

OUTLINE OF SENTENCE TYPES OF TAUSUG¹

SEYMOUR AND LOIS ASHLEY

Summer Institute of Linguistics

(Received April 3, 1971)

O. INTRODUCTION

There are twenty contrastive sentence types in Tausug. Of these, the Relator-Axis Sentence is dependent and extra-systemic. It consists of a Relator, expounded by various subordinating elements, and an Axis, expounded by any of the systemic sentences.

The sentence, as a linear string, divides into a nucleus and a periphery. Elements of the latter occur both preposed and postposed to the nucleus. The periphery is non-distinctive and occurs with various nuclei. The distinctive nuclei determine the fifteen systemic types.

1. SENTENCE PERIPHERY

The sentence periphery is mainly preposed to the nucleus. One important set of peripheral tagmemes, the sentence margins, divides into M_1 , which most commonly precedes the nucleus but which may permute to post-nuclear and M_2 , which occurs post-nuclear.

1.1. The following bidimensional array (chart 1) represents the periphery of the sentence.

1.2. The sentence margin tagmemes which occur in etic slots M_1 and M_2 constitute a system with one lacuna (chart 2).² The vertical parameter of this defective system has two values: actual, and hypothetical. The horizontal parameter has four values: setting, logical, chronological, and teleological. Each cell of the matrix shows the name of the sentence margin tagmeme as well as the words which expound the Relator of the manifesting constructions.

1.3. Rules for the sentence periphery follow:

1. Exponents of a repeated Response or of a repeated Vocative are identical.

¹This paper was written at a workshop at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon under the direction of Robert Longacre of the Summer Institute of Linguistics under OE contract 0-8-062838-0391. The chief source of material used in the preparation of the paper was a concordance of morphemes based on 3,362 sentences of text in Tausug made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation. In addition to the text, four Tausug young people assisted us: Saripul Usman, Aluya Ayus, and Ula and Ayang Halim all from Parang district, on the island of Jolo, Sulu Province, Philippines.

²As originally conceived this system was not defective. A "Reason Margin" was posited where the present lacuna exists. The "Reason Margin" was expounded by a Relator-Axis Sentence with Relator expounded by *hangkan* 'reason'. cf. the last two examples under § 2.5.2. This margin has now been reanalyzed, however, as part of the nucleus of the Reason Sentence (2.5.2.). cf., however, footnotes 5 and 8.

| Excl | Intr | Resp | Orient | Voc | S T | M ₁ | Conn | Nuc | M ₂ |
|---|--------------------------------|---|--|--|--|----------------|---|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Word or phrase e.g. <i>aw'a!</i> 'oh' <i>andu' kailu!</i> 'sympathy' <i>ay kaw naa!</i> 'really' | Word <i>na</i> 'now' | Word e.g. <i>huun</i> 'yes' <i>di'</i> 'no' <i>bukun</i> 'not' <i>makajari</i> 'it can be' | Word e.g. <i>malayngkan</i> 'however' <i>sawpama</i> 'for example' <i>hangkan</i> 'that's why' < <i>ampa</i> > sequence | Word e.g. <i>utu'</i> 'son' <i>kaka'</i> 'elder brother' 'elder sister' <i>Saripul</i> personal name | phrase ₁ pronoun ₄ D P | see chart 2 | Word e.g. <i>na</i> 'now' <i>asal</i> 'already' <i>ampa</i> 'and then' | Any indep. clause or sentence | see chart 2 |

Abbreviations:

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Excl = Exclamation | Orient = Orientation | M ₁ = Margin | M ₂ = Margin ₂ |
| Intr = Introduction | Voc = Vocative | Conn = Connector | D P = Distributive phrase ³ |
| Resp = Response | S T = Sentence Topic | Nuc = Nucleus | |

<*ampa*> includes *ampa* 'and then' or 'just then', *sakali* 'next', *manjari* 'came to be', *sarta* 'then suddenly'

Chart 1: The Periphery of Tausug Sentences

³Distributive phrase = a phrase introduced by the distributive words *sasuku* 'as many as' or *hisiyu-siyu* 'whoever'. This distributive word is followed by phrase₁ or phrase₂ which has a verbal as its head.

| | M ₁ | | | M ₂ |
|-------------------|--|--|---|---|
| | Setting | Logical | Chronological | Teleological |
| Actual | Circumstance RAS / R: <i>pagga</i> # 'since' | | Temporal RAS / R: <i>sin</i> 'while' OTHER see note 1 | Cause RAS / R: <i>sabab</i> <i>bat</i> <i>ampa</i> 'because' |
| Hypo- thetical | Concessive RAS / R: <i>minsan</i> # 'even if' | Conditional RAS / R: <i>bang</i> # 'if' | Limit RAS / R: <i>sampay</i> # 'until' | Purpose RAS / R: (ha) <i>supaya</i> # <i>bat</i> # 'in order to' |

Notes:

- The exponents of Temporal Margin other than RAS are listed below:
 - Word e.g. *bihaun* 'now', *kunsum* 'tomorrow'
 - Phrase₃* with temporal word as head.
 - Gerund phrase introduced by the prefix *pag-*.
- Relators followed by the # sign attract the pronoun of the following clause.⁴

Chart 2: Sentence Margin Tagmemes of Tausug

*There are four phrase sets which are exponents of clause level nuclear tagmemes and of some sentence level tagmemes. These sets are called Phrase₁ (marked by < *in* >), Phrase₂ (marked by < *sin* >), Phrase₃ (marked by < *ha* >), and Phrase₄ (ϕ marker).

⁴There are other words which function similarly to the relator conjunctions in that they attract the pronouns and post-adverb particles of the clause which they precede as do the relator conjunctions. In contrast to relator-conjunctions these words are analyzed as auxiliaries expounding the clause-level auxiliary tagmeme. Some of these words are listed below.

Iyampa na aku himuyup sin suling.
I blow flute

'This is the *first time* I blew a flute.'

Sung na aku humuyup sin suling.

'I'm *on the way* to blow the flute.'

Mawmu siya maghuyup sin suling.

'He *often* blows the flute.'

2. Vocative may permute to any inter-tagmeme juncture of the sentence periphery or of a clause occurring in a margin or in the nucleus.
3. Pre-nuclear clusters of M_1 occur in which Temporal Margin precedes or follows another M_1 .
4. Pre-nuclear clusters of M_1 occur in which Conditional Margin precedes or follows Concessive Margin.
5. Any M_1 may permute to post-nuclear.
6. Sentence Topic may occur before or after a preposed M_1 .
7. Exponents of Conn:
 - 7.1 Conn: *na* follows any M_1 .
 - 7.2 Conn: *(ampa)* does not follow Limit Margin of M_1 .

1.4. In the following analyzed examples only tagmemes of the sentence periphery are indicated.

1. Exclamation, Concessive Margin

Uy, minsan in butig tau yan di' makaganti'

Oh! even-if worthless man that not able-replace

kan ama', mabuhi' da kami iban makausaha.

father will live still we and able-to-work

'Oh, even if that worthless fellow doesn't replace father, we'll still live and be able to work.'

2. Response, Conditional Margin

Bunnal, bang kabayaan nila in babai, bang mabaya' mag-asawa

True if desire they girl if want marry

na, mangguyud na atawa mangdakup.

now, will-kidnap already or will-elope.

'True, if they want the girl, if they want to get married, they will kidnap or they'll elope.'

3. Introducer, Vocative, Circumstance Margin

Na, Tuwan kaw Agasi, pagga kaw isab biya' manga nakakinam

Now, Sir you Giant since you also as-if plural able-tasted

na, maray' sarang na in kaun mu yan iban hundung

already perhaps enough already eaten you that and stop

Gam pa siya himuyup sin suling.

'It would be good if he blew the flute.'

Maray' siya humuyup sin suling.

'Maybe he'll blow the flute.'

Apit na siya humuyup sin suling.

'He almost blew the flute.'

Agun na siya humuyup sin suling.

'He almost blew the flute.'

Ubus na siya himuyup sin suling.

'He is finished blowing the flute.'

Puas na kami nagbichara.

'We are finished talking.'

Subay na kamu humuyup sin suling.

'You should blow the flute.'

na kaw!

already you

'Now, You Sir Giant, since it is as though you have already tasted, perhaps what you have eaten is enough and you stop!'

4. Introducer, Orient, Vocative, Sentence Topic

Na, manjari, Seymour, in aku ini nasusa na isab.

Now, came-to-be, Seymour, I this, sorry already again

'Now it came to be, Seymour, that I was sorry again.'

5. Introducer, Orient, Sentence Topic, Vocative

Na, ampa, in aku isab ini, Adalla, sa'bu aku isab

Now, then, I also this, Adalla, same-time I also

naglalatang, in hilu yaun nabud.

poisoned-fish dizzy there became-plentiful

'Now then, as for me, Adalla, at the same time I poisoned fish, the dizzy (fish) became plentiful.'

6. Orientation

"Malyngkan," laung hi Isa ha tau Parisi, "in adlaw mulliya

Whereas said Jesus to men Pharisees day last

hinang sin Tuhan pa manga tau, tabang kanila."

made by God for plural men help them

'"Whereas," Jesus said to the Pharisees, "the day of rest was made by God for men to help them."'

7. Introducer, Orientation

Na, sakali, dum-dum sila yaun magjaga sin manga

Now, after-that, night-night they those guard plural

lahing yaun.

coconuts those

'Now after that every night those ones guarded those coconuts.'

8. Orientation, Temporal Margin (parenthetical Cause Margin) Conn

Mangjari, pagdatung sin Mayor, (bat ampa siya

came-to-be, when-arrived Mayor because just he

isab nakaratung) na di' siya mabaya'.

also able-to-arrive now not he want

'Now when the Mayor arrived (because he had just arrived) now he did not want it.'

9. Orientation, Sentence Topic

Ampa in bay, katluan in bay ha lawm sin larang niya.

And then houses, thirty houses inside of fence his

'And as for the houses, there are thirty houses inside his fence.'

10. Temporal Margin, Connector

Sin wala'pa nakakadtu hi Tawtu' pa lawm niyug, asal

When not yet go-there Tawtu' to inside coconut (grove)

didtu na hi Ara'.

already there Ara'

'At the time when Tawtu' had not yet gone to the coconut grove, Ara' was already there.'

11. Temporal Margin, Limit Margin

Pagtaud yaun, hiragang niya ra, sampay siya

When-plenty that will-sell he only until he

makabi na sapi

able-to-buy already cow

'When that becomes plenty, he will sell, until he will be able to buy a cow.'

12. Temporal Margin

Laung isab hi Pilanduk, "Kunsum, kamu na hadja in panglub ig."

Said also Pilanduk, Tomorrow you only fish

'Pilanduk also said, "Tomorrow you will be the ones to fish."' '

13. Temporal Margin, Connector

Pagdungug ku sin miyatay hi Pings, sarta' timu' in luha' ku.

When-heard I died Pings suddenly flowed tears my

'When I heard that Pings had died, suddenly my tears flowed.'

14. Circumstance Margin, Connector

Pagga ummul ku tungka tahun, ampa aku biyugit hi ama' ku.

When age my three years then I thrown father my

'When I was three years old, then I was thrown away by my father.'

15. Conditional Margin, Connector

Bang sumung in sakit mu, ampa kaw dahun pa uspital.

if progresses sickness your, then you carried to hospital

'If your sickness gets worse, then you will be taken to the hospital.'

16. Sentence Topic

Sasuku' sin agad kaku', dumayaw in parasahan.

As-many-as follow me good feeling

'To as many as follow me, (their) condition will be bettered.'

17. Sentence Topic

Hisiyu-siyu in taga sinapang, kadtuun sila sin tau parinta.

Whoever has guns will-be-taken they men government

'Whoever has guns, they will be taken by the government.'

18. Concessive Margin (*minsán#*)

Minsan wala' di hi Utu', yaun in manga pangtungud
Even-if not here Brother, there plural cousin

ku minsan ha bay.
my first at house

'Even if Brother was not here, there my first-cousins were at the house.'

19. Conditional Margin (*bang#*), Concessive Margin (*minsán#*)

"Bang" laungniya, "iyabutan ku in nakabunu' kan ama',
if said he reach I one-killing father,
minsán limupad na pakain, bunuun ku da."
even-if fly already to-where, will-kill I

'She said, "If the one who killed father is reached by me, even wherever he may fly, I'll kill (him)."'

20. Limit Margin (*sampay#*)

Sampay sadja nasubul hi Utu' ini, didtu na ha
Until only young-man Brother this, there already at
bay sin apu' namu'.

house of grandfather ours

'Until brother became a young man, there we were at the house of our grandfather.'

21. Purpose Margin (*ha supaya#*)

Naghinang na sila manga kuta', ha supaya isab
made already they plural forts, in-order-that also
awn katapukan nila.
there-is hiding-place their

'They made forts in order that they would have hiding places.'

22. Circumstantial (*pagga#*)

Laung hi Gadja, "Aku, pagga aku da in biya' malaggu'-laggu'."
Said Elephant, I since I only like large-large

'The elephant said, "I'll be the one, since I am the one who is like the largest."'

23. Purpose Margin (*bat#*)

"Sapurun ta kaw sin ista' ini ha mata mu, bat kaw
will-throw I you fish this eye your, so you
mabuta', laung hi kura.

become-blind said horse

'"I'll throw this fish in your eye so you'll become blind," said the horse.'

24. Cause Margin (*sabab*)

Alla ini, sung-sung kaw mari, Kabaw, sabab
too-bad this, approach you here, Carabao, because

in taynga ku yan bisu.

ear my that deaf

'Dear me! you come here a little closer, Carabao, because my ear is deaf.'

25. Cause Margin (*bat*)

Na, nakaig na kami dayn ha bay namu' ha Lamugut,

So left already we from house our at Lamugut,

bat miyuga' kami,

because afraid we

'So we left our house at Lamugut because we were afraid.'

26. Cause Margin (*ampa*)

Timbakun na in tau ini, ampa taga

will-be-shot already man this, because have

sinapang sadja in kabayan.

guns only houses

'This fellow will be shot because all the houses have rifles.'

27. Orient, Conditional Margin, Connector, Cause Margin

Hangkan, bang awn da taymanghud niya atawa kampung

Reason if there-is only brother his or relative

niya malasa kaniya ampa mabaya' isab lumamud atawa

his love him and want also to-enter or

tumabang kaniya ha parakala yaun, na pakadtuun na

to-help him in trouble that now cause-to-go already

asal sin adlaw Albaa, sabab in manga tau

before on day Wednesday, because plural man

amu na in hinda Sami', na lurun niya bunuun.

that is pl. Mr. Sami', now descend he kill

'For that reason, if he has a brother or relative who loves him and who want also to join in or help him in that trouble, now he will cause them to go before on Wednesday because the men, that is the ones with Mr. Sami', now (they) will be descended upon by him and killed.'

28. Sentence Topic, Conditional Margin, Conditional Margin

"In dila' ta," laung na, "bang kita putingan, guntingun

tongue ours said if we lie will-be-cut

sin gunting, bang kita ha adlaw mahuli na.

by scissors if we at day last already

' "Our tongues," it's said, "if we lie, will be cut out by scissors if we are at the last day already." '

29. Temporal Margin, Sentence Topic

Pagkadtu niya pa Masjid, in hi Tawtu isab ini, nagka

When-went he to mosque Tawtu also this, got

madtu ha anak hi Hadji' Ali, hi Murbi.

there at child Hadji' Ali Murbi

'When he went to the mosque, this Tawtu got the child of Hadji' Ali, Murbi.'

30. Sentence Topic, Vocative

Ikaw, Buaya, duun kaw ha lawang apis.

You, Crocodile, there you at door corral

'You, Crocodile, you be there by the gate to the corral.'

31. Introduction, Temporal Margin, Connector

Na, ha adlaw man yaun, na nagpanaw na in manga

Now on day referred-to that, now walked already plural

amu' pa higad.

monkey to shore

'Now on that day, the monkeys walked to the shore.'

32. Conditional Margin, Connector

Bang mu aku ini biyaytaan dayn sin kaina amu kawaun

'If you me this told from earlier that-is will-get

ku in bugas iban sapi'.

I rice and cows

'If you had told me this from the first, I would have taken the rice and the cows.'

33. Limit Margin, Connector

Sampay bihuan amu in hula' sin apu' ku ha Lipunus.

Until now that-is living-place of grand-father my at Lipunus

'Until now the living-place of my grandfather is at Lipunus.'

34. Conditional Margin, Sentence Topic

Bang kaw makaurul kamu'pa Nasuli', in hipahinang

If you can-follow us to Nasuli', the-work

namu' kaymu, papagbissarahun namu' kaw ha lawm makina.

we to-you, cause-to-speak we you into machine

'If you can follow us to Nasuli', the work which we will cause you to do (is), we will cause you to speak into the machine.'

1.5. The following are examples of Relator-Axis Sentences which have as their Axis a sentence rather than a simple clause. The RAS exemplified is separated from the sentence in which it is an exponent of M_1 or M_2 by / /.

Examples:

1. *Nagtabang siya ha kabaw/ (Rel:) sabab (Axis: SimS with Cond. M)*

helped he carabao because

bang bukun amu' siguru mapatay na in kabaw./

if not monkey surely die already carabao

'He helped the carabao/because if it were not for the monkey surely the carabao would have died./'

2. *Aku na ba in pasungi* / (Rel:) *sabab* (Axis: SimS with Cond. M)
 I cause-to-go because
bang dumatung na in hangin gam pa isab in ikaw di' da tuud
 if arrive wind good also you not very
katampalan sin hangin, /
 facing-towards wind
 'Let me be the one to have it done/because when the wind arrives you, not facing toward the wind very much, are o.k.'
3. *Na nasumu in buaya imitung ha amu'* / (Rel:)
 Now confused crocodile counting monkeys
sabab (Axis: SimS with S T and Temp. M) *in panday*
 because cleverness
sin amu' ubus niya itungun in hambuuk timaud
 of monkey finished he counting one become-amount
man manga hangpu' duun in amu'./
 plural ten there monkey
 'Now the crocodile became confused counting monkeys/because the cleverness of the monkey, was such that when he (the crocodile) finished counting one to ten, there was another monkey.'
4. *Na jajagahan ku harap madtu* / (Rel:) *bat* (Axis: MerS)
 Now guarded I toward there because
mabuga' aku isab manga manimbak mawn pa bay./
 afraid I also plural shoot there to house
 'Now I guarded in that direction / because I was also afraid that there would be shooting towards the house.'
5. *Bang ha taas bud di' aku tuud makaindan magpanaw* / (Rel:)
 if at top mountain not I very recognize to-walk
bat (Axis: SimS with Conc. Margin) *minsan manaw*
 because even-though walk
pa bud agun na mapiul in tuhud ku./
 to mountain almost broken knee my
 'When at the top of the mountain I could hardly recognize the way to walk / because even when walking to the mountain I almost broke my knee.'
6. *Laung hi Habibubakti', 'Maluhay say yan, Dayang, sagua'*
 said Habibubakti' easy darling but
 / (Rel:) *bang* (Axis: SeqS) *aku wala' na di ampa*
 if I not here and then
awn makakari manga magulang mu / Dayang, Ayaw kaw
 there coming plural brothers your / darling don't you

mabaya magguru, ha?

want learn o.k.

'Habibubakti' said, "That's easy, Darling, but if I am not here and then your brothers come, /Darling, don't you want to learn, o.k.?"'

7. *Na* / (Rel:) *bang* (Axis: SeqS) *kabakan na in yan*

na if find already that

ampa mu hibugit in kaibanan / balik-balik na

and then you will-throw others again-again

kita isab maglawag.

we also will-look

'Now /if, we will find that already and then you will throw away others/ we will just have to look again and again.'

8. *Laung sin kuting* / (Rel:) *bang* (Axis: CorS) *awn kadunguan*

said cat if there-is heard

sakayan iban makakita' tau iban manuk-manuk/ di' kaw umusig."

canoe and able-to-see men and birds not you bark

'The cat said, /"If (we) hear a canoe and see people and birds, / you will not bark."'

9. / (Rel:) *minsán* (Axis: CorS) *siya nabalu iban nasakit /*

even-though she widow and sick

awn alta' sin bana niya kiyabin kaniya.

there-are goods of husband her left to-her

'/Even though she is a widow and sick/ she has goods of her husband left to her.'

10. / (Rel:) *Sampay* (Axis: CorS) *sadja nasubul hi utu' ini*

until just young-man Utu' this

iban nabudjang hi inda' / didtu na kami ha bay sin apu' namu'.

and young-lady Inda' there we at house of grandfather ours

'/Just until Utu' was a young man and Inda' was a young lady/ were we there at the house of our grandfather.'

2.0.

The nineteen independent sentences of Tausug constitute two systems. The system of Conjoined Sentences embraces fifteen types. A smaller system of Quotation Sentences embraces four types.

The Conjoined Sentences of Tausug—each with a distinctive nucleus—constitute a three-by-five system (cf. chart 3). On the vertical parameter, loose, tight, and balanced sentences are distinguished. Tight sentences are characterized by more internal restriction, less freedom of permutation, and more lexical cross-reference than are the loose sentences. Balanced sentences are composed of parts that show considerable parallelism of structure—either by use of synonyms and antonyms (Alternative Sentence) or by repetition of lexical items (other balanced sentence types). The horizontal parameter distinguishes five values. Centering sentences resemble clauses. Thus, the Simple Sentence has a base tagmeme expounded by a clause; the Merged Sentence has two bases that share a noun phrase and

have the phonological (and to some degree the lexical) unity of a single clause; and the Equational Sentence is a sentence-level equation. Concatenated sentences embrace three types in which bases are conjoined without regard to chronology (Coordinate), with regard to chronological sequence (Sequence), and as alternatives (Alternative). The central column consists of temporal sentences, which either join bases without relator or marker (Juxtaposed) or by means of relators and markers (Simultaneous), or by means of repeating an auxiliary (Repetitive). Opposition sentences embrace Antithetical, Reproach, and Frustrative; they all express some sort of lexical opposition or situational incongruence. Reasoning sentences, i.e. Refutation, Reason, and Comparative involve varying sorts of implication.

The smaller two-by-two system, which embraces the quotation sentences is given under 2.6.

Abbreviations used in the following sentence description:

| | | |
|------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| Anti | — | Antithesis tagmeme |
| Alts | — | Alternative Sentence |
| AntS | — | Antithetical Sentence |
| Base | — | Base tagmeme |
| Compl | — | Complement |
| CorS | — | Coordinate Sentence |
| CptS | — | Comparative Sentence |
| DHQS | — | Direct Heard Quotation Sentence |
| DQuote | — | Direct Quote |
| DHsQs | — | Direct Hearsay Quotation Sentence |
| EqtS | — | Equational Sentence |
| Equiv | — | Equivalence tagmeme |
| FrsS | — | Frustrative Sentence |
| IHQs | — | Indirect Heard Quotation Sentence |
| IQuote | — | Indirect Quote |
| IHsQs | — | Indirect Hearsay Quotation Sentence |
| Item | — | Item tagmeme |
| JxtS | — | Juxtaposed Sentence |
| Lk | — | Link tagmeme |
| M _{alt} | — | Alternative Marker tagmeme |
| M _{cor} | — | Coordinate Marker tagmeme |
| MerS | — | Merged Sentence |
| M _{opp} | — | Opposition Marker tagmeme |
| NP | — | Noun phrase |
| Opp | — | Opposition tagmeme |
| Prop | — | Proposition tagmeme |
| QF1 | — | Quote Formula tagmeme 1 |
| QF2 | — | Quote Formula tagmeme 2 |

| | | |
|--------|---|--------------------------|
| QF3 | — | Quote Formula tagmeme 3 |
| ReaS | — | Reason Sentence |
| RefutS | — | Refutation Sentence |
| RepS | — | Reproach Sentence |
| SB | — | Sentence Base tagmeme |
| Sg | — | Signal of Indirect Quote |
| SimS | — | Simple Sentence |
| Thesis | — | Thesis tagmeme |

2.1. CENTERING SENTENCES

There are three types of centering sentences: Simple Sentence, Merged Sentence, and Equational Sentence.

2.1.1. THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

The nucleus of the Simple Sentence is expounded by one Independent clause. A partial clause is analyzed as a full clause with deletions, the deleted elements being understood from context.

Formula:

$$\text{SimS} = \frac{\text{+ S B}}{\text{any independent clause}}$$

Examples:

1. *Pagkumpit sin amu' yadtu, (SB) makut-kut niya in lima.*
when-grasped monkey that will-be-bitten by him hand
'When the monkey will grasp he will bite his hand.'
2. *Na, (SB) mapanday tuud in amu' yadtu.*
now clever very monkey that
'Now that monkey (was) very clever.'
3. (SB) *Nag-yan in amu', (SB) "pasungun kita."*
said monkey cause-to-go closer us
'The monkey said, "(He) wants us to go closer."'
4. (SB) *Awn hiasubu ku kaniya.*
there-is will-ask I him
'I have something to ask him.'
5. (SB) *Pa tabu'. (In response to question, "Where are you going?")*
to market
'(I'm going) to market.'

2.1.2. THE MERGED SENTENCE

A Merged Sentence is a sequence of two verbal clauses which share a common noun phrase. The noun phrase has either the same or different roles in the clauses of the Base tagmemes. The role combinations which have been observed are shown here:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| in Base ₁ clause | in Base ₂ clause |
| Actor | Actor (cf. examples 1–4) |
| Goal | Goal (cf. examples 5–8) |
| Actor | Goal (cf. examples 10, 11) |
| Goal | Actor (cf. examples 12, 13) |
| Goal | Instrument (cf. example 9) |

The only formal marker of a Merged Sentence is the single-clause intonation which occurs with the two clauses.

Formula:

| | | | |
|------|---|---------------------|---------------------|
| MerS | = | | |
| | | + Base ₁ | + Base ₂ |
| | | verbal clause | verbal clause |

Rules:

1. A tagmeme of B₁ is expounded by the same NP as a tagmeme in B₂.
2. The common exponent may permute to a position either preceding B₁ (Exs. 2, 3, 5) or following B₂ (Ex. 12).
3. The common exponent may delete if its exponent is understood or can be supplied from context (Exs. 1, 7).

Examples:

1. (Base₁ :) *Magkaun* (Base₂ :) *magsama-sama*
 will-eat all-act-simultaneously
 '(Some people) will eat together.'
2. (common NP) *In dila' nila* (Base₁ :) *mahunit lumabtik*
 tongue their difficult will-flap
 (Base₂ :) *simingud sin dahan ba'gu.*
 will-imitate style new
 'It's hard for *their tongues* to flap to imitate the new style (of speaking).'
3. (common NP) *In tau yaun* (Base₁ :) *nakakaun* (Base₂ :) *nakaruwa na.*
 persons that ate two-times already
 'That fellow has eaten twice already.'
4. (Base₁ :) *Nag-isun* (Base₂ :) *timilu' batu* (common NP) *in*
 took-counsel threw stone
manga bata'.
 plural children
 'The children discussed together about their throwing stones.'
5. (common NP) *In kapin piyagkaunan* (Base₁ :) *diya* (Base₂ :) *biyugit.*
 remains feedings carried throw-away

'The leftovers of the food were carried out, disposed of.'

6. (Base₁ :) *Biyugit* (common NP) *siya* (Base₂ :) *binin*
 thrown-away he left-behind

ha lupa' *Bisaya'*
 homeland Visaya

'He was deserted, left behind in the homeland of the Visayans.'

7. (Base₁ :) *Iyapas niya* (Base₂ :) *iyabutan* (Base₃ :) *nalagut niya*.
 chased by-him overtaken slashed by-him

'(The person) was chased by him, overtaken, slashed.'

8. (Base₁ :) *Dahun ta* (common NP) *in kat-kat niya* (Base₂ :) *hiyuli'*
 will-carry us saw his will-return

'Let's carry his saw, returning (it).'

9. (Base₁ :) *Magkawa' siya* (common NP) *dahun niyug*
 will-get he leaves coconut

(Base₂ :) *hinangun bay-bay*.
 will-make small-house

'He will get coconut leaves with which to make a small house.'

10. (Base₁ :) *Nagdungan* (common NP) *in tawmpa'* (Base₂ :) *bini*.
 to-occur-same-time shoes bought

'The shoes were bought at the same time.'

11. (Base₁ :) *Limugay* (common NP) *siya* (Base₂ :) *dimungug*.
 long-time he listened

'He was a long-time listening.'

12. (Base₁ :) *Hilaruk mu pa taas* (Base₂ :) *makapitu* (common NP) *in sing-sing*.
 throw you upwards will-be-seven ring

'The ring is the thing you throw upwards, (the ring) will be seven times. You throw the ring upwards seven times.'

13. (Base₁ :) *diya* (common NP) *in tau* (Base₁ :) *nagbichara*.
 carried person talked

'(Someone) carried the man to talk.'

'(Someone) engaged the man in conversation.'

2.1.3. THE EQUATIONAL SENTENCE

The thrust of the Equational Sentence is to equate, compare, or paraphrase the two bases of the sentence. Compl₁ and Compl₂ are compared when each is expounded by a possessed phrase, with identical head exponents (cf. examples 1-3). When the head exponents are different, the two Complements are equated (cf. examples 4-8). Compl₂ is a paraphrase of Compl₁ when both are expounded by a clause or sentence (cf. examples 9, 10).

Formula:

| | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Eqts | = | ± Link ₁ | + Compl ₁ | ± Link ₂ | + Compl ₂ |
| | | | | | |
| | | <i>amu</i> ⁵ | [phrase ₁] | | |
| | | ‘that is’ | any indep. clause | | |
| | | <i>amu na</i> | any indep. sentence | | |
| | | ‘that is’ | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

Rules:

1. When Compl₁ and Compl₂ are expounded by phrase₁, then + (\pm link₁ . . . \pm link₂ . . .).
2. When Compl₁ and Compl₂ are expounded by C1 or S, then - link₁ . . . + link₂

Examples:

1. (Lk₁ :) *Amu na* (Compl₁ :) *in taud sin ha guwa'*
 that-is number of outside

(Lk₂ :) *amu na* (Compl₂ :) *in taud sin ha lawm.*
 that-is number of inside

'As many as there are on the outside, that's how many there are on the inside.'

2. (Compl₁ :) *In panaw sin kabaw* (Lk₂ :) *amu na* (Compl₂ :)
 walk of carabao that-is

in panaw sin bagay ku.
 walk of friend my

'The way the carabao walks is the way my friend walks.'

3. (Lk₁ :) *Amu na* (Compl₁ :) *in dagbus hi Jimi* (Compl₂ :)
 that-is appearance of Jimmy

in dagbus hi Jani.
 appearance of Johnny

3. *Miyadtu in kwan amu in buaya pa apu' niya*
 Went-there what-you-may-call-it that-is crocodile to grandfather his

'The what-you-may-call-it, that is the crocodile, went there to his grandfather.'

4. *Bang kaw mui' na mari pa Sug, bihi aku gunting, amu in ipun kaytan.*
 if you return now here to Sulu, buy me scissors that-is teeth shark

'If you return here to Sulu, buy me a scissors, that is with teeth like a shark.'

5. *Pagdum Ahad in bayta' sin tau, amu in iban niya, laung niya in sila nalu'nud.*
 When-night Sunday telling of men that-is companions his said he they were-swamped

'When Sunday night came, what the man told, that is his companion, he said that they were swamped.'

6. *Hangkan na kami duun ha Lamugut pagnganan, amu in hula'an sin ama'*
 Reason now we there Lamugut named that-is living-place of father
namu' magtiyaun man sila kay ina' ini duun na sila ha Lamugut nagbay.
 our married they mother this there now they Lamugut made-house

'The reason that we were there at (the place) named Lamugut, that is the place of our father, (was that when) they were married, there they made their house at Lamugut.'

7. *Sakali kiyamunduhan na isab didtu ha bay, amu in kiyaruunan namu'.*
 then bothered-by-outlaws again there at house, that-is place ours

'Then (we) were bothered by outlaws again there at the house, that is our place.'

8. *In pihak lawd, amu na in pagnganan Samal iban Luwaan, landu'tuud nakabidda'*
 tribe sea that-is named Samal and Luwaan very much different
in addat nila.

customs their

'The sea people, that is the ones called Samals and Luwaan, very much different are their customs.'

| | Centering | Concatenated | Temporal | Opposition | Reasoning |
|----------|---|---|---|--|---|
| Loose | Simple | Coordinate ... <i>ibab</i> ... | Juxtaposed ... <i>φ</i> ... | Antithetical ... < <i>sa'</i> > ... | Refutation <i>sin</i> ... |
| Tight | Merged -- NP -- | Sequence ... <i>ampa</i> # < <i>manjari</i> > ... | Simultaneous <i>baba</i> # ... <i>sa'bu</i> # < <i>manjari</i> > ... | Reproach <i>sakawkat</i> # ... <i>malayngkan</i> < <i>sa'</i> > ... | Reason < <i>sabab</i> > # < <i>supaya</i> > # < <i>bat</i> > ... |
| Balanced | Equational <i>amu</i> ... <i>amu</i> ... | Alternative ... <i>atawa</i> ... | Repetitive <i>ubus</i> # ... <i>ubus</i> # | Frustrative <i>iyampa</i> # ... <i>iyampa</i> # | Comparative dim st ... st. |

- < *sa'* > = *sa'*, *hati*, 'but'
- < *manjari* > = *manjari*, 'came to be', *sakali*, 'next', *sarta*, 'then suddenly'
- < *sabab* # > = *sabab* #, *hangkan* #, 'reason'
- < *supaya* # > = *supaya* #, *bat* #, 'in order that'
- < *bat* > = *sabab*, *bat*, 'because'
- dim st ... st = diminished stem ... stem

Chart 3: Conjoined Sentences of Tausug

'The appearance of Jimmy is the appearance of Johnny.'

'Jimmy and Johnny look alike.'

4. (Lk₁ :) *Amu* (Compl₁ :) *in maragan* (Compl₂ :) *in taga panji.*
 that-is "runny" having flags

'The fast runners are the ones with flags.'

5. (Compl₁ :) *In pihak lawd ini* (Lk₂ :) *amu na* (Compl₂ :)
 tribe sea this that-is

in nangabuhianan ha manga kabuhianan makawa' nila dayn ha dagat.
 making-a-living at plural livelihood will-be-gotten them from sea

'These sea people are the ones making their living on the livelihood they will get from the sea.'

6. (Lk₁ :) *Amu hadja* (Compl₁ :) *in hikabayta'* *ku kaymu*
 that-is only able-to-tell I you

(Compl₂ :) *in ngi' parasahan maghula' ha bud.*
 bad comfort to-live at mountain

'The only thing I can tell you is the discomfort of living in the mountains.'

7. (Lk₁ :) *Amu* (Compl₁ :) *in hi Muksan amu in piyalian*
 that-is Muksan that-is cut-one

(Lk₁ :) *amu* (Compl₂ :) *in nakabunu' kan Nahudan.*
 that-is one-who-killed Nahudan

'Muksan, the one who was cut, is the one who killed Nahudan.'

8. (Compl₁ :) *In maluhay kakilahan amu in piyagbidnaan*
 easy recognized that-is difference

sin addat tabiat iban sin dahan sin pamichara (Lk₂ :) *amu*
 of doings customs and style of talk that-is

na (Compl₂ :) *in pagbahasahun sin tau magpamung laung*
 manner-of-speech of people talking say

niya pihak gimba iban sin pihak higad.
 they tribe country and tribe shore

'The thing easy to be recognized, that is the difference of the customs and style of talking, is the manner of speech of the people from the country and the people from the shore when they talk.'

9. (Compl₁ :) *Makaingat na kunu' isab imipat sapi'*
 know already said also care-for cows

(Lk₂ :) *amu* (Compl₂ :) *kaingatan mu in tau ha gimba*
 that-is know you people country

ini sibi'-sibi' pa in anak niya, biyabiaksa na
 this small yet children his trained already

magipat sapi'.
 care-for cows

'(He) knew already (its) said to care for cows, that is you know these country people (even) when their children are still small, (they) are trained already to care for the cows.'

10. (Compl₁ :) *Na di' siya mabaya'* (Lk₂ :) *amu* (Compl₂ :) *agi niya*
 now not he want that-is said he
di' na siya sumud magganti'
 not he enter, replace

'Now he did not want to, he said that he would not enter in to replace (it).'

2.2. CONCATENATED SENTENCES

There are three types of concatenated sentences: Coordinate, Sequence, and Alternative.

2.2.1. THE COORDINATE SENTENCE

This is an open-ended construction which links bases in a manner which is non-committal as to chronological sequence. It is especially used for encodings where chronological sequence is not relevant, but may, on occasion, encode a situation involving such sequence (Ex. 6).

Formula:

| CorS = + Item | + M _{Cor} | + Item | ± (+ M _{Cor} | + Item) ⁿ |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| any indep. clause | <i>iban</i> | any indep. clause | ditto | ditto |
| any indep. sent. | 'and' | any indep. sent. | | |

Rule:

Exponents of Item tagmemes may freely permute.

Examples:

1. (Item:) *Way ruun iban niya ha lawm bilik* (M_{Cor}:)
 none there companion his inside room

iban (Item:) *way ruun tau mag-adjal sin pagkaun niya.*
 and none there person prepare food his

'He has no one in his room and there is no one to prepare his food.'

2. (Item:) *Nakahinang-hinang na aku isab tiyu'-tiyu'* (M_{Cor})
 able-to-work-work now I also little-little

iban (Item:) *di' na aku masusa magbi ubat.*
 and not now I sorrow buy medicine

'I've been able to do a little work also, and I'm not worried now about buying medicine.'

3. (Item:) *Nanjari, naghbuk na in manga tau* (M_{Cor}:)
 Came-to-be noisy already plural people

iban (Item:) *in timbak diyungug na.*
 and shooting heard already

'Now then, the people were making a lot of noise and the shooting was heard already.

4. (Item:) *Giyuwa' na hi Murbi piyapalian (M_{cor}:) iban*
 came-out already Marbi wounded and

(Item:) *hi Tawtu' duun naglilingkud ha buli' niyug ha*
 Tawtu' there sitting at base coconut at

tungud sin tarak sundahu.

place of truck soldiers

'Murbi came out wounded and Tawtu' was there sitting at the base of a coconut tree beside the soldier's truck.'

5. (Item:) *Bang kaw makaurul kamu' pa Nasuli papagbicharahun*
 If you follow us to Nasuli cause-to-speak

namu' kaw pa lawm makina (M_{cor}:) iban (Item:) bihaun
 we you to inside machine and now

Ngangu' mag-uwi' in bagay hi Hamid.

Ngangu' go-home friend of Hamid

'If you follow us to Nasuli we'll cause you to speak into the machine and, now Ngangu', the friend of Hamid is going home.'

6. *Pagkawa' nila sin pulis (Item:) nagbisita na sin manga*
 When-got they police visited now plural

lahing (M_{cor}:) iban (Item:) kiyawa' na.
 coconuts and got (them) now

'When they had gotten the police they went to the coconut fruit and took them.'

2.2.2. THE SEQUENCE SENTENCE

This is an open-ended construction which joins bases in a manner which explicitly emphasizes chronological sequence in the events which are encoded.

Formula:

| SeqS = + Event ₁ | + M _{seq} | + Event ₂ | + (+ M _{seq} + Event) ⁿ | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---|-------|
| Any indep. clause | < <i>ampa#</i> > | ditto | ditto | ditto |
| Any indep. sent. | 'and then' | | | |

Rule:

When M_{seq} is expounded by *sarta'* then any verbal clause expounding Event₂ must be inflected for begun state.

< *ampa#* > = *manjari* 'came to be', *sakali* 'next', *sarta'* 'then suddenly'

Examples:

1. (Event₁;) *Hiyukutan na sin lubid ha lima (M_{seq};) ampa*
 tied-up now rope at hand and-then

(Event₂ :) *na siya diya madtu pa pantay yadtu.*
 now he taken there to clearing there

'His hands were tied up with a rope and then he was taken there to that clearing.'

2. (Event₁ :) *Biyunutan naa* (M_{seq} :) *ampa* (Event₂ :) *na isab*
 husked first then now also
paisan (M_{seq} :) *ampa* (Event₃ :) *na liisun* (M_{seq} :) *ampa* (Event₄ :)
 skinned then now grated then
na pugaun (M_{seq} :) *ampa* (Event₅ :) *na hiluun pa mital.*
 now squeezed then now placed in can

'First (it) is husked, then skinned, then grated, then squeezed, and then placed in a can.'

3. (Event₁ :) *Tiyagainup* *ku siya* (M_{seq} :) *sarta'* (Event₂ :)
 dreamed I he then-suddenly
limandung *ha mata ku.*
 passed-before eyes my

'I dreamed of him and suddenly he passed before my eyes.'

4. (Event₁ :) *Diya na siya hi Habibubakti* (M_{seq} :) *sarta'*
 took now her Habibubakti then-immediately
 (Event₂ :) *nagpakawin na sila ha Imam.*
 were-married now they by priest

'Habibubakti took her and then immediately they were married by the priest.'

5. (Event₁ :) *Hi ina' ini, duun na kamu'* (M_{seq} :) *sakali* (Event₂ :)
 mother this there now with-us and-then
nakabana.
 husbanded,

'Mother was there with us and then she married a husband.'

6. (Event₁ :) *Limupad in plin* (M_{seq} :) *sakali* (Event₂ :) *imapas aku*
 fly plane and-then chased I
 (M_{seq} :) *sakali* (Event₃ :) *naligad aku.*
 and-then fell I

'The plane took off and I chased it and then I fell.'

7. (Event₁ :) *Duun siya ha Adjung* (M_{seq} :) *manjari* (Event₂ :)
 There he at boat then-came-to-be
natutug siya.
 slept he

'There he was at the boat then it came to be that he slept.'

8. (Event₁ :) *In kuting harap madtu pa Dupang* (M_{seq} :) *manjari*
 cat towards there to Crazy then-came-to-be

(Event₂;) *tibu' sin tau in kuting hi Dupang.*
 pounded by men cat of Crazy

'The cat went towards Crazy (or the Crazy one) and then it came to pass that the men pounded the cat of Crazy.'

2.2.3. THE ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

This is an open-ended construction (unless it includes alternatives that exclude a middle term as in Ex. 1, 6) which does not make reference to time sequence among the propositions. The Alternative Sentence occurs infrequently as evidenced by the listing of only ten instances of *atawa* 'or' in the Tausug concordance. By way of contrast, the concordance lists 300 instances of *iban* 'and'.

Formula:

| AltS = | + Prop ₁ | + M _{alt} | + Prop ₂ | + (+ M _{alt} + Prop) ⁿ |
|--------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--|
| | Any indep. clause | <i>atawa</i> | Any indep. clause | ditto |
| | Any indep. sent. | 'or' | Any indep. sent. | ditto |

Rules:

1. The proposition tagmemes may permute.
2. A clause expounding Prop₂ (or any succeeding Prop) may under certain conditions be elliptical (cf. example 1).

Examples:

(Prop's expounded by question clauses)

(Prop₁;) *Magtuntut sila* (M_{alt};) *atawa* (Prop₂;) *di'?*
 lodge-complaint they or not

'Will they lodge a complaint or not?'

(Prop₁;) *Mari aku tumabang kaymu kunsum* (M_{alt};)
 will-come I help you tomorrow

atawa (Prop₂;) *bang aku di' makakari manghud ku*
 or if I not able-come younger-sibling my

in pakariun.

cause-to-come

'I'll come to help you tomorrow or if I am not able to come I'll send my younger sibling.'

3. (Occurring with Conditional Margin as periphery or entire sentence)

Bang sila mundu (Prop₁;) *saggawun sila* (M_{alt};) *atawa* (Prop₂;)
 if they outlaws capture they or

bunuun.

kill

'If they are outlaws they will be captured or killed.'

4. (Occurring as exponent of Conditional Margin with repetition of Relator in Prop₂)

(Prop₁ :) *Bang siya imiyan sin mabaya' siya kan ina'* (Malt :)
 if he said desires he mother

atawa (Prop₂ :) *bang isab hi ina' imiyan miyaya' siya*
 or if also mother said desires she

nagbana, di' aku mag-ama.

to-husband not I angry

'If he had said that he wanted mother or also mother had said that she wants to marry, I would not be angry.'

5. (Prop's expounded by question clauses)

(Prop₁ :) *Paguy nila pa gimba* (Malt :) *atawa* (Prop₂ :) *paguy*
 escape they to country or escape

pa lawd?

to sea

'Did they escape towards the country or towards the sea?'

6. (Exponent of Indirect Quote tagmeme in IHQS)

Hatihun ku madtu bang (Prop₁ :) *bunnal ka in bichara*
 will-understand I there if true question speech

yadtu (Malt :) *atawa* (Prop₂ :) *bukun ka.*
 there or not question

'I'll send there to find out if that talk was true or not.'

7. (Prop's expounded by imperative clauses)

(Prop₁ :) *Tabangi hi Judy* (Malt :) *atawa* (Prop₂ :) *bachaba in buk*
 help Judy or read book

(Malt :) *atawa* (Prop₃ :) *mwi' kaw.*
 or go-home you

'Help Judy or read a book or go home.'

2.3. TEMPORAL SENTENCES

There are three types of temporal sentences: Juxtaposed, Simultaneous, and Repetitive.

2.3.1. THE JUXTAPOSED SENTENCE

This sentence construction is similar to the Merged Sentence (cf. 2.1.2.) in that there is no relator or marker which joins the bases and that there is a single-clause intonation. The Juxtaposed Sentence, however, does not have a noun phrase shared by the bases. Furthermore, unlike the Merged Sentence, this sentence type presents in its first base the temporal or circumstantial setting of the second base.

Formula:

| JxtS | Item | Expan |
|------|-------------------|-------|
| | Any indep. clause | ditto |
| | Any indep. sent. | |

Examples:

1. (Item:) *Limugay siya duun* (Expan:) *nahilu siya.*
 long-time he there dizzy he

'When he had been there a long time he became dizzy.'

2. (Item:) *Di' namu' yan mara nagtitindug* (Expan:)
 not by-us that carry standing

nagkukura'-kura' kami (Expan:) *dahun namu'.*
 on-hands-and-knees we will-be-carried by-us

'(If) we can't carry that standing up (then) we'll go on all fours to carry it.'

3. (Item:) *Ha lawm alud-gulangan na siya* (Expan:)
 inside deep-forest now he

way nakatingug manuk-manuk.
 none sounding birds

'When he was inside the deep forest, the birds didn't sing.'

4. (Item:) *Duun na sila nagtitiyaun* (Expan:) *burus na in asawa.*
 There now they married pregnant now wife

'When they were there in the married state, the wife was pregnant.'

5. (Item:) *Nakaratang siya pa higad buhangin* (Expan:) *limanguy siya.*
 arrived he to edge sand swam he

'(When) he arrived at the edge of the sand, he went swimming.'

2.3.2. THE SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

Events described by the Bases of the Simultaneous Sentence occur simultaneously. There are markers which join the Bases.

Formula:

| SimulS = +Base ₁ | ±M _{seq} | +Base ₂ |
|---|--|---|
| RAS/ [R: <i>baba#</i>] 'while' R: <i>sa'bu#</i> ['while'] | <i>sakali</i> 'next' <i>sarta</i> 'then' suddenly' <i>manjari</i> 'came to be' | [any indep. verbal cl. inflected for not-begun state; any indep. verbal cl. inflected for begun state or or any non-verbal clause.] |

Rules:

1. The exponents of Base₁ and Base₂ may permute.
2. If Base₁ and Base₂ permute then – M_{seq}.
3. If the exponent of Base₁ is *baba* then – M_{seq}.⁶

Examples:

1. (Base₁ :) *Baba sila wala' di* (Base₂ :) *pagtayp na kaw.*
 while they not here type now you

'While they are not here, you type.'

2. (Base₁ :) *Baba siya wala' nagtangis* (Base₂ :) *kaun na kaw.*
 While he not crying eat now you

'While he is not crying, you eat.'

3. (Base₂ :) *Paghinang kaw kahawa* (Base₁ :) *baba in tubig mapasu'.*
 make you coffee while water hot

'You make coffee while the water is hot.'

4. (Base₂ :) *Ubusa in hinang mu* (Base₁ :) *baba awn ilaw.*
 finish work your while there-is light

'Finish your work while there is light.'

5. (Base₂ :) *Subay mu hinduan* (Base₁ :) *baba sibi'-sibi'pa.*
 should you teach while small yet

'You should teach (him) while (he) is still small.'

6. *Na, ampa in aku isab ini Adalla* (Base₁ :) *sa'bu aku*
 now then I also this Adalla same-time I

isab naglalagtang (Base₂ :) *in hilu yaun nabud.*
 also poisoning dizzy there became-plentiful

'Now then as for me, Adalla, at the same time that I was poisoning, the poisoned (fish) there became plentiful.'

7. (Base₁ :) *Sa'bu kami nagpapanayam duun* (M_{seq} :) *sakali*
 same-time we playing there then

(Base₂ :) *nagdagan in tau.*
 ran men

'While we were there playing then the men ran.'

⁶Alternatively, strings of this sort which do not have a Sequence Marker could be interpreted simply as Time Margin (Concurrent) plus sentence nucleus. A Simultaneous Sentence would still be posited, however, with initial *sa'bu* 'while' and medial Sequence Marker.

This analysis, plus the suggestion in footnote that *hangkan* 'indefinite concessive' might introduce another unanalyzed sentence margin would expand the Tausug sentence margin system to a symmetric 3 x 3 system, the top row of which would consist of Time Margin (prior), Time Margin (concurrent), and Time Margin (subsequent); the latter is equivalent to the Limit Margin in the present analysis. "In separating or joining two similar but suspect sentence types our criterion is the same as that employed on lower structural levels, i.e. insistence on a dual structural difference." (Robert E. Longacre)

8. (Base₂ :) *Unu in kiyakitaan mu* (Base₁ :) *sa 'bu kaw ha panawan?*
 What saw you while you walking
 'What did you see while you were on your walk?'
9. (Base₁ :) *Sa 'bu aku ha panawan* (Base₂ :) *nakita aku nagbunu.*
 While I walking saw I fighting
 'While I was walking I saw a fight.'
10. (Base₁ :) *Sa 'bu kaw nagkakaun sapi'* (M_{seq} :) *manjari* (Base₂ :)
 While you eating beef came-to-be
nagbichara kaw.
 talk you
 'At the same time you were eating beef then you talked!'
11. (Base₁ :) *Sa 'bu siya di* (Base₂ :) *masawa in bulan.*
 while he here bright moon
 'While he was here the moon was bright.'

2.3.3. THE REPETITIVE SENTENCE

Although there is no marker which joins the bases of this construction, the relator *ubus* 'finished' occurs in each base, thus uniting them. All the clauses which expound the Action Tagmemes are brief, and non-expanded. The idea expressed by the construction is repeated alternation.

Formula:

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| RptS = + Act ₁ | + Act ₂ |
| Any indep. clause which contains initial <i>ubus</i> | ditto |

Rules:

1. Under certain conditions an elliptical clause may expound Action₂ in which case the missing elements may be supplied from Action₁. (Ex. 3, 5, 6)
2. Action₁ and Action₂ may permute except when Action₂ is an elliptical clause.
3. Action₁ and Action₂ must agree grammatically as to verbal state of action and focus inflection. (Ex. 1, 2)
4. The constructions of Action₁ and Action₂ must be of similar types, i.e. Action₁ clause is nonverbal then Action₂ clause is nonverbal.

Examples:

1. (Act₁ :) *Ubus niya pitikun* (Act₂ :) *ubus niya timbakun.*
 Finish he slingshots finish he shoots
 'He repeatedly shoots with a slingshot and with a gun.'
2. (Act₁ :) *Ubus mamaha'nun* (Act₂ :) *ubus mani'pun.*
 Finish sneezing finish nose-running
 '(I) repeatedly sneeze and (my) nose runs.'

3. (Act₁ :) *Ubus sumawa* (Act₂ :) *ubus di'*
 Finish shines finish not
 '(It) alternately shines and then doesn't shine.'
4. (Act₁ :) *Ubus kuting* (Act₂ :) *ubus iru'*
 Finish cat finish dog
 '(It's) alternately a cat and then a dog.'
5. (Act₁ :) *Ubus ha lawm bay* (Act₂ :) *ubus ha guwa.*
 Finish inside house finish outside
 '(It's) repeatedly inside the house and then outside.'
6. (Act₁ :) *Ubus awn iru' niya* (Act₂ :) *ubus way.*
 Finish there-is dog he finish none
 'First he has a dog and then he has none.'

2.4. OPPOSITION SENTENCES

There are three types of opposition sentences: Antithetical, Reproach, Frustrative.

2.4.1. THE ANTITHETICAL SENTENCE

The contrastive character of the tagmemes of this construction derives from their respective positions. There is, however, much overlap in the type of material which expounds the tagmemes (e.g. negation can occur in either base), so that what expounds the Thesis of one sentence may expound the Antithesis of another.

- e.g. (Thesis:) *Tabangun ta kaw* (M_{Opp} :) *sa'* (Anti' :) *di' mu aku tabangun.*
 help I you but not you I help
 'I help you, but you don't help me.'
- (Thesis:) *Di' mu aku tabangun* (M_{Opp} :) *sa'* (Anti:) *tabangun*
 not you I help but help
ta kaw.
 I you
 'You don't help me, but I help you.'

The occurrence of two opposition marker tagmemes in the same sentence indicates an embedded Antithetical Sentence expounding the Antithesis of the original sentence. It does not indicate two successive Antithesis tagmemes. (Ex. 8)

Formula:

| AntS = + Thesis | + M _{Opp} | + Anti |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| any indep. clause | <i>sa'</i> | any indep. clause |
| any indep. sent. | 'but' | any indep. sent. |
| RAS / R: <i>minsan#</i> 'although' | <i>hati</i> 'explanation' | |

Rule:

1. An elliptical clause may expound the Antithesis tagmeme in which case the missing elements can be supplied from the exponent of Thesis tagmeme.

Examples:

1. (Thesis:) *Wala' isab nakajukup duwa bulan* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'* (Anti:) *apit*,
 not also complete two months but almost
 '(It) didn't complete two months but (it) almost (completed two months).'
2. (Thesis:) *Bukun sa aku ini mangungubat* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'* (Anti:) *bang*
 not I this doctor but if
isab awn manga tau kasakitan tawal-tawalan ku.
 also there-is plural people sick blow-a-little I
 'I am not a doctor, but if there is someone sick, I blow a little.'
3. (Thesis:) *Nakaragan pa in manga duwang katau* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'*
 ran yet plural two people but
 (Anti:) *iyapas niya na iyabutan, nalagut niya*.
 chased he overtaken slashed by-him
 'The two men were still running, but they were chased by him, overtaken and slashed.'
4. (Thesis:) *Na way hikaungsud* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'* (Anti:) *agad na*
 now none for-dowry but follow now
kaw mari maggula' kita kalu kaw kabahagian.
 you here look-for-honey we perhaps you shared
 'Now there's nothing (you) can give, but follow me, we'll look for honey maybe you'll get a share.'
5. (Thesis:) *In kungduktul nakauna marayaw kasuddahan* (M_{Opp}:) *hati*
 conductor first good natured but
in ikaw bukun,
 you not
 'The first conductor is good natured, but you (are) not (good natured).'
6. (Thesis:) *Nakalubung siya hangasta'* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'* (Anti:)
 penetrated he one-arms-length but
na liyunkad didtu.
 dug there
 'He penetrated (into the ground) one arm's length but (he) was dug out there.'
7. (Thesis:) "*Katatasan ku,*" *laung niya,* "*Ambu!, Appa'* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'*
 can-endure I said he Mother Father but
 (Anti:) *kitai aku ngan,*"
 look me name
 ' "I can endure it," he said, "Mother, Father, but look for me a name." '

8. (Thesis:) *Bukun aku panday* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'* (Anti:) *bang awn*
 not I carpenter but if there-is
dumaak kaku' (embedded Thesis) *mabaya'aku* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'*
 command me desire I but
 (embedded Anti:) *way panyap ku*
 none tools my

'I am not a carpenter, but if there is someone to instruct me I like (it), but I don't have my tools.'

9. (Thesis:) *Minsan siya kiyakaru'* (M_{Opp}:) *sa'* (Anti:) *imistadi pa*.
 even-though he sleepy but study yet
 'Even though he is tired, but still he studies.'

2.4.2. THE REPROACH SENTENCE

The two contrastive features⁷ for setting up Reproach Sentence as a separate type of opposition sentence are as follows:

1. Reproach Sentence has an initial Reproach Marker tagmeme in its nucleus which AntS does not have.

2. There are peculiar lexical limitations restricting the exponents of the Accusation tagmeme of the Reproach Sentence. With the marker *sakawkat* "just because" (*sawkat*—shortened form) the exponents of the Accusation tagmeme report an undesirable attitude or activity stemming from the circumstance reported in the Thesis.

- e.g. (M_{rep}:) *Sakawkat* (Thesis:) *way ruun bana mu* (Acc:) *nagtutug*
 just-because none there husband yours sleep
sadja kaw
 only you

'Just because you have no husband, you just sleep.'

With the marker *malayngkan* "even though" the exponents of the Accusation tagmeme express a disparity relative to something reported in the Thesis tagmeme. E.g. In Tausug one may say (using an Antithetical Sentence) "This one is a man, but that one is a monkey." (*In ini tau, sa' in yan amu'*.) In this sentence there is no disparity between the two ideas since men and monkeys are diverse and it is not to be expected that they be alike. In the following sentence, however, a disparity exists and a Reproach Sentence must be used to express the thought: "Although this one is a man, he acts like a monkey." (*Malayngkan tau ini, sa' in hinang niya biya' amu'*.)

⁷Longacre, Robert, *Grammar Discovery Procedures*, Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1964, p. 47, 133:

"Two clause types are syntagmatically distinct if (a) there be at least two structural differences between them, and (b) at least one of these differences involve the nuclear . . . tagmas."

Formula:

| RepS = +M _{rep} | +Thesis | ±M _{opp} | +Acc |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>sakawkat</i> # | any indep. clause | <sa'> | any indep. clause |
| 'just because' | any indep. sent. | 'but' | any indep. sent. |
| <i>malayngkan</i> | | | |
| 'even though' | | | |

Rules:

1. The Accusation tagmeme may permute to a position preceding M_{rep} in which case—M_{opp}.⁸
2. Exponent <sa'> of M_{opp} = class of opposition particles including *sa'* and *hati*.

Examples:

1. (M_{rep}:) *Sakawkat* (Thesis:) *na kamu dayahan* (Acc:) *di'*
 just-because you rich not
na kamu magpangasip.
 you pay-attention-to
 'Just because you are rich now, you don't pay attention (to others).'
2. (Acc:) *Mataas na in atay mu* (M_{rep}:) *sawkat* (Thesis:)
 high now liver your just-because

⁸Several sentences have been noted which have the following reading which involves elements found in the Reproach Sentence: +Acc +M_{opp} +M_{rep} +Thesis. The following two sentences are typical:

(Acc:) *Way dapitan ku Saripul* (M_{opp}:) *sa'* (M_{rep}:) *malayngkan*
 none favored me Saripul but although

(Thesis:) *hisiyu-siyu in managagna' kaniya in dusa.*
 whoever will-begin his fault

'I'm not taking sides (with anyone) Saripul, but to the contrary whoever will begin (the quarreling) he will be at fault.'

(Acc:) *Bang taymanghud mu maisug kaw,* (M_{opp}:) *sa'* (M_{rep}:) *malayngkan*
 if sibling your fierce you but although

(Thesis:) *bang tau dugaing di' kaw umatu.*
 if person different not you resist

'If it's your sibling you're fierce towards (him), but to the contrary, if it's a stranger you won't resist.'

Since the Reproach Sentences analyzed by the authors do not allow the reading of the Opposition Marker tagmeme immediately preceding the Reproach Marker tagmeme and Thesis tagmeme these sentences do not fit the structure of the Reproach Sentence. Apparently here *malayngkan* introduces a Relator-Axis Sentence which expounds an unanalyzed Sentence Margin. The above two sentences have Antithesis tagmemes which are expounded by Simple Sentences which contain this Sentence Margin.

na kaw taga badju' malingkat.

you have shirt pretty

'You are proud now that you have a pretty shirt.'

3. (M_{rep}:) *Sakawkat* (Thesis:) *nila na kaw nabutu* (M_{opp}:) *sa'*
 just-because they you voted but

(Acc:) *mabuga' na kaw kanila.*

afraid you them

4. (M_{rep}:) *Sakawkat* (Thesis:) *na kaw maingat magparagan* (M_{opp}:)
 just-because you know how-to-drive

hati (Acc:) *magpakusug na kaw.*

(explanation) cause-to-be strong you

'Because you know how to drive now, you drive fast.'

5. (M_{rep}:) *Sawkat* (Thesis:) *na siya taga ama' kapitan* (Acc:)
 just-because he has father captain

manuntuk na.

socks now

'Just because his father is a captain, (he) socks (others) now.'

6. (M_{rep}:) *Malayngkan* (Thesis:) *bang bukun aku matay na kaw,*
 although if not I die now you

(M_{opp}:) *hati* (Acc:) *di' kaw manumtum.*

but not you remember

'Although if it hadn't been for me you would have died, but you don't remember (me).'

7. (Acc:) *Di' kaw makakila kaku'* (M_{rep}:) *malayngkan* (Thesis:)
 not you recognize me although

bagay kita.

friend we

'You don't recognize me although we are friends.'

8. (Acc:) *Di' niyu aku pagbutuhun* (M_{rep}:) *malayngkan* (Thesis:)
 not you I vote-for although

bang aku dumaug makatabang aku kaniyu.

if I defeat able-to-help I you

'You will not vote for me although if I am victorious I will be able to help you.'

9. (M_{rep}:) *Malayngkan* (Thesis:) *aku in magtatabang kaymu*
 although I help you

(Acc:) *mangi' kaw kasuddahan kaku'.*

bad you natured me

'Although I help you, you are bad natured towards me.'

10. (M_{rep}:) *Malayngkan* (Thesis:) *pagga aku, pagbusan ta kaw*
 although since me loon I you
sin-bayk ku, (M_{opp}:) sa' (Acc:) pagga ikaw, di' kaw kabusan.
 bike my but since you not you borrowed-from
 'Although, when it's me, I loan you my bicycle, but still when it's you, you can't be borrowed from.'

11. (M_{rep}:) *Malayngkan* (Thesis:) *nangayu' na kaw* (M_{opp}:) *hati*
 although ask now you but
 (Acc:) *mangayu' na kaw isab sin.*
 ask now you also money

'Although you have already asked for (money) but still you'll ask again for money.'

2.4.3. THE FRUSTRATIVE SENTENCE

The second base of the Frustrative Sentence expresses an idea contrary to what one would expect on the basis of the idea expressed in the first base.

- e.g. *Iyampa na aku nag-usaha iyampa na aku di' makabak sin.*
 then I work then I not able-to-find money

'The more I work the less money I make.'

It is, therefore, not possible to use this sentence type to express the thought, "The more I work, the more money I make."

Formula:

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| FrsS = +Opp ₁ | + Opp ₂ |
| Any indep. clause with initial <i>iyampa</i> 'then' | ditto |

Examples:

1. (Opp₁:) *Iyampa na aku nagsamin mata (Opp₂:) iyampa*
 then now I wear-glasses eye then
na aku di' makakita'.
 now I not able-to-see

'The more I wear eye-glasses, the less I can see.'

2. (Opp₁:) *Iyampa ku na piyumid in buhuk ku (Opp₂:) iyampa na nanugas.*
 then I now pomaded hair my then now stiffened

'The more I put pomade on my hair, the more it became stiff.'

3. (Opp₁:) *Iyampa ku na liyang (Opp₂:) iyampa na sila namunggod.*
 then I now restrained then now they disobeyed

'The more I restrained them, the more they intentionally disobeyed.'

4. (Opp₁:) *Iyampa na hipila' pa kahuy in kapa* (Opp₂:)
 then now used-to-cut wood axe
iyampa na humait.
 then now becomes-sharp
 'The more the axe is used to cut wood, the sharper it gets.'
5. (Opp₁:) *Iyampa na in bata' nagsinilas* (Opp₂:) *iyampa na in siki*
 then now child wear-things then now foot
kiyatunukan.
 pierced
 'The more the child wore sandals, the more (his) foot was punctured by sharp things.'

2.5. REASONING SENTENCES

There are three types of Reasoning Sentences:

2.5.1. THE REFUTATION SENTENCE

This sentence type is used only in reply to some statement by another person and with the intent of refuting that person's statement. Refutation Sentences do not initiate conversation, nor do they occur in isolation. They are frequently elliptical.

Formula:

| +M _{ref} | + Refut |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| <i>sin</i> | Any indep. clause |
| 'whereas' | Any indep. sentence |
| 'really' | |

Examples:

1. (M_{ref}:) *Sin* (Refut:) *bukun aku in nagtakaw sin lahing.*
 whereas not I stole coconuts
 'Whereas it was not I who stole the coconuts!'
2. (M_{ref}:) *Sin* (Refut:) *wala' kaw nakabayta' kaku'.*
 whereas not you told me
 'Whereas you didn't tell me!'
3. (M_{ref}:) *Sin* (Refut:) *nagputing kaw kaku'.*
 whereas lie you me
 'You did so lie to me.'
4. (M_{ref}:) *Sin* (Refut:) *way aku nagputing kaymu.*
 whereas not I lie to-you
 'I didn't either lie to you!'

2.5.2. THE REASON SENTENCE

This sentence type explains an event in terms of its cause or purpose.

Formula:

| ReaS = + Effect | ±M _{cau} | + Reason |
|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| RAS / | <i>sabab</i> | Any indep. clause |
| R: <i>sabab</i> # | <i>bat</i> | Any indep. sent. |
| <i>hangkan</i> # | 'because' | |
| 'the reason' | <i>(ha) supaya</i> # | |
| | <i>bat</i> # | |
| | 'in order that' | |

Rules:

If M_{cau} is expounded by *(ha) supaya* # or *bat* # then the exponents of Reason tagmeme may not be an adjectival non-verbal clause or a verbal clause inflected for begun state.

Examples:

1. (Effect:) *Sabab siya miyatay* (M_{cau}:) *sabab* (Reason:) *nag-inum*
 Reason he died because drank
siya lachun.
 he poison
 'That's why he died, because he drank poison.'

2. (Effect:) *Hangkan aku miyari* (M_{cau}:) *bat* (Reason:) *duma magkita*'
 Reason I came-here because carry see
kaymu (M_{cau}:) *sabab* (Reason:) *awn bichara ta.*
 you because there-is talk ours
 'The reason I came here is to see you because we have something to talk about.'

3. (Effect:) *Hangkan na aku ini mikira aku kaymu pa*
 that's-why I this cause-to-carry I you to
malimun kaw (M_{cau}:) *supaya* (Reason:) *aku makakaun.*
 submerged you in-order-that I able-to-eat
 'The reason I caused you to carry me to the place where you'll be submerged is in order that I'll be able to eat (you).'

4. (Effect:) *Uy, hangkan, laung ku Kaka, di' magsulig* (M_{cau}:) *bat*
 Yes, reason said I Sister, not grow because
 (Reason:) *bata' husa*'
 child overworked

'Yes, I thought Sister, that the reason that (he) didn't grow was because (he) was an overworked or abused child.'

5. (Effect:) *Laung niya hangkan siya ini miyari kaymu* (M_{cau}:) *bat*
 said he reason he this came to-you because

(Reason:) *magpakaun sa ini*,
 food this

'He said that the reason he came to you is that this is food.'

6. (Effect:) *Hangkan na aku ini mikira aku kaymu pa malimun*
 Reason how I this cause-to-carry I you to submerged

kaw, (Reason:) *mabaya' aku kumaun*.
 you, want I to-eat

'That's why I caused you to bring me to where you would be submerged, I want to eat!'

7. (Effect:) *Sabab siya miyatay*, (Reason:) *naginum siya lachun*.
 Reason he died drank he poison

'That's the reason he died, he drank poison.'

2.5.3. THE COMPARATIVE SENTENCE

This sentence type expresses a comparison of two items.

Formula:

| CptS = ±Equiv ₁ | + Comp | ±Equiv ₂ |
|--|--|----------------------------------|
| Phrase ₄ which is possessed and contains the diminished ⁹ stem prefixed with <i>sa-</i> as head. | Adjectival clause which contains particle <i>pa</i> . Stative clause which contains particle <i>pa</i> . Phrase ₄ which is possessed and contains an unreduplicated stem as head and particle <i>pa</i> . | Comparative phrase ¹⁰ |

Rules:

1. Reading rule for Equivalence tagmemes. + (±Equiv₁ ±Equiv₂)
2. The root which is used to form the diminished stem of Equiv₁ must be the same as that used in the predicate constructions of Comp.
3. The tagmemes do not permute.
4. The lexical item being compared in Equiv₂ must be the same lexical item as in Equiv₁.

⁹Diminished stem = reduplicated entire stem.

¹⁰Comparative phrase = *dayn / dayn sin* + phrase₃ Equiv₂ tagmeme is expounded by *dayn sin* + phrase₃ (rather than *dayn* + phrase₃) when the items being compared are possessed items. (cf. Equiv₂ in Ex. 3, 4 p. 80)

Examples:

1. (Equiv₁ :) *Sasawa-sawa sin palitaan* (Comp:) *masawa pa in bulan.*
 little-brightness of lamp bright yet moon
 'As bright as the lamp is, the moon is brighter.'
2. (Equiv₁ :) *Salugay-lugay ku di ha Nasuli* (Comp:) *malugay*
 little-length-of-time mine here at Nasuli long-time
pa in tau yaun.
 yet person there
 'As long as I have been here at Nasuli that person there has been here longer.'
3. (Equiv₁ :) *Saragan-dagan hi Abdul* (Comp:) *maragan pa hi Uttu'*
 little-running of Abdul "runny" yet Uttu'
 (Equiv₂ :) *dayn kaniya*
 then he
 'As fast as Abdul runs, Uttu' runs faster than he.'
4. (Equiv₁ :) *Sarayaw-dayaw sin iru' mu* (Comp:) *marayaw pa in kaku'*
 little-goodness of dog yours good yet mine
 (Equiv₂ :) *dayn sin kaymu*
 than yours
 'As good as your dog is, mine is better than yours.'
5. (Equiv₁ :) *Salingkat-lingkat sin sapatus mu yan* (Comp:) *malingkat*
 little-beauty of shoes your there beautiful
pa in kaniya
 yet his
 'As beautiful as your shoes are his are more beautiful.'
6. (Comp:) *Marayaw pa in iru' mi* (Equiv₂ :) *dayn sin kaniya.*
 good yet dog yours than his
 'Your dog is better than his.'
7. (Equiv₁ :) *Sarapit-dapit ku ha tau dugaing* (Comp:) *dumapit pa aku*
 little-taking-sides my person different take-sides yet
ha taymanghud ku,
 I sibling my
 'As much as I take sides with other people, I take sides with my brother even more.'
8. (Equiv₁ :) *Sabichara-bichara ku ha taymanghud ku* (Comp:) *bichara*
 Little-talk my sibling my talk
ku pa ha asawa ku
 my yet wife my
 'As much as I talk to my sibling, I talk more to my wife.'
9. (Equiv₁ :) *Satabang-tabang ku kaymu* (Comp:) *tabang ku pa ha*
 little-help my you help my yet

anak ku (Equiv₂;) *dayn kaymu.*

child my than you

'As much as I help you I help my child more than you.'

10. (Comp:;) *Bichara ku pa ha anak ku* (Equiv₂;) *dayn kaymu*
 talk my yet to child my than to you

'I talk more to my child than (I do) to you.'

2.6. QUOTATION SENTENCES

The Quotation Sentences of Tausug form a system separate from the conjoined sentences described in the preceding sections. The four sentence types are shown in Chart 4.

| | HEARD | HEARSAY |
|----------|---|---|
| DIRECT | + (± QF1 ± QF2 ⁿ) + D Quote | + QF1 + QF3 + QF2 + D Quote |
| INDIRECT | ± QF1 ± QF2 ± Sg + I Quote ± QF3 | + (± QF1 ± QF2) + QF3 ± Sg + I Quote |

Chart 4 Quotation Sentences Matrix

When QF2 or QF3 imbeds in the Quote, then it imbeds at a clause-level or sentence-level tagmeme juncture.

In Chart 4 the rows represent the contrast between *direct* and *indirect* quotation. The columns represent the contrast of *heard* versus *hearsay*.

Direct quote refers to a reporting of the exact words of a speaker. Indirect quote is a reporting of the words of a speaker in a form different from his original utterance. The pronoun anaphora, the form of demonstratives, and verbal inflection are changed to agree with the viewpoint of the reporter in an Indirect Quote Sentence. This makes possible a certain tension between the original viewpoint of the speaker and that of the reporter who can, in effect, pass an evaluation on what he reports.

Heard indicates that the reporter of the quote heard for himself the quote and is reporting it firsthand. Hearsay indicates that the reporter of the quote did not hear the original utterance himself, but is relating that which he heard from someone else.

2.6.1. DIRECT HEARD QUOTATION SENTENCE

The formula for this sentence type follows:

| | | | |
|--------|---|----------------------|---|
| DHQS = | + (± QF1 | ± QF2 ⁿ) | + D quote |
| | Any verbal clause with Pred: <agi>; Phrase ₁ with Head: <agi> | <i>laung</i> clause | any sentence, paragraph, or utterance |

General notation:

1. ⟨*agi*⟩ = a class of verbs of speaking

| | | |
|--|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 2. <i>laung</i> clause = + Speech as Predicate | ± Speaker as Non- topic Actor | ± Hearer as Locative |
| <i>laung</i> (<i>na</i>) | phrase ₂ | phrase ₃ |

(Any subsequent reference to QF2 implicates this sub-formula.)

Rules:

1. QF2 may precede, imbed within, or follow Quote.
2. If -QF1, then QF2 precedes the Quote.
3. An unambiguous Direct Quote has the QF2 repeated at least once.

Examples:

1. (QF1:) *Na, manjari nagiyang na in buaya*, (D Quote:) "*Matay da kaw, Amu'.*"
Now so-then said now crocodile die also
you monkey
'So then the crocodile said, "You will also die, monkey!"'
2. (QF1:) *Na, nagbichara na hi Simul*, (QF2:) *laung niya*, (D Quote:)
Now talked now Seymour said he
"*Na way na kasuddahan sin lutu' taniyu ini.*"
Now none already value of food our this
'Now Seymour talked, he said, "Now there is already no value left to our food."'
3. (QF1:) *Nagsuy-suy na ha asawa madtu* (D Quote:) , "*Aku,*"
storied already to wife there I
(QF2:) *laung na, "pa Li'dung bat hi ina"* (QF2:) *laung niya,*
said already to Li'dung because mother said he
"*kahapun kiya' tui' mari*" (QF2:) *laung na.*
yesterday gotten (surprise) here said he
'He told his wife there, he said, "I will go now to Li'dung because mother," he said, "was gotten from here yesterday," (he) said.'
4. (QF2:) *Laung na*, (D Quote:) "*Magkawa' aku, Utu,*" (QF2:) *laung na,*
Said already will-get I Son said now
"*kan ina' mu. Nasakit,*" (QF2:) *laung na, "in taymanghud ku.*
mother your sick said now brother my
Paubatan ku,
cause-to-medicine I
'(He) said already, "Son, I will get your mother." (He) said, "My brother is sick. I will cause (him) to be doctored."'

5. (QF1:) *Iyanun mu hi Apu' mu Tatung,* (D Quote:) *"Salugay*
 tell you grandparent your, Tatung As-long-as
ku didtu ha Nasuli' tauhan mu na kaku' in bay ini."
 I there at Nasuli people you now me house this
 'You tell your grandparent, Tatung, "As long as I am there at Nasuli you people the house for me."'

2.6.2. DIRECT HEARSAY QUOTATION SENTENCES

Formula:

| DHsQS = + QF1 | + QF3 | + QF2 ⁿ | + D Quote |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Any verbal clause with Pred.: <agi> Phrase ₁ with Head: <agi> | <i>kunu</i> ¹¹ | <i>laung</i> clause | Any sentence, paragraph or utterance |

Rule:

QF2 may precede, imbed within, or follow D Quote.

Examples:

1. (QF1:) *Nagiyan in manga Samal* (QF3:) *kunu'* (QF2:) *laung nila,*
 told plural Samal said said they
 (D Quote:) *"Kami in nakatilu' sin timbak ista'."*
 we able-to-throw dynamite fish
 'The Samals told, it is said, they said, "We are the ones who threw fish dynamite."'
2. (QF1:) *Nagnasihad hi Isa* (QF3:) *kunu'* (QF2:) *laung niya*
 preached Jesus said said he
 (D Quote:) *"Aku in sawa sin dunya."*
 I light of world
 'Jesus preached, it is said, he said, "I am the light of the world."'
3. (QF1:) *Giyagasuran niya na hi Amirul* (QF3:) *kunu'* (QF2:) *laung niya,*
 shouted he already to Amirul said
laung niya, (D Quote:) *"Uwa',"* (QF2:) *laung na,* "bagay Aming,
 said he "Hey," said now friend, Aming,

¹¹*kunu'* may itself be a part of the quoted material in a Direct Quotation Sentence if the Direct Quote is expounded by an Imperative clause. In such a case the word is not expounding a Quote Formula but simply signifies honorific.

e.g. *Pagubus ampa siya iyan hi Pilanduk, "Hibal kaw kunu!"*
 when-finished than he said Pilanduk move you polite

'When (he had finished) then Pilanduk said to him, "Please try moving!''

bang kaw bunnal bata' marayaw, guwa' kaw mari. Maglagut kita."

if you true child good come-out you here. Fight-with knives we

'He shouted to Amirul, it is said, he said "Hey," (he) said, "Friend Aming, if you're really a good fellow come out here. We will fight with knives."'

4. (QF1:) *Siyambag niya na* (QF3:) *kunu'* (QF2:) *laung niya,*
 answered he already said said he

"*Amirul, hariin na kaw?*"

Amirul where already you

'He answered already it is said, he said, "Amirul, where are you?''

2.6.3. INDIRECT HEARD QUOTATION SENTENCE

Formula:

| IHQs = ± QF1 | ± QF2 | ± Sg | + I Quote | ± QF3 |
|--|---------------------|---------------------------|--|--------------|
| Any verbal clause with Pred.: <agi>, Phrase ₁ with Head: <agi> | <i>laung</i> clause | <i>sin</i> <i>bang</i> | Any sen- tence, paragraph or utter- ance | <i>kunu'</i> |

Rules:

1. One QF must be read plus.
2. QF2 precedes, imbeds within, or follows I Quote.
3. QF3 imbeds within I Quote.
4. If + QF2 and + QF3 and if QF2 is imbedded within the I Quote adjacent to QF3 then QF3 must precede QF2. (Ex. 2)
5. If + (± QF1 ± QF2), then ± Sg.
6. If Sg: *bang*, then I Quote: question.
7. An unambiguous I Quote sentence has a Sg or a QF3 which imbeds within the base— which is thereby shown to be exponent of I Quote.

Examples:

1. (I Quote:) *Subay kaw,* (QF3:) *kunu', mabaya'*
 should you said want

'You should (he) said want (it).'

2. (I Quote:) *Miyatay* (QF3:) *kunu'* (QF2:) *laung sin ina'*
 died said said mother

namu' ini (I Quote:) *in ama' namu'*

our this father our

'Our father died our mother said.'

3. (QF1:) *Nagsuy-suy na kamu'* (I Quote:) *in hi utu' ini*
 storied now us brother this
 (QF3:) *kunu'* (I Quote:) *maray'wala' nabiya' kan Jikiril.*
 said maybe not like Jikiril
 '(She) told us that brother (she) said was not yet as big as Jikiril.'
4. (QF1:) *Nainu-inu hi Habibubakti'* (Sg:) *bang* (I Quote:) *hisiyu*
 wondered Habibubakti if who
in tau magbichara iban (Sg:) *bang* (I Quote:) *hariin.*
 men talking and if where
 'Habibubakti' wondered who the person speaking was and where.'
5. (QF1:) *Baytai hi Seymour* (I Quote:) *salugay ku di ha Nasuli'*,
 Tell Seymour as-long-as I here at Nasuli
ay mu siya paiga.
 don't you him cause-to-leave
 'Tell Seymour that as long as I am here at Nasuli he shouldn't leave.'
6. (QF1:) *Nagiyan hi Isa* (QF2:) *laung niya* (Sg:) *sin* (I Quote:)
 said Jesus said he that
siya (QF3:) *kunu'* (I Quote:) *in sawa sin dunya.*
 he said light of world
 'Jesus spoke, he said that he is the light of the world.'

2.6.4. INDIRECT HEARSAY QUOTATION SENTENCE

Formula:

| IhQS = + (≠ QF1 | ≠ QF2) | ≠ QF3 | ≠ Sg | + I Quote |
|---|---------------------|--------------|---------------------------|---|
| Any verbal clause with Pred.: <agi> Phrase ₁ with Head: <agi> | <i>laung</i> clause | <i>kunu'</i> | <i>sin</i> <i>bang</i> | Any sentence, paragraph, or utterance |

Rules:

1. If QF2: *laung na* (*laung* + pronoun₂) then speaker indicated in QF1 = speaker indicated in QF2.
2. If QF2: *laung* + phrase₂ then speaker indicated in QF2 = speaker implied in QF3.
3. QF3 may imbed at a clause-level tagmeme juncture of QF2, or at a clause-level juncture of QF1 if -QF2. (Ex. 3)

Examples:

1. (QF1:) *Nagiyan hi Jabul* (QF3:) *kunu'* (I Quote:) *sila in nakatilu'*
 spoke Jabul said they able-to-throw

sin timbak ista'

dynamite fish

'Jabul said, they say, that they were the ones who were able to throw fish dynamite.'

2. (QF1:) *Nagnasihah hi Isa* (QF3:) *kunu'* (Sg:) *sin* (I Quote:)
preached Jesus said that

siya in sawa sin dunya.

he light of world

'Jesus preached, they say, that he is the light of the world.'

3. (QF2:) *Na, laung* (QF3:) *kunu'* (QF2 continued:) *sin manga*
now said said plural

tau ha tabu' yaun (I Quote:) *bukun timbak ista'*

people at market there not dynamite fish

in nakamatay.

able-to-kill

'Now the people at the market there said, they say, that (it was) not fish dynamite that killed (them).'

4. (QF1:) *Nagsilawak hi Johnny* (QF2:) *laung niya* (QF3:) *kunu'*
shouted Johnny said he said

(Sg:) *sin* (I Quote:) *di' siya mabaya' mari.*

that not he want come-here

'Johnny shouted saying, it's said, that he doesn't want to come here.'

5. (QF1:) *In bichara hi Johnny* (QF2:) *laung niya* (QF3:) *kunu'*
speech of Johnny said he said

(Sg:) *sin* (I Quote:) *di' siya mabaya' mari.*

that not he want come-here

'The speech of Johnny is he said, it's said, that he doesn't want to come here.'

2.6.5. MUTUAL IMBEDDING OF QUOTATION SENTENCES¹²

In the following, the imbedding Quotation Sentence is called a first degree quote, while the imbedded sentence is called a second degree quote. First degree quotes are in italics, second degree quotes are in small caps. The informant did not accept a direct quote imbedded within an indirect quote.

1. Direct Heard Quote imbedded in Direct Heard Quote:

(QF1:) *Nagbayta' siya kaku'* (QF2:) *laung niya* (D Quote:)
told he me said he

¹²For a discussion of primary, secondary, and tertiary statements and thus of first and second degree quote see Pike, Kenneth L., *Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics Applied to Selected African Languages*, University of Michigan Center for Research on Language and Behavior, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Contract #) OE-5-14-065 of U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, November, 1966), pp. 86-92, Chapter III 'Beyond the Sentence', 3.2.2.

(QF1:) *"Nagiyan in anak ku (D Quote:) di' aku (QF2:) laung na*
 spoke child my not I said

(D Quote cont.) *mabaya'!*"

'He told me he said, "*My child spoke, 'I don't like (it),*" he said."'

2. Indirect Heard Quote imbedded in Direct Heard Quote:

(QF1:) *Iyan hi Inni' Anti (D Quote:) (QF1:) "Bunnal in bichara*
 Said Grandfather Anti true speech

ini nagtawag in tau (I Quote:) yari (QF3:) kumu (I Quote continued:)
 this called person here he said

hi ina'?"

mother

'(He) spoke to Grandfather Anti, "*Is it true this talk which was called to me by the people that mother is here (they said)?"*'

3. Indirect Hearsay Quote imbedded in Indirect Heard Quote:

(QF1:) *Nagiyan hi Jabul (Sg:) sin (I Quote:) (QF1:) manga Samal*
 said Jabul that plural Samal

(QF3:) *kunu' (QF1 cont.) in nagiyon (Sg:) sin (I Quote:)*
 said said that

sila in nakatilu'.

they able-throw

'Jabul said that the *Samals say, it is said, that they were the ones who threw (it).*'

APPENDIX

To enable the reader to understand better this description of Tausug sentence structure a brief description is given here of the Tausug orthography and of lower level grammatical structures.

Orthographic symbols:

| | Orthography | Phoneme | Orthography | Phoneme |
|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Consonants: | <i>p</i> | — <i>p</i> | <i>j</i> | — <i>j̃</i> |
| | <i>t</i> | — <i>t</i> | <i>l</i> | — <i>l</i> |
| | <i>k</i> | — <i>k</i> | <i>r</i> | — <i>r</i> |
| | <i>b</i> | — <i>b</i> | <i>s</i> | — <i>s</i> |
| | <i>d</i> | — <i>d</i> | <i>h</i> | — <i>h</i> |
| | <i>g</i> | — <i>g</i> | <i>w</i> | — <i>w</i> |
| | <i>m</i> | — <i>m</i> | <i>y</i> | — <i>y</i> |
| | <i>n</i> | — <i>n</i> | <i>ch</i> | — <i>ss (cluster)</i> |

| | Orthography | | Phoneme |
|-------------|-------------|---|----------|
| Consonants: | <i>ny</i> | — | <i>ɲ</i> |
| (cont'd.) | <i>ng</i> | — | <i>ŋ</i> |
| Vowels: | <i>a</i> | — | <i>a</i> |
| | <i>i</i> | — | <i>i</i> |
| | <i>u</i> | — | <i>u</i> |

Vowel length, though phonemic, is not symbolized. Word final *h* is not written.

Glottal stop is written according to the following rules:

- (1) by an apostrophe* (') following vowels, *y*, or *w*.
- (2) by hyphen following consonant word medial
- (3) not symbolized elsewhere (i.e. word initial and between vowels).

Hyphen (-) also separates reduplicated stems.

High vowels are written by orthographic rules, not according to the phonemic analysis:

- (1) word initial and final contiguous to vowel: *w* and *y*
- (2) *ai* and *au* sequences in a word are written *ay* and *aw*
- (3) *ia* and *ua* sequences in a word are written *iya* and *uwa*
- (4) *iu* and *ui* sequences in a word are written *iyu* and *uwi*.

Clause types:

Below in outline form are presented the main types of Tausug clauses.

1. Non-verbal

1.1 Existential

| + Predicate | + Complement |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i><awn></i> | phrase ₄ |

1.2 Descriptive

| + Predicate | + Topic |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i><maputi></i> | phrase ₁ |

1.3. Nominal

1.3.1 Locative

| + Predicate | + Topic |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| phrase ₃ | phrase ₁ |

1.3.2 Classificational

| + Predicate | + Topic |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| phrase ₄ | phrase ₁ |

*In print grave accent is written over the vowel which is followed by glottal stop and over word final *y* or *w* followed by glottal stop.

| | | |
|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1.3.3 Interrogative | + Predicate | + Topic |
| | < <i>mayta</i> > | phrase ₁ |

2. Verbal

| | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 2.1 Stative | + Predicate | + Topic |
| | < <i>ma-</i> > Verb stem | phrase ₁ |

2.2 Active

Active verbal clauses include all clauses which have a focus inflected verb as predicate. Verbs may also be inflected for mode and aspect, but only those inflections which affect focus are presented here.

V₁ – Verb stem class 1 (Other verb stem classes have different focus possibilities. However, these have not yet been fully analyzed.)

P – Causative inflection manifested by the prefix *pa-*

The following subscript letters refer to the lexical role played by each exponent of a tagmeme in a particular clause type.

A – Actor, G – Goal, I – Instrument, B – Benefactor C – Causer,

Ag – Agent

2.2.1 Non-causative

| + Predicate | + Originator _A | + Object _G | + Accessory _I | + Direction _B |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>mag-V₁</i> | phrase ₁ | phrase _{2/5} | phrase _{2'} | phrase ₃ |
| <i>V₁-un</i> | phrase ₂ | phrase ₁ | phrase ₂ | phrase ₃ |
| <i>hi - V₁</i> | phrase ₂ | phrase ₂ | phrase ₁ | phrase ₃ |
| <i>V₁ - an</i> | phrase ₂ | phrase _{2/5} | phrase _{2'} | phrase ₁ |

2.2.2 Causative

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>mag-P-V₁</i> | phrase ₁ | phrase ₃ | phrase ₅ | phrase ₃ |
| <i>P-V₁-un</i> | phrase ₂ | phrase ₁ | phrase _{2/5} | phrase ₃ |
| <i>hi-P-V₁</i> | phrase ₂ | phrase ₃ | phrase ₁ | phrase ₃ |
| <i>P-V₁-an</i> | phrase ₂ | phrase ₃ | phrase ₅ | phrase ₁ |

Phrase set which expounds tagmeme in focus = phrase₁

Verbal affixes which indicate focus:

| | Indicative | | Imperative |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------|
| | Begun | Not begun | |
| Originator < <i>mag-</i> > | <i>nag-</i> | <i>mag-</i> | ϕ |
| Objective < <i>-un</i> > | <i>-i-</i> | <i>-un</i> | <i>-a</i> |
| Accessory < <i>hi-</i> > | <i>-i-</i> | <i>hi-</i> | <i>-an</i> |
| Direction < <i>-an</i> > | <i>-i- . . . -an</i> | <i>-an</i> | <i>-i</i> |

Phrase types:

There are four phrase sets which are exponents of clause level nuclear tagmemes and of some sentence level tagmemes. These sets are called phrase₁, phrase₂, phrase₃, and phrase₄. Each phrase set includes substantive phrases and pronouns. Substantive phrases are personal or non-personal.

Phrases may be further subdivided into simple and coordinating. Substantive phrases are relator-axis phrases and differ one from the other in the different relators and their different functions on the clause and sentence level. A formula for the simple phrase is as follows:

| + relator | + axis |
|---------------|--|
| < <i>in</i> > | any substantive with its modifiers |

Formula for the coordinate phrase is as follows:

| + relator | + Head Expression | + Connector | + Head Expression |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| < <i>in</i> > | any substantive with modifiers | < <i>iban</i> > | any substantive with modifiers; phrase ₂ |

The members of the class of relators marked < *in* > are on the chart below. The members of the class of connectors marked < *iban* > are as follows: *kay* – connector of personal nouns, *iban* – ‘and’, *atawa* – ‘or’.

CHART OF PHRASE SETS

| | phrase ₁ | phrase ₂ | phrase ₃ | phrase ₄ * |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Personal substantive phrase relator: | | | | |
| singular: | <i>hi</i> | <i>hi</i> | <i>kan/kanda</i> | <i>hi</i> |
| plural: | <i>hinda</i> | <i>hinda</i> | <i>kaynda</i> | <i>hinda</i> |
| Non-personal substantive phrase relator: | | | | |
| | <i>in</i> | <i>sin**</i> | <i>ha</i> (location) <i>pa</i> (direction) | ϕ |
| Personal pronouns: | | | | |
| Speaker: singular: | <i>aku</i> | <i>ku/ta</i> | <i>kaku'</i> | <i>aku</i> |
| plural: | <i>kami</i> | <i>namu'</i> | <i>kamu'</i> | <i>kami</i> |
| Hearer: singular: | <i>kaw</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>kaymu</i> | <i>ikaw</i> |
| plural: | <i>kamu</i> | <i>niyu</i> | <i>kaniyu</i> | <i>kamu</i> |
| Other: singular: | <i>siya</i> | <i>niya</i> | <i>kaniya</i> | <i>siya</i> |
| plural: | <i>sila</i> | <i>nila</i> | <i>kanila</i> | <i>sila</i> |
| Speaker-hearer: singular: | <i>kita</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>katu'</i> | <i>kita</i> |
| plural: | <i>kitaniyu</i> | <i>taniyu</i> | <i>katu' niyu</i> | <i>kitaniyu</i> |
| Demonstrative pronouns: | | | | |
| near or touching speaker: | | | | |
| 'this' | <i>in ini</i> | <i>sin ini</i> | <i>ha ini</i> | <i>ini</i> |
| near to hearer: 'this' | <i>in yan</i> | <i>sin yan</i> | <i>ha yan</i> | <i>yan</i> |
| away from speaker and hearer but within sight: 'that' | <i>in yaun</i> | <i>sin yaun</i> | <i>ha yaun</i> | <i>yaun</i> |
| far away from both (remote): 'that' | <i>in yadtu</i> | <i>sin yadtu</i> | <i>ha yadtu</i> | <i>yadtu</i> |

*In all occurrences of Phrase₄ in the preceding formulas of this paper (except for classificational clauses referred to above in this appendix) the fillers of Phrase₄ tagmeme are restricted to the non-personal substantive phrases. Personal substantive phrases, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns may occur (in addition to the non-personal substantive phrases) as fillers of Phrase₄ tagmeme in classificational clauses.

**Certain tagmemes require the Connector *iban* before phrase₂. This is indicated in the formula as phrase₂