Speaker-oriented particles in Kimaragang Dusun

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(1)   *Woy   no   ma   wo*,   okon.ko' yalo'   *po*   ot=minanakaw.
      PRTCL PRTCL PRTCL PRTCL   not   3sg.NOM   FOC   NOM=stole
      '*See, it is just as I said*, it wasn't him who stole (it).'

"A PARTICLE is a word that (a) does not belong to one of the main classes of words; (b) is invariable in form, and (c) typically has grammatical or pragmatic meaning."
[SIL Glossary of Linguistic Terms,
http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsAParticle.htm]

1. Three kinds of meaning

(2)   Descriptive meaning (truth-conditional): *I have hurt my arm.*
      Expressive meaning: *Ouch!!*
      "Meta-communication" (use-conditional; Gutzmann 2015):
          Unfortunately/frankly/reportedly, we are almost bankrupt.

(3)   **Kimaragang Expressive particles**

adis	pain or regret	*bo*	slightly angry
ay	surprise, dismay	*obo*	unexpected situation?
koy	'ouch!'	*nar*	response to stupidity
doy	impatient surprise?	*'m'*	surprise, doubt
woy	'I told you so'	*nn'*	uncertainty/disbelief
ba	'well now'	*nunga'*	amazement (Pitas)
i'ii	showing pity, especially for small children		

2. Second-position (2P) particles in Kimaragang

(4) template for 2P clitic ordering (position classes determined by co-occurrence restrictions and relative ordering):

Obligatory 2P clitics			Optional 2P clitics		
GEN pron.	**NOM pron.**	**focus/aspect**	**mood**	**mixed functions**	**vocatives**
ku '1sg' *nu* '2sg' *yo* '3sg' *to* '1du.incl' *ya* '1pl.excl' *duyu* '2pl'	*oku* '1sg' *ko* '2sg' *kito* '1du.incl' *tokow* '1pl.incl' *okoy* '1pl.excl' *kow* '2pl'	*=i'* 'emph' *no* 'compl' *po* 'noncompl' *nogi'* 'again' *nopo* 'only'	*ga(a)m* 'YNQ' *ma* 'rhet. Q' *pogi'* 'forceful' *to* 'empathetic'	*dara ~ dara'ay* 'frustrative' *bala' ~ bala'ay* 'mirative' *dati'* 'likely' *gima* 'after all' *mari'* 'certainly' *katoy* 'contradiction/ disapproval'	markers of solidarity: *obo* (man-to-man) *owo* (woman-to-woman)
person ordering constraint for pronominal clitics: 1 < 2 < 3					

(5) a. Tulung-ay   *oku*   *po*   dikoo ...
      help-DV.IMP   1sg.NOM   yet   2pl.DAT
      'Help me, all of you, ...'

b. Amu   *oku*   *po*   *dati'*   ko-guli   dot   suwab
   NEG   1sg.NOM   yet   probably   NVOL.AV-return   COMP   tomorrow

siti   k<um>araja.
here   <AV>work
'Tomorrow I probably cannot return to work here.'

c. Garanay   *no*   *pogi'*   i=tana   nu   *owo*.
   grant-DV.IMPER   PRTCL   PRTCL   NOM=land   2sg.GEN   PRTCL
'You must get a grant (i.e. title) for your land, friend.'

3. Semantic functions of the speaker-oriented particles

These particles are common in conversation/dialogue, but rare in narrative (stories). They are difficult to translate and often have different meanings in different contexts.

(6) Near-minimal contrast:

a. D<um>arun *dati'* …   'It will *probably* rain (this afternoon)'

b. D<in><um>arun *katoy*!   'It did too rain (*contrary to what you claim*).'

c. Ki-darun *bala'* kosodoy! 'Oh look, it rained last night (*and I didn't know it*)!'

d. … ki-darun *gima*.   '(I didn't go to your house because) it was raining,
                          after all/as you know.'

e. … koo-dorun-an *mari'*.   '(At this time of year) it *generally* rains a lot.'

f. D<um>arun *dara* nga' … 'It *would have* rained but (the strong wind blew away
                           the clouds)'
   (for comparison only; the frustrative *dara* is not included among the speaker-oriented particles under discussion here)

(7) Characteristic examples:

a. Wiwidsingo ku   it=rangalaw   nga' napapasa=i'   *bala'*   iri.
   peel.ATEMP 1sg   NOM=rambutan   but rotten=EMPH   MIR   this
'I peeled the rambutan but (*I discovered*) it was rotten.'

b. Tantaman   ku   sompusasawo   yaalo', miobpipinee   *bala'ay*.
   think   1sg   married.couple   3pl   siblings   MIR
'I thought they were husband and wife, but *it turns out* they are brother and sister.

c. Kaanak=i'   *dati'*   yalo' dilo' ong sumambat   do=duktur.
   able.to.bear.child=EMPH   likely 3sg   that   if   meet   ACC=doctor
'She could *probably* have children if she goes to the doctor.'

d. Isoson nu   *gima*   banar ino mato nu,   sagay aragang no.
   rub   2sg   after.all   really that eye   2sg   reason red   COMPL
'*After all*, you keep rubbing your eye a lot, that is why it is all red.'

e. Ong   etom   no   ot=kawut,   nga' dumarun   no   *mari'*.
   if   black COMPL   NOM=cloud   then   rain   COMPL   PRTCL
'If the clouds are black, it will *certainly/generally* rain.

f. Yalo   *katoy*   ot=minanakaw,   okon.ko' yoku   po.
   3sg.NOM   CONTR   NOM=stole   not   1sg.EMPH   FOC
'It was him that stole it, not me (*contrary to your assertion*).'

g. (for comparison only)
Kinibit *dara* dialo i=tanak   ku   nga', rumosi i=tanak   ku.
hold   FRUST 3sg NOM=child 1sg but afraid NOM=child 1sg
'He/she (tried *in vain* to) hold my child, but the child was afraid.'

3.1 *bala' ~ bala'ay* 'MIRATIVE'

The MIRATIVE particle *bala' ~ bala'ay* generally marks information that is surprising or new to the speaker, as in (7a-b) and (8). In narrative discourse the particle may reflect the viewpoint of a central character instead (9).

(8) a. Monginum   ko   *bala'* do=batol   bo.
AV.drink   2sg.NOM   MIR   ACC=rice.wine   PRTCL
'Oh, so you drink rice wine (I am surprised to learn).'

b. Amu ku   norongow   do   minatay yalo,
NEG 1sg.GEN   heard   COMP   died   3sg.NOM

dot   noluwas   no   *bala'* koniab.
COMP funeral.ritual   already MIR   yesterday
'I had not heard that he had died, but (I am surprised to learn) they performed the 7th day funeral ritual for him yesterday.'

(9)   Om sopulay díiri   di=Landang   it   "pis"   ka,
and gather thus   GEN=turtle   NOM   (noise) say

nga' asoso=i'   tonsi, kulit.ko'.kulit *bala'* iri.
but not.have.DUP=EMPH   flesh only.skin   MIR   thus
'The turtle gathered up the ones that went "pis", but there was no flesh, only empty (banana) skins.'

3.2 *dati'* 'possibly; probably'

The particle *dati'* indicates that the speaker is not fully committed to the truth of the proposition being expressed; i.e., not entirely sure whether it is true. Like its Malay translation equivalent (*mungkin*), *dati'* can mean either 'possibly' or 'probably'.

(10) a. L<um>omu *dati'*   a=sawo   yo   dilo' ong kopirawad   yoalo.
<AV>fat   maybe NOM=spouse   3sg.GEN that if   RECIP.separate 3pl.NOM
'His wife might gain some weight if they separate for a while.'

b. Monontiyan *dati'* yalo'   dilo' tu'   mogilob om tiakan   dot=onsom.
pregnant   maybe 3sg.NOM that because AV.vomit and DESID-eat ACC=sour
'She might/must be pregnant, because she vomits and wants to eat sour things.'

c. Dompiroton   no   babanar i=longobon, taka'an   *dati'*   i=paray.
secure.OV   FOC truly   NOM=door   steal.DV   maybe   NOM=rice
'Fasten the door well lest someone steals the rice.'

3.3 *mari* 'certainty'

mari is often used for information that is common knowledge, e.g. for characteristic properties of people or things (11), or for gnomic or universal truths, things which follow from the laws of nature (7e), etc. It is also used for things the speaker has learned by experience.

(11) a. Maag-alay   *mari*   o=kuda   do=butak.
        AV.HABIT-avoid   surely   NOM=horse   ACC=mud
        'Horses normally avoid mud.'

    b. Mangabayinsi   nóono *mari*   dilo' ong   owukan   no.
        AV.(singing.style)   PRTCL surely that if   drunk   PRTCL
        'He always sings in the *abayinsi* style when he is drunk.'

3.4 *katoy* 'contradiction, disapproval'

Katoy is the least frequent of the speaker-oriented particles. It may be used when the speaker is contradicting something which another person has asserted or seems to believe, as in (12a-b). It can also be used to indicate the speaker's disapproval of the described action, as in (13).

(12) a. Yoku   *katoy* ot=minangatag   dat=pooniddangan   da=kumut   dilo',
        1sg.EMPH CONTR NOM=AV.PST.build ACC=drying.place   GEN=cloth that

        sera ma   yalo'   po.
        when RHET.Q 3sg.NOM   FOC
        '*Actually* it was me who built that rack for drying clothes, not him.'

    b. Ki-sawo   no   *katoy*   yalo'.
        EXIST-spouse   already   CONTR   3sg.NOM
        '*Actually* he is already married.'
        (*katoy* suggests that someone has just asserted the opposite)

(13)   Aso'   no   weeg, minaan *katoy* dialo' bubuako   modsu.
       neg.EXIST already   water AUX.PST CONTR 3sg   waste.OV   bathe
       'There is no more water, (because) he wasted it when he was bathing.'

3.5 *gima* 'known to hearer'

Gima often seems to be translatable with the English phrase 'after all', implying that this information is already familiar to the hearer. *Gima* is also used when scolding someone, as seen in (14d). Because *gima* marks information that is already known or available to addressee, it cannot occur within a clause that answers a question. Either (15b) or (15c) are acceptable answers to the question in (15a), but *gima* cannot occur within the answer.

(14) a. Kukuro   yoalo'   misasawo,   miobpipinee   *gima*.
        how   3pl.NOM   RECIP.DUP.spouse   RECIP.DUP.sibling   after.all
        'How can they marry each other, *after all*, they are siblings.'

    b. Imboluan   yalo'   dilo' tu'   boboliyan   *gima*.
        toll.gong.DV 3sg.NOM   that because   priestess   after.all
        'They will toll the funeral gong for her, because she was a priestess *after all*.'

    c. Sagay *gima*   onsom   no   iti   rinapa, s<in>ukaan   nu.
        reason PRTCL sour   FOC   this   viand   add.vinegar   2sg.GEN
        '*No wonder* the food tastes sour, you put vinegar in it.'

    d. Kaabir-abir   *gima*   ino   ponumpos   nu;
        scatter-REDUP after.all that IV.plant.seed 2sg.GEN

        poonongo   no sid luwang   to.
        CAUSE.hit.OV.IMPER   FOC in   hole   PRTCL
        'The rice seed you are dropping is falling all over the place; make it go into the hole!'

(15)   Nunu   ot=tonomon   daalo   ad   gopu   yo   dilo'?
        what   NOM=plant.OV   3pl   in   garden   3GEN   that
        'What will they plant in their garden plot?'

    b. Togilay   dati'/*gima   ot=tonomon   daalo.
        maize   PRTCL   NOM=plant.OV   3pl
        'They will probably plant corn/maize.'

    c. Togilay   mari'/*gima   ot=totonomon   daalo.
        maize   PRTCL   NOM=HABIT.plant.OV   3pl
        'They always plant corn/maize.'

4. Speaker-oriented particles as "meta-communication markers"

Potts (2007, 2013) identifies the following properties of "conventional implicatures", a broad class of meanings that I will refer to as "meta-communication":

    a. CONVENTIONAL (must be learned, rather than calculated from context)
    b. SECONDARY: not part of the "at-issue" content (e.g., not part of the proposition that is asserted in a statement; do not contribute to the truth conditions)
    c. INDEPENDENT: logically independent of the central at-issue content
    d. PROJECTIVE (these aspects of meaning take widest scope, e.g. their interpretation is not restricted to the particular clause in which they occur)
    e. NOT PRESUPPOSED (need not be assumed to be part of common ground)

The following evidence supports the claim that the speaker-oriented particles are not part of the propositional content of the sentence, and are best analyzed as "meta-communication markers" (conventional implicature triggers).

4.1 Speaker-oriented particles cannot be questioned or negated

Speaker-oriented particles may occur in another clause of a sentence that contains a question, but not in an interrogative clause:

(16) a. Siongo   mat   kisakot   ilo'   togilay   yo   dot   pigamasan   yo   *gima*.
        where   RHET.Q   grassy   that   corn   3sg   COMP   clear.repeatedly 3sg   PRTCL
        'How could there be grass growing in his corn field, when (*as you know*) he always clears/cuts the grass there?'

    b. ?*Siongo mat kisakot ilo' togilay yo *gima* dot pigamasan yo.

4.2 Speaker-oriented particles always take scope over negation

(17) a. Amu   po   *bala'*   nokosuwu   nu   i=linomumut   di=tanak   bo.
        not   yet   MIR   IV.feed   2sg.GEN   NOM=porridge   ACC=child   PRTCL
        '*I'm surprised to discover* that you haven't fed the child its rice porridge yet.'
        (cannot mean: 'I'm not yet surprised to discover that you fed the child its rice porridge.')

    b. Amu   *gima*   notongkuban   nu   ino   kuuy,   ino   *bala'*   ot=kororogis   dino.
        not   after.all   covered   2sg   that   cake   that   MIR   NOM=sanded   that
        'You failed to cover the cakes, *as you well know*, and that is why they got all sandy.'
        (cannot mean: 'It is not known to you that you covered the cakes…')

    c. Amu modop *mari'* a=tanak   dilo' ong kabaak o=lampu.
        not   sleep PRTCL NOM=child that if   shine NOM=lamp
        'The child will *certainly* not go to sleep if the light is shining.'
        (cannot mean: 'It is not certain that the child will go to sleep if the light is shining.')

4.3 Speaker-oriented particles are not "challengeable"

(18)   A: Yokoy diti, musikin okoy, aso tarata ya.
         'As for us, we are poor, we have no wealth.'
      B: Momudut katoy, amu babanar; akaya yalo' dilo'.
         'He is lying, that is not true; he is rich.'

(19)   A: Monginum ko *bala'* do batol bo.
         'So you drink rice wine (I am surprised to discover)!'
      B: #Momudut katoy, amu babanar; nela'an nu maantad!
         'You are lying, that is not true; you already knew that.'
         (grammatical, but not an acceptable/appropriate response in this context)

(20)   A: Piilango yoalo' tu' sompusasawo *gima*.
         'Have them eat together, because they are husband and wife after all.'
      B: #Momudut katoy, amu babanar; aku nela'an! (odd)
         'You are lying, that is not true; I did not know that.'
         (grammatical, but not an acceptable/appropriate response in this context)
      B': Ay? Aku nela'an!
         'Oh? I did not know that.' (appropriate response)

4.4 Speaker-oriented particles "project" their meaning out of adverbial clauses

(21) a. Amu no   Kina   paganti   ong oboli   no   *mari* ot=barang.
        not COMPL Chinese exchange if   bought COMPL surely NOM=thing
        'Chinese (shopkeepers) will *certainly* not exchange something if you have already
        paid for it.'

    b. Amu no *mari* o Kina paganti ong oboli no ot barang. (same meaning)

(22) a. Sagay minomoli no   *bala'*   yalo   do=wakaw,
        reason bought   COMPL MIR   3sg.NOM ACC=rotan

        pinomolit   yo   di=bubu.
        IV.PST.bind 3sg.GEN   ACC=fish.trap
        'So that is why he bought the rotan, he used it to bind his fish trap (*as I now
        discover*).'

    b. Sagay minomoli no yalo do wakaw, pinomolit yo *bala'* di bubu. (same meaning)

In a coordinate sentence, however, a speaker-oriented particle takes scope only over the conjunct that it belongs to.

(23) a. "*Woy obo*,   [[nakaabir at=takanon], [osongow ko   *gima*   monook]]!"
        PRTCL PRTCL spilled   NOM=rice   rough   2sg.NOM after.all dish.out
        'Now look, the rice has spilled, you are (*after all*) dishing it out so roughly/fast.'

    b. **Woy obo*, [[nakaabir *gima* at takanon], [osongow ko monook]]!

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