sondipau vonuvo do Gadara, om tindalno dii i Yisus mantad siri talud.
[2]Kotindal nopo dii isido om kivaro dii iso tulun do sinumamung disido.
Iri nopo tulun diri'nga rinosukan do rogon, [3]om siri kalabangan ijononjo.
Au dii kukuoyon di tongotulun mongogos isido do ogirot isido, do insan
kagasanpo do rantai nga au. (*[1]Arrived they there other-side, country
of Gadara, and go-up-from-water Jesus from there boat. [2]Went-up-from-
water he and there-was one person met him. That person that then
possessed by devil, [3]and there graveyard living-place-his. Not able-
to-do people tie him for strong he, for although tied with chains then
not.) '[1]They having arrived at the other side, the country of Gadara,
then Jesus went up from the boat. [2]When he went up from the water then
there was one person met him. As for that person he was possessed by
a devil, [3]and there in the graveyard was his living-place. The people
were not able to tie him for he was strong, fór even tying him with
chains was not possible.'*

In the revision, the man who is possessed by a devil is identified
by an equational clause, instead of the existential clause used in the
former version, to conform more closely with the natural texts. The
information in the main clause in sentence 1, is repeated as the margin
of sentence 2 in order to slow down the information rate. A subordinate
clause do ogirot isido *(for strong he)* '*for he was strong*' has been used
in verse 3 to explain the reason why the man could not be tied. In
the original this clause is found in verse 4 only, but in this trans-
lation it is used in both verses 3 and 4 to slow down the rate of in-
formation and to bring the fact of his strength into prominence.
(Compare the prominence given in the similar exclamatory sentence in
English: '*He was too strong for anyone to stop him!*' (Mark 5:4 (TEV).)[3]

It was noted in the study of natural texts that very little new
information was introduced in dialogue, especially at the beginning of
the dialogue which was mainly evaluation and repetition of known in-
formation. This was applied to verses 7 and 8. The original trans-
lation read: Om kadi Yisus disido do "Labusno rogon mantad sino tulun-ka",
om muvap-luvap i tulun di rinosukan do rogon mitangar di Yisus: "Oou
Yisus, tanak do Kinoringan, iri asavat kuasa, onuma koonu-onunu dogo?
Mokianu oku dika sii gotuvang do Kinoringan supaya ada ko mangaraat
dogon," kadi tulun rinosukan do rogon. *(and said Jesus to-him that:*

"Get-out devil from there person-he-said", and calling-out the person
that possessed by devil speaks to Jesus: "Oh Jesus, child of God, that
high power, what have-to-do-with-you me? Beg I you there before God
so-that don't you do-bad-to me," said person possessed by devil.) 'And
Jesus said to him: "Devil, get out of that person," he said, and the
person that was possessed by the devil spoke to Jesus: "Oh Jesus, child
of God, the one with great power, what have you to do with me? I beg
you before God that you will not harm me", said the person possessed
by the devil.' In the revision Jesus' command has been put into a
main clause and the direct quotation no longer carries new information.
This also helps to show down the information rate because of the para-
phrase. The revision reads as follows: Sinuu di Yisus i rogon lumabus
mantad di tulun om kadisido: "Labusno rogon mantad sino tulun-ka". Nga
minongoluvap i tulun di rinosukan do rogon do: "Oou Yisus, tanak do
Kinoringan, iri asavat kuasa, onuma koonu-onunu dogo? Mokianu oku dika
sii gotuvang do Kinoringan supaya ada ko mangaraat dogon," kadi tulun
rinosukan do rogon. *(Ordered by Jesus the devil get-out from the person*
and he-said: "Get-out devil from there person-said." But called-out
the person possessed by a devil: "Oh Jesus, child of God, that high
power, what have-to-do-with-you me? Beg I you there before God so-that
don't you do-bad-to me," said person possessed by devil.) 'And Jesus
ordered the devil to get out of the person and he said: "Devil get out
of that person," he said. But the person that was possessed by the
devil called out: "Oh Jesus, child of God, the one with great power,
what have you to do with me? I beg you before God that you will not
harm me," said the person possessed by the devil.'

In the narratives studied it was noted that when new participants
were introduced, the number of participants was always stated explicitly
if it was known. The number occurred in the same clause as the parti-
cipants being introduced or in an equational clause immediately follow-
ing. In the original translation of this story in Mark the pigs were
introduced in verse 11 in an equational clause, while the number of
pigs was stated at the end of verse 13 in another equational clause:
[11]Om ogumu dii marong iri vogok sonsungal-sungal siri kulud . ...
[13]... Kogugumuo nopo di vogok om duvo noribu motuu ginumu. *([11]And many*
very those pigs rooting there hill. ... [13] ... The number of pigs
then two thousand about many.) '[11]And many pigs were rooting on the
hill. ... [13] ... The number of the pigs was about two thousand.' As
noted in section 1.2.2.1. of this paper secondary participants are
introduced in an existential clause in an actual-event narrative so in
the revision, the pigs are introduced in an existential clause and the

number follows immediately. [11]Kivaro tongovogok sonsungal-sungal sii
kulud. Kogumuo nopo dii nga duvo noribu motuu ginumu. *([11]There-were
pigs rooting there hill. The number then two thousand about many.)*
'[11]*There were pigs rooting on the hill. The number of them was about
two thousand.*'

One further change was made in verse 13 when one of the three re-
maining sentences was divided into two as this seems to be the peak of
the episode. Short crisp sentences are found at the peak of actual-
event narratives (see under 1.2.3.). However the sentences are still
quite long compared to those of the natural texts studied and further
study on the language will probably show how these sentences can be
made a more natural length.

N O T E S

1. Kadazan is a language that is widely spoken in Sabah, Malaysia. There are many dialects, and the one spoken along the Labuk River has about 12,500 speakers. Many speakers of this dialect are also found in the town of Sandakan, and on the Kinabatangan River. There are variations in the dialect along different parts of the river, but it is mutually intelligible to all speakers. The dialect as it is spoken in Kamansi near the mouth of the river is about 88% cognate with that spoken in Wonod over 100 miles upriver.

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2. The author received much valuable help from R.E. Longacre's writings when working on this section.

3. Today's English Version of the New Testament, *Good News for Modern Man*. American Bible Society, 1966.

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