

SOME MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE FOCUS SYSTEM

IN ISNAG

by

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Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment  
of the requirements  
for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

August, 1986

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the help and guidance of the members of my committee, Doctors Jerold Edmondson, Donald Burquest, Kenneth Gregerson, Lenore Langsdorf, and Robert Reddick, in completing this project. I want to thank each of them for their willingness to spend time in giving me their valuable comments, suggestions, and ideas which brought this project to its present form.

I also want to express my gratitude to my Isnag friends in Dibagat village in northern Philippines, who extended their utmost hospitality and cooperation during my stay in their village in 1971-1979 and then in September to November of 1984.

A special thanks is due Ramon Caddawan and Gabina Lingbay who helped transcribe and type the texts used in the analysis. I also thank Manolo Berto and Lucio Bannit, who helped gather the texts. I also thank Richard Roe, who provided some of the language data used in this study.

I also want to thank Austin Hale who, amidst his busy hours, has taken time to share with me his valuable knowledge of Philippine languages. I also thank Marilou Weaver in helping with the editing of this dissertation. And finally, I thank all my friends who prayerfully and financially supported me through

the years of my study program. Above all, I thank God, my continuous source of encouragement and strength in getting this project done.

May 7, 1986

ABSTRACT

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Publication NO. \_\_\_\_\_

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The University of Texas at Arlington, 1986

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This study attempts to specify how the syntactic form signals the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the focus system in the Isnag language. It specifies the correlation between the semantics and grammar of focus by proposing a ranking of the relevant semantic/participant roles called the Preferential Selection Hierarchy. This hierarchy constrains the positions the NP's can take in the clause and the co-occurrence of the NP's (i.e., which NP's may occur together in a clause).

With regard to the correlation between the pragmatics and

the grammar of focus, this study discusses, (a) the COMMENT-TOPIC structure, which is the overarching force that affects the fronting to preverbal position of some NP's and (b) the categories of presupposed items, i.e., items that are given definite status and thereby become eligible for focus marking.

Unlike previous studies on the focus phenomenon, this study observes two focus markers with additional distinct functions, e.g., ya (equivalent of ang in Tagalog), and tu (equivalent of 'yong/iyong in Tagalog) particles.

It also observes that some affixes, particularly the agent and the goal focus affixes, function simultaneously as inflectional and derivational affixes. These affixes, when attached to certain classes of verbs, not only designate the role of the NP marked for focus but also change the meaning of the clause.

Overall, this study suggests a more global approach in investigating the focus phenomenon in some Philippine languages, i.e., studying focus from the viewpoint of grammar, semantics, and pragmatics.

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## INTRODUCTION

Previous studies of focus in Philippine languages have dealt primarily with syntactic aspects of the focus phenomenon. Semantic studies, on the other hand, have been generally limited to treatments of the case roles of the NP referents. The pragmatics of focus has been given attention by few linguists and is limited to the features of presupposed items.

The present study investigates the focus phenomenon in a global grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic approach. Chapter 1 gives an overview of focus from these three perspectives. Chapter 2 discusses the effect of semantics on the syntax of focus. Here, I propose a ranking of the semantic (participant) roles which I call the Preferential Selection Hierarchy. This hierarchy constrains the positions the NP's can fill in the clause, and the co-occurrence of the NP's, i.e. which NP's occur together in a clause.

Chapter 3 deals with the morphological markers of focus. Unlike previous studies which discuss only one prenominal focus marking particle, this study observes two such markers with additional distinct functions, e.g. ya (equivalent of ang in Tagalog), and tu (equivalent of 'yong/iyong in Tagalog) particles. Moreover, some affixes, e.g. agent and goal focus affixes, observed to function simultaneously as inflectional and deriva-

tional affixes, are also discussed. These affixes, when attached to certain classes of verbs, not only designate the role of the NP marked for focus, but also change the meaning of the clause.

Chapter 4 deals with the pragmatic aspect of focus. Two points are given attention: (a) the COMMENT-TOPIC structure and its effect on the syntactic forms. Special attention is given to the influence of the COMMENT-TOPIC PRAGMATIC structure on NP fronting to preverbal position. (b) Presupposed items: these are categorized into: (1) textually given, (2) textually non-given, (3) non-textually given, and (4) non-textually non-given.

The Isnag language belongs to the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian language family. Both Dyen (1965:31) and Walton (1979) assign Isnag to the northern Cordilleran group in the northern Philippines. The language is spoken by approximately 27,000 people in the province of Kalinga-Apayao.

Although many of the Isnags are beginning to become literate, their basic knowledge about the world is still gained through oral literature and personal experience. For this reason, all the texts analyzed in this study are based on transcribed oral texts.

The corpus of data used in this study consists of nine conversational texts with participants ranging from three to six native Isnag speakers, both men and women, from different age groups. The length of the texts varies from one minute to thirty

one minutes. The majority of these texts have simple narratives, (i.e. isolatable texts for which only one speaker is in control) embedded in them.

All texts were spontaneous and non-elicited. My participation in the gathering of the text materials was limited to giving instructions on how the taping was to be done. Friends who volunteered to help did most of the work, e.g. taping, transcribing, and typing the materials. The recording was done with a voice-activated micro-cassette recorder that was inconspicuously carried around by an Isnag language assistant.

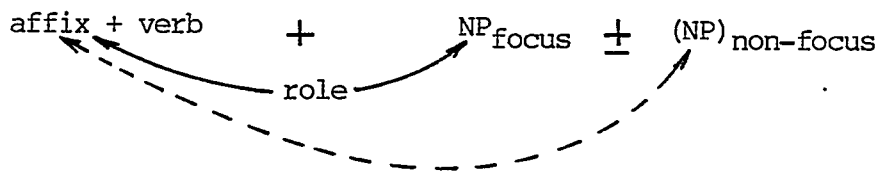
There are other texts which are non-conversational that were used in the analysis. These text materials are first and third person narratives which were elicited, taped, and transcribed.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE FOCUS SYSTEM: PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATION

#### 1.1 What is the Focus System?

The basic<sup>1</sup> clause in Isnag consists of a verb with an affix followed by one or more noun phrases, one of which is marked as the 'focus item,' or what some other Philippine linguists call 'topic.' The NP is marked either by a special particle introducing the noun phrase or by a certain set of pronouns in place of the NP, in which case the marking particle is not necessary. The affix on the verb assigns the semantic role of the referent encoded by the marked NP. The focused NP, therefore, depends on the verbal affix for its semantic role. The semantic role of the focused (topic) NP may be: Agent, Goal, Location, Instrument, or Beneficiary. The relationship may be illustrated as:



This relationship between the marked NP and the verb is referred



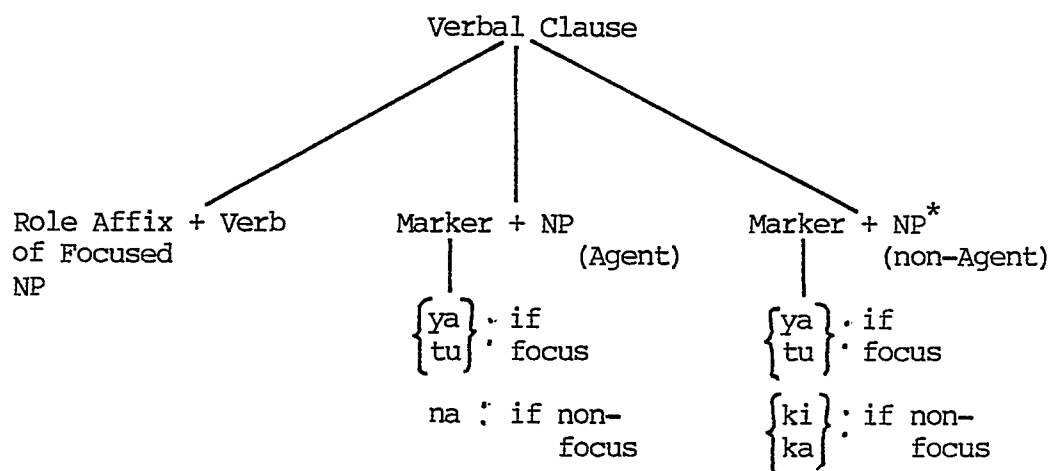
to in this study as the focus system.

The term 'focus' was first introduced by Dean (1958:59) to describe "the contrast between a noun or pronoun which is highlighted [focus NP] versus one which is not."

Let us look next at some clauses that illustrate the focus system. (The following abbreviations are used: AF= Agent is in focus; GF= Goal focus; LF=Location focus; IF=Instrument focus; BF=Beneficiary focus; A=non-focus Agent; G=non-focus Goal; FM=focus marking particle; comp=completive aspect. The focus item is underlined and in upper case in the free translation).

- (1) Na=net                    ya    tolay    ka    parakul.  
 AF-sharpen-comp.    FM    person    G    axe  
 'THE MAN/PERSON sharpened an axe.'
- (2) S=in=et                    na    tolai    ya    parakul.  
 GF-sharpen-comp.    A    person    FM    axe  
 'A man/person sharpened THE AXE.'
- (3) Pina=net=a:n            na    tolai    ka    parakul    ya    ba:wi.  
 LF-sharpen-comp.    A    person    G    axe            FM    shed  
 'A man/person sharpened an axe in THE SHED.'
- (4) Pina=net                    na    tolai    ya    ki:kilka    parakul.  
 IF-sharpen-comp.    A    person    FM    file            G    axe  
 'A man/person sharpened an axe with THE FILE.'
- (5) Pina=net                    na    tolai    ka    parakul    ya    sangai:li.  
 BF-sharpen-comp.    A    person    G    axe            FM    guest.  
 'The man/person sharpened an axe for THE GUEST.'

All the clauses encode the same situational activity. However, different participant roles are focused in each clause. Put diagrammatically, the structure of the basic Isnag verbal clause is as follows:



(Where NP\* = potentially multiple NPs of the non-focus type).

The role of the NP marked by ya or tu is indicated by the affix attached to the verb. The focus NP marking rule is:

ya / when the referent is near the speaker and the hearer  
tu / when the referent is far from the speaker and the  
 hearer.

(For details of ya and tu see 3.3)

Except for the non-focus agent, the role of the non-focus

NP is conventionally determined: NP's whose referents are usually acted upon are goal, NP's whose referents are places where activity can take place are locations, NP's with tool-like referents are Instruments, etc. The non-focus NP marking rule is:

ki / when the referent is near the speaker and the hearer  
 ka/when the referent is far from the speaker and the  
 hearer.

Thus the Focus and Non-focus NP markers may be summarized as:

	Proximal Referent	Distal Referent
Focused NP	ya	tu
Non-Focus NP	ki	ka

An NP can only occur once as either focused or non-focused in a given clause. And only one focused NP is allowed per clause.

## 1.2 Traditional Views of Focus

In previous studies of Philippine languages, the 'focus system' has received more attention than any other aspect of these languages and rightly so, for it pervades the grammar of

most of these languages.

Due to some correlation between the focus system and the European 'voice' properties, earlier studies categorized focus in terms of ACTIVE and PASSIVE. Bloomfield (1917:154) classified the different focus clauses as active, direct passive, local passive, and instrumental passive, depending on the relationship the verb has with the subject [focused item]: active when the subject has the role agent, direct passive when the subject has the logical role of affected object [goal], local passive when the subject's role refers to place or sphere, and instrumental passive when the subject indicates means or instrument.

Similar to this view is that of McKaughan (1958), who reports a syntactic relation between the verb with its voice marker and the topic [focus item] in Maranao.

Thomas (1958:339ff) views focus as a device to "put in the limelight a noun in any of the major sentence spots," a constituent toward which "the whole sentence polarizes." Pike (1963:217) refers to the same phenomenon in terms of a "focus activity relation of the predicate; [in which] there is a relationship that exists between the predicate and the one marked substantive [focus item] component of a clause that serves as the focus complement."

Forster (1964:28) sees the focus system as the "orientation of attention toward one of the grammatical roles."

Bowen (1965:182), quite misleadingly, parallels the function of the Tagalog focus with the function of intonational emphasis in English of an item the speaker wants to bring to the listener's attention.

One view which is somewhat different from the previously mentioned ones is that of Naylor (1973). She sees focus as a relationship that exists between the verb and a certain noun in the clause which is ultimately a function of transitivity. She says:

"The linguistic expression of processes, and of the participants (and, by extension, the circumstances) associated with them, is known by the general term transitivity" (Halliday 1970:148). The functions of the participants intransitivity may be referred to as participant roles (p.7). Focus as the indicator of the participant role of the topic is a function in the system of transitivity (p.29).

There are other studies done on the focus system which are different from the previously mentioned ones. Schachter (1976) centered his study on the marked nominal especially related to the predicate. His concern was the grammatical status of the focused item. He argues that the item which is usually categorized as the subject does not, in fact, have all the characteristics of a subject. He then concludes that

there is no single syntactic category in Philippine languages that corresponds to the category identified as subject in other languages. Rather, there is a division of subject-like properties between the category we have been calling the topic and the category we have been calling actor, with a few subject-like properties reserved for the intersection of the topic and the actor, the actor topic

(513).

Rafael (1978) went beyond the syntactic level in her study of the topic [focus NP] in Tagalog. She proposed some answers to the questions: "Given a verb,...which noun gets to be chosen as topic? What triggers such choice?" She appealed to two levels of linguistic study: the level of speech act [pragmatic level], and the lexical level. She concluded that the "topic is a manifestation of some higher level phenomena and is also affected by the semantic range and even the idiosyncratic properties of certain lexical items" (p.47). That is, the topic functions at a level beyond the clause. And at the same time it is affected by some semantic properties of the lexical items involved, in particular, the verb.

Wendell and Hale (1979) took the same course as Rafael but concerned themselves with the "conditions a noun phrase must meet if it is to be eligible for selection as the focused noun phrase of the clause" (p.164).

Armour (1983) proposed some simple rules in predicting focus. His prediction rules were solely based on definiteness. The semantic features of the verb were not taken into consideration (cf. 3.2.2).

### 1.3 Purpose of the Present Study

As implied above, a number of claims related to the study of focus have been made in the literature. These claims include that (a) the ordering of the constituents in a clause irrespective of the focus is arbitrary, except for the verb which always occurs initially (Schachter 1976)<sup>2</sup>, (b) there is only one topic (focus) marker as has been referred to in the discussion of focus (Otanés and Schachter 1972, etc.), and (c) the 'speaker's subjective point of view' is the primary criterion in choosing which item to focus (Schachter 1977:283). These claims conflict with my intuition as a native speaker of a Philippine language. They also fail to accord with my analysis of Isnag. The present study primarily addresses these claims with the intention of contributing toward refining the theory of focus. In addition, other features of focus in Isnag will be discussed to get a complete picture of focus and to determine where the major features fit in the system.

In this first chapter, I look at the focus system on three levels of linguistic analysis: the grammatical, semantic and pragmatic. The aim is to present a global view of the focus system in Isnag before taking up the details in subsequent chapters.

In the second chapter, I discuss the NP ordering in each

clause type determined by the role assigned to the focused NP. I summarize the possible NP ordering for each type with axiomatic statements. I discuss the effects of the ranking of semantic roles on the relative ordering of the NP's in a clause. I discuss three significant focus related matters: (a) the permutational and co-occurrence restrictions imposed on the clause constituents, (b) the 'preferential selection hierarchy', and (c) the definiteness focus condition.

The 'preferential selection hierarchy' (PSH) is a concise summary of the clause constituents (more accurately, the roles of the NP's) in a hierarchical fashion. It determines which constituents can co-occur and what possible position they can take in the clause.

The third chapter deals in more detail with the focus system on the morphological level. Different morphological categories involved in the focus system are discussed. These include the affixes, the focus marking particles, the pronouns, and some special proper name markers. The analysis demonstrates that the focused NP in a clause is unambiguously marked. Chapter two also addresses the fact that in other Philippine languages, only one marking particle has been given attention: the ang particle in Tagalog, so in Maranao, ya in Botolan Sambal, go in Ivatan, etc. Isnag, however, has two focus marking particles, each used to signal different meanings. In other Philippine languages in



which I am fluent, I also observe two marking particles. I suspect the presence of two marking particles may be more widespread than has previously been thought. In addition I discuss the inflectional and derivational function of agent and goal focus affixes.

Chapter 4 deals with the pragmatics of focus and its effect on syntax. In particular, I discuss the process of 'NP fronting' or 'NP preposing,' in which one NP precedes the verb. I posit some grammatical motivations for the process to augment the popularly advocated 'emphasis' explanation.

I also explore how information becomes definite. This part of chapter four provides some explanation why some items of information are definite in their first mention in the text. The different conditions an item must meet before it can become definite and, therefore, eligible for grammatical focusing are discussed in this chapter under two basic categories: textually definite and non-textually definite reference. The textually definite information refers to materials overtly mentioned when introduced as new information. The non-textually definite information involves definite referents that has not been overtly introduced in the text as new information. That is, the kind of information that becomes definite by association with other already definite information. The association may be due to its association with the same frame or a particular script (Schank

and Abelson 1977).

In addition to matters of definiteness mentioned above, I deal with a category in Isnag which I will refer to as uniques<sup>3</sup>. These are constituents with unique reference: universal or local. Universal uniques are those known by all humans, such as the sun, the moon, the earth, etc. Local uniques include referents known by specific groups in specific locations (e.g. a certain mountain, creek, local landmark, etc.).

Furthermore, chapter 4 discusses the pragmatic conditioning factor in the choice of focus in terms of the relationship between the known and the unknown information.

#### 1.4 Focus System from Three Perspectives

The traditional views just discussed above represent three perspectives of the focus system to which I will now turn my attention. The perspectives I refer to are: the grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic views.

##### 1.4.1 The Grammatical View

The strictly grammatical view advocated by McKaughan (1958:4) for Maranao emphasizes that focus amounts to 'syntactic relations indicated by certain particles on the one hand and by

voice markers in the verb on the other.' It is a mere co-occurrence of linguistic forms, one co-occurring with the verb, the other with the noun phrase. Being only a surface view, the strictly grammatical view of focus unfortunately limits explanation since conditions on co-occurrences cannot be stated in purely grammatical terms.

In Isnag (as well as Pangasinan and Tagalog), for example, one cannot just attach the focus marking particle to any available nominal. Thus, in Isnag, the following clause occurs:

- (6) Nag=putad      ka   ka:yu   ya   tolay.  
 AF-cut-comp.   G   wood   FM   person

'THE MAN/PERSON cut some wood.'

but not the clause:

- (7) Nag=putad      ya   ka:yu   ka   tolaiy.  
 AF-cut-comp.   FM   wood   G   person

'THE WOOD cut a person.'

Clauses (6) and (7) both satisfy the syntactic definition of focus, but only (6) is acceptable; (7) is semantically anomalous (cf. section 2.2.3). Syntax is not a law unto itself, but is itself constrained at another level to which I turn next, semantics.

#### 1.4.2 The Semantic View

In example 6 above, the affix Nag- is related to the NP marked by ya, that is, ya tolay 'the man.' From the grammatical point of view, the relationship is a mere co-occurrence of forms. However, viewed from the semantic level, the relationship becomes explainable.

Semantically, the affix (voice marker of McKaughan) assigns the semantic role of the referent encoded by the marked nominal, whether it is an Agent, Goal, Instrument, Location or Beneficiary. Thus, in (6), the nag- prefix (agent focus affix) assigns the semantic role Agent to the ya phrase 'the man.' Agents are usually animate entities. Hence, the clause is grammatically and semantically acceptable. However, in (7), the agent focus affix assigns the role agent to the ya phrase ya ka:yu 'the wood,' an inanimate entity that usually takes the Goal role. While the clause is grammatically well-formed, it is semantically anomalous and thus unacceptable. There is a collocational clash between the role assigned by the affix (voice marker) and the referent realized by the marked phrase. The referent, under normal circumstances, is not capable of fulfilling the role assigned to it. This semantic constraint has to be satisfied before any relationship between the affix and marked nominal is established. The referent encoded by the marked NP

has to have the potential of fulfilling the semantic role assigned to it by the verbal affix.

So far, I have considered only the affix and the marked nominal. However, the verb to which the affix is attached also plays a vital role in the focus system as a lexical item. The activity referred to by the verb dictates which semantic roles are relevant for successfully performing them. This role selection restricts the type and number of affixes the verb can accept. The verb putad 'to cut' in (6) and (7), for example, requires the Agent role, the Goal role, the Instrument role and also allows optionally a Location role and a Beneficiary role. Therefore, the verb accepts affixes appropriate to such roles. However, verbs like si:ka:d 'to stand' require only the Agent role, though they also optionally permit the Location role. The verb, then, allows only those affixes that signal these two roles.

#### 1.4.3 The Pragmatic View

As mentioned in section 1.4.2 above, the referent encoded by the marked NP has to have the potential of fulfilling the semantic role assigned to it by the verbal affix. But in spite of the capability of fulfilling the semantic requirements, there remains yet another conditioning level that needs to be satisfied

before the candidate NP is properly marked for the focus relationship. I refer to the Pragmatic level. This level includes the whole communication situation: the speaker and the hearer and their relationship, the speaker's assessment of the hearer's knowledge of the world, and the speaker's feelings and intentions reflected in the discourse as he transmits information.

The restriction involved in marking a nominal for focus primarily involves the speaker and his hearer. In choosing which nominal to mark, the speaker takes into consideration his interlocutor's knowledge of the referent of that nominal. Generally, the hearer has to have previous knowledge of the referent (i.e. it must be old information) before the associated NP can be eligible for focus. The hearer's previous knowledge can be guaranteed by any of several ways to be discussed in 4.4.

In sum then, the focus system involves clause level phenomena in which the verb describing the action, the verb affix, and the specially marked nominal all enter into a complex relationship which functions on both the semantic and the pragmatic levels.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Basic clause is used here in the same sense proposed by Keenan (1975). A clause (sentence) is basic if it can be understood independent of other clauses. Thus, 'John hit Bill' is more basic than 'Fred thinks that John hit Bill' "since we cannot understand the meaning of the latter without understanding that of the former" (p 307).

<sup>2</sup>Schachter indicated, however, that there are some languages whose NP positions are fixed.

<sup>3</sup>The term 'unique' was borrowed from de Beaugrande (1980).

## CHAPTER 2

### SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS ON SYNTAX

#### 2.1 The Focus System and the Clause

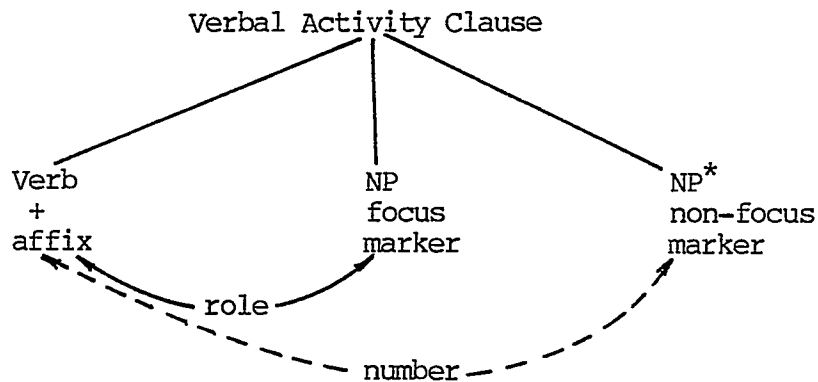
The verbal clause is the syntactic domain in Isnag in which the focus phenomenon is fully realized. Thus, the minimum constituents of a clause capable of demonstrating focus are the verb and a marked noun phrase (verbal clauses without overt NP's are possible, but these do not show the NP's needed to prove this point). Taking the clause as the starting point of discussion, I first briefly summarize the core syntactic facts of Isnag relevant to the focus question. I then show how a set of explanations for these facts cannot rely on syntax alone operating autonomously but requires at every level the inclusion of semantic motivations.

#### 2.2 Verbal Clause Syntax

In chapter 1, the structure of the Isnag verbal clause was represented by the following diagram. That is, the basic verbal clause in Isnag consists of a verb inflected for focus followed by noun phrase(s) marked for focus. Often, clauses that have



more than one NP are found. In such clauses, the roles of the non-focus NP's (NP\*) are signaled by their prenominal particles.



(where NP\* = one or more NP's)

First, I observe that in verbal clause syntax the most common syntactic clause ordering is reflected in the the diagram above.

$V + NP_{\text{focus}} + (NP^*)_{\text{non-focus}}$

However, NP's may, at times, precede the verb, thus manifesting a marked<sup>1</sup> ordering of clausal constituents (see 2.2.3.7) as follows:

$NP_{\text{focus}} + V + (NP^*)_{\text{non-focus}}$

The marked ordering of the constituents in such NP initial clauses will be discussed in 4.2, when it will be seen to have a primarily pragmatic motivation. For the present, however, I will restrict my discussion to purely semantic influences on syntax and, therefore, postpone discussion of such structures.

While in a strictly syntactic sense, the two constituent sequences described above, V NP NP and NP V NP exhaust the Isnag clause orderings, still they fail to answer some questions about syntactic structuring. These questions are (a) the co-occurrence question; given a verb V how many of the NP's it allows can co-occur together in the clause with it?, (b) the ordering question; how is the relative ordering of NP's determined?, (c) the question of focus agreement; what determines which specific verb affix co-occurs with which focus markers on a given noun and which non-focus markers on other nouns in the string?, and (d) the question of definiteness precedence; in case two definite NP's co-occur in the same clause, what dictates the assignment of focus? The following sections discuss each of these questions in detail.

### 2.2.1 The Co-occurrence Question

Even though a verb's lexical properties may allow maximally two or more NP's to occur with it, not all the possible

NP's do in fact occur together. Take for example the Isnag verb siqla:t 'to split.' It allows a total of four NP's: ya tolay 'the man' (ya NP), ka bu:lu 'a bamboo' (ka NP), ka aliwa 'a knife' (ka NP), and ki ammuwa:g (ki NP). Yet, they may not all occur together in a single clause. Indeed, the situation is more complex than simply the maximum number of occurring NP's in a single clause. For, which of the NP's may occur is also a function of the affix on the verb. This kind of behavior is reflective of the fact that a verb and its affix subcategorize its nominal environment, Chomsky (1965). In other words, in Isnag the verb and its affix are the head of its phrase. The unacceptable clause below is illustrative of this property.

- (1) \*Nag=siqla:t      ya lala:ki ka bu:lu ka aliwa.  
                   split-comp. FM man                    bamboo           knife

'The man split some bamboo with a knife.'

It will be noticed that the equivalent clause in English is acceptable. In Isnag, however, the NP ka bu:lu 'a bamboo' and ka aliwa 'a knife' do not co-occur when the verb affix is nag-. That is, Isnag verbs are unlike English verbs, which typically allow the free addition of locational and temporal complements to a wide variety of verbs. This difference is a manifestation of the basic difference between focus languages like Isnag and non-focus languages like English.

## 2.2.2 The Ordering Question

Using the same constituents enumerated in (2.2.1), let us now look at possible ordering of NP's. With the affix nag-, the ya lalaki 'the man' NP can co-occur with the NP ka bu:lu 'a bamboo' and the NP ki amuwa:g 'in the yard'. The orders verb-agent-goal-location and verb-goal-location-agent are well-formed.

- (2) Nag=siqla:t    ya lalaki    ka bu:lu    ki amuwa:g.  
                   split-comp. FM man                    bamboo        yard
- (3) Nag=siqla:t    ka bu:lu    ki amuwa:g    ya lalaki.  
                   split-comp.        bamboo        yard        FM man
- (4) \*Nag=siqla:t    ya lalaki    ki amuwa:g    ka bu:lu.  
                   split-comp. FM man                    yard                    bamboo
- (5) \*Nag=siqla:t    ki amauwa:g    ka bu:lu    ya lalaki.  
                   split-comp.        yard                    bamboo FM man

'The man split some bamboos in the yard.'

The non-occurrence of clauses (4) verb-agent-location-goal and (5) verb-location-goal-agent cannot be accounted for by the purely syntactic facts (V NP NP) mentioned in section 2.2. At best, a purely syntactic account of the NP ordering would require an exhaustive listing of all possible forms allowed by the verb and an affix. Such an approach will inevitably miss some important generalizations.

## 2.2.3 The Focus Agreement Question

It was observed that in all Isnag verbal clauses there is an agreement between the affix in the verb and the marked NP. That is, the marked NP's referent must have the potential of fulfilling the semantic/participant role designated by the affix. First of all, lack of agreement between verbal affix and an NP will yield an ungrammatical sentence. In 6a, there is no NP that agrees with with the nag- prefix and therefore, 6a is not well-formed. Similarly, 6b is not well-formed as both NP's have focus markers, which is also not allowed. 6c and 6d are well-formed syntactically as they each possess one NP with the particle ya.

- (6) a. \*Nag=putad    ya    lalaki    ka    ka:yu.  
           AF-cut-somp.    FM    man            G    wood
- b. \*Nag=putad    ya    lala:ki    ya    ka:yu  
           AF-cut-comp.    FM    man            FM    wood
- c. Nag=putad    ya    lala:ki    ka    ka:yu.  
           AF-cut-comp.    FM    man            G    wood
- 'The man cut up some wood.'
- d. !Nag=putad    ka    lala:ki    ya    ka:yu.  
           AF-cut-comp.    G    man            FM    wood
- 'The wood cut up some men.'

From a purely syntactic point of view, 6c and 6d are both well-formed. However, we know that only 6c is acceptable or

semantically interpretable and 6d is semantically anomalous because we cannot, under normal conditions conceive of circumstances in which wood cuts up people. The anomaly lies not in its syntactic ordering, rather, in the fact that the ya ka:yu does not have the potential to satisfy the role required of it by the verbal affix nag-.

#### 2.2.4 The Definiteness Precedence Question

When two definite NP's occur in a clause, there is a restriction on which affix can be attached to the verb. Let us examine clauses (8)-(10).

- (8) S=in=u:lung ne Dyesi tu lala:ki.  
 GF-hit-comp. PNA Dyesi EM man

'Dyesi hit THE MAN.'

- (9) \*NaN=u:lung nge Dyesi tu lala:ki.  
 AF-hit-comp. PNF Dyesi G def. man

'DYESI hit the man.'

- (10) !NaN=u:lung nge Dyesi kitu lala:ki.  
 AF-hit-comp. PNF Dyesi G def. man

'DYESI hit (a portion of) the man.'

Of the clauses above, only clause (8) is acceptable, where the Goal NP is focused. The Agent focus clauses (9) and (10) are anomalous. Clause (9) has two definite NP's nge Dyesi and tu

lala:ki. The NP tu lala:ki is made definite by using tu which is the focus marking particle. The result is a clause with two focused NP's, a case already seen to be deviant. The deviance of (9) may be due to a syntactic constraint against having more than one focus NP per clause. Clause (10), however, shows that syntactic principles alone are not sufficient to predict that two definite NP's may not occur together. Clause (10) is grammatically well-formed but is non-sensical. When grammatical means (cf. the definite determiner kitu), other than the focus particle tu, forces an NP to become definite, then that may cause NP to change its meaning to partitive. Therefore, clause (10) demonstrates most persuasively that a change in the form (tu ---> kitu) results in a change in meaning of the clause. In the following sections, I will discuss the semantic considerations from which the questions in 2.2ff will be answered.

### 2.3 Semantic Roles

Several linguists have observed the relationship between syntax and semantics (more specifically, semantic roles of the NP's). Fillmore (1968) succinctly expressed the relationship in terms of a rule that also reflects the ranking of the case roles in terms of subject choice for English. His rule states:

If there is an A, it becomes the subject; otherwise, if there is an I, it becomes the subject; otherwise, the subject is O.

(A=Agentive case; I=Instrumental case; O=Objective case)

Similarly, Givon (1984) ranks the various semantic case roles "according to the likelihood of their becoming subject in a simple clause" (139). The hierarchical ranking he proposes is as follows:

AGT > DAT/BEN > PAT > LOC > INSTR/ASSOC > MANN

The hierarchy is interpreted as follows:

- (a) If the simple clause has an Agent argument, it will be the subject.
- (b) If the simple clause has no agent but has a Dative/Benefactive argument, it will be the subject.
- (c) If the simple clause has no agent, nor dative/benefactive but has a Patient argument, it will be the subject.

In the following, I will pursue the same strategy as Fillmore and Givon, but from a slightly different point of view. I will rank the various semantic roles observed to be relevant in Isnag in terms of their preferential selection by the verb. It will thus be called the PREFERENTIAL SELECTION HIERARCHY (PSH). The roles that will be ranked are:

- (a) Agent (A): the participant that brings about the action.
- (b) Goal (G): the participant that undergoes the effect



of the action.

- (c) Location (L): the spatial location in which an event takes place.
- (d) Instrument (I): the means used by the agent to accomplish the action.
- (e) Beneficiary (B): the one for whose benefit the activity is done.

#### 2.4 The Preferential Selection Hierarchy

The preferential selection hierarchy I propose will be seen to constrain the co-occurrence of the post-verbal NP's, their relative ordering in a clause, and the definiteness precedence (when a clause has two definite NP's, which one is focused ?) of the NP's. It will be used to account for the questions raised above. I will summarize the syntactic constraints imposed by the PSH in the form of rules which collaborate to define or determine a grammatical clause. I categorize the rules into (a) permutation restriction (PR) rules, and (b) co-occurrence restriction (CR) rules, and (c) the definiteness focus condition rule. The proposed hierarchy is as follows:

$$A > ( G > L > \overset{I}{B} )$$

The hierarchy is grouped into the control group with the Agent as

sole member, and the non-control group with the roles inside the parentheses as members. The Agent takes precedence over the control group. In the non-control group, the Goal takes precedence over Location which, in turn, takes precedence over the Instrument or the Beneficiary.

#### 2.4.1 Determining the PS Hierarchy

The criteria I used to determine the hierarchical ordering of the situational roles were (a) favored complement, (b) indispensability, and (c) positional flexibility. Some criteria can easily set apart one role from the others; e.g., the favored complement criterion is more diagnostic between Agent and Goal than between Location and Instrument, and the indispensability criterion is more diagnostic between the Goal and Location than between the Agent and the Goal.

##### 2.4.1.1 Favored Complement

The favored complement criterion determines which roles is the most ubiquitous, i.e., the role may complement almost any verb whether in focus or not. This does not mean, of course, that it is always chosen as focus whenever it occurs with the verb. In one of the texts analyzed, of the 349 verbal

occurrences, 64.47 percent were inflected for goal focus and 33.52 percent were inflected for agent focus. In all the cases where the goal NP was focused, it was observed that the agent NP also occurs. However, in the instances where the agent NP was focused, there were several clauses where the goal NP did not occur. The favored complement criterion isolates the Agent role as the most pervasive of the roles, i.e., if a verb requires a semantic role at all, the agent is chosen before any other roles. The favored complement criterion puts the Agent at the highest rank in the hierarchy.

I have been assuming that semantic roles, such as the agent, goal, instrument, location, and beneficiary, correspond to the following semantic "notions": ultimate prime mover of an action, the thing affected by the action, the means or route of the primemover's action on something, the place of the action, and the entity for whose benefit the action is done, respectively. This correspondence is an oversimplification of what one really finds in the language data. Although the "roles" and the "notions" in two-or-more-argument verbs correspond rather well, in one-argument verbs, this correspondence breaks down rather severely. Thus in

- (11) Nag-luqmag        ya    tolay.  
       AF-fat-comp.     FM    person

'The person got fat.'

the verb carries the agent focus affix nag-, even though the person is the thing affected and not the causer of the fattening. And, thus, when I speak of the agent being the favored complement, it is in this role sense and not the notional sense. Therefore, I wish to conclude that the Isnag focus system does not encode the semantic notions directly in its focus role affixes but something derived and somewhat altered from these, at least for intransitive clauses.

#### 2.4.1.2 Indispensability

In Isnag the Goal NP is the most frequently focused NP, not the agent. However, the presence of a goal always presupposes the presence of an agent. Indispensability closely resembles the idea of favored complement. While favored roles occur with high frequency, the indispensable NP obligatorily occurs. On this criterion, the agent "role" ranks higher than the goal, instrument, location, or beneficiary. In clauses referring to weather phenomena, the terms appear in agent focus form as exemplified by the clauses below:

- (12) Mag=udan.  
AF-rain

'It's raining.'

- (13) S=um=i:nag.  
AF-sunlight

'It's sunshine'

- (14) Mag=ba:li.  
AF-wind

'It's windy/It's blowing.'

Similarly, in describing states, as in clauses (15)-(18) below, the only appropriate affix is the agent focus affix.

- (15) Nag=siyam na.  
AF-cold it

'It is cold.'

- (16) Nag=pasungat na.  
AF-hot it

'It is hot (climate).'

- (17) Mag=anggam me Meri.  
AF-happy PNA Meri

'Meri is happy.'

- (18) Mag=ansing nge Juan.  
AF-afraid PNA Juan

'Juan is afraid.'

Moreover, in Isnag, unlike English, a clause may not possess instrument, location, or goal without an agent, as in

The key opened the door.

The hammer broke the window.

In Isnag one finds instead that the agent is always required.

(19) L=in=uqt=an    ne    Inngu    ya gitap    ki    tulbaq.  
 GF-open-comp.    PNA                    FM   door    I    key

'Inngu opened THE DOOR with a key.'

(20) \*L=in=uqt=an    ya    gitap    ki    tulbaq.  
 GF-open-comp.    FM    door    I    key

'The key opened THE DOOR.'

(21) \*Pinang=luka:t    ya    tulbaq    kitu    gitap.  
 IF-open-comp.    FM    key    G def.    door

'THE KEY opened the door.'

Of all these roles, the Agent is the most ubiquitous, or rather the default role. That is, if any term, e.g., words expressing states, process, action-process, and action, requires an affix, the agent role affix is chosen. This feature of the affix makes it reasonable to conceive of it as a causal affix (different from causative affix) on a much deeper level of analysis.

### 2.4.1.3 Positional Flexibility

Turning from the role properties of the various NP's to

their syntactic encoding, I note that the agent NP may appear at any post-verbal position when focused. This is not true of the other NP's. When any non-agent NP is focused, it may appear at any position post-verbally except the position immediately following the verb. This position is always filled by the non-focus agent.

When the NP's occur as non-focus, their position in the clause is fixed. When agent and goal occur together as non-focus (e.g., when Location or Instrument NP is focused), the agent always precedes the goal. When goal NP and location NP co-occur as non-focus NP's (e.g., when Instrument is focused), the goal always precedes location. When the location and instrument NP's co-occur as non-focus (e.g., when Goal NP is focused), location precedes the instrument. Beneficiary does not occur as non-focus NP. For this reason, one might make the Beneficiary the lowest rank role. However, as will be noticed in the following chapter, the affixes designating Instrument and Beneficiary roles are virtually identical. I will here put them in the same rank in the hierarchy as follows:

$$A > G > L > I, B$$

A further distinction in these ranked roles is between the group that exercises some control in the activity ( i.e., the conscious

initiator of the action has more control than the mindless tool or the entity affected by the action) (Comrie 1980:53) and the group that does not. As it turns out, only the Agent has control of the action and therefore is bracketed out.

$$A > ( G > L > I, B ).$$

This hierarchical arrangement differs from the previous one in that there are two high ranking roles: the Agent and the Goal, the latter being the high rank role in the non-control group. Therefore, I shall refer to the Agent role as the highest ranking role, and I shall refer to both the Agent and the Goal as high rank roles.

#### 2.4.2 The Restriction Rules

In the following sections, I will propose rules that constrain the relative ordering of the NP's in a clause. I call them the permutation restriction (PR) rules, co-occurrence restriction (CR) rules, and definiteness condition rule. I want to emphasize that these restriction rules work in conjunction with case frames and the role hierarchy above.



## 2.4.2.1 The Permutation Restriction Rules

In this section, I posit two restriction rules that constrain the permutational mobility of the NP's in a clause. In doing so, I further posit that the hierarchical ranking of the roles corresponds to the unmarked (normal) ordering of the NP's in relation to the verb, i.e., the agent NP occurs immediately following the verb, followed by the goal NP, then the location NP followed by the instrument NP, and then the beneficiary NP). Thus the normal ordering of NP's in a clause is as follows:

$$V \quad NP/A \quad NP/G \quad NP/L \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP/I \\ NP/B \end{array} \right\}$$

This NP ordering is statistically validated by actual texts. In the appended text, of the 349 verbal clauses, 339 are of the form V + NP\* (\*=one or more NP's), and only 10 are of the NP + V + NP\* type. This same ordering is in effect when the lowest rank instrument NP is focused, and all the higher ranking NP's occur with it. The following clause is an example.

- (22) Pinag=siqla:t    ne    Anaway    ka    bu:lu    ki  
 IF-split-comp.    PNA    Anaway    G    bamboo    L
- ambaw            ya    aliwa.  
 riverbank        FM    knife

'Anaway split some bamboo on the riverbank with THE KNIFE.'

Although the focus item ya aliwa 'the knife' may permute to the positions of the goal and location, the relative positions of the non-focus NP's are not interchangeable. Thus, the following clauses (23)-(25) are ungrammatical.

- (23) \*Pinag=siqla:t ne Anaway ki ambaw  
IF-split-comp. PNA Anaway L riverbank

ka bu:lu ya aliwa.  
G bamboo EM knife.

'Anaway cut some bamboo on the riverbank with THE KNIFE.'

- (24) \*Pinag=siqla:t ka bu:lu ne Anaway  
IF-split-comp. G bamboo PNA Anaway

ki ambaw ya aliwa.  
L riverbank EM knife

'Anaway cut some bamboo on the riverbank with THE KNIFE.'

- (25) \*Pinag=siqla:t ki ambaw ka bu:lu  
IF-split-comp. L riverbank G bamboo

ne Anaway ya aliwa.  
PNA Anaway EM knife

'Anaway split some bamboo on the riverbank with THE KNIFE.'

In clause (19) ki ambaw 'in the yard' precedes ka bu:lu 'some bamboo.' Clause (20) has the phrase ka bu:lu preceding ne

Anaway 'Anaway,' and clause (21) has ki ambaw and ka bu:lu preceding ne Anaway. All these orderings are disallowed in the language.

There are no purely syntactic constraints by which the ungrammaticality of clauses (23)-(25) may be accounted for. The clauses exhibit the normal syntactic ordering V NP NP (cf. 2.1). At best, one can only list the possible positions each NP can take, such as the following:

V + na NP + ka NP + ki NP + ya NP

V + na NP + ka NP + ya NP + ki NP

V + na NP + ya NP + ka NP + ki NP

•  
•  
•

or the unacceptable positions illustrated by the following:

\*V + naNP + kiNP + kaNP + yaNP

\*V + kaNP + naNP + kiNP + yaNP

\*V + kiNP + kaNP + naNP + yaNP

•  
•  
•

However, if we look at the relationship between the semantic roles realized by the NP's (i.e. their relative ranking in the PS hierarchy), the ungrammaticality of the clauses can be more adequately accounted for. I do this here by proposing rules

formulated from the PSH to which I now direct my discussion.

Rule 1. The G NP marked for focus may appear to the left of any other NP except the highest ranked NP, i.e., the agent NP.

Let us illustrate the effect of the rule systematically. Pick, first of all, the focus NP to be agent, and then the focus NP may occur anywhere (disregarding preverbal NP's). Clearly, the agent NP, if focused, cannot appear to the left of itself.

We next pick the goal NP as focus. This NP, by rule 1, may appear in the following positions:

V NP/A NP/G NP/L NP/I  
 V NP/A NP/L NP/G NP/I  
 V NP/A NP/L NP/I NP/G

but not in the following position:

\*V NP/G NP/A NP/L NP/I

because the focused goal NP appears to the left of the non-focused agent NP.

We next pick the location NP as the focus NP. By rule 1, the NP may appear in the following positions:

V NP/A NP/G NP/L

V NP/A NP/L NP/G

but not in the position illustrated below:

\*V NP/L NP/A NP/G

because the focused location NP appears to the left of the non-focused agent NP, a position disallowed by the rule.

When the focused NP is instrument NP, rule 1 predicts the following orders:

V NP/A NP/G NP/L NP/I

V NP/A NP/G NP/I NP/L

V NP/A NP/I NP/G NP/L

but not the form:

\*V NP/I NP/A NP/G NP/L

When beneficiary NP is focused, the clause forms are identical to those when the instrument NP is focused.

Rule 2. Among non-focus NP's, a lower ranking NP may not precede a high ranking NP.

Rule 2 accounts for the ungrammaticality of the clauses of the following forms:

- (a) \*V NP/A NP/I NP/L NP/G  
 (b) \*V NP/A NP/L NP/B NP/G  
 (c) \*V NP/A NP/B NP/L NP/G

(The underlined NP's are marked for focus)

All the above satisfy rule 1 but they all violate rule 2, hence, they are ungrammatical. All the clause forms have the non-focus location preceding the non-focus high ranking goal.

The two permutation restriction rules define the grammatical positions of the NP's realizing the roles relevant in a situation specified by the verb. Basically, they say that lower ranking NP's are more limited in positions they can take than the higher ranking NP's. Moreover, focusing an NP increases the number of positions in which it may appear. These rules, again, are not purely syntactic but reflect the PSH, which is as much semantic as syntactic.

#### 2.4.2.2 The Co-occurrence Restriction Rules

The PR rules above express only order itself and do not

govern which NP's occur together in any sentence. Again, any attempt to account for the co-occurring NP's by purely syntactic means will amount to a mere listing of NP co-occurrences observed in the language. In this section, I will propose rules that will determine which NP's occur together. The co-occurrence restriction rules are posited as statements of restriction on which NP's occur together. I will posit three co-occurrence rules.

Rule 3. A focused NP always allows higher ranking NP's in the hierarchy to be present in the same clause.

This rule resembles in some ways the transitivity property of a logical system: if  $A > B$  and  $B > C$ , then  $A > C$ . An NP lower in the hierarchy allows the presence of higher ones. The rule allows a maximum of four NP's in a clause, e.g., when either instrument or beneficiary NP is focused. Rule 3 predicts the following clause forms:

V	NP/A	NP/G	NP/L	<u>NP/I</u>
V	NP/A	NP/G	NP/L	<u>NP/B</u>

If we focus the agent role, according to rule 3, we can have a clause with only one NP.

Rule 4. If a high ranking NP, agent or goal, is in focus, then any lower ranking NP may co-occur with it, and if a low ranking NP is in focus, then no other NP lower than it may occur.

Rule 4 disallows the occurrence of either instrument NP or beneficiary NP when location NP is focused. Thus the following clause forms are ungrammatical:

\*V NP/A NP/G NP/L NP/I

\*V NP/A NP/G NP/L NP/B

Rule 5. When a high rank NP is in focus, then only the next two lower NP's may co-occur with it.

Rule 5 allows the following clause forms:

(a) V NP/A NP/G NP/L

(b) V NP/A NP/G NP/L NP/I

In (a) where the agent NP is focus only the next two lower ranks, the goal and location, may occur with it. In (b) where the goal NP is focused, the location and instrument NP's are the next two lower-ranking roles and hence can occur with the focused NP.

However, rule 5 disallows the following form:

\*V NP/A NP/G NP/L NP/I



There are three co-occurring lower ranking NP's with the focused agent NP. By rule 5, the instrument NP may not occur with the focused agent NP.

Rule 3, 4, and 5 pertain to which NP's are compatible. Basically, high rank NP's have a greater degree of compatibility with other NP's than lower ranking ones. Focusing circumvents some of the restrictions of the hierarchy, for example, by promoting the compatibility of some NP's.

#### 2.4.2.3 The Definiteness Focus Condition

Rules 1-5 constrain the positions NP's take and which NP's co-occur. Among the co-occurring NP's an additional restriction is imposed by the ranking of roles with regard to definiteness. The specific restriction in question may be expressed by the following rule:

Rule 6: If two NP's are definite, the lower ranked of the two may be focused but not the higher ranked one.

In my illustration of the rule, I will consider only the agent and the goal. The lower rank NP's are governed by rule 3 and rule 4 so that rule 6 need not be applied. If the Goal NP is focused, the Agent NP can remain definite without affecting the

meaning of the clause. However, focusing the Agent NP destroys the definiteness of the Goal, the role lower in rank of the two. Let us consider the two NP's in clause (26a) below.

- (26) a. Kinna:n            ne    Dyesi    tu    ba:gat.  
 GF-eat-comp.    PNA    Dyesi    FM    banana  
 'Dyesi ate THE BANANA.'
- b. \*Nangan            ne    Dyesi    tu    ba:gat.  
 AF-eat-comp.    PNF    Dyesi    FM    banana  
 'DYESI ate the banana.'
- c. Nangan            ne    Dyesi    ka    ba:gat.  
 AF-eat-comp.    PNF    Dyesi    G    banana  
 'Dyesi ate a banana.'

The agent Dyesi, a proper name, is inherently definite. The goal NP tu ba:gat 'the banana' is grammatically marked definite. If the definiteness of both NP's is to be preserved, the clause has to focus the goal NP. Thus, clause (26a) preserves the definiteness of the agent and the goal. However, focusing the agent NP and maintaining the definiteness of the goal NP will result in a clause with two NP's in focus (26b), a structure disallowed in Isnag. The Agent NP focus clause is grammatical if the Goal NP is indefinite, as in (26c). However, one might argue that we can focus the agent NP and also preserve the definiteness of the Goal NP by using the non-focus definite marking particle kitu (see 3.3.3.). The clause will indeed be grammatical, but there will

be a corresponding change in meaning, as in (43).

- (27) Nangan            ne Dyesi kitu ba:gat.  
 AF-eat-comp.    PNF Dyesi    G def. banana

'DYESI ate (a portion of) the banana.'

The affected goal in clause (27) is part of the whole, compared to the affected goal of clause (26a), which is a singular whole. In this sense the two clauses do not communicate the same event. Moreover, in sentence (27), special determiners have been brought to bear to alter the definiteness relationship imposed by the focus system.

The effect of the definiteness focus condition is more obvious when both agent and goal are realized by pronouns and/or proper names. Let us consider the following clauses (28)-(29).

- (28) a. Kinna:n            na.  
 GF-eat-comp.    3rd pers./A-3rd pers. G  
 'He/She ate IT.'
- b. \*Nangan            na.  
 AF-eat-comp.    3rd pers./A-3rd pers. G  
 'HE/SHE ate it.'
- (29) a. Sinu:lung        ne    Idot    te    Dyesi.  
 GF-hit-comp    PNA    Idot    PNF Dyesi  
 'Idot hit DYESI.'

b. \*Nanu:lung nge Idot te Dyesi.  
 AF-hit-pst PNF Idot G Dyesi

'IDOT hit Dyesi.'

The (a) clauses focus the Goal and also preserve the definiteness of the Agent. It will be also noticed that all the clauses that focused the Agent NP are ungrammatical. Proper names and pronouns are, by their very nature, definite, and this inherent definiteness of NP's can interact with the focusing properties of the language as shown in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1  
 FOCUS AND DEFINITENESS

G O A L N P			
		Def.	Indef.
A G E N T	Def	GF	AF
		!!AF	*GF
N P	Indef.	GF	—
		*AF	—

\* ungrammatical

!! there is a corresponding change in meaning of the clause.

The Definiteness Focus Condition indicates the interaction of pragmatics (through definiteness) and semantics (through the ranking of roles) to determine the acceptability (hence grammaticality) of a clause in Isnag.

It appears that focus interacts with the hierarchy in two different ways: (a) it augments the freedom of NP's to move and to co-occur but (b) restricts their capacity to be grammatically definite or indefinite. All the rules involve the hierarchy and the notion of focus.

## 2.5 Clause Types

Clause types in Isnag can be described in terms of the focused NP, in which case there are as many types as there are participant roles. The difference between each type lies in the number of co-occurring NP's and the position(s) the NP's can take, which is directly governed by the PSH as expressed in rules 1-5. I consider the two factors sufficient to posit a distinct clause type. The following discussion looks at the different clause types and how the rules above govern each type.

## 2.5.1 The Focused NP as Agent

When the focused NP is Agent (A), the constraining rules that collaborate to determine a grammatical clause are PR rules 1 and 2 and CR rules 4 and 5. PR rule 1 allows the Agent NP to take any position in the clause. CR rule 4 and 5 limit the co-occurring non-focus NP's to Goal and Location. PR rule 2 does not allow the Location NP to precede Goal NP. In rule form, the clause structure may, in this case, be described as follows:

If  $NP_A$  is focused, then:

1.  $V < NP_i$
2.  $NP_i \not\subseteq \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP_I \\ NP_B \end{array} \right\}$
3.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP_A \\ NP_G \end{array} \right\} < NP_L$

where:  $NP_i$  = any NP

V = verb

< = precedes

$\not\subseteq$  = does not include

G = Goal

L = Location

I = Instrument

B = Beneficiary

Thus, the following acceptable orderings of NP's are generated.

The focused NP is underlined.

V NP/A NP/G NP/L

V NP/G NP/A NP/L

V NP/G NP/L NP/A

The following NP orderings are unacceptable because the non-focus Location NP precedes the non-focus Goal NP. PR rule 2 allows the transitive Goal to take precedence over spatial Location unless pragmatic forces of focus overrule (see Location focus discussion later).

\*V NP/L NP/A NP/G

\*V NP/L NP/G NP/A

The acceptable ordering is exemplified by the following clauses (in which PNF = marker when focus NP is Proper Name, PNA = marker when non-focus agent is Proper Name).

(30) Nang=alaq nge Anaway ka kape ka Buttet.  
 AF-get-comp. PNF Anaway G coffee L Buttet

'ANAWAY got some coffee from Buttet.'

- (31) Nang=alag ka kape nge Anaway ka Buttet.  
 AF-get-comp. G coffee PNF Anaway L Buttet

'ANAWAY got some coffee from Buttet.'

- (32) Nang=alag ka kape ka Buttet nge Anaway.  
 AF-get-comp. G coffee L Buttet PNF Anaway

'ANAWAY got some coffee from Buttet.'

Thus, clauses with the following NP ordering are then unacceptable. The Location NP precedes the agent NP, a violation of PR rule 2.

- (33) \*Nang=alag ka Buttet nge Anaway ka kape.  
 AF-get-comp. L Buttet PNA Anaway G coffee

'ANAWAY got some coffee from Buttet.'

- (34) \*Nang=alag ka Buttet ka kape nge Anaway.  
 AF-get-comp. L Buttet G coffee PNF Anaway

'ANAWAY got some coffee from Buttet.'

### 2.5.2 The Focused NP as Goal

In verbal clauses where the role of the focused NP is Goal, the ordering of the co-occurring NP's is constrained by PR rules 1 and 2, and CR rules 3, 4, and 5. PR rule 1 disallows the Goal NP occurring immediately following the verb. However, it allows the focused Goal NP to permute with the other non-focus non-agent



NP's. CR rule 3 necessarily allows the occurrence of the non-focus Agent NP. CR rule 4 and 5 allow the co-occurrence of the non-focus Location NP and the non-focus Instrument NP. PR 2 disallows the occurrence of Instrument NP before the Location NP. In the form of rules, the following summarize the positional and co-occurrence restrictions of the NP's.

If  $NP_G$  is in focus, then:

1.  $V < NP_A < NP_i$
2.  $NP_i \not\phi NP_B$

Thus, the only possible sequences of the constituents when the focus NP is goal (GF) are:

V	NP/A	<u>NP/G</u>	NP/L	NP/I
V	NP/A	NP/L	<u>NP/G</u>	NP/I
and V	NP/A	NP/L	NP/I	<u>NP/G</u>

exemplified by the clauses:

- (35) S=in=iqla:t      na    tolay    ya    bu:lu    ki    amuwa:g.  
 GF-split-comp.    A      man      FM    bamboo    L    yard
- ka aliwa.  
 I    knife

'The man split THE BAMBOO in the yard with a knife.'

- (36) S=in=iqla:t      na tolay ki amuwa:g ya bu:lu.  
 GF-split-comp. A man L yard FM bamboo

ka aliwa.  
 I knife

'The man split THE BAMBOO in the yard with a knife.'

- (37) S=in=iqla:t      na tolay ki amuwa:g ka aliwa  
 GF-split-comp. A man L I knife

ya bu:lu.  
 FM bamboo

'The man split THE BAMBOO in the yard with a knife.'

The following NP orderings are, by the rules above,  
 ungrammatical, because NP/GF precedes NP/A:

\* V NP/G NP/A NP/L

\* V NP/L NP/G NP/A

generating the following unacceptable Isnag clauses:

- (38) \*S=in=iqla:t ya bu:lu na tolay ki amuwa:g.  
 GF-split-comp. FM bamboo A man L yard

\*'The man split THE BAMBOO in the yard.'

- (39) \*S=in=iqla:t ki amuwa:g ya bu:lu na tolay.  
 GF-split-comp. L yard FM bamboo A man

\*'The man split THE BAMBOO in the yard.'

## 2.5.3 The Focused NP as Instrument

The constraining rules that determine the number and ordering of the clause constituents when the Instrument NP is focused are PR rule 1 and CR rule 3. The constraints they impose on the NP's may be summarized by the following statements:

If  $NP_I$  is in focus, then:

1.  $V < NP_A < NP_i$
2.  $NP_i \not\neq NP_B$

Thus, acceptable orderings of clause constituents when the focused NP is Instrument are any of the following:

V	NP/A	NP/G	<u>NP/I</u>	
V	NP/A	<u>NP/I</u>	NP/G	
V	NP/A	NP/G	<u>NP/I</u>	NP/L
V	NP/A	NP/G	NP/L	<u>NP/I</u>

as exemplified in the Isnag clauses:

(40) Pa=mutad            ne        Ramon   ka   una:t        ya   aliwa.  
 IF-cut-incomp. PNA    Ramon   G   sugar-cane FM   knife

'Ramon will cut the sugar-cane with THE KNIFE.'

- (41) Pa=mutad            ne    Ramon    ya   aliwa   ka   una:t.  
IF-cut-incomp. PNA   Ramon    FM   knife   G   sugar-cane

'Ramon will cut the sugar-cane with THE KNIFE.'

- (42) Pa=mutad            ne    Ramon    ka   una:t        ya   aliwa  
IF-cut-incomp. PNA   Ramon    G   sugar cane FM   knife

ki   amuwa:g.  
L   yard

'Ramon will cut the sugar cane with THE KNIFE in the yard.'

- (43) Pa=mutad            ne    Ramon    ka   una:t        ki amuwa:g  
IF-cut-incomp. PNA   Ramon    G   sugar cane L   yard

ya   aliwa.  
FM   knife

'Ramon will cut the sugar cane with THE KNIFE in the yard.'

Clauses with the sequences below are ungrammatical because NP/IF precedes NP/A:

\* V   NP/I   NP/A   NP/G

\* V   NP/G   NP/I   NP/A

Thus, clauses 18 and 19 below exemplify ungrammatical sequences.

- (44) \*Pa=mutad            ya   aliwa   ne   Ramon   ka   una:t.  
IF-cut-incomp. FM   knife   PN   Ramon   G   sugar-cane

'Ramon will cut the sugar-cane with THE KNIFE.'

- (45) \*Pa=mutad ka una:t ya aliwa ne Ramon.  
 IF-cut-incomp. G sugar-cane FM knife PN Ramon

'Ramon will cut the sugar-cane with THE KNIFE.'

#### 2.5.4 The Focused NP as Beneficiary

When the NP in focus is Beneficiary, the NP's are ordered very much the same as in a clause where Instrument is in focus. Again, the clause structure is constrained by the PR and CR rules, specifically, PR rules 1 and 2 and CR rule 3.

If NP<sub>B</sub> is in focus, then:

1. V < NP<sub>A</sub> < NP<sub>i</sub>
2. NP<sub>i</sub>  $\nabla$  NP<sub>I</sub>

The acceptable positioning of the constituents then, are:

V NP/A NP/G NP/B NP/L  
 V NP/A NP/B NP/G NP/L  
 V NP/A NP/G NP/L NP/B

Exemplified by clauses (16) and (18).

- (46) Pag=ba:yu ne Gabi ka dekat  
 BF-pound-rice-incomp. PN Gabi G sweet-rice

ya baqbakat.  
FM old-woman

'Gabi will pound (to unhusk) some sweet-rice for THE OLD WOMAN.'

- (47) Pag=ba:yu ne Gabi ya baqbakat  
BF-pound-rice-incomp. PNA Gabi FM old-woman

ka dekat.  
G sweet-rice .

'Gabi will pound (to unhusk) some sweet-rice for THE OLD WOMAN.'

- (48) Pag=ba:yu ne Gabi ka dekat ki  
BF-pound-rice-incomp. PNA Gabi G sweet rice L

ambaw ya baqbakat.  
downhill-village FM old-woman

'Gabi will pound some sweet rice for THE OLD WOMAN at the village downhill.'

Clauses that allow the focused beneficiary to permute with the agent are ungrammatical, as illustrated by the following non-occurring clauses:

- (49) \*Pag=ba:yu ya baqbakat ne Gabi ka  
BF-pound-rice-incomp. FM old-woman PNA Gabi G

dekat.  
sweet-rice

- (50) \*Pag=ba:yu ka dekat ne Gabi ya  
BF-pound-rice-incomp. G sweet-rice PNA Gabi FM

baqbakat.  
old-woman

'Gabi will pound (to unhusk) some sweet-rice for THE OLD WOMAN.'

In clause (49), the Beneficiary precedes the Agent, and in clause (50), the Goal precedes the Agent. Both sequences are disallowed. They violate PR rule 1 (i.e. no NP can precede a non-focus Agent).

#### 2.5.5. The Focused NP as Location

Clauses that focus Location NP manifest the same rigidity in constituent ordering as do Goal Focus, Instrument Focus, and the Beneficiary Focus clauses. They are constrained by PR rule 1 and CR rules 1 and 2.

If  $NP_L$  is in focus, then:

$$1. V < NP_A < NP_i$$

$$2. NP_i \neq \begin{Bmatrix} NP_I \\ NP_B \end{Bmatrix}$$

The only grammatical positionings of constituents then, are:

V NP/A NP/G NP/L  
 or V NP/A NP/L NP/G

The following clauses exemplify these orderings:

- (51) Na=milag=a:n      na babay ka ammay ya amuwa:g.  
 LF-sun-dry-comp. A woman G rice FM yard

'The woman dried (under the sun) some rice in THE YARD.'

- (52) Na=milag=a:n      na babay ya amuwa:g ka ammay.  
 LF-sun-dry-comp. A woman FM yard G rice

'The woman dried (under the sun) some rice in THE YARD.'

The following clauses that permute the focus NP with the non-focus agent NP are again ungrammatical.

- (53) \*Na=milag=a:n      ka ammay na babay ya amuwa:g.  
 LF-sun-dry-comp. G rice A woman FM yard

'The woman dried (under the sun) some rice in THE YARD.'

- (54) \*Na=milag=a:n      ya amuwa:g na babay ka ammay.  
 LF-sun-dry-comp. FM yard A woman G rice

'The womandried (under the sun) some rice in THE YARD.'

## 2.6 Rationale for the PSH and the Rules

In this section, I will present a possible explanation why the hierarchical ranking of the roles is such that the Agent outranks Goal which outranks Location which outranks Instrument and Beneficiary. Humans are psychologically predisposed to give attention first to motion or action and to ignore a passive background or field (Gibson 1966:201). That is, participants



perceived as closest to the action, like the Agent and Goal, take prominence over the 'prop-like' and more background-like roles such as Location, Instrument, etc. Thus, for causal source of any action, A outranks G in terms of human interest. In some cases, it takes the motion of the Agent for an event to be perceived. The instigator of events is the most salient participant on stage - more so than the 'victim' (Goal/ Patient).

Furthermore, in reporting events, Kuno (1975) claims that speakers empathize with the participants to different degrees. It is more difficult for speakers to empathize with Animate non-humans than with humans, and it is most difficult for speakers to empathize with Things. Hierarchically, humans outrank animate-non-humans, which, in turn, outrank things (38). Thus, the PSH in section 2.4 ranks Agent highest, followed by Goal (usually nonhumans) either as animate or inanimate. Inanimate things used as Instrument and the like are ranked lowest.

With regard to the rules 1-6, we observed that: (a) certain NP roles, although allowed by the verb, do not occur together with that verb in a clause, e.g., Goal NP does not occur with the instrument NP; (b) the NP's take specific positions when not focused; and (c) when an NP is focused, its mobility is greatly increased. I wish to give an account of these restrictions in terms of the valency of the verb, defined as 'the number and kind of noun phrase a verb can take' (Comrie 1981:51). I will

correlate the notion of valency with the rules in terms of the following principles:

- (a) The valence of the verb is greatest with the high ranked roles and weakest with the lower ranked roles.
- (b) The valence of the verb is increased by focusing.

The following are the implications of the two principles above:

(a) When the high rank roles are focused, the valency of the verb is strengthened and thus it can combine more unfocused NP's. However, there is a limit to the number of NP's it can hold together. Thus, when Agent or Goal is focused, two lower rank NP's may co-occur with them. However, when the lower rank NP's are focused, the verb does not get enough strength to include other non-focus lower rank NP's, and thus co-occurrence restriction rule 4 is in effect. Thus, when Location, a lower rank role, is focused, the verb cannot include Instrument, another lower rank role. However, it automatically includes roles higher than the focused NP where the valency is stronger and thus co-occurrence restriction rule 3 applies.

(b) Positionally, when not focused, the NP's occur in a certain ordering in accordance with the hierarchical ranking and thus rule 2. Increasing the valence of the verb by focusing allows the focused NP to supersede the restriction on ordering imposed by the hierarchy. Thus, rule 1 allows the focus item to appear at any position except the position of the non-focused

Agent.

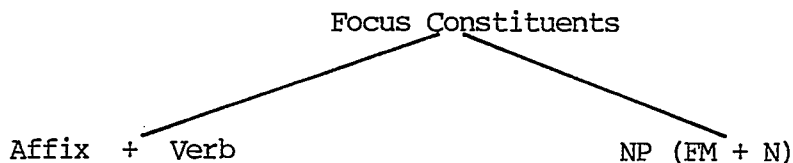
In sum, the PSH and the rules I have developed that make use of it in their statement are the laws of the "selective affinities" of the formation of Isnag sentences. Just like atomic valencies, certain kinds of same and different types (i.e. verbs and noun phrases) are allowed to develop bonds and form sentences. Other combinations and types of bonds are less frequent, require more effort, or are forbidden outright.

## CHAPTER 3

### LEXICO-SEMANTIC ASPECT OF FOCUS

#### 3.1 The Focus

In chapter 1, the Isnag focus system was briefly characterized in terms of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels. It was observed that the three basic syntactic elements that are primarily involved in the focus system are the affix, the marked nominal, and the verb. That is,



In this chapter I will discuss the morphological markers for focus: the verbal affixes and the various prenominal focus marking (FM) particles. In the present discussion of the affixes, only those basically inflectional<sup>1</sup> (i.e., non-derivational) affixes which designate roles of focus NP's are considered. The different particles that mark the focused NP, the particles that introduce proper names, and the focus pronoun

sets will be discussed.

### 3.2 Verbal Affixes

#### 3.2.1 Inflectional Processes

Isnag verbal clauses are almost always inflected for focus. The verbs take affixes whose primary function is to designate the semantic role of the focused NP. Such affixes are either prefixes (e.g., mag-, maN-, mang-), infixes (e.g., -in-, -um-), or suffixes (e.g., -an, -a:n). There are also some discontinuous affixes, usually a combination of a prefix and a suffix, such as pag-...-a:n (Location focus).

The affixes are the most consistently explicit markers for focus. Very often NP's, whatever their roles, fail to get overtly realized in the clause. The implicit referent, however, is easily recoverable from the immediate context. Thus it is very common in Isnag to have clauses like (2), (3), and (4) composed only of a verb:

- (1) Inimma:n            kanu    ne    Ludasan            T3:14  
 GF-hold-comp.    said    PNA    Ludasan

'It was said that Ludasan held (it).'

- (2) Nalibat                    T3:030  
 AF-drop-dead-comp.

'(It) died instantly.'

- (3) Natay. T3:34  
 AF-die-comp.  
 '(It) died.'

- (4) Magta:law. T3:683  
 AF-run-away-incomp.

'(He) will run away.'

In clause (1), the implied referent (it) is the NP datu sissi:tu 'the puppies' mentioned in line 001 (see Text 3 in the Appendix), earlier in the text referred to by the same speaker (Erlinda) as datu pusaq 'the white ones' in line 002, Tu niddeg ke Evelyn 'the one I gave Evelyn' in line 009.

Likewise, in clause (2), the implied referent is also datu sissi:tu from line 004, which is closely linked to line 001 and later referred to in line 007 as tu isa 'the other one,' tu isa nga naluq-luqmag 'the fatter one,' in line 012, aggi:na 'third person singular,' in line 018, ya:n na sissi:tu 'that puppy,' in line 028, zero anaphor (zero pronoun) in line 029 and 030.

In clause (3), the antecedent for (it) is tu gagganaq mi isa 'our other bitch,' which is in the immediately preceding line (033).

The antecedent for the missing NP in clause (4) is ya tolay 'the man' in line 682: Magsirug pe ya tolay 'The man will hide.'

There is a co-occurrence restriction between verb types and

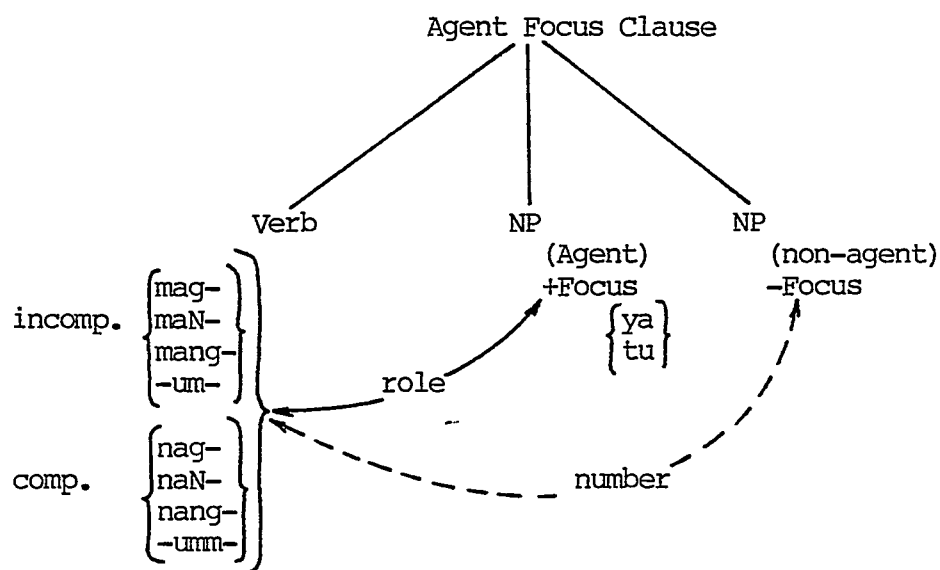
the affixes. Affixes are selective with respect to the verb to which they can be attached, or rather the verbs are selective as to the affix they take. This is due to factors described by Longacre (1976) under the heading case frames, which group verbs with their characteristic roles. Thus, because of their semantic composition, not all verbs can take the affixes that assign for example, goal role of the focused NP, nor can they all take the affixes that assign the instrument role. The most common role affixes on verbs are categorized according to the role they specify for the marked nominal phrase (or the focused item): that is, Agent, Goal, Instrument, Location, and Beneficiary.

#### 3.2.1.1 The Agent Role Affixes

Agent is the event participant that brings about the action specified by the verb (Fillmore 1968, Grimes 1975). Agent is typically an animate referent intentionally or unintentionally performing the action described in the verb. All verbal clauses realizing event activity in Isnag have agents.

There are four possible verb affixes that designate the Agent role of the focused item. The mag- prefix is the most common of the four. The other three are mang-, maN-, and the infix -um-. These occur in the incompletive aspect. Their corresponding completive forms are nag-, nang-, naN-, and -umm-

or -inum-, respectively. The following tree diagram shows the relationship between the verb affixes and the focused nominal marked by ya or tu to which they assign the semantic role.



Although all the affixes assign the same role, they are not interchangeable. Each indicates a specific semantic feature of the clause. They also indicate the plurality of the object involved in the clause or the duration of the activity described by the verb. mag- indicates plural goal and/or durative (i.e., extended) action. The affixes mang-, maN-, and -um- require that the number of the goal be specified. If the number of the object is not otherwise numerically specified, maN- and -um- indicate that it is singular or just part of a whole. Thus, the following clauses have singular goal.



- (5) NaN=iqđut            ki    duqđut    na    anuq.  
 AF-pluck-comp.    G    feather    of    chicken  
 'HE plucked a feather from (a) the chicken.'
- (6) S=um=iqlat            ka    ma:n    ka    bu:lu  
 AF-split-incomp.    You    please    G    bamboo  
 'Would YOU please split a piece of bamboo.'

If the number of the goal is not specified, the mang- affix makes the number ambiguous. Thus, this affix may be categorized as neutral in terms of plurality. In cases of verbs that do not take goal, the mang-, maN-, and -um- affixes indicate a relatively short duration of the activity described by the verb. Clauses (7)-(9) are illustrative:

- (7) Nag=languy            ya    an-anaq.  
 AF-swim-comp.    FM    child  
 'THE CHILD swam (for a long time).'
- (8) Nang=languy            ya    an-anaq.  
 AF-swim-com            FM    child  
 'THE CHILD swam (for a while).'
- (9) L=umm=anguy            ya    an-anaq.  
 AF-swim-comp            FM    child  
 'THE CHILD took a swim.'

When goal is in focus, the plurality is indicated differently (see 3.2.1.2 below).

Thus the four affixes, while they primarily assign the

role agent to the focused item, also simultaneously indicate the number of the goal or the duration of the activity or both. That is, the verbal affixes are also related to the non-focus NP's of the clauses.

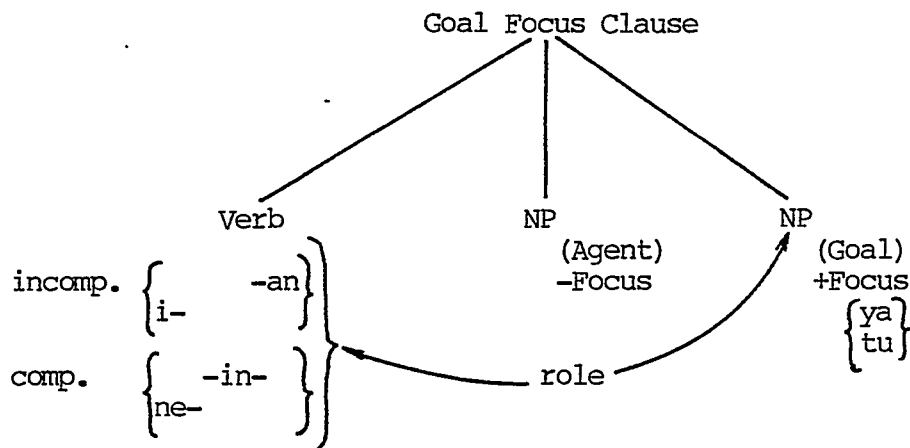
### 3.2.1.2 The Goal Role Affixes

Some events involve entities that are perceived to experience or undergo the effect of the action. The effect may be either in physical state or location (Fillmore 1968, Longacre 1976). Some linguists prefer to call this role Patient (Grimes 1975) or Undergoer (Pike and Pike 1977). I will here call it simply 'Goal.' Goal is the most frequently (overtly) occurring role in Isnag discourse.

The affixes that signal the Goal focus are the suffix -an and the prefix i- (in the non-past/completive) and -in- and ne- (in the past/completive). The following diagram shows the relationship between the affixes and the focus nominal.

When any of the affixes shown below is attached to the verb, the NP marked for focus is the logical Goal and is typically presupposed in the lexical nature of the verb. Often the item in focus is therefore not overtly expressed. Clause (10) below (utterance 6 in Text 3) illustrates this zero anaphor, in which the focus referent sissitu 'puppy' does not overtly

appear:



- (10) Ne=patarakan                      ku kaggi:da    se    de    ankel  
 GF-causative-care-comp I    them            and    pl    uncle
- ka    las    yer.  
 T    last    year

'I asked uncle and them (his family) to take care of (IT) last year.'

When the focus NP is not overt, its referent is normally recoverable from the immediately preceding context.

The two affixes used to designate the Goal role of the focused NP (i- and -an) are not substitutable for one another. They differ in one primary meaning component carried by the affix i-. This affix i- is a conveyance affix. It denotes a directional movement of the goal or of the agent or of the activity itself. Thus (11) and (12) below are differentiated by some

directional action from the speaker to the hearer in (12) which is missing in (11).

- (11) Basa:=an            mu    ma:n    ya:n.  
 read-GF-incomp. you   please that

'Would you please read THAT.'

- (12) I=ba:sa            mu    ma:n    ya:n.  
 GF-incomp-read you   please that

'Would you please read THAT (aloud).'

Clause (12) is understood as a request to read aloud the material, typically, for the benefit of some hearer or, in some specific cases, for the speaker himself to hear. However, clause (11) with the -an affix explicitly means the addressee is to read the material silently for his own information. Illustrating further the difference between these two affixes are clauses (13) and (14).

- (13) Dasm=an            mu    ya    niqnis.  
 wet-GF-incomp. you   FM       rag.

'Wet the rag.'

- (14) I=dsam\*            mu    ya    niqnis.  
 GF-wet-incomp. you   FM       rag.

'Wet the rag.'

(The form of the verb in (13) is different from (14) due to different morphophonological processes which do not concern us

here). Clause (13) is understood as a request to wet the rag right where it is, while in clause (14), the addressee is asked to take the rag to where there is water and wet it.

The plurality of the goal when focused is indicated by the affix -a:n, whose singular equivalent is the singular affix -an, or by the discontinuous affix i-...-a:n, whose singular equivalent is the singular affix i-. The noun phrase realizing a plural focused item is, in addition, marked with the plural focus marker daya or datu. Thus, comparing singulars in (13) and (14) with plurals in (13') and (14'):

(13') Dasm=a:n            mu    daya    nignis.  
       wet-GF-incomp. you    FM pl.    rag

'Wet the rags.'

(14') I=dsam=ma:n        mu    daya    nignis.  
       GF-wet-incomp. you    FM pl.    rag

'Wet the rags.'

The affixes have corresponding completive aspect forms. The completive form for the suffix -an is the infix -in- inserted immediately after the first consonant of the root. The completive form of the plural affix is i-...-a:n. The completive for the singular affix i- is ne- and for the plural i-...-a:n is ne-...-a:n.

The two types of goal role affixes are subject to collo-

cational restrictions depending on the class of verbs. That is, one class of verbs takes only the affix -an and its plural, and another class only i- and its plural.

### 3.2.1.3 The Instrument Role Affixes

An instrument is an accessory used by an agent to accomplish the activity described by the verb. It is usually inanimate and controlled by an identifiable agent. In some rare situations, specific body parts can, in Isnag, take the Instrument role. Thus, 'muddy hand' in (15) is acceptable as instrument:

(15)	Pinang=ikkam	na	<u>ya</u>	<u>nalupang</u>	nga	<u>i:ma</u>	na
	IF-hold-comp.	he	FM	muddy	Lk	hand	his
	ka	ba:gat.					
	G	banana					

'He held a banana with HIS MUDDY HAND.'

However, without the modifier 'muddy,' it would have been redundant and unacceptable in Isnag to say "He held a banana with his hand.' In that instance, the Instrument function of the hand would have been entailed in the verb 'hold.' But in the case above, the presence of an adjective nalupang 'muddy,' unable to

occur apart from a noun, requires the fully specified NP, including its Instrumental marking.

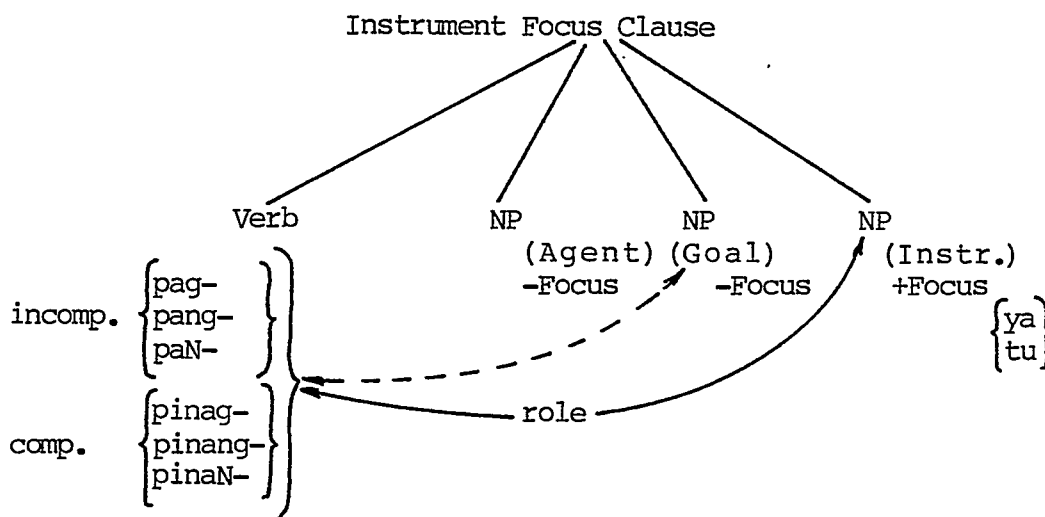
The semantic role Instrument is not often found in normal everyday conversation. Its percentage of occurrence in one of the texts analyzed is only 1.7 percent. When it occurs, the noun phrase realizing the Instrument is usually fronted. The fronting of the Instrument NP may have some bearing on the rank of the Instrument role in the Preferential Selection Hierarchy. It is only in citation clauses that Instrument may be used after the verb and in a non-focus status. In all the occurrences of the Instrument found in the texts analyzed, it is always in focus. It may occur as non-focus only when it is used in a highly marked situation, i.e., when it is not the kind of instrument normally used in a particular situation as in (16):

(16) K=in=i:ru        na tu kape na kitu kuremang na.  
 GF-stir-comp.    he FM coffee his with finger his

'He stirred his coffee with his finger.'

The affixes that signal that the focused NP has the role Instrument are pag-, pang-, and paN-, for the incomplete aspect. In the complete aspect, they are pinag-, pinang-, and pinaN- respectively. Thus, incomplete forms + -in- become complete forms. The diagram below represents the relationship between the verbal affixes (attached to the verb) and the focused

nominal.



Again, the affixes are not interchangeable. Like the agent focus affixes, the affixes that signal the instrumental role also indicate the plurality of the goal and the duration of the activity. Consider clauses (17)-(19) below:

- (17) Pag=siqla:t            na    tolay    ka    bu:lu    ya    aliwa.  
 IF-split-incomp.    A    man    G    bamboo    FM    knife

'The man split some pieces of bamboo with THE KNIFE.

- (18) Pang=siqla:t            na    tolay    ka    bu:lu    ya    aliwa.  
 IF-split-incomp.    A    man    G    bamboo    FM    knife

'The man split bamboo with THE KNIFE.

- (19) Pa=niqla:t            na    tolay    ka    bu:lu    ya    aliwa.  
 IF-split-incomp.    A    man    G    bamboo    FM    knife

'The man split a piece of bamboo with THE KNIFE.



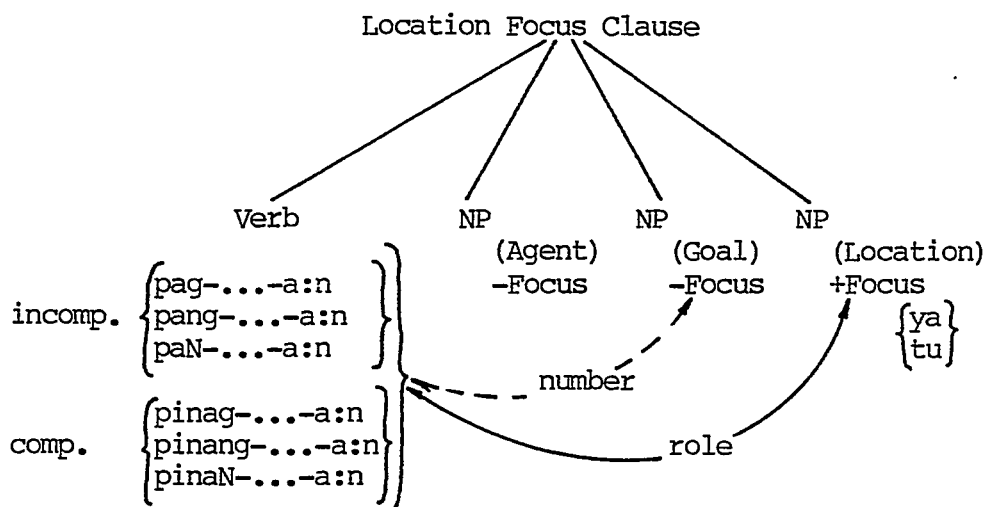
conveys the meaning that the splitting of bamboo is done many times, and consequently, the goal is plural and the duration of the action is relatively long. In clause (18), however, unless the number of bamboo pieces is specified, the prefix pang- is ambiguous as to the number of times the action was repeated. The goal is not singular, but it is lesser in number than the goal of the clause where the affix is pag-. In clause (19), the affix paN- definitely implies that only one piece of bamboo was split, and therefore that the action was performed only once. The affixes that signal the Instrument role of the focus NP are subject to co-occurrence restrictions with respect to the verbs with which they occur. Moreover, not many verbs allow the Instrument role.

#### 3.2.1.4 The Location Role Affixes

The spatial Location in which an event takes place can also be focused. The affixes used to assign location role are pag-...-a:n, pang-...-a:n, and paN-...-a:n, functioning in the familiar array shown in the diagram below.

Again, the three affixes are not freely substitutable. They are, like the previous affixes, differentiated by the plurality of the goal and the duration of the activity described by the verb. The affix pag-...-a:n conveys the plurality of the object,

pang...-a:n is ambiguous as to the number of the goal, and paN...-a:n conveys that the goal is singular in number. Clauses (20)-(22) are illustrative.



(20) Pag=siqlat=a:n na tolay ka bu:lu ya ammuwa:g.  
 LF-split-incomp. A man G bamboo FM backyard

'The man will split some bamboo IN THE YARD.'

(21) Pang=siqlat=a:n na tolay ka bu:lu ya amuwa:g.  
 LF-split-incomp. A man G bamboo FM backyard.

'The man will split bamboo IN THE YARD.'

(22) Pa=niqlat=a:n na tolay ka bu:lu ya amuwa:g.  
 LF-split-incomp. A man G bamboo FM backyard

'The man will split a piece of bamboo IN THE YARD.'

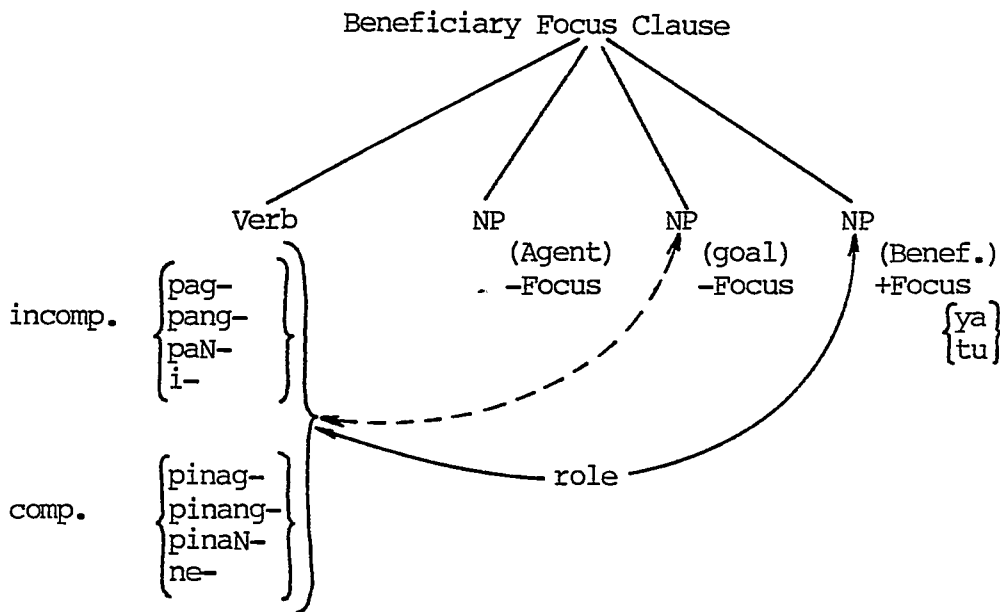
Most verbs can, potentially, take these affixes for location focus. The reason for the potential productivity of these

affixes seems to be that all activity happens in time and space and verbs tend not to contain lexical restrictions as to location. However, in actual practice this situational role is not frequently specified in natural everyday conversational discourse. In fact, when it does occur, it is usually fronted. It does not usually co-occur with instrument or beneficiary roles.

### 3.2.1.5 The Beneficiary Role Affixes

Semantically, the Beneficiary is not an active participant, but rather one for whose benefit the activity is done. Like Agent, this role usually is animate in reference. Again, it is typically overtly expressed only when it is fronted as an assertion of beneficiary identification. It can, in fact, occur as a non-fronted focused item only in citation clauses. Although the beneficiary role has the potential of occurring with many Isnag verbal clauses, it is the least common of the explicitly manifested NP expressions in natural everyday verbal interaction. The affixes used to signal the beneficiary role of the focused NP are: pag-, pang-, paN-, and i-. The majority of the affixes shown below are identical to those used to assign the instrumental role to the focus NP. The only differentiating factor is the semantic character of the associated nominal. Because of this overlap, one might postulate that they are one and the same

role, e.g., Accessory. However, the affix i- (cf. GF i- above) also assigns a Beneficiary role to the focus item for certain verbs (see example 26 below). The verbs that take the affix i- to signal the beneficiary role of the marked nominal are relatively few.



The following are some samples of Beneficiary focus clauses in which pag-, pang-, and paN- in (23)-(25) may be compared with i- in (26).

- (23) Pag=talta:g            na    tolay    ya    baqbakat.  
 BF-cutwood-incomp.    A    man        FM    old woman

'The man cut some wood for THE OLD WOMAN.'

(24) Pang=talta:g            na    tolay    ya    baqbakat.  
 BF-cut-wood-incomp. A    man        FM     old woman

'The man cut wood for THE OLD WOMAN'

(25) Pa=nalta:g            na    tolay        ya    baqbakat.  
 BF-cut-wood-incomp. A    man            FM     old woman

'The man cut a piece of wood for THE OLD WOMAN'

(26) I=kara:rag        na    baqbakat    ya    an-anaq    a    magtakit.  
 BF-pray-incomp. she old-woman FM    child    Lk    sick

'The old woman will pray for THE SICK CHILD'

The pag- affix conveys the plurality of the goal; the pang- is not specific as to the number of the goal, and the paN- and the i- convey the singularity of the goal.

The following table summarizes all the affixes introduced so far in this chapter.

### 3.2.2 Derivational Processes

The term derivational processes is used here to refer specifically to some secondary characteristics of some inflectional affixes. These characteristics are secondary in the sense that they only get manifested with certain classes of verbs. The affixes that will be considered here are the agent focus affixes and the goal focus affixes.

TABLE 2  
ROLE AFFIXES

Role Type	Tense/ Aspect*	Plural	Neutral	Singular
Agent	incomp.	mag-	mang- maN-	-um-
	comp.	nag-	nang- naN-	-umm-, -inum-
Goal	incomp.	-a:n	_____ i-	-an
	comp.	-in--a:n	_____ ne-	_____
Location	incomp.	pag-...a:n	pang-...-a:n	paN-...-a:n
	comp.	nag-...a:n	nang-...-a:n	naN-...-a:n
Instrument	incomp.	pag-	pang- paN-	
	comp.	pinag-	pinang- pinaN-	
Beneficiary	incomp.	pag-	pang- paN-	
	comp.	pinag-	pinang- pinaN-	
	incomp.	i-...-a:n	_____ i-	
	comp.	ne-...-a:n	_____ ne-	

\* incomp(lete) entails non-past and comp(lete) entails past.

The choice of focus is, to a large degree, restricted by semantic limitations inherent in the verb or in the affixes occurring with the verb. Some verbs have narrow semantic flexi-

bility, which limits the number of roles they may take. Other verbs do not tolerate certain roles at all, and yet others will enforce change on the number (plurality) of the co-occurring goal.

The derivational processes I want to focus my attention on are the different changes in the meaning of the clause when the agent focus affix is chosen over the goal focus affix or vice versa. In Isnag there are different semantic shifts that are categorized here into: (a) derived transitives (b) partitives, and (c) Reciprocals. I will now discuss each of these.

#### 3.2.2.1 Derived Transitives

There is a class of verbs in Isnag whose transitivity does not seem to be inherent in the verb root itself. Rather, it is dependent on the affix attached to the verb. These verbs tolerate both agent focus affix mag- and the goal focus affixes -an or i-. When they take the agent focus affix, they act as intransitive verbs. However, when they are inflected for goal focus, they are transitives. Based on the notion of markedness, I posit that the intransitive form is the unmarked form of these verbs. Clauses (27) and (28) below illustrate the point.

In both clauses, the verb root is anggam 'happiness/joy.' In clause (27), however, with the verb affixed for goal focus

(transitivized), the verb is Inang=anggam<sup>2</sup> 'admired,' while in clause (28) where the verb is affixed for agent focus, the verb is Nagang=anggam<sup>2</sup> 'was happy, rejoiced.' In this particular case, the choice of focus depends on the meaning the speaker wants to convey.

- (27) Inang-anggam    Manang            daya    pippi:yaq  
 GF-admire-comp.    older-sister    EM pl.    chicks

daya    pa:tu.  
 of-pl.    ducks

'Elder sister admired the ducklings of the duck.'

- (28) \*Nagang-anggam    Manang            daya    pippi:yaq  
 GF-happy-comp.    older-sister    EM pl.    chicks

daya    pa:tu.  
 of-pl.    ducks

'Elder sister was happy about the ducklings the ducks.'

Thus the verb anggam 'happy' regularly takes the agent focus affix if there is only one accompanying role type, that is, an intransitive clause. The same verb can be affixed for goal focus if another participant is added to this underlying one-termed element, but the agent focus affix may not replace the goal focus affix in this latter case of a derived transitive. Thus goal focus and agent focus come to signal lexical contrast (e.g., AF: "X is happy" and GF: "X admires Y").

Clause (29) and (30) further illustrate meaning change with



change of focus.

(29) ...akkan pikam nagditta:g da anug  
not yet AF-alight-comp. FM pl. chickens

da kabbulun na magdada:pun.  
they companions Lk AF-roost-incomp.

'THE CHICKENS OF OUR FRIENDS THAT ARE ROOSTING have not come down yet.'

(30) ...isubliq kammin kuma tu 15 pesos  
GF-return-I-incomp. same wish FM 15 pesos

'I want to give back THE 15 PESOS.'

(29') \*...akkan pikam d=in=ta:g da anug  
not yet GF-alight-comp. FM pl. chickens

da kabbulun na magdada:pun.  
they companions Lk AG-roost-incomp.

The chickens of our friends have not been taken down yet.

(30') \*...mag=subli yaq kammin kuma tu 15 pesos  
AF-return-I-incomp. I same wish FM 15 pesos

'I wish to go back to the 15 pesos.'

Clauses (29) and (30) above have different meanings if changed to focus for Goal and Agent respectively. The Goal focus form of the verb in clause (29) is d=in=ta:g (as in 29') which means 'taken down.' This derived transitive form is not appropriate in conveying the intransitive meaning the speaker wants to convey in (29). Clause (30') is also anomalous. Here, the agent focus form of the verb is mag=subli, which means 'to come back,'

clearly, not conveying the underlying notion of (30) which is 'to cause the money to come back,' a transitive expression. Again, Agent focus marks intransitives and Goal focus derived transitives. Speaker's choice of focus is constrained by its semantic consequences. The clauses (29') and (30') illustrate the change in the meaning of the verb with the change of focus; the meaning change consequently affects the syntax of the clause which has the same NP's but with different focus.

Thus, it is clear that the Agent focus affix actually has a dual function. It is both an inflectional and a derivational affix. The derivational function is activated by certain classes of verbs. But even when the derivational feature of the affix is in effect, the inflectional function is simultaneously at work; it changes the meaning and at the same time assigns the agent role to the focus NP. Such properties of the affix limit the speaker in his choice of focus NP. Clauses (31) and (32) below illustrate the point.

- (31) Ay kane pisu=an            na    ngin    na=lnga:t  
 And when GF-put-incomp. he    now    AF-faint-comp  
 taq    manin.  
 I      again

'And when he put (medicine) on it, I again fainted.'

- (31') \*Ay kane mag=pisuq                            in, na=lnga:t  
 And when AF-jump-into-incomp. now AF-faint-comp.

taq manin.  
I again.

'And when he jumped into (something), I again  
fainted.'

The verb pisu=an 'to put something into' in clause (31) is inflected for goal focus, and the goal is necessary in the activity described by the verb. However, if the agent NP is focused instead, thus using the affix mag-, the verbal predicate is mag=pisuq, which means 'to jump into something (usually water),' and the verb will become intransitive and the clause will not tolerate any goal. Thus, clause (31') above, an agent focus clause, is inappropriate in the same context as (31). The following clauses are additional examples of verbs of the same characteristics described above.

(32) Mag=siruq ya tolay. T3:682  
AF-hide-incomp. FM person

'The person will hide.'

(33) Mag=ta:law T3:683a  
AF-run-away-incomp.

'(He) will run away.'

(34) Mag=li:si T3:683b  
AF-get-away-incomp.

'(He) will get away.'

The verbs siruq 'hide,' ta:law 'run away,' and li:si 'avoid', if given goal affixes will be acceptable, but with the meanings 'put away,' 'take away,' and 'to save/protect,' respectively.

### 3.2.2.2 Partitives

This type of semantic change with the change of focus usually affects the goal, e.g., its plurality or its affectedness, only part or the whole is affected when it is realized by a mass noun. The following clause illustrates the point.

- (35) Ay na=niqdut            ki duqdut    anuq. T3:48  
 And AF-pluck-comp.    G   feather    chicken

'And (HE) plucked out a feather from the chicken.'

The verb nan=iqdut 'pluck out' is inflected in (35) to assign the agent role to the focused NP. While the Agent is thus marked as definite, the Goal 'feather' is not definite. The corresponding goal focus clause is:

- (35') Ay s=in=iqdut            na ya duqdut    anuq.  
 And GF-pluck out-comp. he   FM   feather chicken

'He plucked out THE FEATHER of the chicken.'

Here, Goal as well as Agent is definite and the former is

focused.

Clause (36) and (36') below differ in their meaning by the part-whole relationship of the goal.

(36) Mang=irod ka ma:n ka danum kiya amutu.  
AF-bail-out-incomp. you please G water L jar

'Would YOU please bail out some water from the jar.'

(36') Kirod=an mu ma:n ya danum kiya  
GF-bail-out-incomp. you please FM water L

kiya amutu.  
L jar

'Would you please bail out THE WATER from the jar.'

Clause (36) means that only some water is bailed out of the jar, while clause (36') means that all of the water in the jar has to be bailed out.

If the speaker, then, intends to communicate that only part of the goal required by the verb is affected, he is not given any choice; he has to focus the agent NP.

Similarly, clause (37) and (38) below illustrate the partitive contrast which the verbal affix can signal:

(37) (Bila:ng=an da ya piraq may) maddi da  
GF-count-incomp. they FM money but won't they

mang=alaq.  
AF-take-incomp.

'(They count the money but) THEY won't take any of

it.'

The verb alaq 'to get' is inflected for agent focus, conveying the meaning that only part of the goal is affected, i.e., 'they count the money but they will not take any of it.' The goal focus counterpart, however, is:

- (38) (Bila:ng=an            da    ya    piraq    may)    maddi  
       GF-count-incomp. they EM    money    but    won't  
  
       da    alaḡ.  
       they GF-take-incomp.

'(The count the money but) they will not take IT'

Clause (38) means that the whole goal is affected, i.e., 'they count the money but they will not take (all of) it.' The verb alaq<sup>3</sup> involves the total amount of the money.

### 3.2.2.3 Reciprocals

Reciprocal action refers to an activity in which two participants in an event are alternately involved as agent and goal in an activity, i.e., participant 1 is agent, participant 2 is goal and vice versa. Reciprocal activity is indicated by the agent focus verbal affix mag- in that class of verbs that can semantically involve reciprocal activity. Verbs of this sort include su:lung 'to punch,' patay 'to kill,' singan 'to see,'

baqbaqna:n 'to converse' etc. as the following clauses exemplify:

- (39) Mag=su:lung            daya    anna:naq.  
AF-punch-incomp.    FM pl.    children

'THE CHILDREN are fistfighting.'

- (40) Mag=patay            daya    magama.  
AF-kill-incomp.    FM pl.    father and son

'THE FATHER AND HIS SON are fighting.'

- (41) Mag=singan            kami    kala:wa.  
AF-see-incomp.    we (excl.) tomorrow

'WE will see each other tomorrow.'

- (42) Mag-amoman            tada    nu    kala:wa    AS 46  
AF-talk-incomp    we(incl.)    when tomorrow

'WE will talk tomorrow.'

The goal focus form of the verbs illustrated by clauses (39')-(42') below neutralizes the reciprocity of the activity expressed by the agent focus form verbs in clauses (39)-(42), changing them into unilateral activity from agent to goal. There is no indication of role switch of the participants in the activity.

- (39') Sulu:ng=an            na    an-anaq    ya    an-anaq.  
GF-punch-incomp.    A    child    FM    child

'The child will hit THE CHILD.'

- (40') Patay=an            na    ama    ya    an-anaq    na.  
GF-kill-incomp.    A    father    FM    child    his

'The father is beating HIS CHILD.'

(41') Sinn=an            ku kala:wa.  
GF-see-incomp. I    tomorrow

'I will see (HIM) tomorrow.'

(42') Amoman=an        takayu    kala:wa.  
GF-talk-incomp. I-you    tomorrow

'I will talk to YOU tomorrow.'

Again, similar to its function with reference to partitives, goal focus has a 'bounding' effect, specifying a delimited action and object, while agent focus signals multiple actions and objects.

The options for focus are again restricted by the intended meaning. One form expresses one type of relationship of the participants in the event, and another form expresses yet another relationship of the same participants in the same event.

### 3.3 The Marking Particles

All NP's in Isnag verbal clauses are marked by particles as focused items or non-focused items. The non-focused items are marked by the particles for their semantic role in the activity described by the verb, i.e., Goal, Agent, Location, etc. The role of the NP marked for focus is designated by affixation in the verb, which I have described in 3.2 above. In a given clause, only one NP can be marked for focus, and each NP is



assigned only one role in that clause. I turn now to the details of that marking.

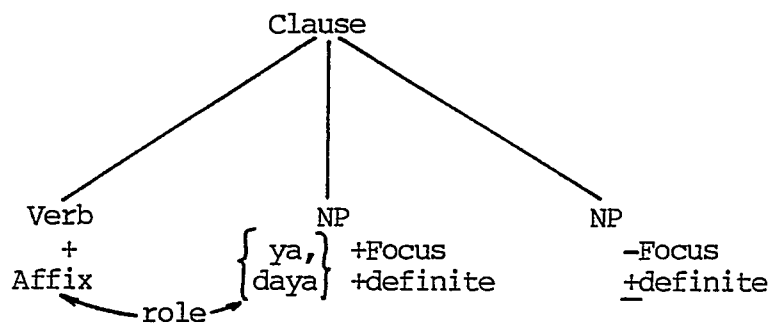
Perhaps the most central feature of the focus item is its DEFINITENESS. This is indicated grammatically by definite marking particles. Normally, information is marked for definiteness because it was previously mentioned in the text (textual definiteness) or it was previously known, from common experience, by both the speaker and the hearer (non-textual definiteness). Non-textual information may be marked for definiteness without first being overtly mentioned in the text as indefinite information. Most Philippine language researchers claim to have found only one definite (focus) marker. In Tagalog, the ang particle is the only NP particle claimed to mark focus (Schachter and Otnes 1972, Schachter 1976:495). In Maranao (McKaughan 1958:15) the corresponding particle is so. In Botolan Sambal (Antworth 1979:13), it is ya, etc.

In Isnag however, the textually definite information is marked differently from the non-textually definite information. In Isnag however, there are two particles used to mark definite information; the particles ya and tu. These two particles are not mutually substitutable. Their usage will be discussed in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. Equivalent particles have been observed in Pangasinan: the particles so and may. Brichoux (1984) observed the equivalent particles in Sindangan Subanen,

and I suspect that there are other languages which may have more than one marker. In Tagalog, the particle 'yong, the equivalent of tu, although seldom encountered in written texts, is commonly used in everyday conversation in the same slot as the ang particle.

### 3.3.1 The ya Particle

Grammatically, the particle ya marks the focus NP whose role is designated by the verbal affix. The ya form indicates singular and daya plural referents. The diagram below shows the positional ordering of the ya NP with respect to the verb:



On the pragmatic level, the ya particle signals definiteness (detailed discussion is in 4.4), i.e., information already known by the hearer. Thus, anuq 'chicken' in clause (43) below is marked definite by ya:

- (43) Maddi umab=abay ya anuq a kadi  
 will-not AF-grow-incomp. FM chicken would surely  
 in=alaq ku kaggi:da. T3:50  
 GF-get-pst I them  
 'THE CHICKEN I got from them won't grow big at all.'

The marked nominal anuq 'chicken' was first introduced in an earlier clause as a non-focus item. Specifically, the NP ki anuq 'to the chicken' in clause (44) establishes the referent anuq 'chicken' using the non-focus particle ki.

- (44) Ata:n in=ubra ne Ludasan na  
 there-is GF-do-comp. A-Per.sing. Ludasan Lk  
 na=qmud ku ki anuq a weq  
 GF-notice-comp. I G chicken Lk AF-go-incomp.  
 in=adang kaggi:da... T3:044-047  
 GF-ask-comp. Obl. them

'I noticed something that Ludasan did with the chicken I got from them.' (Something not normally done to chickens).

In cases where the referent represented by the nominal is visible and in close proximity to both the hearer and the speaker at the time of the conversation, the encoding NP is also marked by ya. Thus in a clause like (45a):

- (45) a. Ne=ka:lin ya tolay.  
 AF-fell-comp. FM man  
 'THE MAN fell.'



and the hearer by tu while the non-focus location ki si:dung 'under the house' is marked as proximal to the speaker and the hearer. For (46b) to be acceptable, either ya must replace tu or the NP ki si:dung 'under the house' has to be changed to kitu si:dung 'under the (distant) house.'

However, ya is also used to mark nominals whose referents are not proximal physically to the hearer and the speaker. When such is the case, the hearer infers a generic referent from his general world knowledge. Despite its definiteness, the referent encoded by the nominal is not uniquely identifiable. Such nominals are exemplified in generic references such as in (47)-(49).

- (47) Akkan ma=biya:g      ya tolay    ki    makka:n    nala.  
not      AF-live-incomp.    FM person    G    food      only

'MAN does not live by bread alone.'

- (48) Nu      magitara:ut      daya      anu.  
when    AF-crow-incomp.    FM pl.    chicken

'When THE CHICKENS crow,' i.e. early morning.

- (49) Tumugkaw      daya      idaw.  
AF-bite-incomp.    FM pl.    snake

'SNAKES bite.'

In fictional narrative, this use of ya regularly refers to conventionally known entities from the culturally familiar cast of characters and scenes. In this sense, the referent of daya

pabeg kapit 'a group of small frogs' in clause (50), ya an-anaq 'the child' in clause (51), ya tablang 'the tablang tree' in clause (52), and ya an-anuq 'the bird' in clause (53) are any member from their respective classes that match the features of a prototypical member of each class.

(50) D=in=atang    na daya    pabeg    kapit.    TNBJ:3  
 GF-saw-comp.    he    FM-pl.    group    small frog

'He/she saw THE GROUP OF SMALL FROGS.'

(51) Na=dukaq        na ya an-anaq    ki    nagsanga:lan na  
 GF-find-comp.    he    FM    child    L    intersection Lk

dalen.    K:8  
 path

'He/she found THE CHILD at the crossroad.'

(52) Na=langad        da    ya    tablang.    SG:009  
 GF-see-up-comp.    they    FM    tablang tree.

'They looked up and saw THE TABLANG TREE.'

(53) In=umbet        ya an-anuq.    DA:9  
 GF-come-comp.    FM    bird

'THE BIRD came.'

If the focus markers ya and daya in clauses (50)-(53) are replaced with the focus marker tu and datu respectively, the clauses will remain grammatically acceptable as in (50')-(53') below:

(50') D=in=atang    na datu    pabeg    kapit.    TNBJ:3  
 GF-saw-comp    he    FM-pl.    group    small frog

'He/she saw THE GROUP OF SMALL FROGS.'

(51') Na=dukaq      na    tu    an-anaq    ki    nagsanga:lan na  
 GF-find-comp. he    FM    child    L    intersection Lk

dalen.    K:8  
 path

'He/she found THE CHILD at the crossroad.'

(52') Na=langad            da    tu    tablang.            SG:009  
 GF-see-up-comp.    they FM    tablang tree.

'They looked up and saw THE TABLANG TREE.'

(53') In=umbet            tu    an-anuq.            DA:9  
 GF-come-comp.    FM    bird

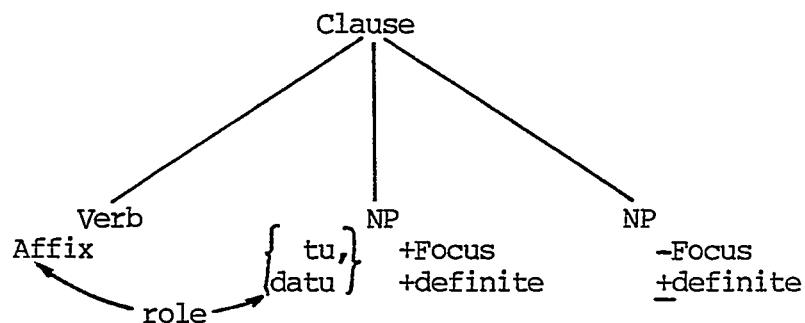
'THE BIRD came.'

However, the hearer interprets these clauses differently. He will try to search out the referents of the NP's marked with tu and datu in clauses (50)-(53) in some specifically unique experience he previously had with the speaker and will try to identify the unique referents encoded by the definite NP's (cf 3.3.2). If unable to identify such NP's with unique referents, the hearer will typically feel obliged to request more information regarding the NP's.

### 3.3.2 The tu Particle

The particle tu has three primary functions: it signals (a) experientially anaphoric referents, as in clauses (54) and

(55) below, (b) spatially remote referents as in clauses (54)-(56), and (c) deceased referents as in clause (57). The diagram below shows the positional ordering of the tu NP with respect to the verb.



The referent encoded by an NP marked with tu can be uniquely identified in the real world by the hearer, usually, from a previous experience he and the speaker had. Thus, in clauses (54)-(55):

(54) I=nalaq        ne    Idot    tu    aliwa.  
 GF-get-comp. PA    Idot    FM    knife

'Idot took THE KNIFE.'

(55) Apangi=rara:t        tala ne Marlon tu kawita:n  
 GF-just-kill-incomp. only PNA Marlon FM rooster

na    nga    p=in=altu        ne Aldrin.    T3:83  
 his Lk    GF-spear-comp.    PNA Aldrin

'Marlon just killed HIS ROOSTER which Aldrin speared.'



the knife in (54) and the rooster in (55) are uniquely identifiable to both the speaker and the hearer through some previous shared experience. They both saw/know the particular knife and the rooster referred to.

Simultaneously, the referent encoded by the tu NP is remote in relation to the interlocutors. Thus, tu aliwa 'the knife' in (5), and tu kawitan 'the rooster' in (55), and tu isa 'one (puppy)' in clause (56) below are geographically remote from the interlocutors.

(56) Ata:n      ka      allod      tu isa      T3:5  
       there-is L      downstream      FM      one

'ONE is in the downstream town.'

Furthermore, tu before a proper name (or the like), when accompanied by the particle ten, signals that the referent is deceased. Thus, tu Ikit ten 'the aunt' in clause (57) is a deceased relative of the speaker:

(57) An-anaq    de      Siqlangat    se tu    Ikit    ten.  
       child      PN-pl. Siqlangat    and FM    aunt    dec. part.

'(She is) the child of Siqlangat and (the deceased)  
 AUNT (of ours).'

In Tagalog, by way of comparison, the equivalent of tu is the particle 'yong. Thus in the clause (Liwayway 1985, Nov. 26),

(58) Na=sira=an            'yong dyip na sinakyan ko.  
 GF-pst-break-down      FM        jeep Lk rode in I

'THE JEEP I took broke down.'

the marker is 'yong instead of ang. Had the Tagalog particle been ang (cf. Isnag ya), the NP dyip 'jeep' would have been any referent possessing the characteristics of a 'jeep,' (i.e., generic).

### 3.3.3 The Non-focus Marking Particles

While the semantic role of the focus NP is designated by the verbal affix, the semantic role of the non-focus NP's is signaled by prenominal Particles.

Non-focus NP's can be definite or indefinite and are marked by different particles as Table 2 shows.

The non-focus definite particles shown on Table 2 clearly incorporate the focus markers tu (e.g. kitu) and ya (e.g. kiya). Further, comparing these non-focus definite and indefinite particles (na vs. naya/natu, ki vs. kiya/kitu) it becomes clear that tu and ya are definitizers.

The definite non-focus particles naya and natu, carry the same meanings discussed in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, i.e., the tu component continues to signal distal entities both spatially and temporally, and ya signals proximal entities.

TABLE 3  
NON-FOCUS MARKING PARTICLE

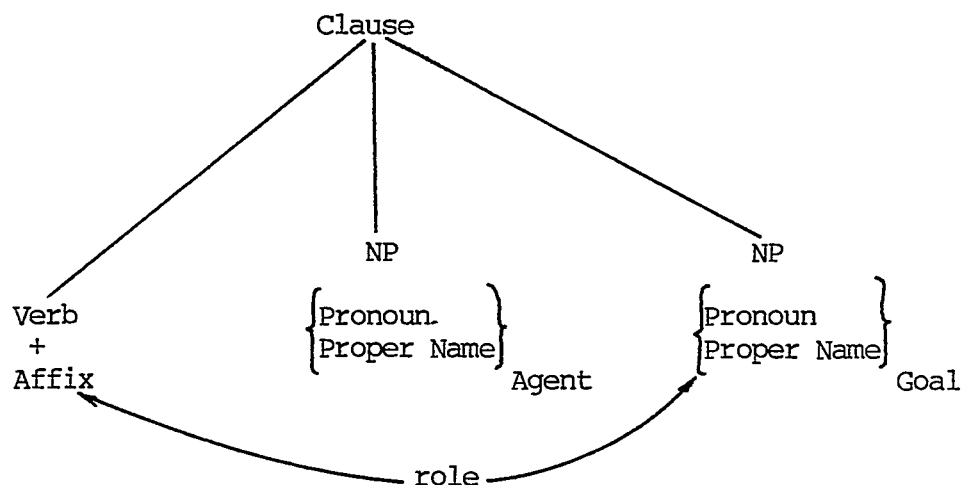
		Definite		Indefinite	
ROLE \ NO.		sing.	plural	sing.	plural
Agent		natu, naya	natu, datu	na, Ø	da
Goal		kitu	kadatu	ka	
Location		kitu, kiya	—	ki, ka	
Instrument			—	ka	

The beneficiary role is not included in the table since it does not occur in a non-focus form. The plurality of the non-focus indefinite goal is, as mentioned earlier (3.1.1), signaled in the verb affix.

#### 3.4 Pronouns and Proper Name Markers

Pronouns imply that their referents have been previously given in the text or are instances of shared knowledge. They

fill the same position as the noun phrase marked by tu or ya. All pronouns indicate old information, and hence are always definite. The following tree shows the grammatical positions of these NP types:



The pronoun realizing the Agent always precedes the pronoun realizing the Goal, and the Goal always agree with the role indicated by the affix in the verb.

When the focused item is encoded in Isnag by a pronoun, it is not introduced by a grammatical marker or particle. Instead, specific pronouns and sets of pronouns themselves encode certain specific focus. However, when the focused item is encoded by a proper name, it is preceded, as we shall see below (3.4.3), by a particle with the form Ce, ( where C= the last phoneme of the preceding word). Also, when the agent and goal are realized by

proper names and/or pronouns, the goal NP is always focused.

### 3.4.1 The Personal Pronoun System

There are two primary groups of personal pronouns in Isnag: the principal personal pronoun and the composite pronouns. The principal pronouns are the set that are commonly used as NP substitutes for specific situational roles. The composite personal pronouns are a set of all the possible pronoun combinations that commonly co-occur in clauses, i.e., two participants in an activity which are encoded by pronouns.

#### 3.4.1.1 The Principal Personal Pronouns

The Personal Pronouns are summarized in Table 3 below. The table distinguishes principal personal pronouns as agentive, oblique (realizing the other roles, e.g., beneficiary, or location), and possessive. I discuss these categories in more detail in the following sections.

TABLE 4

## ISNAG PRINCIPAL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Numb.	Pers.	Agentive			Oblique	Poss
		Fronted Agent/Goal	Focus	Non-Focus		
sing.	1	iyaq	Caq	ku	kियाq	-q, ku
	1+2	daqta	ta	ta	kadaqta	ta
	2	ikaw	ka	mu	kikaw	-m, mu
	3	aggi:na	∅	na	kaggi:na	na
pl.	1 exc.	dakami	kami	mi	kadakami	mi
	incl.	daqtanda	tada	tada	kadaqtada	tada
	1+2	daqta	ta	ta	kadaqta	ta
	2	dakayu	kayu	nu	kadakayu	nu
	3	aggi:da	da	da	kaggi:da	da

## 3.4.1.1.1 The Agentive Pronouns

There are, as indicated in table 3 above, three different subsets in the agentive pronoun set: the fronted agent or goal, the focus, and the non-focus. The fronted agent pronouns are put to use for a variety of purposes, e.g., contrastive identification and rank restriction (discussed in detail in 4.2). Since

the same set of pronouns is used to realize fronted goals as well as agents, it can be said that this set of pronouns is specifically inflected for fronting.

The agent focus pronouns (Caq, ta, etc.) are commonly used in pronominal referencing in discourse, i.e., when a participant has been introduced and is being traced down the ensuing narrative. They always occur immediately following the verb.

The non-focus agent pronoun set (ku, ta, etc.) is inflected only for the agency role when a non-agent NP is focused. Like the agent focus pronouns, they too occur immediately following the verb.

#### 3.4.1.1.2 The Oblique Pronouns

The pronouns in the oblique set of Table 3 (kiyaq, kadaq-ta, etc.) take a role parallel to that of location. This is made clear when they are fronted, for the verb *is*, in such cases, inflected for location focus. Clause (59) below illustrates the point:

(59) Kadakami ya nag=dagus=a:n naya sangai:li.  
 us-obl. FM LF-stay-comp. A visitor

'The visitor stayed WITH US.'

The pronouns in the oblique set can only occur as focus when fronted. They are always non-focus when they occur in a regular verb-initial clause. More of the rationale for this patterning will emerge in the discussion of fronting in pragmatic function (section 4.3).

#### 3.4.1.2 The Composite Personal Pronouns

The composite personal pronouns may be summarized as shown in Table 5.

The composite personal pronouns are the result of the fusion of the pronouns realizing the agent and the goal. Some of these composite pronouns can be teased apart to recover the individual component pronouns. For example, kuda above is constituted of Agentive 1st person ku fused with 3rd plural goal da. However, there are some which have been remodelled on the analogy of other forms (e.g., taka after naka). There are traces, however, of the component pronouns which give an idea of which part came from which pronoun. The relative position of the composite pronouns with respect to the verb is still evident. The following diagram with sample composite forms illustrates the pattern.



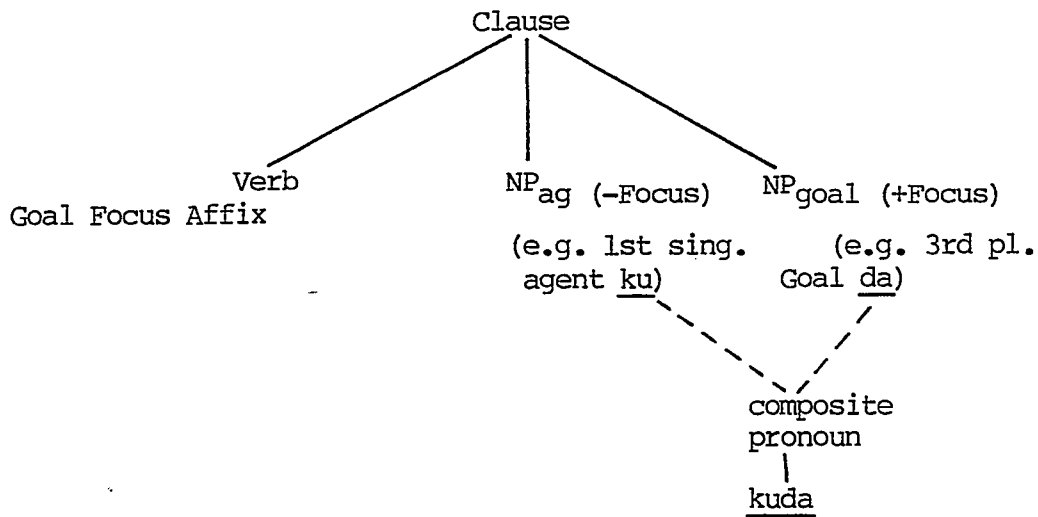


TABLE 5

## COMPOSITE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

G O A L									
Singular					Plural				
		1	2	3	1	1+2	2	3	
A G E	sg.	1	---	taka	ku	---	---	takayu	kuda
		2	naq	---	mu	nakami	nitta	---	muda
		3	naq	naka	na	nakami	nitta	nakayu	nada
N T	pl.	1	---	mika	mi	---	---	mikayu	mida
		1+2	---	mika	mi	---	---	mikayu	mida
		2	daq	---	nu	dakami	ditta	---	nuda
		3	daq	da	da	dakami	ditta	dakayu	dada

All the pronouns in Table 4 occur only post-verbally (cf. pronouns in Table 4). The first part of the composite pronoun always realizes the agent, and the verb can only be inflected for goal focus. The verb is inflected for agent only in case Agent is fronted, in which case the fronted pronoun set must be used.

### 3.4.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns, a subset of the deictics of Isnag, may also fill the same slot as focused NP's or pronouns. Deictics, like pronouns, are always definite, indicating referents within the view of the speaker and hearer.

Isnag distinguishes three demonstratives: idi 'this,' ya:n 'that,' and tune 'yonder.' Idi is used to refer to items close to the speaker, ya:n to refer to items closer to the hearer, and tune to refer to items far from both speaker and hearer. The demonstrative ya:n is also used in anaphoric reference, while idi is usually used in cataphoric reference. Clause (60) illustrates anaphoric ya:n.

(60) Akkan nag=takit            ya:n    na sissitu.    (T3:28)  
       not    AF-sick-comp.    that    Lk puppy

'THAT PUPPY did not get sick.'

The phrase ya:n na sissitu 'that puppy' is the equivalent of the

focused NP. The demonstrative ya:n refers anaphorically to the referent 'puppy' just mentioned in the preceding context. The clause can also be appropriately glossed as 'The puppy I just mentioned did not get sick.' Further uses of ya:n are illustrated in clauses (61) and (62):

- (61) We yaq maq a ussan kagiy=an  
AF-go-incomp. I cert. Lk again GF-tell-incomp.

ya:n nu kala:wa. T3:359  
that when tomorrow

'I will go back and tell him THAT again tomorrow.'

- (62) Tu g=in=aga:ban maq ne Marlon. T3:382  
FM GF-cut-surgically-comp. cert PNA Marlon

ya:n.  
that

'THAT was the same one from which Marlon took a piece of wire.'

(63) and (64) contain examples of cataphoric idi:

- (63) Giqna=:n nu idi ya kagiy=an  
GF-listen-incomp. you pl. this Lk GF-tell-incomp.

ku kadakayu annanaq,  
I to you pl. children

'Children, listen to what I am going to tell you.'

- (64) Idi nga istorya ay mepanggap kitu naggi=inatay mi.  
this Lk story Lk about T AF-wake-comp. we

'This story is about the wake we had.'

### 3.4.3 Proper Name Markers

Proper names, like other NP's, are also preceded by particles which specify their situational role. The particle morphophonemically represented as Ce marks proper name focus (PNF), whether it has the role agent or goal. C is the final consonant of the preceding word. If the last segment of the preceding word is a vowel, C --> //y// if the vowel is //i// or //e//; C--> //w// if the vowel is //o// or //u//, and C--> //ng// (velar nasal) if the vowel is //a//. Clauses (65) and (66) illustrate this particle marking the focused proper name:

(65) Nang=alaq e\* Idot ka ba:gat.  
AG-get-comp PNF Idot G banana

'IDOT got some bananas.'

(66) Na=nalug ge Inngu.  
AG-swim-comp. PNF Inngu

'INGGU swam.'

(e\* in (65) is actually ge but initial glottal is always orthographically deleted.)

If a proper name agent (PNA) is not in focus, it is preceded by the particle ne. Clauses (67)-(70) exemplify this use.

- (67) S=in=u:lung      ne      Albano      we      Kiyu.  
 GF-hit-comp.      PNA      Albano      PGF      Kiyu  
 'Albano hit KIYU.'
- (68) N=idd=an      ne      Gabi      ka      ba:gat      te      Elena.  
 GF-give-comp.      PNA      Gabi      G      banana      PNF      Elena  
 'Gabi gave ELENA some bananas.'
- (69) In=alaq      ne      Idot      ya      ba:gat.  
 GF-get-comp.      PA      Idot      FM      banana  
 'Idot got THE BANANA.'
- (70) S=in=iqla:t      ne      Anaway      ya      bu:lu.  
 GF-split-comp.      PA      Anaway      FM      bamboo  
 'Anaway split THE BAMBOO.'

In cases of the proper name in oblique function (PNO) the particle used to introduce the proper name is ke (plural is kade). Clauses (71)-(73) below illustrate the use of the particle:

- (71) N=idde      ne      Gabi      tu      ba:gat      ke      Elena.  
 GF-give-comp      PNA      Gabi      FM      banana      PNO      Elena  
 'Gabi gave THE BANANA to Elena.'
- (72) K=in=agi      ku      win      ke      Domingo.  
 GF-tell-comp.      I      already      PNO      Domingo  
 'I already (IT) to told Domingo.'
- (73) Nag=gaga:yam      maq      kade      Barad.  
 AF-visit-comp.      I      PNO pl.      Barad  
 'I visited the Barads.'

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Inflectional affixes are those whose functions are generally predictable. The affix does not add a significant meaning to the word to which it is attached. It does not change the meaning of the stem. The -s in boys is inflectional, while the -ish in boyish is derivational.

<sup>2</sup>The reduplication in the prefix designates longer duration of the action.

<sup>3</sup>alag 'to get' is one of the very few verbs in Isnag that is unaffixed when focused for Goal.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE PRAGMATICS OF FOCUS

#### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will deal with the pragmatic considerations of the focus system, which include Comment-Topic structure and presupposed items. I propose that (a) the Comment-Topic structure is the motivating factor in the fronting of an NP which is then marked for focus, (b) the presupposed items extend beyond those explicitly mentioned in the text, and (c) the discourse structure constrains the choice of focus NP.

#### 4.2 The COMMENT-TOPIC Pragmatic Structure

The immediate constituents of a clause (sentence) proposed by Hockett (1958:201), particularly for English, are Topic and Comment. Thus, in clause (1) below:

(1) John ran away.

John is the topic and ran away is the comment.

In the example, the relationship between the Topic and the Comment is that the latter says something about the former

(Hockett 1958:201). Topic then is that part of the clause about which something is said, and comment is that which is said about it. With these characteristics of topic and comment, let us examine some non-verbal Isnag clauses.

COMMENT            TOPIC

- (2) Napiya    daya    babbay.  
beautiful    FM        women

'THE WOMEN are beautiful,

COMMENT            TOPIC

- (3) Nalu:tu    win        daya    kapaya.  
ripe        already    FM        papaya fruits

'THE PAPAYA FRUITS are already ripe.'

COMMENT            TOPIC

- (4) Karpinteru    maq    e    Pidio.  
carpenter        cert.    PNF    Pidio

'PIDIO is a carpenter.'

COMMENT            TOPIC

- (5) Kala:wa    ya    amildap    da.  
tomorrow    FM        feast        they

'THEIR FEAST is tomorrow.'

COMMENT            TOPIC

- (6) Kuwa            ga:yam    Elena    tu    laddung.  
possessive    so-it-is    Elena    FM        scarf

'THE SCARF was actually Elena's.'

In clause (2), the thing about which something is said

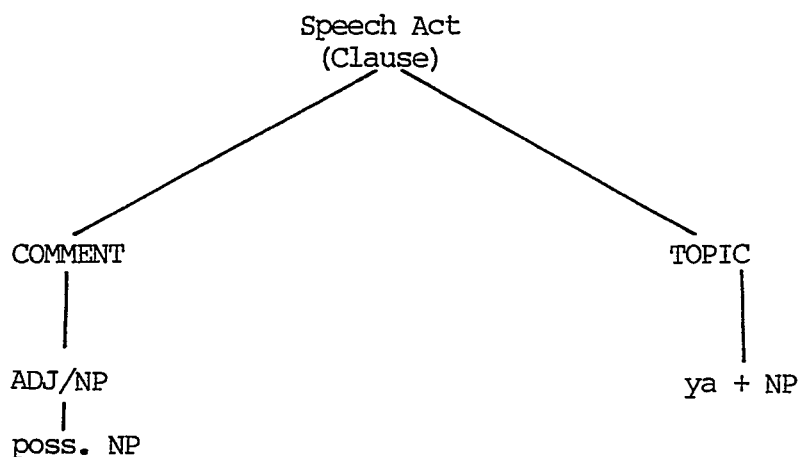


(Topic) is daya babbay 'the women,' and what is said about them (Comment) is Napiya 'beautiful.' In terms of topic and comment, clause (2) has comment occurring initially followed by the topic. Likewise, clauses (3)-(6) have the structure in which the comment occurs initially followed by the topic. Reversing the ordering of the clauses will make them ungrammatical, as illustrated by the following clauses.

- |      | TOPIC                        |                         | COMMENT                               |
|------|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (2)' | *Daya<br>FM-pl. women        | babbay<br>women         | napiya.<br>beautiful                  |
|      |                              |                         | 'THE WOMEN are beautiful.'            |
|      | TOPIC                        |                         | COMMENT                               |
| (3)' | *Daya<br>FM-pl. papaya-fruit | kapa:ya<br>fruit        | nalu:tu win.<br>ripe already          |
|      |                              |                         | 'THE PAPAYA FRUITS are already ripe.' |
|      | TOPIC                        |                         | COMMENT                               |
| (4)' | *E Pidio,<br>Pidio           | karpinteru<br>carpenter | maq.<br>cert.                         |
|      |                              |                         | 'PIDIO is a carpenter.'               |
|      | TOPIC                        |                         | COMMENT                               |
| (5)' | *Ya<br>FM feast              | amildap<br>feast        | da kala:wa.<br>they tomorrow          |
|      |                              |                         | 'THEIR FEAST is tomorrow.'            |
|      | TOPIC                        |                         | COMMENT                               |
| (6)  | *Tu<br>FM scarf              | laddaung<br>own         | kuwa gayam Elena.<br>so-it-is Elena   |

'THE SCARF was actually Elena's.'

Thus, the basic structure exhibited by the non-verbal clauses (2)-(6) is Comment-Topic. The parts introduced by ya, daya, and tu are topics and the parts preceding them are comments. Therefore, while in English "the speaker announces a topic and then says something about it" (Hockett 1958:201), in Isnag and some other Philippine languages, the speaker makes a comment about a topic to be immediately announced. Thus, the Comment-Topic structure in clauses (2)-(6) above is an implementation of the following structure:



Let us now examine the structure of verbal clauses in terms of Comment-Topic by considering the following verbal clauses:

- (7) In=ang=anggam                      Manang                      daya    pippi:yaq  
 GF=cont.-admire-comp.    older-sister    FM    ducklings

datu    pa:tuq.            T3:Ø81  
 FM      ducks-my

'Older sister admired THE DUCKLINGS OF MY DUCKS.'

- (8) Nag-lalawa:n                      daya    sissi:tu.            T3:147  
 AF=come-out-comp.    FM      puppies

'THE PUPPIES came out.'

- (9) Na=rput                              datu    anuq            mi.            T3:23Ø  
 AF=mass-death-comp.    FM      chickens    our

'OUR CHICKENS died in great numbers.'

- (10) Ma=sigru:t=a:n    nin    tu    untuq    tu  
 AF=taper-comp.    now    FM    top      FM

kapa:ya.            T3:12Ø  
 papaya tree.

'THE TOP OF THE PAPAYA TREE is now tapered (because the leaves dried out and fell).

- (11) Ma=pna:t                            pe    datu    bunga    na.            T3:125  
 AF=fall-incomp.    also    FM      fruit    it

'ITS FRUITS are falling.'

If we isolate the clause constituents on the basis of the features of Topic and Comment, all the clause constituents introduced by daya, ya, datu, and tu are those about which something is said (Topics) and the constituents preceding them are Comments. That is, the comments appear initially in the clause followed by the topic.

Now, let us try to put the constituents introduced by daya

and the like at the initial position in the clause.

- (7) \*Daya pippi:ya datu p:atuq in=ang=anggam  
 FM ducklings FM ducks-my GF-admire-comp.

Manang.  
 older-sister

'Older sister admired THE DUCKLINGS of my ducks.'

- (8) \*Daya sissi:tu nag=lalawa:n.  
 FM puppies AG-come-out-comp.

'THE PUPPIES came out.'

- (9) \*Datu anuq mi na=rput.  
 FM chickens our AF-mass.death.

'OUR CHICKENS died in great numbers.'

- (10) \*Tu untuq tu kapa:ya ma=sigru:t=a:n  
 FM top FM papaya tree AF-taper-incomp.

'THE TOP OF THE PAPAYA TREE becomes tapered (because the leaves dried up and fell).'

- (11) \*Datu bunga na ma=pna:t pe.  
 FM fruit its AF-fall-incomp. also

'ITS FRUITS also fall.'

There are no occurrences of Topic-Comment type observed in the texts. Therefore, I conclude that Comment-Topic is the basic structure of Isnag clauses. I want to point out, however, that in citation clauses, where we may have more than two NP's, it is acceptable to have a discontinuous comment as illustrated by the following clause (12a):

- |         | COMMENT                                    |     | TOPIC   |                                   |
|---------|--|-----|---------|-----------------------------------|
| (12) a. | Ginatang                                   | ne  | Ambadan | <u>ya</u> <u>anug</u> ka 15 pesos |
|         | GF-buy-comp.                               | PNA | Ambadan | <u>FM</u> chicken G 15 pesos      |
|         | 'Ambadan bought THE CHICKEN for 15 pesos.' |     |         |                                   |

- |    | COMMENT                                    |     | TOPIC   |                                     |
|----|--|-----|---------|-------------------------------------|
| b. | Ginatang                                   | ne  | Ambadan | ka 15 pesos <u>ya</u> <u>anug</u> . |
|    | GF-buy-comp.                               | PNA | Ambadan | G 15 pesos <u>FM</u> chicken        |
|    | 'Ambadan bought THE CHICKEN for 15 pesos.' |     |         |                                     |

This ordering is one of the unpopular ones, the form that can be labeled 'we-can-say-it-but-we-don't' form. It is acceptable as a context-independent clause.

At this point I want to summarize the features of COMMENT and TOPIC. Logically, what is said about something (Comment) is not previously known by the hearer (new information); in other words, it is asserted. The thing about which the comment is made (Topic) is already known to the hearer (old information) and is thus presupposed. One does not, for example, say

\*A woman is beautiful.

unless a woman is generic.

It is nonsensical to make a comment on something that is not previously known to the hearer.

I want to limit my discussion to these contrasting features

of COMMENT and TOPIC. Constituents with the corresponding features will then be identified appropriately. That is, clause constituents which are new and/or asserted will be designated comments and those that are old and/or presupposed will be designated topic. If in a clause, one constituent is new and another is old, then they are comment and topic respectively. However, if both are old information, the contrast will be between asserted and presupposed. The asserted information which also carries the phonological stress is comment, and the presupposed information which is phonologically unstressed is topic.

Furthermore, asserted information (Comment) and presupposed information (Topic) may be contrasted in terms of negation and question. The asserted information, being the part of the clause that is open to challenge by the hearer, is questionable and, therefore, negatable (Givon 1984:256), while the presupposed information, having been accepted by the speaker and the hearer as true is not anymore questionable and thus non-negatable (252). Presumably, for the same reason (i.e. comment is clause initial followed by the Topic), negatives and questions occur clause initially.

Although in the examples the comments were all single words, there are cases where they can be more than one word. Similarly, the topic may consist of a whole clause that is presupposed. Thus we find in texts clauses such as the following:

- (12) Nadakeq agbugubugung ay daya duddu:ma  
 bad speech cert. FM other

nga tolay. T3:Ø25  
 Lk people

'SOME PEOPLE'S speech is accursed.'

- (13) Awan ga:yam sopung tu anu nga  
 none so good-result FM chicken Lk

n=idde na kiyag. T3:Ø58  
 GF-give-comp. he to-me

'THE CHICKEN he gave me has no good use.'

- (14) Palotan tutu wala ya agbunga na. T3:Ø95  
 exceedingly very much FM fruiting it

'ITS ABILITY TO BEAR FRUIT is exceedingly great.'

- (15) Umma:n ka maluqsaw tu aganggam na. T3:244  
 like G angry FM admiration her

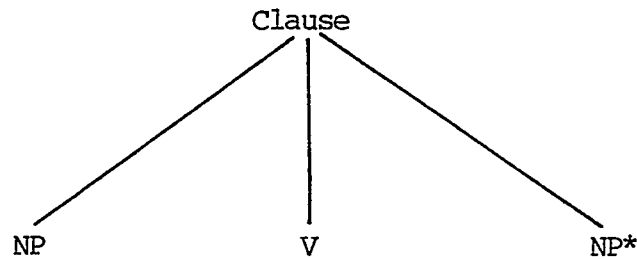
'HER ADMIRATION was like a show of anger.'

Again, the part of the clause preceded by daya, ya, and tu constitutes the topic and the part preceding it is the whole comment.

In Tagalog, Schachter and Otnes (1972:6Ø) propose the same structure for the basic sentence. Other Philippine linguists posit the same, particularly for non-verbal clauses (Porter 1977:81, Antworth 1979:33).

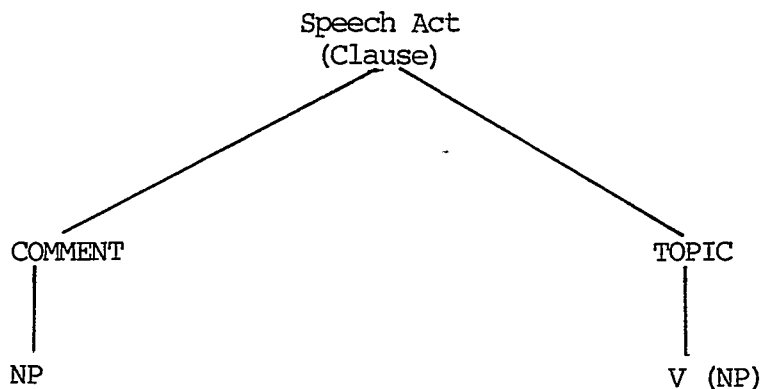
### 4.3 NP Fronting?

By way of reminder, the form of a clause with fronted NP is as diagrammed below (in which NP\* = one or more NP):



The traditional reasons given for fronting are for emphasis, for highlighting an item (or giving it some prominence), and for topicalizing. I wish here to discuss the more common reasons given: emphasis and topicalization. I will argue that fronting an NP in Isnag is not topicalization. In doing so, I will appeal to the COMMENT-TOPIC pragmatic structuring of the clause (sentence) discussed above (section 4.2). That is, I interpret topicalization as putting an NP not normally in a topic position into the topic position. The structure may be diagrammed as:





In the diagram above, as in normal V, NP\* ordering, the COMMENT also precedes the TOPIC. The principle, then, is that any constituent at the beginning of the clause is Comment and following is the Topic. For this reason, fronting of an NP is not topicalization because the NP does not fill the TOPIC slot when fronted. Rather, it fills the COMMENT slot, which is clause initial. Consider the clauses (8)-(12).

- |     | COMMENT                          | TOPIC  |
|-----|----------------------------------|--|
| (8) | a. Tolay<br>person               | ya nangan kitu anuq.<br>FM AF-eat-*comp G def. chicken |
|     | 'A person ate the chicken.'      |  |
|     | TOPIC                            | COMMENT  |
|     | b. *Ya nangan<br>FM AF-eat-*comp | kitu anuq, tol原因ay.<br>G def. chicken person           |
|     | 'A person ate the chicken.'      |  |

COMMENT            TOPIC

- (9) a. Abuy            ya pinarti            da kagidamen.  
pig            FM GF-butcher-comp. they yesterday

'A pig was what they butchered yesterday.'

TOPIC

COMMENT

- b. \*Ya pinarti            da kagidamen, abuy.  
FM GF-butcher-comp. they yesterday pig

'A pig was what they butchered yesterday.'

COMMENT            TOPIC

- (10) a. Nge Idot ya nangan            kitu ba:gat.  
PNA Idot FM AF-eat-comp. G def. banana

'Idot ate the banana.'

TOPIC

COMMENT

- b. \*Ya nangan            kitu ba:gat, nge Idot.  
FM AF-eat-comp. G def. banana PNA Idot

'Idot ate the banana.'

COMMENT            TOPIC

- (11) a. Sigarilyo ya sinakaw            ne Juan.  
cigarette FM GF-steal-comp. PNA Juan

'It was a cigarette that Juan stole.'

TOPIC

COMMENT

- b. \*Ya sina:kaw            ne Juan, sigarilyo.  
FM GF-steal-comp. PNA Juan cigarette

'It was a cigarette that Juan stole.'

- |      | COMMENT |     | TOPIC                               |              |
|------|---------|-----|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| (12) | a.      | E   | Kodi tu inumbet                     | kadaddanen.  |
|      |         | PNA | Kodi FM AF-come-comp.               | a while ago. |
|      |         |     | 'It was Kodi who came a while ago.' |              |

- |    | TOPIC            |                                     | COMMENT  |
|----|------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|
| b. | *Tu inumbet      | kadaddanen,                         | e Kodi.  |
|    | FM AF-come-comp. | a while ago                         | PNA Kodi |
|    |                  | 'It was Kodi who came a while ago.' |          |

All the fronted NP's are in the Comment position. They exhibit the characteristics of the Comment constituent, i.e., they are all instances of new information being asserted. The topic constituents are all preceded by the definite particle ya, a topic (focus NP) marker. All that follows the ya particle is old and presupposed information. The starred (ungrammatical) clauses have fronted topics. They show that fronting the topic, the presupposed constituent, is ungrammatical.

In the succeeding paragraphs I will propose a reason for NP fronting. First, however, I want to discuss emphasis, another reason given for fronting an NP. I agree that emphasis is a more plausible characterization of fronting than others, as I shall discuss next.

Halliday (1967) suggests that new information is given stress to emphasize it. Old/given information, in contrast, is not stressed, not emphasized. Generally, then, it is the new

information that gets emphasized, not the old.

In terms of the comment-topic structure of Isnag we expect, then, the comment, the new and asserted information to be emphasized, not the topic as the old and presupposed information. All the parts of clauses (8)-(12) following ya or tu particles are all presupposed. The information preceding ya or tu is new. As a matter of fact, we can posit that the topic in clauses such as those above is copied from questions whose answers are the clauses with fronted NP's. Let us consider the questions (8)'-(12)'. All the (1)'s in the answers (b's) are the same as clauses (8)-(12). The (2)'s are, by themselves, also appropriate answers to the questions.

(8)' a. Naganna ya nangan kitu anuq?  
 What FM AF-eat-comp G def. chicken

'What ate the chicken?'

Ans. b. 1. Tolay ya nangan kitu anuq.  
 person FM AF-eat-comp. G def. chicken

'A person ate the chicken.'

2. Tolay  
 person

'A person.'

(9)' a. Naganna ya pinarti da kagidamen?  
 what FM GF-butcher-comp. they yesterday

'What did they butcher yesterday?'

Ans. b. 1. Abuy ya pinarti da kagidamen.  
pig FM GF-butcher-comp. they yesterday

'A pig (is what they butchered yesterday).

2. Abuy  
pig

'A pig.'

(10) ' a. Inna ya nangan kitu ba:gat?  
who FM AF-eat-comp. G def. banana

'Who ate the banana?'

Ans. b. 1. Nge Idot ya nangan kitu ba:gat.  
PNA Idot FM AF-eat-comp G def. banana

'Idot is the one who ate the banana.'

2. Nge Idot.  
PNA Idot

'Idot.'

(11) ' a. Naganna ya sina:kaw ne Juan?  
what FM GF-steal-comp. PNA Juan

'What did Juan steal?'

Ans. b. 1. Sigarilyo ya sina:kaw ne Juan.  
cigarette FM GF-steal-comp. PNA Juan

'Cigarette is what Juan stole.'

2. Sigarilyo.  
Cigarette

'Cigarettes.'

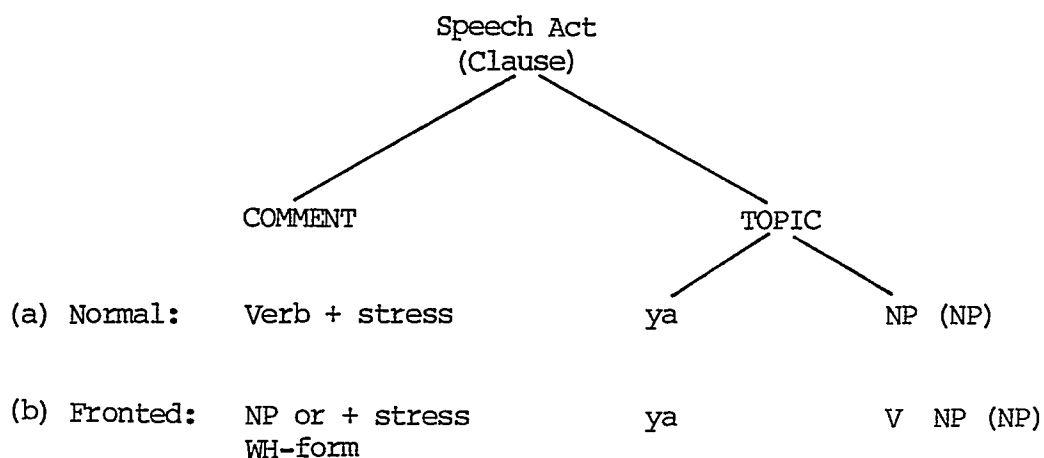
(12) ' a. Inna tu inumbet kadaddanen?  
who FM AF-come-comp. a while ago

'Who came a while ago?'

- Ans. b. 1. E Kodi (tu inumbet kadaddanen).  
 PN Kodi FM AF-come-comp. a while ago  
 'Kodi ( was the one who came a while ago).'  
 2. E Kodi.  
 PNA Kodi  
 'Kodi.'

In the (b) clauses above, the speaker asserts the previously unknown participants, which are answers to questions (8)-(12)'. They all are new information, and therefore they have to fill the comment position and, hence, they are fronted.

In all the clauses (8)-(12), the basic comment-topic clause structure is preserved. The primary effect of fronting an NP then is to preserve the comment-topic pragmatic structure of Isnag clause. It now becomes clear also that ya (or its equivalent) functions to partition Comment from Topic whether that Topic is a single NP or the verb plus the following NP's. Thus,



Thus, the overarching pragmatic template remains constant while syntactic constituents are permuted to achieve specific semantic effects.

In the following section, I next cite instances that will support the claim that fronting is only a special case of COMMENT-TOPIC structuring.

#### 4.3.1 Some Instances of Fronting

Instances when NP's are fronted include questions and complete answers to questions, contrastive identification, and rank restriction.

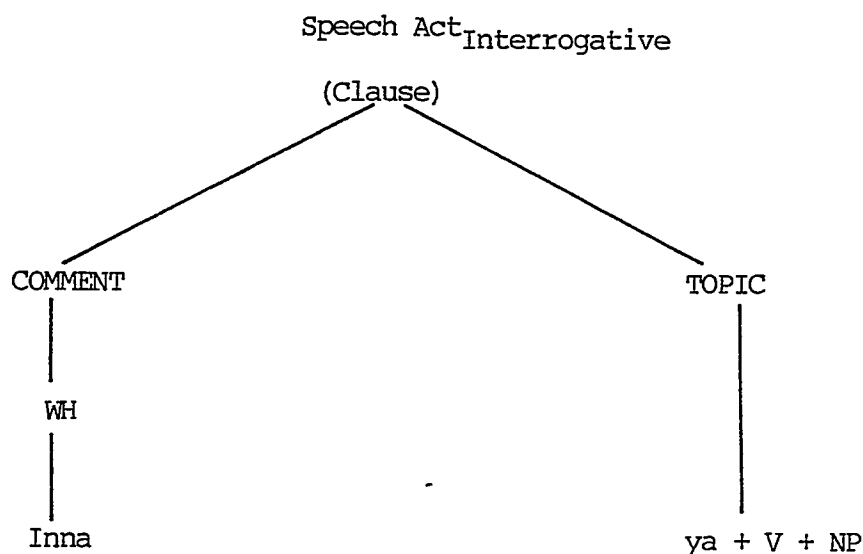
##### 4.3.1.1 Questions and Responses

In the preceding section, I suggested that some of the fronted NP's are answers to questions. The case I am referring to is where the answer could have been given as an independent NP, but the speaker chose to give the answer in a complete clause. I will elaborate on the case further in this section. Consider the question (13) below.

(13) Inna ya nangan kitu anuq?  
 what FM AF-eat-comp. G def chicken

'What ate the chicken?'

In pragmatic terms, one may assume a structure like the following for the interrogative sentence (13):



In response to (13) an addressee could appropriately answer the question merely with an NP, e.g., tolay 'a person.' But if he chooses to give the answer in full form, it will be:

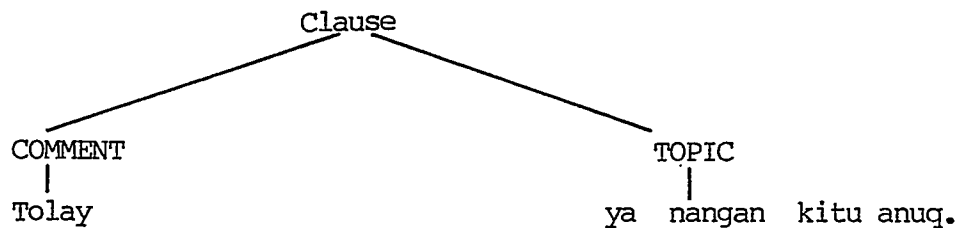
(14) Tolay ya nangan kitu anuq.  
 person FM AF-eat-comp. G def chicken

'A person is what ate the chicken.'

It will be noticed that the phrase introduced by the particle ya is a copy of the question minus the question marker. The copied question is the presupposed information, while the answer NP is the asserted information, hence filling the comment position and



substituting for the original form inna. Diagrammatically, clause (14) then appears as:



#### 4.3.1.2 Contrastive Identification

Very often new information is introduced by means of a contrastive relation with a previously known item. The contrast can be stated as 'this item, (the asserted information) not the other item' (the presupposed item). Thus, la:pis 'pencil' is first introduced in clause (15) in a contrastive relationship with aliwa 'knife,' an item made definite by virtue of its being a member of a Frame activated by the term kattab 'stab' mentioned earlier in the discourse (cf. section 4.4.1.2.1)

- (15) La:pis ya maN=gan kadaqtada akkan  
 pencil FM AF-eat-incomp. us-obl. not  
 aliwa ngin. TM:Ø18  
 knife anymore

'A pencil is what will eat us, not the knife

anymore.'

However, when the presupposed item is explicitly mentioned earlier in the discourse, it is usually left implicit (not overtly mentioned and thus represented by zero anaphor). The asserted item is always made overt. Contrastive identification of this type is illustrated by clause (16) below (not in parenthesis).

(16) (Magpannakit ta gane nu) baka ya  
 AF-sorrow-incomp. we-dual won't-we if steer FM

kaddawan da. T3:16Ø  
 GF-claim-incomp. they

'We will grieve won't we, if a steer is what they will claim.'

The ba:ka 'steer,' is new information, and it is the asserted information which is also contrasted with the presupposed items, the previously mentioned items the puppies, and the papaya fruit.

When the presupposed item is explicitly mentioned in the immediately preceding context, we will expect a contrastive construction of the type illustrated by clause (16). However, when the presupposed item is not explicitly mentioned, it is usually made explicit in the contrastive construction as in clause (15). Contrastive identification also carries the meaning of contraexpectation. The unexpected item is asserted informa-

tion (comment) and therefore gets fronted. Clauses (17) and (18) are illustrative:

- (17) Aggi:da kammin ya mamatay kada  
 they unexpectedly FM AF-kill-incomp. G  
 anna:naq da. T3:674  
 children their

'They (themselves) unexpectedly will (be the one to) kill their children.'

Culturally, people do not kill their own relatives. In clause (17), however, the opposite is communicated. The relative, unexpectedly, is the one who will kill his own children, instead of the normal offended non-relative. Consider further clause (18):

- (18) (Tangkurap lugud agkaq) aggi:da ya  
 instead then surely they FM  
 matay mapak-pakuna. T3:684  
 GF-die-incomp. in-such-case

'They will be the one instead who will die if such is the case.'

The aggi:da 'they,' who try to kill their enemies, are the ones who, unexpectedly, get killed instead. 'They,' the new (asserted) information, is in contrast with 'their enemies,' the presupposed information which is retrievable from context. The contrast is made even more explicit by the added particle tang-

kurap 'instead.' Examples (17) and (18) illustrate the Comment-Topic structure in which both contain old information. The comment is asserted and thus receives phonological stress and the topic is presupposed and therefore it is unstressed. In (17) the assertion made is that the parents will kill their children instead of the presupposed or expected offended non-relative. Likewise, in (18), the assertion is that aggid:da 'they' who try to kill their enemy will be the ones who will get killed instead.

#### 4.3.1.3 Rank Restriction

I have proposed a ranking of the different semantic roles in terms of preferential selection by the verb (section 2.3). I posited that the ranking imposes some restrictions on the relationship of the different roles, their co-occurrence, and their relative positions in the clause. I also proposed that one of the co-occurrence restrictions imposed by the PS hierarchy is on the co-occurrence of two definite NP's. When both the agent and the goal are realized by pronouns and/or proper names, only the goal can be focused in the normal V, NP, NP, constituent order (2.3.1.3). I proposed a rule of definiteness focus condition. I will restate the rule here:

If two NP's are definite, the lower ranked of the two may be focused but not the higher ranked one.

This definiteness restriction can, however, be circumvented by fronting. That is, when both agent and goal are definite and are realized by pronouns and/or proper names, the agent can be focused by fronting it. Clause (19) illustrates the point:

- (19) a. Aggi:na      nani:la:g      kaggi:da.      T3:777  
          he              AG-shine-comp.      them  
          'He shone on them.'/'It was he who shone on them.'
- b. \*Nani:la:g      aggi:na      kaggida  
          AF-shine-comp.      he              them  
          'He shone on them.'

It is ungrammatical to have the same clause in agent focus in the normal V, NP, NP, order, e.g., clause (19)b. If, for some reason, the normal V, NP, NP order has to be preserved, the clause must be in the goal focus, illustrated in clause (20)a below.

- (20) a. Dinila:gan      nada.  
          GF-shine-comp.      he they  
          'He shone on them.'
- b. \*Nani:la:g      nada.  
          AF-shine-comp.      he they

'He shone on them.

The agent focus clause in (20)b is ungrammatical.

NP fronting is clearly a syntactic phenomenon. However, the motivation for fronting is not explainable on the basis of syntactic facts about verbs and noun phrases but on the basis of their pragmatic features, i.e. whether they are new and/or asserted information or old and/or presupposed information. In this respect, the pragmatic aspect of focus constrains the syntactic ordering of the verbs and the noun phrases.

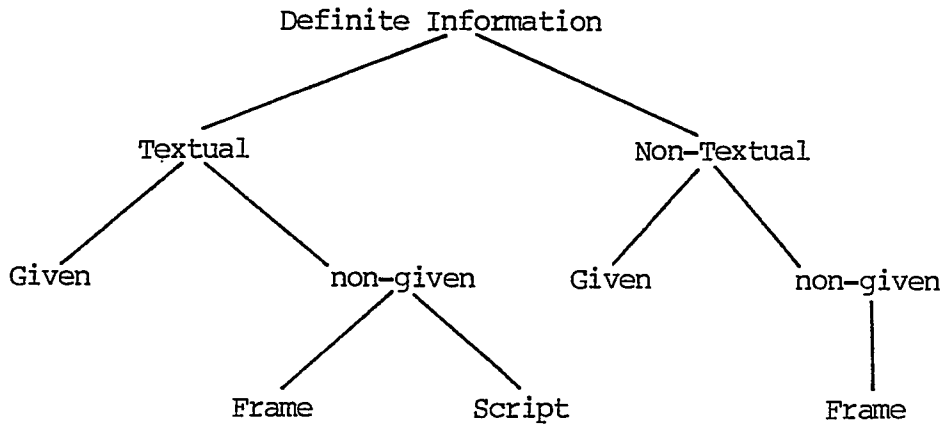
#### 4.4 Aspects of Presupposed Items

In this part of chapter 4, I discuss the pragmatic considerations in choosing the NP for focusing. Specifically, I discuss different features that make an NP eligible for focus.

In previous studies of Philippine languages, several researchers have been unanimous in the observation that all focus items are necessarily definite (Schachter and Otnes 1972:60, Naylor 1973:107, Schachter 1976:496, etc.). Indefinite NP's may not be focused. Definiteness has been well discussed and defined by philosophers and linguists. I will not attempt to add to the definitions they set forth. Instead, I simply assume that definite information is that information that is presumed to be in the consciousness of the hearer at the time of utterance

(Chafe 1976:30). It is, therefore, so treated by the speaker through appropriate linguistic signals. The hearer in turn confirms or disconfirms by virtue of his reaction (Givon 1978:296, 1984:399).

In this section, I discuss the various categories of definite information in Isnag. These categories may be summarized as follows:



#### 4.4.1 Textually Conditioned Definite Information

Textually definite information is that which is given definite status by virtue of being mentioned explicitly in the text or by close association with other actually mentioned items. I here categorize these as textually given and non-textually given definite information, respectively.

## 4.4.1.1 Textually Given

Textually given definite information includes only that which is explicitly mentioned earlier in the text. Ordinarily, such information is first introduced as new information (and therefore indefinite) either with an existential clause or in relation to other already definite information. The clauses (21) and (22) below illustrate the means of introducing new information.

- (21) Ata:n      maq   pe   kapa:ya   kitu   agra:ng  
       there-is   cert. also   papaya   L      front  
  
       kurung              mi.      T3:Ø93  
       poultry-house   our

'There also was a papaya tree in front of our poultry house.'

- (22) Kitu   isa   nga   Domingo   nag=sabbu  
       L          one   Lk   Sunday   AF-temper-comp.  
  
       kami   ka   parakul.      AS:l  
       we      G      axe

'One Sunday we tempered axes.'

The kapa:ya 'papaya tree' is introduced as new information in clause (21) and the parakul 'axes' is introduced as new information in clause (22). It will be noticed that in both clauses (21) and (22), the only known information is the speaker himself. In (21) the clause only asserts the existence of the item the



speaker is trying to introduce. In (22), the only known (old/presupposed) information is the speaker and his friends, and therefore it is the only eligible topic as indicated by the pronoun kami 'we (exclusive)' inflected for agent focus agreeing with the prefix nag-. In their subsequent mention, the new information will be referred to as definite information marked by any of the following: definite article (tu or ya), pronominal reference (see 3.3), proper names, or zero anaphora. Thus, in subsequent reference kapa:ya 'papaya tree' in clause (23) below, is referred to by the pronoun na 'it', and with the definite particle (focus marker) tu in clause (24).

(23)...palotan        tutu wala agbunga        na.    T3:095  
                   exceedingly very much fruit-bearing it

'It bears so much fruit.'

(24)...ma=sigru:ta:n    tu untuq tu kapa:ya.    T3:119  
                   GF-taper-incomp. FM top    FM papaya tree

'The top of the papaya tree became tapered (because all its leaves fell).

Similarly, parakul 'axe' mentioned in (25) is subsequently referred to in (26) by a full noun phrase with the definite particle tu. It is also referred to by the use of zero anaphor in clause (27).

(25) Kitu isa nga Dominggo nag=sabbu kami  
 when one Lk Sunday AF-temper-comp. we

ka parakul. AS 001  
 G axe

'One Sunday, we tempered axes.'

(26) ...s=in=et ku win tu parakul ku. AS:005  
 GF-sharpen-comp. I already FM axe my

'I immediately sharpened my axe.'

(27) Ay di:kod natadam tutu wala AS:009  
 And therefore sharp very much

'Therefore (it) was very very sharp.'

Textually established fictional characters are typically introduced by existential clauses and then referred to by names. Clauses (28) and (29) are illustrations.

(28) 'Tu nunna nga algaw ay ata:n magata:wa. DM:1  
 L first Lk day Lk there-is husband-wife

'In the olden days, there was a husband and wife.'

(29) De Berto se Sanang. DM:2  
 PN pl Berto and Sanang

'They are Berto and Sanang.'

While introduction of participants with the existential clause is applicable only to fictional characters, participants who exist in the real world are very rarely introduced in this fashion. Instead, they are immediately introduced as definite information

by means of proper names.

#### 4.4.1.2 Textually Non-given

Most of the definite reference in Isnag texts, especially conversational texts, does not fall into the category of textually given information. It is, rather, given situationally by virtue of culturally conventional associations. Such associations involve lexico-semantic relationships such as the those invoked by the notions of Frame (van Dijk 1977, and Minsky 1980) and Script (Schank and Abelson 1977).

##### 4.4.1.2.1 Frames

Van Dijk (1977:18-21) defines Frame as the "structural representation of our world knowledge." It includes both "cognitively and socially (culturally) determined knowledge." He also proposes that "frames define units or chunks of concepts which are not essentially but typically related."

The frame format "is one of links fanning out from a conceptual control center, with no single commitment to a sequence of actualization" (de Beaugrande 1980:140). Frame is a "set of static facts about the world" (Brown and Yule 1983:243). Each given item in the discourse, then, belongs to a frame or a semantic domain.

When an item B belongs in the same semantic domain as the item A mentioned earlier in the discourse, then Item B is given the status of definiteness at its first explicit mention. Consider the Isnag clauses below.

- (30) Ata:n      maq    pe    kapa:ya      kitu    agra:ng  
       there-is   cert. also papaya-tree   L        front  
  
       kurung              mi...              T3:093  
       poultry-house    our

'There was also a papaya tree in front of our poultry house.'

- (31) ma=sigru:ta:n    nin    tu    untuq    tu    kapa:ya    T3:119  
       GF-taper-incomp now    FM    Top        FM    papaya tree

'THE TOP OF THE PAPAYA TREE became tapered (because all the leaves dried up and fell).'

- (32) Ay    mapna:t                      pe    tu    bu:nga    na.    T3:125  
       And    GF-fall- incomp.    also    FM    fruit    it

'And ITS FRUIT fell too.'

The untuq 'top' in clause (31) was not mentioned earlier in the discourse. It is definite in clause (31) because of its semantic association with the kapa:ya 'papaya tree' mentioned in clause (30). Similarly, tu bu:nga na 'its fruit' (32) is also definite as a member of the same semantic domain or frame.

When an item is given definite status, all items and events within the same frame are also evoked in the consciousness of the

hearer (du Bois 1980:215) and therefore are equally eligible for definite reference. Thus a definite reference to 'apartment' in English at the same time implies the definiteness of conventionally expected sections of the 'apartment,' e.g., kitchen, living room, bathroom, etc. (Linde, 1983:207).

Similarly, du Bois (1980:236) says that "knowing the semantic class of a referent will give us an appropriate idea of whether or not it will be definite at first mention." For if the new referent belongs to a Frame already introduced, its definiteness is predetermined.

#### 4.4.1.2.2 The Script

Another notion which explains discourse definiteness is Script. It is analogous to Frame, but the elements within a script are not static. Event sequences are involved (Schank and Abelson 1977). These are "action stereotypes (Bower, et al 1979) for peoples' knowledge of routine activities." It instructs them on how they should act and what they should say (de Beaugrande 1980:140ff) in specific situations.

When a particular activity in a script is described in a text, the entire script is evoked in the consciousness of the hearer. All action and all entities in the entire script thus become eligible for definiteness without specific previous men-

tion in the discourse. As an illustration, let us examine clauses (33) and (34).

(33) Nawe nang=lawan ya  
 AF-go-comp. AF-take-out-rice-from-granary-comp. FM

isa nga baqbakat. SSB:1  
 one Lk old-woman

'One old woman went to get rice from the granary.'

(34) a. ...se na 'we  
 and she AF-go-comp.

b. ne=bila:g ka ambaw. SSB:2  
 GF-sun-dry-comp. L river-bank

'And then she went to dry (IT) on the riverbank.'

The verb nanglawan 'get rice from the granary,' in clause (33), which is unique to the rice-pounding script elicits the whole process of pounding (to unhusk) rice. Incidentally, the action nanglawan is the first activity in the script. The primary element 'rice' in the script is not overtly mentioned. It is inherent in the verb nanglawan 'to get rice from the granary.' Thus, the speaker can refer to rice in clause (34b) via the definitizing zero anaphor and Goal focus.

In another text, Ya Mamalet 'Making Wild-animal Trap called Balet,' the first mention of the term mamalet 'to make wild-animal trap called Balet' brings into the consciousness of the hearer his experiential knowledge of making this particular

trap. This reference also activates the entire procedure with all the steps, processes, materials, and participants necessary to accomplish the goal, i.e., to make the trap for catching wild animals for food. All these then become eligible for definiteness and, consequently, eligible for focus. We thus find definite marking (ya) of items such as ya li:tu 'tying vine,' ya da:wir 'the spring,' ya maya:n 'the spear' etc., in this text even on their first mention, since they are all conventional parts and materials for making the trap. Animals usually caught in such traps are also treated as definite in their first mention, e.g., ya addag lama:n 'the back of the wild pig,' ya ugta, 'the deer,' etc.

In the text AN:8, items such as tu ba:si 'the sugar cane wine,' ya a:tu 'the dog,' tu bassaw 'the reed' were not previously mentioned, but they are given definite status in clause (35) below. They are all prescribed elements in the Isnag 'animistic ceremony' mentioned earlier in the discourse.

(35) Sinampatangguq se ya a:tu, a:buy, tu ba:si,  
bamboo-music-inst. and FM dog pig FM wine

tu bassaw.  
FM reed

'(We have) bamboo musical instrument, THE DOG, PIG,  
THE SUGAR WINE, THE REED.'

#### 4.4.2 Non Textually Conditioned Presupposed Items

In addition to the items textually given by the speaker, there are other items which are also given definite status by virtue of being present in the immediate physical context of the communication situation.

There is also information that may not be physically present in the immediate context of the communication situation but which is assumed by the speaker to be known to the hearer. This is also given definite status (see 4.4.2.2). I will categorize these items as 'non-textually non-given.'

##### 4.4.2.1 Non-Textually Presupposed Items

Entities that are physically present in the communication situation are given definite status. The speaker and the hearer are, of course, always definite (Brown and Yule 1983:183, du Bois, 1980:235). Clauses (36)-(38) have items in them that are given definite status due to their presence in the communication situation.

(36)	Kitu	isa	nga	Dominggo,	nag=sabbu	kami
	L	one	Lk	Sunday	AF-temper-comp.	us
	ka	parakul.	AS:l			
	G	axe				



'One Sunday, we tempered axes.'

- (37) Ney! Awan datu sissitu nu win. T3:001  
Oh none FM pl. puppy your already

'Oh, YOUR PUPPIES are all gone.'

- (38) Nganna pe yala ya a:tu kitunni. T2a:12  
too-much also just FM dog there

'THAT DOG there is just too much.'

The pronoun kami 'we excl.' in clause (36) refers to the speaker himself who is, obviously, physically present at the time of communication. In clause (37), the speaker refers to datu sissi:tu 'the puppies,' some of which are physically present at the time of the discourse. Likewise, ya a:tu kitu:ni 'that dog there' involves a physically present referent.

Another class of entities given definite status in their first mention are the uniques. These are "entities which every sensorily endowed member of a communication group is assumed to know" (de Beaugrande 1980:138), e.g., the sun, moon, sky, etc. Thus, ya mata 'the sun' in clause (39) is definite in its first mention.

- (39) Ay kane gabi tagenap ku ya mata  
And when evening GF-dream-comp. I FM sun

nga tang-tangapi:ngit tu masingan ku.  
Lk only half FM GF-see-incomp. I

'And in the evening I dreamt of the sun of which I

could see only half.'

Speakers are not, of course, certain what their hearers know or do not know. But to carry on a meaningful and productive conversation, the speaker usually makes assumptions and conveys them to the hearer via appropriate linguistic signals. In English, we employ the definite articles (DuBois 1970, Kramsky 1972) or in many cases, phonological stress/intonation to signal the assumption that certain information is known to the hearer (Halliday 1976, Bolinger 1972). Our assumption may be confirmed by our hearer, or he may reject it. If our assumption is rejected, the hearer typically reflects the rejection somehow in subsequent linguistic or other responses. If such information is crucial, the speaker normally takes time to establish a file of the new information in the hearer's memory. He specifies this information by linking it to other information already known. Thus, for example, in the following portion of conversation from text 8, Udoy makes the wrong assumption that Ramon already knows Kulling. Realizing her mistake through Ramon's denial, she then makes a deliberate effort to help Ramon establish the 'Kulling' file. Ramon elicits some delimiting information to isolate Kulling in the conversation from the other possible Kullings.

Udoy: Adu kanu maq tolay kiya:n de Kulling da  
 many it-is-said cert. people there PN Kulling they

tangabalay. Ay duwa balay da nga maggaa:ma.  
 one-house and two houses they Lk father-children

Nesibna maq ya ama daya:n aggi:da  
 GF-separate-pst cert. NOM father them from them

'There are many people there, reportedly. Kulling and her family. They live in two separate houses, her and her father's other family members. Their father lives in a separate house.'

Ramon: Kulling nga?  
Kulling Lk

'Kulling who?'

Udoy: Na:gan na tu Kulling ne ammanaan ne ata:wa  
 what it NOM Kulling of niece/nephew of spouse

Tangelan.  
Tangelan

'Kulling, the niece of Tangelan's wife.'

Lina: Ata:wa Paulo ya:n  
 spouse Paulo that

'She is Paulo's wife.'

Jose: Paulo tada maq a.  
 Paulo our cert.

'Our very own Paulo.'

Udoy: Manu:gang de uwa ina Arsit.  
 child-in-law of huh mother Arsit

'She is the daughter-in-law of Arsit's mother.'

Jose: An-anaq de Siqlangat se itu i:kit ten. Paulo  
 child of Siqlangat and that aunt dec. part. Paulo

tada kam a.  
 our same cert.

'He is the son of Siqlangat and our deceased Aunt. Our

own Paulo.'

Udoy: Paulo nu wa iAgutu:ngan nga an-anag de Siqlangat  
 Paulo your Lk from-Agutungan Lk child of Siqlangat  
se tun Konay.  
 and that Konay

'Your Paulo who is from Agutungan, who is also the son of Siqlangat and the deceased Konay.'

Jose: Wagi ne anti ya magan-anag kaggi:na  
 sibling of auant NOM parent of him  
 'His mother (parent) is aunt's sibling.'

Ramon: Wagi natu ata:wa ne Busal..? Busal ne Bunay.  
 sibling of spouse of Busal Busal of Bunay

'The sibling of Busal's wife..? Busal, Bunay's husband.'

Jose: Mm.. wagi Balag.  
 yes sibling Balag

'Yes, sibling of Balag.'

It will be noticed that each of the three participants tried to associate the unknown Kulling with people they are more sure are known to Ramon, the only way Ramon will be able to know and identify Kulling.

In Isnag, the primary mechanism used to cue the hearer as to the information status of some information, i.e. whether the information is assumed by the speaker as old or new to the hearer, is the focus system. Thus, in (1) (from Text 3 utterance 1), the speaker makes the correct assumption that 'the puppies' are in fact known to the hearers. The plural focus marker datu thus marks sissi:tu 'puppies' as old information:

(40) Ramon: Ney! Awan datu sissi:tu nu win. T3:1  
 oh none FM pl. puppy your already

'Oh, so YOUR PUPPIES are gone!'

#### 4.4.2.2 Non-Textually Non-given Items

There is information which is given definite status which is neither given in the text nor physically present in the communication situation. It is made definite by virtue of its direct association with entities physically present in the communication situation. In this sense, it is the same as the Frames and Scripts mentioned in 4.4.1.2. where information is made definite by its association with information explicitly mentioned in the text. While Frames and Scripts are activated by explicit mention of any of their constituents, the non-textually non-given items are activated by the physically present item in the communication situation to which they are associated. In other words, the non-textually non-given items are part of the Frame of the situationally present items.

The non-textually non-given items include entities stored in the knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer through personal familiarity or mutual experience (de Beaugrande 1980:138), and entities associated with either the speaker or the hearer, such as their kin and their possessions. It also includes insti-

tutionalized entities, prototypical entities that function as representative of a class, superlative entities that occupy the extreme position on some variable scale (de Beaugrande 1980:138), proper names and locations, and culturally shared items (Givon 1984:399ff). The focus items in clauses (41)-(44) are made definite in their first mention.

- (41) Nasamnga akkaq ala pe tu baqbakat ku kitun (T9:3)  
grave modal only also FM old-woman my before

'I believe MY WIFE was also very grave before (when she was sick).

The item tu baqbakat ku 'my wife' though never mentioned earlier, is definite by its associative (kinship) relation with the speaker.

- (42) I=bbruweng ku manin ya pu:kuq ku (T2b:1b)  
GF-drain-incomp. I again FM pig-pen my

'I'll drain MY PIG PEN again.'

The pu:kuq 'pig pen' is definite by its possessive association with the speaker. Furthermore, the item is a common possession of members of the culture of speaker and hearer.

'UCCP' is a familiar local institution and is thus also definite in (43) without being mentioned earlier.

- (43) Ag-agb=a:n      daya    UCCP    da    kanu.  
 GF-mock-incomp.    FM pl.    UCCP    they reportedly

'They are mocked by THE UCCP people, reportedly.'

The 'Iloko' and the 'Ibanag' people are definite in their first mention in (44) by virtue of their uniqueness as cultural groups.

- (44) Na:gan    naya    am-ammu      daya    Iloko    se    da  
 what        G        GF-know-tsl    F pl.    Iloko    and    F pl.

Ibanag      ki    makapakka=pakkaw.      NBD:72  
Ibanag      of    AF-exult-incomp.

'What do THE IBANAG PEOPLE and THE ILOKO PEOPLE know about self-exultation.'

The proper name 'Evelyn' in (45) below has not been mentioned earlier but is given definite status since she is the only person by that name in the village.

- (45) Tu    n=iddeq            ke    Evelyn      T3:009  
 MP    GF-give-comp.    PN    Evelyn

'The one I gave EVELYN.'

A specific location such as Santa Fe in (46) is given definite status in its first mention since it is unambiguous:

- (46) Na=nalen      kayu      win      ka Santa Fe.    T2b:11  
 AF-walk-comp.    you pl.    already L    Santa Fe

'And YOU then came via Santa Fe.'

Titles are treated as proper names in Isnag. They are categorized as uniquely identifiable entities. Hence, meyor 'mayor' in clause (47) is preceded by the particle Ce usually used for proper names, e.g., ye Bulut.

(47) Nawe            ye Meyor ra nagdaq=daqdaq kada  
 AF-go-comp. PN mayor Lk AF-visit-pst L'pl.

baranggay    na.    T7:3  
 districts     his

'THE MAYOR went to visit his districts.'

There are some entities which can be categorized as uniques in certain specific contexts. The item datu pulis 'the policemen' in text TNBD (Tu Nagpatay de Bucao se Daw-ayan 'The Fight between Bucao and Daw-ayan') is identified by the hearers of the discourse as the policemen in the town in whose jurisdiction the story was told. Also tu dispinsari 'the dispensary' is understood as the dispensary of the hospital in the same town where the story was told. In general, the items ya su:day 'the spring water trough' (a trough channelling the water from the source spring to the middle of the village), and ya iskul 'the school' are always referred to by the villagers as definite items and are understood to refer to the water trough and the school in the village.

Furthermore, nge gobernador 'the governor' is understood by the hearer to refer to the governor of the province the speaker



and the hearer are located in at the time of the interaction. Also nge presidenti 'the president' only refers to the president of the country where the participants are during the conversation.

#### 4.5 The Pragmatic Conditioning Factor in the Choice of Focus

Under the pragmatic category, I explore here only the dominant factor of Topic Maintenance. Topic as used here is the referential material being talked about in a stretch of communicative exchange. Typically, a topic develops immediately when an item is introduced either as new information related to old, or as old information. When introduced as new information, such an item is non-focus. However, in subsequent reference to it, the item must necessarily be in focus unless the topic changes. When the interlocutors decide to maintain a topic, they use appropriate signals, one of which is the focus system. Therefore, if the chosen topic is being treated semantically as Goal, the majority of the clauses in that stretch of communication will incorporate Goal focus marking. Goal topic maintenance is illustrated by the following clauses (48)-(51), in which the topic is a:tu 'dog' and her sissi:tu 'puppies.'

- (48) (Tu:ya nu at:n mag=an-anaq atu  
that's-why when there-is AF-give-birth-incomp. dog

mi)  
our

'That's why when we have a bitch (dog) that gives birth,

isir=siruq na ababbing ki linung  
GF-hide-comp. he/she child L under

puga:ru. T3:138  
table-stove

'The child hides (THEM) under the table-stove.'

- (49) Di na palawan=an da sissitu. T3:142  
not she/he GF-let-out-incomp. FM pl. puppy

'She will not let THE PUPPIES out.'

- (50) Wayya ta la kod kannaw=an  
rhet.q we dual rhet.q would GF-taboo-incomp.

kaddaw=an nu magda=dakkal T3:145  
GF-ask-for-incomp. when AG-grow-big-incomp.

'Would we hold THEM back if someone ask forTHEM as long as THEY are big enough.'

- (51) Allak=kan mu datu sissi:tu amang...T3:151.  
GF-get-incomp. you FM pl. puppy mother

'Mom, you get THE PUPPIES.'

Within the stretch of communication illustrated above, the speakers did not have the choice of focus NP. They will not choose for focus the agent NP if they are not ready to change the topic of their conversation. Therefore, once the topic is chosen, the speaker does not have a choice on which NP to focus.

The choice left to the speaker to make is whether or not to change the topic, in which case the focus will subsequently be changed.

Thus, focusing the agent NP in any of the clauses above will terminate, at least interrupt, the continuity of the topic. It will be a signal that the speaker is switching to another topic. Thus, if we change the goal focused clause (51) into an agent focused clause (52) below, the topic will change to, say, 'hunting dogs.' Strictly speaking, when such a change of focus NP occurs, the referent of the topic sissi:tu 'puppies' in clauses (48)-(51) will be different from the referent of the sissitu 'puppy' in clause (52). It is in these terms that there is a change in topic.

- (52) Mang=allaq      ka                      ka sissitu amang.  
 AF-get-incomp. you (sing.) G puppy mother  
 'Mom, you get a puppy.'

When the chosen topic is typically an agent, the clauses in the stretch of communication will focus the agent NP. The clauses (53)-(57) illustrate a stretch of communication where the topic is an agent. When any of the clauses is focused for location the topic will change. Choosing the location NP as focus is a signal that the interlocutors are ready to change their topic.

In the clauses below, both the agents and the location are all definite and are equally qualified for focusing. However, the agent NP's are chosen for focus over the location.

- (53) Na=nalen            kayu   win   ka   Santa Fe.    T2b:15  
AG-walk-comp.   you pl. now L    Santa Fe.

'YOU came via Santa Fe.'

- (54) ... (nag)=daretsu            kami   la   ngin   ka  
AF-go-straight-comp. we    now   already L

Bagabag.    T2b:12  
Bagabag

'WE (then) went straight to Bagabag.'

- (55) Nag=plane            kayu   nawe            ka  
AF-take-plane-comp. you    AF-go-comp.    L

Bagabag.    T2b:13  
Bagabag

'Did YOU take a plane going to Bagabag?'

- (56) Nag=bus            kami.    T2b:14  
AF-take-bus-comp. we

'WE took a bus.'

- (57) May na=nalen            kayu   ka   Santa Fe.    T2b:15  
but AF-walk-comp.    you   L   Santa Fe

'But YOU came via SANTA FE.'

Focusing any of the clause from (53)-(57) for location will change the topic from the travelers (the manner of their travel) to their route. Let us illustrate this by changing clauses (53) and (54).

(53) ' D=in=alen nù win ya Santa Fe.  
GF-walk-comp. you pl. now FM Santa FE

'You then went through SANTA FE.'

(54) ' D=in=aretsu mi la ngin ya Bagabag.  
GF-go-straight-comp. we no already FM Bagabag

'WE then went straight to Bagabag.'

It will noticed that the focused NP's typically are all location. However, their role in the above clauses as designated by the verbal affix is Goal. They are not focusable as Location. The following clauses are not acceptable.

(53)'' \*D=in=alen=a:n nu win ya Santa Fe.  
LF-walk-comp. you pl. now FM Santa Fe

'You came through Santa Fe.'

(54)'' \*D=in=aretsu=wa:n mi la ngin ya Bagabag.  
LF-walk-comp. we now already FM Bagabag

'We then went straight through Bagabag.'

In section 3.3, I mentioned that the central feature of the focus item is its definiteness. Before an NP receives the ya marking it has to be definite, i.e., it is in the consciousness of the hearer or is easily evoked in his consciousness. The ya NP is one of the NP's occurring postverbally. The markers ya, ka, ki, etc. are not assigned arbitrarily. Their assignment to an NP depends on the definiteness status of the NP, which is a

pragmatic feature. Thus, the ya NP is constrained by the pragmatic feature of definiteness.

## CONCLUSION

We observed in the study that the focus phenomenon in Isnag is fully manifested by the clause, through its constituents and the positions they take in the clause.

We also observed that the pragmatic and semantic levels of language interact to determine focus, which is then manifested in the syntax of the clause. The syntactic form accommodates the input from the pragmatic and semantic aspects in defining focus. There is then a very close interdependence of pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic levels of Isnag in manifesting the focus phenomenon. This is demonstrated most tellingly in the clause in which the Agent and Goal NP's are both definite (a pragmatic feature). The Preferential Selection Hierarchy (the ranking of the semantic roles) imposes constraints on the clause, preventing the Agent NP from being focused (cf. 2.2.4, example (9)) and the focused Goal NP from preceding the non-focus Agent NP.

Due to the close interdependence of the three levels, i.e., pragmatics, semantics and syntax, the focus phenomenon cannot be fully described in terms of only one level. Therefore, attempting to describe the focus phenomenon in strictly grammatical or semantic terms will be inadequate and will encounter serious problems.

Subsequently, I would like to see more studies

investigating the focus system in the way suggested in this study (i.e., a multilevel analysis). However, there are some specific areas that may need to be studied in the immediate future that would, hopefully, offer a simpler analysis than what has been presented here. Specifically, I would like to look into the possibility of revising the rules suggested in chapter 2. This may require a restatement of the Preferential Selection Hierarchy and consequently the restriction rules (see 2.4.2).

Another area that deserves further investigation is the matter of agency, or rather the affixes that signal agency. In two-or-more-argument verbs, the semantic role Agent, the ultimate primemover of an action, is signalled by the affix nag-. However, in some one-argument verbs, the Agent focus affix nag- does not signal roles which correspond to any primemover, rather to some patient-like participant (cf. 2.4.1.1).

The particles ya and tu may eventually need to be investigated in much more detail. Their respective functions are by no means exhausted in this study. In addition, a study of their discourse function may prove crucial in understanding the Isnag literature.

In chapter 4, I argued that the occurrence of a preverbal NP is motivated by the Comment-Topic structure of the Isnag clause. I have stated that, characteristically, the fronted NP is new, asserted, negatable, and questionable. The possibility



of occurrence of old and presupposed information in the preverbal position is yet to be verified and investigated. Such a possibility can be conceived of in a situation where two interlocutors are recounting an experience in which they both participated or both observed, in which all the information is shared, and hence definite.

In sum, it is the hope of this study that several other areas of study of the focus system have been evoked and would eventually contribute to the refinement of the theory of the focus (topic) system of Philippine languages.

APPENDIX

TEXT 3 (Conversational Discourse)

## ABBREVIATIONS

caus = causative

cert. = certitude particle

comp. = completive aspect

cont. = continuative

def. = definite

dimin = diminutive

disapp. = disappointment particle

excl. = exclusive

hest. = hesitation particle

impl. = implied

incl. = inclusive

incomp. = incompletive aspect

Lk = link

mann. = manner

Obl. = oblique pronoun

part. = particle

pl. = plural

PN = proper name

PNA = marker when non-focus agent is proper name

poss. = possessive

prn. = pronoun

puzzl = puzzlement

Q = question

recip = reciprocal

rhet = rhetorical

sing. = singular

uncert = uncertainty

unexpect = unexpected particle

#### Text Abbreviations

AN = An-anitu 'Spirits'

AS = Amante's Story

DA = Dungkuwan se Ayu 'Dungkuwan and Ayu'

K = Kibkibbali 'About Kibkibbali'

NBD = Ngaptay de Bucao se Daw-ayan 'Duel Between Bucao  
and Daw-ayan

SG = Story of Gisorab

SSB = Story of the Sussuwetan Bird

TNBJ = Tu Nekatay de Bagabag se Juan 'The Death of Bagabag and  
John'

T2a = Text 2 (a)

T2b = Text 2 (b)

T3 = Text 3

T7 = Text 7

T9 = Text 9

TEXT 3

Conversational Discourse

Ramon: Ney! Awan datu sissi:tu nu win! 001  
oh none FM-pl. puppies your already

Oh! You don't have your puppies anymore.

Erlinda: Datu pusaq?... Ata:n kam isa nga 002  
FM-pl. white there-is yet one Lk

naniw-ni:wa:ng 003  
very-skinny

The white ones?...There's still one and very skinny.

Ludag: Datu kuwa nu? 004  
FM-pl. own your

How about yours?

Ramon: Ata:n isa nga nagki-kirantu. 005  
there-is one Lk sickly-thin

We have only one (left) and (it) is sickly and skinny.

Monoq: Nammin da tutu wala natay? 006  
GF-consume-comp. they very much GF-die-comp.

Did they all die?

Ramon: Ata:n ka allod tu isa may 007  
there-is L upstream FM-sing. one but

magimmamatay pe. 008  
dying also

One is in the downstream village but it is also dying.

Erlinda: Tu niddeq ke Evelyn. 009  
FM-sing. GF-give-comp-I 3rd. Per. Obl. Evelyn

Nepatarakan ku kaggi:da se 010  
GF-take-care-comp. I them and

de angkel ka las yer. 011  
PNA uncl L last year

The one I gave Evelyn. I asked her and Uncle to take care of it last year.

Ramon: Tu isa nga naluqluqmag gala 012  
FM-sing. one Lk fatter only

nga.... 013  
Lk

The one that was a little fatter that was...

Erlinda: Inimma:n kanu ne 014  
GF-hold-comp. disc. PNA-sing.

Ludasan. Likud din Ludasan nin, 015  
Ludasan back now Ludasan now

newaren kanu win. 016  
GF-fall-dead-comp. disc. now

I was told that Ludasan held it. And when Ludasan left, it fell dead, reportedly, just like that.

Ramon: ....innanama:n ku wa akkan 017  
GF-hope/expect-comp. I Lk not

matay	ta	naluqluqmag.	Aggi:na	Ø18		
AF-die-incomp.	because	fatter	3rd. Per.	front.		
tu	kadaqdaqla:n	da.	Umma:n	Ø19		
FM-sing.	biggest	them	like			
kiya:n	akkan	ta	ma:laq	ka	tu	Ø20
that	not	we-dual	get	dat.	two	
handred	din	ka	Ilocos.	Ay	tu	Ø21
hundred	now	L	Ilocos-region	and	two	
handred	ya	sissitu	ya	gusto		Ø22
hundred	FM-sig.	puppy	Lk	right		
mepusing	nga	na:n	ne	kuwa		Ø23
wean	Lk	said	PNA-sing.	hest.		
Manuga:ng	ku	wi	Kas-anu....			Ø24
child-in-law	my	...	imagine			

I was hoping it would live because it was fatter (than the rest of them). (A puppy) like it is worth more than 200 pesos in Ilocos. My son-in-law said that a puppy just weaned from its mother would cost 200 pesos. But...

Monoq:	Talaga	nadakeq	agbugubugung	ay		Ø25
	surely	bad/evil	speech	cert.		
	daya	kuwa	daya	duddu:ma	nga	Ø26
	FM-pl.	hest.	FM-pl.	some	Lk	
	tolay.					Ø27
	person					

Some people surely have acursed speech.

Ramon:	Akkan	nagtakit	ya:n	na	sissitu.	Ø28
	not	AF-sick-comp.	that	Lk	puppy	
	Kinagat	tala	da	duddu:ma	atu.	Ø29
	GF-bite-comp.	just	they	some	dog	

Nalibat.	Ay	datu	sissi:tu	Ø30
AF-died-comp.	and	FM-pl.	puppies	
natu	isa	nga	gagganaq mi,	Ø31
possessive	one	Lk	bitch our	
nammin	da	la	pe natay.	Ø32
GF-consume-comp.	they	just	also AF-die-comp.	
Pati	tu	gagganaq mi	isa.	Ø33
including	FM-sing.	bitch	our one	
Natay	'Ra	la	'ta:n	Ø34
AF-die-comp.	rhet.-q	rhet.-pat.	there-is	
pangisuqli:na:n	mu	kitu	luqluqmag	Ø35
LF-push-incomp.	you	L	plumpness	
natu	gagganaq mi	nga	biqbitiq.	Ø36
possessive	bitch	our	Lk very-small	
Tu	garit.	Natay	maq . la	Ø37
FM-sing.	striped	AF-died-comp.	cert. just	
tun.	Nagtakit.	Panda	kiya we	Ø38
that.	AF-sick-comp.	since	L AF-go-pst	
namalikat	ne			Ø39
AF-utter-comp.	PNA_sing.			
kuwa	ka	a:tu	kadakami.	Ø40
what's-his-name	G	dog	2nd Per. obl.	

That puppy did not get sick. It was bitten by some dogs. It died instantly. The puppies of our other bitch, they also all died. Also our other bitch, it died. Our small bitch was so fat, the striped one. That one died (unexpectedly). It got sick since what's his name, uttered the word 'dog' to us.

Monoq: Sa:yang maq . ala. Ø41  
a-waste cert. only

It surely was a shame (waste).



Erlinda: Ata:n kid ubraan da tuni a 042  
 there-is seems GF-do-incomp. they those ..

Those people seem to do something (to make the puppies sick).

Ramon: Tu lugud ya.... 043  
 FM-sing.. then Lk

That's the reason that...

Erlinda: Ata:n inubra ne 044  
 there-is GF-do-comp. PNA-sing.

Ludasan na naqmud ku ki 045  
 Ludasan Lk GF-notice-comp. I obl.

anuq a weq inadang 046  
 chicken Lk AF-go-comp-I GF-ask-comp.

kaggi:da ta paqba:g na 047  
 3rd. Per.obl. because GF-offer-incomp. he

lugud. Ay naniqdut ki duqdut 048  
 indeed and AF-pluck-out-comp. G feather

na anuq. Maddi umab-abay 049  
 possessive chicken will-not AF-grew-icomp.

ya anuq a kadi inala 050  
 FM-sing. chicken .. cert. GF-get-comp.

ku kaggi:da. Nagangaya:n na 051  
 I 3rd Per.obl. AF-end-up-comp. it

natay. Ata na:n Sipat nga 052  
 AF-die-comp. Because said Sipat Lk

"Kanna:m pikam mala pe ya 053  
 what-to-do-you yet only also FM-sing.

dugdugdut?" na:n Sipat. 054  
 feather-dimin. said Sipat

"Ta:nib herbal-medicine	ta." we-dual	Ay and	maluqsaw AF-mad-incomp.	055		
we PNF	Sipat. Sipat	Naniqdut AF-pluck-out-comp.	kammala anyway	056		
a ..	nge PNF	Ludasan. Ludasan	Ney! Oh	ngamay but	a:wan none	057
ga:yam so	sopung good-result	tu FM-sing.	anuq chicken	nga Lk	058	
nidde GF-give-comp.	na. he				059	

I noticed something that Ludasan did on the chicken I got from them because they offered (it to me). He plucked out a feather from the chicken. The chicken I got from them is not growing at all. It finally died. (That happened) because Sipat said, "What would you do with the feather?" Sipat said. "I'll use it as medicine." Sipat was upset. But Ludasan plucked out some feathers anyway. But oh, the chicken he gave to me was no use (to me).

Monoq:	Napiya good	la only	nu if	akkan not	gata:ngan GF-buy-incomp.	060
	daya FM-pl.	kuwa ....				061

It's good if you don't buy the....

Erlinda:	Akkan. no	Ta because	ipaqba:g GF-offer-incomp.	na he	maq cert.	062
	lugud. surely	"Umbet AF-come-incomp.	ka you	ka L	balay, house	063
	ta because	iddan GF-give-incomp.	taka you-me	ka G	anuq," chicken	064

na:n na la ur-ura:yan. 065  
 said he just matter-of-factly

No. Because he offers it. "Come to the house because I'll give you a chicken," he says casually.

Monoq: Ay ya:n nala sa:yang a 066  
 and that only waste ..

But it's only a waste.

Ramon: Awan kid kam kukkuwaan na 067  
 none seems yet GF-do-incomp. 3rd. Per. sing.

duddu:ma may ya pinangkatadam 068  
 some but FM-sing. sharpness

kid naya bugung da na:n 069  
 seems oblique-sing. mouth their said

ku. Tu ya:n ya baqbakat 070  
 I FM-sing. that FM-sing. old-woman

ki allod, ay dumu:ma tutu wala 071  
 L downstream Lk exceptional very much

tadam bugung naya:n Umma:n 072  
 sharpness mouth oblique-her. same

pe ye Manang Martina. 073  
 also PNF elder-sister Martina

Ata:n da pa:tu mi kitu 074  
 there-is FM-pl. duck our L

kowad pa:tu nga inalaq baqbakat 075  
 there-was duck Lk GF-get-comp. old-woman

kanna:n Dadakkal lin datu 076  
 there-far big-pl. already FM-pl.

pippi:yaq na. Se itu pa:tu ducklings it and FM-sing. duck	077
ne Ittin na we na possesive-per. Ittin Lk AF-go-comp. she	078
neamung kadatu pa:tuq. GF-add-comp. Obl-the duck-my	079
Inang-anggam Manang daya GF-admire-comp. Elder-sister FM-pl.	080
pippi:yaq datu pa:tuq. Ney! dicklings FM-pl. duck-my oh	081
naggugu:nud da la nga natay. AF-follow-comp. they just Lk AF-die-comp.	082
Awan tallu algaw na. Awan nin none three day it none already	083
ina:gaq datu duwa nga paganaan. brood FM-pl. two Lk hen	084

I think some of them don't do anything, but I think it's just that their speech is acursed. the old woman downstream is also one (of them). Her spech is exceptionally sharp (acursed). The same is true with elder sister Martina. We had some ducks, that time when we still had the duck my wife got (from Ilocos). Its ducklings were already big. Ittin also had a duck that she added to my ducks. And, what a pity, they all died one after the other. In less than three days, the two ducks had no more brood.

Monoq: Oray a:wan da kuwaan... 085  
even none they GF-do-incomp.

Even if they don't do anything...

Ramon: ....a:wan da kuwaan may bugung 086  
....none they GF-do-incomp. but mouth

da pe 087  
their also

Monoq: ...bugung da pe yala ya 088  
 ...mouth their also only FM-sing.

kuwa 089  
 ....

Ramon: ...yala ya kuwa maddi 090  
 ...only FM-sing. .... bad

anganggam... da kiya kuwa... 091  
 admiration their obl. ....

admire the...

Monoq: Oq. Maddi anganggam da. 092  
 yea bad admiration their

Yes. The way they admire is wrong.

Ramon: Ata:n maq pe kapa:ya kitu 093  
 there-is cert. also papaya-tree L

aqra:ng kurung mi kitun na 094  
 front poultry-house our L Lk

palota:n tutu wala ya agbu:nga 095  
 exceedingly very much FM-sing. fruiting

na. 'Bet pe ya:n de 096  
 its AF-come-incomp. also that PNF

anti kiya ri:mut, ata:wa 097  
 aunt L downstream-village spouse

ne manong Labay, 098  
 Poss. \_Per.sing. elder-brother Labay

magpasipa:sil	da	se	099
AF- recip.-crowd-in-incomp.	they	and	
de Martina,	de anti		100
PNA Martina	PNA aunt		
pensionada nga magkaddaw	ki		101
pensioner Lk AF-name-to-own-incomp.	G		
bu:nga na kapa:ya.			102
fruit Poss. papaya-tree			

We also had a papaya tree in front of our poultry house that had lots of fruit, and was very low. It bore big fruit. Aunt. from the downstream part of the village, the wife of elder brother Labay, came. She and Martina and Aunt who is a pensioner, came and they were competing on who claims which of the fruit of the papaya tree.,.

Monoq:	....nga dadakkal		103
	....Lk big-pl.		
Ramon:	Oq ....Panda kiya nawe	da	104
	yes ....since L AF-go-comp.	they	
	nagkaddaw,	a:ta	105
	AF-name-to-own-comp.	because	
	natarrungat taq a:ta "tu		106
	AF-irritated-comp. I because this		
	idi kuwaq" na:n da maq.		107
	this-one mine said they cert.		
	Dina:mag magkaddaw akkan		108
	GF-hear-comp. AF-name-to-own-incomp.	not	
	sissitu waqnu akkan anuq, waqnu		109
	puppy or not chicken or		
	babbaggaq!		110
	piglet		

Yes...since they made claims, I was a little upset because, "This is mine," they said. Have you heard of anyone making claims on things which are not puppies or chickens or piglets?

Erlinda: Kapa:ya 111  
papaya

It was papaya fruit..

Ramon: Oq. Likud da na:n mu ay 112  
Yes turn-back they said you Lk

ur-ura:yan datu kapa:ya 113  
with-no-reason FM-pl. papaya-fruit

magpannapanna:t. Madar-darsi 114  
AF-fall-pl.incomp. GF-fall-in-twos-incomp.

bu:nga na. 115  
fruit it

After they left then, the fruit began falling with no apparent reason. They fell in twos and more.

Monoq: Taanna na:d pe? 116  
why puzzl-part also

I wonder why.

Ramon: Awan na.... Adaddu kid a 117  
none Lk long uncert. cert.

ya duwa bu:la:n... na:gan tura 118  
FM-sing. two month what why

nga masigru:tan nin tu untuq 119  
Lk GF-taper-incomp. already FM-sing top

tu kapa:ya nga 120  
FM-sing. papaya-tree Lk

magngilangila	ngin	tu	121
AF-become-yellow-incomp.	now	FM-sing.	
agdon	na.	Nagang-angaya:n	na ay
mann.-leaf	it	result	it Lk
122			
inur-ura:yan	na	la	ya
GF-with-no-reason-comp.	it	only	FM-sing.
123			
nigtol.			124
GF-fall-down-comp.			

There was no...I think in less than two months... I was surprised that the top of the papaya tree dried out and the leaves turned yellow. What finally happened to it was that it just fell down.

Monoq:	Ay	mapna:t	pe	tu	bu:nga	125
	and	GF-drop-incomp.	also	FM-sing.	fruit	
	na.					126
	it					

And it fruit fell too.

Ramon:	Og....	As!	"Akkan	kayu	napiya	127
	yes	disapp.	not	you-pl.	nice	
	nga	tolay,"	na:n	maq	ne	128
	Lk	person	said	cert.	PNA	
	baqbakat.	Pe	din	nu	a:wan	maq
	old-woman	also	wish	if	none	cert. not
	129					
	anggamman	daya:n	nu	ata:n		130
	GF-admire-incomp.	those	when	there-is		
	masingan	da	kadaqtada	nga		131
	GF-see-incomp.	they	1st Per. obl	Lk		
	kabbulun	da	nga	dumu:ma	nga	132
	companions	their	Lk	exceptional	Lk	



kuwa.... 133  
hest.

Yes...Oh my! "you are not good people," my wife said. "There's nothing that you...you have a very destructive speech," my wife said. It's good if they don't admire anything they see in us their companions, they are very...

Ludag: Nganna pe tutu wala da 134  
wonder-part. also very much FM-pl.

duddu:ma. 135  
others

Why are some people such a...

Ramon: Tu:ya nu ata:n 136  
that's-why when there-is

magan-anaq a:tu mi, isir-sirug 137  
AF-give-birth-incomp. dog our GF-hide-incomp.

na ababbing ki linung na 138  
A child L underneath poss.

puga:ru. Paliputa:n na 139  
stove-table LF-surround-incomp. 3rd.per.

ya linung na puga:ru 140  
FM-sing. underneath poss. stove-table

kiya panda ngala nga tabla. Di 141  
I any only Lk plank not

na palawanan da sissi:tu. 142  
3rd.per GF-let-out-incomp. FM-pl. puppies

Se kam lumawan da sissi:tu 143  
and then AF-get-out-incomp. FM-pl. puppies

win nu dadakkal da ngin. 144  
already when big-pl. they already

That's why when we have a dog that gives birth, my child hides them under the stove table. She will surround it with some planks. She won't let the puppies come out. The puppies will come out only when they are already big.

Erlinda: Wayya ta la kod kannawan 145  
rhet.Q we-dual only ... GF-taboo-incomp.

kaddawan nu magdadakkal. 146  
GF-name-to-own-incomp. when AF-get-big-incomp.

Why should we prohibit anyone to ask for them when they get big? (rhet. Q).

Ramon: 'Ra la nga naglalawa:n 147  
why unexpectedly Lk AF-get-out-pl.-comp.

da sissi:tu. Ata:n manang 148  
FM-pl. puppies there-is elder-sister

Martina nga mangla:la ka 149  
Martina Lk AF-talk-while-walking-incomp. L

kalsa:da nga magpatu:lung... 150  
path Lk AF-go-upstream-incomp.

"Alakkan mu datu 151  
GF-get-pl.incomp. you-sing. FM-pl.

sissi:tu amang ta ata:n 152  
puppies mother because there-is

ne ukoq Martina," na:n na 153  
PNF grandmother Martina said A

ababbing. "Matay manin daya:n nu 154  
child GF-die-incomp. again those if

kuwa," na:n na. Makagalaq aq 155  
.... said 3rd-per. AF-laugh-incomp. I

la ke Minda. 156  
just PN-obl. Minda



- idi mekaqlu dagun nin ka panda kiya:n 167  
this third year now L since L
- na nagpuraq ku. 168  
Lk AF-feed-chicken-comp. I
- Nepaqmu pe ya adu anuq 169  
GF-coincident-comp. also Lk many chicken
- mi kurug. Nepaqmu la nga 170  
poss. truly GF-coincident-comp. just Lk
- tu kaadu anuq mi Tu... 171  
L many-mann. chicken poss. Lk
- sanguwa:nan natu labbet Coronet. 172  
before of-the coming Coronet
- Nagpuraq aq ki 173  
AF-feed-chicken-comp. I L
- pagpagma:t tin. 'Ra pe 174  
very-early-morning now rhet.Q. also
- la ata:n ne anti. 175  
rhet.Q. there-is PNF aunt
- Anti pensionada. Makagalaq aq a 176  
Aunt pensioner AF-laugh-incomp. I Lk
- makarungat a:ta ammuq 'ra 177  
AF-upset-incomp. because FG-know-I-incomp. why
- umma:n ka nadakeq tu uray natu 178  
like G bad FM-sing. mind G
- tolay kiyag a magsisi:ngan kiyag 179  
person 1st Per. Obl. Lk AF-look-incomp. 1st Per. Obl
- a magpuraq aq a masingan 180  
Lk AF-feed-chicken-comp. I Lk GF-see-incomp.
- na nga adu tutu wala datu 181  
3rd-per. Lk many very much FM-pl.
- pur-a:n ku. Ta 182  
GF-feed-chicken-incomp. I because

nalnabba:n	tu	amuwa:g	mi	ki	183
LF-cover-comp.	FM-sing.	yard	poss.	L	
panillod	di....				184
downstream-part	.....				

That time I laughed and was (at the same time) mad, Arling...I fed the chickens early morning. It was years ago. I think there is...this is the third year since that time I fed the chickens. Incidentally, it was the time we truly had many chickens. It was the time before Coronet came. I fed the chickens early morning. Unexpectedly, aunt was also there; aunt the pensioner. I laughed and was upset because, I don't know, it seems like she was not happy to see me feeding my chickens, seeing that the chickens I was feeding were so many. Because our yard on the downstream side was covered with...

Monoq:	....kadatu	anuq....			185
	....of the	chicken			

Ramon:	....kadatu	anuq	a	dadakkal	Puwer	186
	....of the	chicken	Lk	big-pl.	excluding	

la	pippi:yaq.	"Neeeeeeey!"	na:n	natu	187
just	chicks	oooooohh	said	A	

baqbakat.	"Nganna	nga	tabbun	188
old-woman	wonder-part.	Lk	many	

anuq	mu!"	'ra	na	la	na:n.	189
chicken	your	why	3rd per.	just	said	

Umma:n	kiya:n	tu	angngagi	190
like	that	FM-sing.	mann.-say	

na.	Umma:n	ka	maluqsaw...	akkan	191
3rd per.	like	G	AF-mad-incomp.	not	

ku	ammu	nu	maluqsaw	tun	onu	192
I	GF-know-incomp.	if	AF-mad-incomp.	that	or	

anggamman	na.	Ata	tagduduwa	193
GF-admire-incomp.	3rd per.	because	in-twos	
ya	matay...	ka panda...	Ay	194
FM-sing.	GF-die-incomp.	L since	and	
a:wan ku	ammu	kinuw-kuwa		195
none I	GF-know-incomp.	GF-do-comp.		
na				196
3rd per.				

said the old woman. "You got so many chickens!" she said, unexpectedly. That's the way she said it. she sounded like she was mad...I didn't know if she was mad then or it was her admiration. Because they (the chickens) died in twos after that (incident)...I don't of anything she did.

Monoq:	Tu	la	tu	naganggam.	197
	that	just	FM-sing.	AF-admire-comp.	

She just admired (the chickens).

Ramon:	Oq...	"Ata:n	da	Anti,	198
	yes	there-is	3rd per.-pl.	aunt	
	ata:n	ag-aggissa	nga	anug	deddi
	there-is	very-few	Lk	chicken	these
	anna:naq,"	na:n	ku	maq	a.
	children	said	I	cert.	.. L since
	na:n	mu	ay	bittiq	matay
	said	you	Lk	few	GF-die-incomp.
					if
	duwa...	kiya	isa	nga	algaw.
	two	in	one	Lk	day
					there-is
	da	la	malu:sa:ng	ki	unag
	3rd pl.	just	GF-decompose-incomp.	L	inside
	kurung	Mangwa	ngaq	ki	
	poultry-house	AF-do-incomp.	I	O	

ammug	in.	Makikontes	saq	205
GF-know-incomp-I	now	AF-race-incomp.	Lk-I	
in	magka:n	Ta		206
already	AF-eat-incomp.	because		
ammug	mara:pun	datu	207	
GF-know-incomp-I	GF-die-in-mass-incomp	FM-pl.		
anuq	mi.		208	
chicken	poss.-pl.			

Yea.."There's a few of them, Aunt, they are the children's," so I said. Since then, believe it or not, if only two die in a day, that's few. There are some that just putrefy inside the poultry house. I had to do something. I started killing them (to eat). Because I know they are all going to die.

Monoq:	Tu	win	tu	ammum	209
	FM	now	FM-sing.	know-you sing.	
	pamaqyana:n.				210
	do				

That was the only thing you know you can do.

Ramon:	Oq...	Mangwa	ngaq	ka	211	
	yes	AF-make-incomp.	Lk-I	O		
	ammug	kiya:n	nin.	Melug	212	
	GF-know-incomp-I	there	now	almost		
	magpungtu	ya	algaw	213		
	AF- recip.-end-incomp.	FM-sing.	day			
	agpartiq	in	a:ta	tittu	214	
	kill-I	already	because	the-only		
	ammug.	Tinabid	na	215		
	GF-know-incomp-I	GF-take-comp.	3rd per.			
	kid	kiya...	akkan	nala	kid	216
	uncert.	L	not	only	uncert.	

magku:ra:ng	nga...	nu	di	nasur-suruq	217
AF-lack-incomp.	Lk	if	not	a-little-more	
tallu pu:lu	daya	dadakkal	lala	218	
three tens	FM-pl.	big-ones-pl.	only		
nga pappartiyān	ku.	Ay	nu	219	
Lk	GF-can-kill-incomp.	I	and if		
pippi:yaq	ala	ay	alaq	na	220
chicks	only	Lk	GF-get-incomp.	3rd per.	
kid	ya	duwa	gatut.	221	
uncert.	FM-sing.	two	hundred		

Yea...I had to think of something I can do. I killed two in a day, one in the morning and one in the evening. That was the only thing I know I can do. There were around...it was no less than...there were more than thirty of the big ones that I killed. And of the chicks, there were around two hundred of them.

Monoq:	Ta	adu	da	kammala	ngin	nin	a.	222
	so	many	3rd pl.	cert.	surely	now	..	

There are really many of them.

Ramon:	...pipiyaq...	a:ta	maggannu-gannud	223
	...chicken...	because	in-succession	
daya:n.	Ata:n	da	nga	224
those	there-is	3rd pl.	Lk	
magpapa:da.	Datu	noray	225	
AF- recip-same-incomp.	FM-pl.	any		
maggiginda:n...			226	
AF-simultaneous-incomp.				

those of the same age, those that came out the same time

Monoq:	...maggiginda:n	na	mapsit	227
	...AF-simultaneous	Lk	GF-hatch-incomp.	



- Ramon: Oq, a:wan na la nga kuwa... 228  
 yes none 3rd per. just Lk hest.
- a:wan kid tang-tanga bu:la:n, 229  
 none uncert. only-one month
- narput datu anuq mi. 230  
 GF-mass-death-comp. FM-pl. chicken our

Yea. There was no...in less than a month, our chickens all died.

- Erlinda: Awan maq pe anuq mi. 231  
 none cert. also chicken our

We also don't have anymore chickens.

- Ludag: O rungat a:tu la tuni yin nga 232  
 oh fierce dog just that already Lk
- na:n ku. 233  
 said I

Yea, but it was just dogs' fierce (attacks).

- Ramon: Dudduwa tu.... dudduwa.... Ta 234  
 only-two FM-sing. only-two rhet.Q
- di maq lugud magngarutongot ta, 235  
 not cert. so AF-gnash-teeth-npst Lk
- annuq tu maq 236  
 GF-know-incomp-I it's-it cert.

Only two...only two...She was gnashing her teeth...I don't know why...

- Monoq: Tu kanu ya:n maddi nu 237  
 that reportedly that not if

magngarutongot	ya	maguni.	238
AF-gnash-teeth-incomp.	FM-sing.	AF-talk-incomp.	
Oray	nu maganggam	se akkan	239
even	if AF-happy-incomp.	or not	
ya	kuwa na	nu ata:n	240
FM-sing.	impl, 3rd per.	if there-is	
ya	ngarutongot na,	ay tu	241
FM-sing.	gnash-teeth 3rd per.	Lk that	
kanu	ya:n ya	maddi.	242
reportedly	that FM-sing.	not-good	

That's what was wrong, I heard, when the one speaking gnashed his/her teeth. Whether he/she is admiring or not if the speaker gnashes his/her teeth, that is not good.

Ramon:	Umma:n ka malugsaw	tu	243
	like O AF-mad-incomp.	FM-sing.	
	aganggam na nga makasingan	kadatu	244
	admiration 3rd Lk AF-see-incomp.	of-the	
	pur-a:n ku. "Anuq mi nga:min	245	
	GF-feed-incomp. I chicken our all		
	daya:n," na:n ku maq a:ta kurug	246	
	those said I cert. because true		
	anuq mi nga:min da ata:n	247	
	chicken our all FM-pl. there-is		
	kitu kuwa. Ata nasa:pa ngaq maq	248	
	L impl. because early I cert.		
	a mangatangya kadaya anuq.	249	
	Lk AF-mind-incomp. Obl-pl. chicken		
	Tsansaan ku ya akkan pikam	250	
	GF-time-incomp. I FM-sing. not yet		

nagditta:g	da	anuq	da	251
AF-alight-comp.	FM-pl.	chicken	3rd per.pl.	
kabbulun	na	magdada:pun	Ta	252
companions	Lk	AF-roost-cont.-incomp.	because	
adu	ya	akkan	makada:sir	253
many	FM-sing.	not	AF-compete-incomp.	
ki	puraq	in	nu...	254
dat.	feed	now	if	

Her admiration (of the chickens) was like she was also mad, when she saw the chickens I was feeding. "Those are all my chickens," I said because it was true that those in the (yard) were all our chickens. Because I take care of the chickens very early in the morning. I do it when the chickens of our neighbors haven't yet come down from their roost. Because many can't eat of the feed when...

Monoq:	....magditta:g	da	nga:min...	255
	....AF-alight-incomp.	they	all	

They all come down.

Ramon:	....magditta:g	nga:min	da	anuq	256
	....AF-alight-incomp.	all	they	chicken	
a	noray	makar-karu	wala		257
Lk	any	short-while	Lk		
magdada:pun....	Makagalaq		aq	pe	258
AF-roost-incomp.	AF-laught-incomp.	I	also		
makarungat	ki	Anti.	"Na:gan	tura	259
AF-get-mad-incomp.	G	aunt	what	why	
naga:mud	datu	anuq			260
GF-bewitched-comp.	FM-pl.	chicken			
tada?"	na:n	ku	maq	a.	261
our-incl.	said	I	cert.	...	

laugh and I also get upset at Aunt. "What happened, why were our chickens bewitched?" I said.

Monoq: ...kaggi:na?  
...3rd-per.-obl.

To her?

Erlinda: Ammuq kod datu anuq 262  
GF-know-incomp-I surely FM-pl. chicken

mi, ra da napu:put pe 263  
our-excl. why they GF-die-out-comp. also

yin. 264  
already

I don't know what happened to our chickens. Almost all of them are already gone.

Monoq: Akkan mu la kinagi 265  
not you-sing. just GF-tell-comp.

kaggi:na. 266  
3rd per.-obl.

Didn't you tell her?

Ramon: Akkan. Ta adu u:nay debate 267  
no because many very argument

mapadatang nu kuwa... "Wayya la 268  
GF-arise-incomp. if impl. rhet.Q just

nga ata:n kinuwaq!" ba:rang nu 269  
Lk there-is GF-do-comp.-I maybe if

na:n da kadaqta. 270  
said they 1st-pl.-obl.

No. Because there will be so much discussion if..."Why. did I do anything?" they might say to me.

Monoq: Siyampre a. 271  
of-course so

Without a doubt.

Ramon: Akkan ta wayya magsuspetsa ka 272  
not we-dual surely AF-suspect-incomp. G

kinuwa na isa tolay nu... 273  
GF-do-comp. 3rd per. one person if

I don't want to suspect anyone of doing anything if....

Mono: Oray nu akkan magsuspetsa a.  
even if not AF-suspect-incomp. surely

Even if you don't suspect (anyone).

Erlinda: Tu maq pe datu magda:yaw 274  
that cert. also FM-pl. AF-praise-incomp.

kadatu anuq mi kitun 275  
O-def.-pl. chicken our-excl. in-the-comp.

ta adu pe datu anuq 276  
because many also FM-pl. chicken

mi. Giya:n da ngin! 277  
our-excl. place they now

There were also those who admired our chickens, because we also had plenty of chickens. They're all gone too!

Ramon: Tittu pikam tun na nakauqnud 278  
only-that yet that Lk AF-collect-comp.

ku ka anuq a ad-adu panda kitu 279  
I O chicken Lk good-many since L

agmimi:nas. Agmimi:nas pe tu 280  
mining-time mining-time also FM-sing.

adu anuq ku. 281  
many chicken my

That was the only time I was able to raise that many chickens since the mine exploration time. We also had plenty of chickens during the mine exploration.

Monoq: Maq a ta adu sangai:li 282  
surely so because many visitors

nu 283  
your-pl.

Yea, because you had so many visitors.

Ramon: May immin pe yala datu 284  
But GF-consume-comp. also only FM-pl.

Tagalog. Immin mi 285  
Tagalog-people GF-consume-comp. we

nepassida kadatu Tagalog. 286  
GF-feed-comp Obl.prn Tagalog-people

Awan kam sopu-sopung tu minas 287  
none ... good-result FM-sing. mine

sa... 288  
Lk

But the Tagalog people consumed them. We fed them to the Tagalog people. But the mining (project) was a failure.

Erlinda: Awan ka la nga kuwa datu... 289  
none .. just Lk impl. FM-pl.

	ata:n      nga:min    mangantu...	290
	there-is   all            circumstances	
There is no...of the...Many things happened...		
Monoq:	Naggas-gastuwan            tada      ngin.	291
	GF-cont.-spend-comp.    we-incl.    already	
We spent money for.		
Ramon:	Oq... Kane managlod	292
	yes      when    AF-go-downstream-incomp.	
	de                    Alli se    Coronet na:n	293
	PNF                  Alli and    Coronet said	
	--	
	mu                  ay pinabalu:nan      kuda      ka	294
	you-sing.    Lk    GF-take-comp.    I-they    G	
	tangakilo    karne    se      duwa    ngabgi    anuq.	295
	one-kilo    meat    and    two      piece    chicken	
	Di    yaq    ammu                    pe      tu	296
	not    I      GF-know-incomp.    also    FM-sing.	
	nagparti                                    kitun    nu....	297
	AF-butcher-animal-comp.    then    if	
	nerana                    pe      kitu            nawe	298
	GF-coindent-comp.    also    G-def.      AF-go-comp.	
	da.    "Ra    pe      la      uwad            karne    ya	299
	they    why    also    just    there-was    meat    Lk	
	paba:lun                    ku    kadatu            anna:naq.	300
	GF-carry-out-comp.    I    O-def.pl.      children	
	Pinarti                  da      maq      a            ka	301
	GF-kill-comp.    they    cert.    surely    L	
	Kabugao.	302
	Kabugao	





yala naweq	naggaga:yam	314
only AF-go-comp-I	AF-visit-comp.	
ke	Ambadan.	315
Obl. prn-sing.	Ambadan	

We would have plenty of chickens if not when I'm gone, a chicken will be gone too, when I'm gone a chicken will be gone too. I blame Annawan's children. I already found out that...the chicken of Esta ...Romel sold to Ambadan for 15 pesos. It was just recently when I went to visit with Ambadan.

Ramon:	Ata:n	maq	pe	duwa	nga	anuq	316
	there-is	cert.	also	two	Lk	chicken	
	a	pagmugmugawang	mi.		May	akkan	317
	Lk	wanderer	our-excl.	But	not		
	ku	ippay	kada	anna:naq.		318	
	I	GF-blame-incomp	obl.prn-pl.	children			
	Ta	iya	akkan	wayya	masingan.	319	
	because	that	not	surely	GF-see-incomp.		
	Nu	kurug	ga....	Na:gan	kuma	ya	320
	if	true	Lk	what	might	FM-sing.	
	ipatay	da	ta	ay	dadakkal	321	
	cause-die-incomp.	they	rhet.Q	Lk	big-pl.		
	da	nga	anuq	in.	Akkan	wayya	322
	they	Lk	chicken	already	not	surely	
	pippi:yaq.					323	
	chicks						

We also have two chickens that are lost. But I am not suspecting that the children have anything to do with them. Because I don't see anything. If it's true...What will they die of? They are already big chickens. They are not chicks.

Erlinda:	Kurug	ga	naloko	da.	"Makin	anuq	324
----------	-------	----	--------	-----	--------	------	-----

true	Lk	wicked	they	whose	chicken	
kitunni?"	na:n	ku	maq	a	kiddi	na
that-there	said	I	surely	Lk	here	it
						325
nawe	yaq	naggaga:yam	kitu			326
AF-go-comp.	I	AF-visit-comp.	L			
gi:da:m	ka	giya:n	de		Ambadan.	327
afternoon	L	place	poss.-prn-pl.	Ambadan		
"Anuq	mi	ya:n	a!"	na:n		328
chicken	our-excl.	that	surely	said		
ne	Ambadan.	Tu	ya:n			329
PNA	Ambadan	the-one	that			
ya	nela:ku	ne	Romel			330
FM-sing.	GF-sell-comp.	PNA	Romel			
la	we	na	nippay			331
Lk	AF-go-incomp.	3rd.Per.sing.	GF-put-comp.			
kiddi	na	nga	kinagi	na		332
here	it	Lk	GF-tell-comp.	3rd.Per.sing.		
kiyaq	may	a:wan	naq."	na:n	na.	333
1st.obl.sing	but	none	I	said	he	
"Alaq	mu	anuq	ku	ikaw,		334
GF-get-incomp.	you-sing.	chicken	my	you		
piptin	pesos	sala,"	na:n	na		335
fifteenth	pesos	only	said	he		
kiyaq.	May	"Ilbet	mu			336
obl.1st.Per.sing.	but	GF-bring-incomp.	you			
a,"	na:n	ku	kaggi:na	may		337
surely	said	I	3rd.Per.obl.sing.	but		
a:wan	naq	kitu	we	na		338
none	I	when	AF-go-incomp.	he		
magitulud,'	na:n	ne	kuwa	Ambadan.		339
AF-bring-comp.	said	PNA	hest.	Ambadan		

- Ney! may tu anuq kammala Esta 340  
 Oh but FM-sing. chicken surely Esta
- ngin, say. Ata ya anuq 341  
 now surely because FM-sing. chicken
- a sina:kaw na ka Nangaligan ay 342  
 Lk GF-steal-comp. he L Nangaligan Lk
- sissa nga kawitan. Nagba:yad ka 343  
 only-one Lk rooster AG-cost-comp. G
- twintipayb pesos. "Negaya:t ku 344  
 twenty-five pesos GF-take-from-comp. I
- ka Nangaligan," na:n na kanu 345  
 L Nangaligan said he reportedly
- ke Ambadan. Ney! may 346  
 3rd.obl.sing. Ambadan Oh but
- tu anuq ku, say. "Anuq ku 347  
 FM-sing. chicken my ... chicken my
- ya:n," na:n ku maq ke 348  
 that said I surely 3rd.Per.obl.
- Ambadan. "Subliya:n ku," na:n ku. 349  
 Ambadan GF-return-incomp. I said I
- May akkan ipalubus ne Ambadan. 350  
 but not GF-allow-incomp. PNA Ambadan
- Ata isubliq kammin kuma 351  
 because GF-return-incomp. same wish
- tu piptin pesos ta 352  
 FM-sing. fifteenth pesos because
- anuq ne Esta ya:n. Ba:yad 353  
 chicken 3rd per.poss. Esta that payment
- a:gas... kane kuwa... 354  
 medicine when impl.

They are truly bad guys. "Whose chicken is that?" I said when I went to visit with Ambadan yesterday afternoon. "That's our chicken," Ambadan said. "That's the one Romel sold to me, that he told me that he would put here, but I was not in," he said. "You buy my chicken for only 15 pesos," he said to me. And, "bring it here," I said to him but I was not in when he brought it here," Ambadan said. But it was surely Esta's chicken! Because the chicken he stole in Nangaligan is a rooster. He sold it for 25 pesos. "I got it from Nangaligan," he reportedly said to Ambadan. But it surely was my chicken! "That's my chicken," I said to Ambadan. "I'll give back what you paid for it," I said. But Ambadan wouldn't let me. I want to give back the 15 pesos because that was Esta's chicken. It was a payment for some medicine...when...

Ramon:	....	"Akkan	ku	kuma	subliya:n	ya:n	355
	....	not	I	wish	GF-return-incomp.	that	
	nu	di	anuq	ne	narsi,"	na:n	356
	if	not	chicken	PN	poss. nurse	said	
	ta	a.					357
	we-dual	..					

not the nurse's chicken," you tell them.

Erlinda:	We	yaq	maq	a			358
	AF-go-incomp.	I	cert.	surely			
	ussan		kagiyan	ya:n	nu		359
	GF-repeat-incomp.		GF-tell-incomp.	that	when		
	kala:wa.	Ta	magpa:laq	aq	ka		360
	tomorrow	because	AF-caus.-get-incomp.	I	G		
	anuq	piddeq		kaggi:da			361
	chicken	GF-caus.-give-incomp.		3rd.obl.pl.			
	Ta	papaadu		ne			362
	because	GF-caus.-multiply-incomp.		PNA			
	Cristita	ya	anuq	na	ta		363
	Cristita	FM	chicken	3rd.Per.poss.	because		

oray mawe	ka Manila ay	364
even AF-go-incomp.	L Manila Lk	
"umbet	taq kammin nu bakasyon,	365
AF-come-incomp.	I again when vacation	
oray magdagat	taq ka Manila," na:n	366
even AF-stay-incomp.	I L Manila said	
na.		367
3rd. Per		

I will surely go back and tell him that tomorrow. I will ask someone to get a chicken to give them. Because Cristita asked me to raise her chicken, because even when she goes to Manila she said, "I'll come again on my vacation time, even if I stay in Manila," she said.

Ramon:	Kagiyan	ta.	"Akkan ku wayya	368
	GF-tell-incomp.	we-dual	not I surely	
	appoliyan	ya:n nu di ya	369	
	GF-take-back-incomp.	that if not Lk		
	anuq ne	narsi," na:n ta.	370	
	chicken 3rd.Per.poss.	nurse said we-dual		

You tell them. "I will not get that back if it is not the nurse's chicken," you say.

Ludag:	May ya	ubra de	Romel maq ide
	but FM-sing	work PN poss. pl.	Romel cert this
	Taka:wan	da maq nga:min ya	anu
	GF-steal-incomp.	they cert. all FM-sing.	chicken

That's Romel's (and someone else's) fault (doings). they even steal chickens.

Erlinda:	Tuya	weq	kammin kuma	371
	that's-why	AF-go-incomp.-I	again wish	
	alaq	tu	anuq ki	372
	GF-get-incomp.	FM-sing.	chicken L	

allod. 373  
downstream

That's why I want to get back the chicken in the downstream village.

Ludag: ....Subliya:n mu ya:n. 374  
....GF-return-incomp. you that

Erlinda: Tu ya:n ya iddeq 375  
the-one that FM-sing. GF-give-incomp.-I

kaggi:da. 376  
3rd Per. obl. pl.

That's what I'll give them.

Ramon: Apangira:rat tala ne Marlon 377  
GF-just-kill-comp. just PNA Marlon

tu kawi:ta:n na nga pinaltuq 378  
FM-sing. rooster his Lk GF-spear-comp.

ne Aldrin. Tu 379  
PNA Aldrin FM-sing.

ginaga:ban... 380  
GF-treat-comp.

Marlon just killed his rooster that Aldrin shot with a spear gun. It was the one he (Marlon) treated.....

Erlinda: Naganemic kala. 381  
AF-sick-comp. only

It got sick.

Ramon: Oq... Tu gina:ga:ban maq na 382  
yes FM-sing. GF-treat-comp. cert. he

ya:n. Kengan na tutu wala ya:n 383  
that GF-spare-incomp. he very much that

na anug na. 384  
Lk chicken his

Yea...Marlon treated it. He didn't want to kill that chicken of his.

Erlinda: "Si:lag ka din agkaq nu 385  
AF-discipline-incomp. you may ..... if

binugbug naka," na:n ku maq. 386  
GF-beat-comp. he-you said I cert.

"You would have learned your lesson if he beat you up," I said.

Ramon: "Si:lag ka pe. 387  
GF-discipline-comp. you also

Si:lag kayu wa 388  
GF-discipline-incomp. you-pl. Lk

magkikenga kada anug nu 389  
AF-spare-incomp. FM-pl. chicken you-pl.

nga...," na:n ku maq ke 390  
Lk said I cert. PN-obl.

Marlon. 391  
Marlon

"You also learned your lesson. You, who won't kill any of his chickens..." I certainly told Marlon.

Erlinda: Paanna:n ne Marlon 392  
GF-what-to-do-incomp. PNA Marlon

ta? 393  
rhet.Q

What's going on with Marlon?

Ramon: Waq maq naya amit naya 394  
where cert. G savor it-def.

naniw-ni:wa:ng? 395  
very-skinny

Where's the good taste of a very skinny chicken?

Ludag: Na:n ku maq ki:di ke 396  
said I cert. this PN obl.sing.

Emma, "Kanna:n mu ya anuq 397  
Emma why you FM-sing. chicken

nu kenga:n Ay tura 398  
you-pl. GF-spare-incomp. and why

makadaqdaqdaq ay... 399  
AF-roam-cont.-incomp. Lk

I told Emma this, "What are you saving your chicken for. It wanders around and....

Erlinda: Masdaa:wan naq pe ta 400  
AF-wonder-incomp. I also because

gaggaya:t kami ka nga:tu 401  
just-arrive-from us-excl. L uphill

kiya:n. Na:gan tura ata:n nala 402  
there what why there-is just

tu anuq a sikkaagtu ka 403  
FM-sing. chicken Lk AF-carry-incomp. G

ba:rus! Ay nagbulbu:lun kami 404



wire and AF-come-together-comp. us-excl.  
 se de Aldrin. 405  
 and PNF Aldrin

I was really surprised because we came from the village uphill then. And there was the chicken with the wire spear. Aldrin and I were together when we came.

Ludag: Tu pe tu bakkan ku ammu nu 406  
 the-one also the-one not I know if  
 aggi:na. May... 407  
 3rd per.sing. but

That was also the reason why I can't say it it was him (who did it). But...

Erlinda: Tu:tu na:n ku wa, "Nagbubu:lun 408  
 that-was-why said I Lk AF-together-comp.  
 kami maq se de Aldrin," 409  
 us-excl. cert. and PNF Aldrin  
 na:n ku wa ipatpa:t ke 410  
 said I Lk GF-insist-incomp. 3rd.per.obl.  
 manang Emma. Ata gusto. 411  
 elder-sister Emma because right  
 Nagbubu:lun kami. Ney! may 412  
 AF-together-comp. we-excl. Oh but  
 e Aldrin kammala ngin. 413  
 PNF-fronted Aldrin sure enough

That was why I said, "Aldrin and I were together," I insisted to elder sister Emma. Because it was true. We were together. but it was truly Aldrin who did it!

Ramon: Ata:n ta la magtula:yaw... 414  
 there-is us-dual only AF-deny-incomp.

- Mamin piga nu la kod ya 415  
 how many you-pl. only ... FM-sing.
- kuwa da nu itu oras na tu 416  
 impl. they if the time it FM-sing.
- kuwa da. 417  
 impl. 3rd per.pl.
- You were denying it...It won't take very much time for them  
 to...when it is the for their...to...
- Monoq: ....angwa da... 418  
 ....act 3rd Per.pl.
- Erlinda: Ata nasingan ne Sudaq 419  
 because GF-see-comp. Dt.Per.sing. Sudaq
- ya anuq kitu giya:n 420  
 FM-sing. chicken L place
- na. Gaya:t ka 421  
 3rd per.sing. AF-come-from-comp. L
- allod. Sikkaagtu ka ba:rus. 422  
 downstream AF-carry-cont.incomp. G wire
- Di:kod kane nasingan ku ki:di 423  
 therefore when GF-see-comp. I here,
- "Na:gan na kinuwa na 424  
 what it GF-do-comp. 3rd per.sing.
- anuq?" na:n ku. Ay a:wan a Aldrin 425  
 chicken said I and none .. Aldrin
- nin ta nagbubu:lun kami 426  
 already because AF-together-comp. we-excl.
- maq lugud ngamay nangaw-a:t 427  
 cert. surely but AF-go-directly-comp.

maq ki ambaw. 428  
cert. L riverbank

Because Sudaq saw the chicken where he was. It came from downstream. It was carrying the wire. Therefore when I saw it here, "What happened to the chicken?" I said. Aldrin was not around anymore. We were together but he went straight ahead to the riverbank.

Monoq: Nangaw-a:t maq a:ta 429  
AF-go-directly-comp. he cert. because

uwad maq lugud din na 430  
there-was cert. surely already Lk

ba:sul. Ba:sul na. 431  
sin sin his

He went straight ahead (to the riverbank) because there was already a wrongdoing. His wrongdoing.

Ludag: O, may inumbet kammin. "Ne 432  
yes but AF-come-comp again here

tu ba:rus mu," na:n ned 433  
FM-sing. wire your-sing. said this

Marlon. "Oq tu ya:n tu 434  
Marlon yes, the-one that FM-sing.

ba:rus ku," na:n ne Aldrin. 435  
wire my said PNA Aldrin

Yea. But he came back. "Here is your wire spear," Marlon said.  
"Yea, that's my wire spear," Aldrin said.

Ramon: Ammu ne Marlon 436  
GF-know-incomp. PNA Marlon

tu ba:rus na ta da:ti 437  
FM-sing. wire his because originally

mas-asingan na kammala ngin 438  
 GF-see-cont.-incomp. 3rd Per. surely ....

nin kiya us-usaran 439  
 .... since GF-use-cont.-incomp.

na. 440  
 3rd Per. sing.

Marlon knows his wire spear because he sees it when he (Aldrin) uses it.

Ludag: Kuwa, kaggi:na kanu ya 441  
 hest. 3rd Per.obl.sing. reportedly Lk

nangba:sal ya nakasingan 442  
 AF-hammer-comp. FM-sing. AF-see-comp.

ne Marlon. 443  
 PNA Marlon

No. Marlon saw it when he (Aldrin) was making it.

Erlinda: Akkan maq lugud ammu ya 444  
 not cert. so know FM-sing.

pamaqyana:n mi kadatuni 445  
 GF-what-to-do-incomp. we-excl. Obl.def.pl.

dakami se Aloy. 446  
 us-excl. and Aloy

We, Aloy and I, don't know what to do with those guys.

Ramon: Awan nala a. 447  
 none absolutely surely

Nothing at all.

Erlinda: Ta...	luqsawan	mida	se	448
	because GF-scold-incomp.	us-them	and	
de	Aloy, palattug	ne	449	
PNG	Aloy gun	3rd Per.poss.sing.		
Victor ya	pamalsu	da.	450	
Victor	FM-sing. IF-threat-incomp.	they		
Tu:ya	ata:n	ki uray ku ay	451	
	that's-why there-is L	mind my Lk		
pagamomanan	mi	lugud dala se	452	
	GF-discuss-incomp. we-excl.	then just and		
Aloy. Idarum	lugud dala	453		
Aloy	GF-sue-incomp. then just			
aggi:da.	Senu	kuwa dala lugud	454	
	3rd Per.pl. so-that impl.	just then		
ki palattug ta	ittu	peyang kaw	455	
G	gun	because the-one always you		
ya	im-imma:n	da.	Tu	456
	FM-sing. GF-hold-incomp.	3rd per.	the-one	
maq nangitanab	da	457		
cert.	IF-ambush-comp.	3rd per.pl.		
ke	Aloy. Netanab	458		
PN-obl.	Aloy GF-ambush-comp.			
da	maq Aloy ka kuwa kane	459		
	3rd per.pl. cert. Aloy G impl.	when		
binugbug	ne	Aloy	460	
	GF-beat-comp. PNA	Aloy		
ye	Romel la kuwa ka	461		
PNG	Romel Lk impl G			
nasukalan	nagta:kaw	kitu	462	
	GF-find-out-comp. AF-steal-comp.	G-def.		

bateri Dumayag. 463  
battery Dumayag

Because Aloy and I scolded them but they threatened us with Victor's gun. That's why what I'm thinking is that Aloy and I will agree that we'll just sue them. So that they will be...for the gun because they always carry it. They used it in an ambush attempt on Aloy. They ambushed Aloy at...when Aloy beat up Romel who was found out to have stolen Dumayag's flashlight battery.

Monoq: Oq. Patayan da pikam 464  
yes GF-kill-incomp. 3rd per.pl. yet  
me Aloy kiya:n nu kuwa... 465  
PNG Aloy there when impl.

Yea. They might yet kill Aloy when...

Erlinda: Ay uqdan da pikam 466  
and GF-warn-incomp. 3rd per.pl. yet  
me Balangit. Gapu kiya 467  
PNG Balangit due G  
sina:kaw da nga nga:min 468  
GF-steal-comp. 3rd per.pl. Lk all  
la:wig ne Balangit. Ay 469  
fish-hooks PN-poss. sing. Balangit and  
napiya ngin nu we 470  
good already if AF-go-incomp.  
pakup-ku:pan ya bukya 471  
GF-confiscate-incomp. FM-sing. home-made-gun  
da kiya:n na duwa. 472  
3rd per.pl. there Lk two

They even threatened Balangit. The reason was Balangit's fish hooks that they stole. It will be better if we have their two homemade guns confiscated.

Ramon:	Duwa	kurug	ya	bukya		473
	two	truly	FM-sing.	homemade-guns		
	da		Tu	kuwa	Erning	474
	3rd Per.poss.		FM-sing.	own	Erning	
	se	tu	kinuwa	Victor.		475
	and	FM-sing.	GF-make-comp.	Victor		

They truly have two homemade-guns. They have the one Erning made and the one that Victor made.

Erlinda:	Akkan	da	kurug	napiya	nga	tolay.	476
	not	they	truly	good	Lk	person	
	Ay	nu	ikaw	kuma	pe	ya	477
	and	if	you	wish	also	Lk	
	mana:kam,	kanna:n	mu	na:d			478
	parent	why	you-sing.	wonder			
	da	idde		pe	ya		479
	Lk	GF-give-incomp.		also	FM-sing.		
	umma:n	kiya:n	kada	anna:naq.			480
	like	that	obl. prn.pl.	children			

They truly are not nice people. And the parents why would they even give those things (the guns) to the children!

Ludag:	Taka:wan		da	kanu.		481
	GF-steal-incomp.		they	reportedly		

They, reportedly, steal them.

Erlinda:	Isiruq		mu	a	ka	482
	GF-hide-incomp.		you-sing.	subjn.	0	





na. 494  
3rd-poss.

And we should also take out the bullets. We should also hide the bullets.

Erlinda: O nu iwaren mu ay 495  
or when GF-expose-incomp. you-sing. Lk

a:wan na maya:n kuma... 496  
none 3rd per.-sing. content wish

Nu... 497  
when...

Or, if they just put them any place where they can be found, they should take out the bullets...When/If...

Ramon: Nakad-adi:na:ng nge Aldrin nu 498  
AF-act-good PNF Aldrin when

tul-tulduwan ku. 499  
GF-teach-cont.-incomp I

Aldrin seems so nice when I advice him.

Erlinda: Awan na paqngang ara:mid 500  
none 3rd per. very-much bad-deeds

nu ata:n kidde, may kane 501  
when there-is here but when

magbungguy da manin 502  
AF-gang-together-incomp. they again

na.... Sigura:du maq a weq 503  
Lk surely cert. Lk AF-go-incomp.

ruqru:tan ya isa 504

GF-rope-and-take-incomp.	FM-sing.	one		
ba:ka	daya:n	basta		505
cow/steer	3rd per.-poss.-pl.	as-soon-as		
mabong	ngala	ya		506
GF-break-incomp.	only	FM-sing.		
dur-duri	ki	si:dung.	Akkan	507
antique-jar	L	under-the-house	not	
nala	nga	magba:bas	ya:n	508
just	Lk	AF-without-fail-incomp.	that	
basta	bongan	da	la	509
when	GF-break-incomp.	they	just	
ya	dur-duri	ki		510
FM-sing.	antique-jar	L		
si:dung	ngi.			511
under-the-house	....			
Rugru:tan	ya	isa		512
GF-rope-and-take-incomp.	FM-sing.	one		
ba:ka	da.	Ta		513
cow/steer	3rd per. poss.-pl.	because		
molaw	waq...			514
AF-get-tired-incomp.	I			
Nolaw	waq	tutu	wala	515
GF-get-tired-comp.	I	very	much	
kadaya:n	nin	a	nga	516
3rd per.obl.pl.	already	..	Lk	
anna:naq.	Akkan	da	tutu	517
children	not	they	very	much
iddan	ya	kasittolay		518
GF-give-incomp.	FM-sing.	fellow-people		
da...	Paqwa	da	kuna	519
3rd poss. pl.	GF-do-incomp.	they	wish	

daya:n ka PC nu ammu 520  
 those Oblique PC if GF-know-incomp.

da. 521  
 they

He isn't that bad when he is here, but when the two of them get together again (they do bad things)...I will surely rope one of their steers if/when the antique jar under the house gets broken (because of their foolishness). I would surely do that if they break the antique jar under the house. I will rope one of their steers. Because...I'm tired...I have been tired of these children. They don't give their fellowmen any break. They (the parents) should ask the P.C.(Philippine Constabulary) to arrest them. They know what to do.

Ramon: Mng. 522  
 yes

Yes.

Erlinda: ....ka mabaya:g ga dagu-dagun na 523  
 ....L long-time Lk years Lk

akkan da kuma nga we 524  
 not they wish Lk AF-go-incomp.

sin-sinnan da. 525  
 GF-see/visit-incomp. they

should not visit them.

Ramon: Padisiplinaan ku kurug pe 526  
 GF-Caus.-discipline-incomp. I truly also

daya anna:naq ku kadaya polis 527  
 FM-pl. children my olb.prn.pl police

se da PC nu iyaq ya 528  
 and pl. PC if I(front.) FM-sing.

umma:n    kadatuni    ya    kuwa    (tolay).    529  
like    obl.prn.pl.    Lk    hest.    people

I will surely have my children disciplined by the policemen and the P.C's. if I were like those people.

Erlinda: Tu:ya:n    ya    kuwa    mi    530  
that-one    FM-sing.    impl.    us-excl.

se    Aloy    yamay,    maddi    da    531  
and    Aloy    but    do-not    they

maq    ipasu:kuq    da    532  
cert.    GF-surrender-incomp.    they-pl.

anna:naq.    533  
children

That's what Aloy and I wanted to do but they wouldn't handover the children (to us).

Mono:    Basta    ata:n    la    bittiq    534  
as-soon-as    there-is    just    little

ba:sul    da    ngin    umma:n    kiya    535  
sin    their    already    like    Dat.

kuwa    da    ki    anuq    i,    536  
impl.    their    O    chicken    now

idarum    muda    kiya:n    nin    537  
GF-sue-incomp.    you-them    there    already

ta    senu    magnaqma:n    da.    538  
because    so-that    AF-mature-incomp.    they

Saballiq    manin    nu    ikuwa    539  
different    again    if    GF-impl.incomp.

muda    la    nga    a:wan    da    540  
you-them    just    Lk    none    3rd. per.

nga	kinuwa....	....abay	yin	541
Lk	GF-do-comp.	....big	already	
ya	kuwa....			542
FM-sing.	impl.			

As soon as they commit even a small crime like what they did with the chicken, you should sue them right away so that they will learn-a-lesson. It wouldn't be good if you get them arrested without their committing a crime...there will be a big....

RamonL:	....ikaw	wa	maganag	ya	543
	....you (front.)	Lk	parent	FM-sing.	
	mawe	mangikalbit		kada	544
	AF-go-incomp.	AF-secretly-tell-incomp.		Obl	
	polis	se	daya	kuwa....	545
	policemen	and	FM-pl.	impl.	

The parents themselves should be the ones to tell on them to the policemen and the....

Monoq:	....go...	546
	....yes...	

Yes, that's what I mean.

Ramon:	....talaga	nga....	"Tulu:gan	daq	547
	....surely	Lk	GF-help-incomp.	you-me	
	ta	akkan	ku	meturung	548
	because	not	I	GF-control-incomp.	
	da	anna:naq	ku,"	na:n	ta.
	FM-pl.	children	my	said	we-dual
	"Tu:ya	masa:pul	la		550
	that's-why	necessary	Lk		

disiplinaan                      nuda.                      Alaq                      551  
 GF-discipline-incomp.    you-them.              GF-get-incomp.

nuda                      ta                      disiplinaan                      552  
 you-them                      because              Gf-discipline-incomp.

nuda                      kiya                      camp."                      553  
 you-them                      L                      camp

my children,' we should say. 'That's why you must discipline them. Take them and discipline them in the camp.'

Erlinda: "Umbet                      kayu                      ki                      umma:n                      554  
 AF-come-incomp.              you-pl.                      L                      like

ki:di,"                      se                      ta                      na:n.                      555  
 this                      and                      we-dual                      said

'You (children) come at this time,' we would then say to them.

Ramon:    Oq.                      556  
 yes

Yes.

Erlinda: Se                      respitaran                      da,                      di:kod                      557  
 and                      GF-entertain-incomp.              then                      therefore

umbet                      datu                      anna:naq.                      558  
 AF-come-incomp.              FM-pl.                      children

Patiliw                      tada                      559  
 GF-caus.-arrest-incomp.              we-dual-them

ngin-                      560  
 already

And we will entertain them (the policemen and the P.C's.). Therefore the children will also come, and then we'll get them arrested.

Ludag:	Na:n	ku	la	ki	kapinyaa:n	561
	said	I	just	L	pineapple-plantation	
	na	inasaq		daya:n	kiya	562
	Lk	GF-got-through-comp.		those	because	
	mansing		da	ke	Victor,	563
	AF-afraid-incomp.		they	PN obl.	Victor	
	ay	a:wan	kaluqsawan		ne	564
	and	none	GF-caus.mad-at-incomp.		PNA	
	Victor	kaggi:da.		Taanna	tura da	565
	Victor	Obl-3rd.per.pl.		why	why they	
	ammu		tu	magada:ng		566
	GF-know-incomp.		FM-sing.	AF-crawl-incomp.		
	kitu	taggad	natu	pinya.	Ay	567
	L	under	O	pineapple	and	
	a:wan	mi	nasingan		Ay	568
	none	we-excl.	GF-see-comp.		and	
	nawe		da	ngin	ka	569
	AF-go-comp.		they	now	L	
	nga:tu.		Nangaw-a:t		da	570
	uphill-village		AF-go-direct-pst		they	
	ngin	kitu	arpa:d.			571
	already	L	uphill-field-boundary			
	Umma:n	da	kođ	maq	ki	572
	like	they	...	cert.	G	lizard
	ta	tolay	kadaya:n.			573
	Lk	person	3rd.per.-obl.-pl.			

They surprised me in the pineapple plantation that they passed through, because they were running away from Victor, but Victor was not mad at them at all. I couldn't believe why they were able to go through under the pineapple plants. We didn't see them at all. They then went uphill (to their house). They went through the uphill-field-boundary. They are like lizards, those people.

Erlinda:	Maqsayan		kurug	ya		574
	GF-decrease-incomp.		truly	FM-sing.		
	aramid	datuni	nu			575
	bad-deeds	those	if			
	pakunan		ta.			576
	GF-do-like-that-incomp.		we-dual			

They will surely slow down on their evil deeds if that's what we do.

Ludag:	Nama:ru	we	Aldrin	nin	may	se	577
	good	Lk	Aldrin	already	but	and	
	umbet		peyang	Romel.	Tu:tu		578
	AF-come-incomp.		always	Romel	that's-why		
	nangwa	da	ngin	ki			579
	AF-do-comp.	they	already	G			
	ammu		da.				580
	GF-know-incomp.		they				

Aldrin had already reformed and then Romel comes here very often. Then they started doing their thing.

Ramon:	Mira:as		pe	ye	Victor	581
	GF-implicate-incomp.		also	PNG	Victor	
	kitu:ni	nu	akkan	na	ngã	582
	there	if	not	he	Lk	
	pakunan.					583
	GF-do-like-that-incomp.					

Victor will get implicated (in their bad deeds) if he does not do such things.

Erlinda:	umabay		ya	umabay	ay	584
	AF-get-big-incomp.		Lk	AF-get-big-incomp.	..	



ya ubra da. 585  
 FM-sing. doings their

Their (bad) work is on the increase.

Ramon: Makapatay maq datuni nu 586  
 AF-kill-incomp. cert. those when

kuwa.... 587  
 impl.

They will commit murder sooner or later.

Erlinda: Saballi ma:n-kam ipaqbag 588  
 wrong on-the-contrary GF-answer-incomp.

da ke... 'ya na:n ku 589  
 they PN-obl. that's-why said I

wa igduq nada, nga na:n 590  
 Lk GF-protect-incomp. he-them Lk said

ku ta saba:li ipaqbag 591  
 I because wrong GF-answer-incomp.

da ke Aloy ya nagdasal 592  
 they PN obl. Aloy Lk AF-scold-comp.

kaggi:na ka Kabugao. "Pumatay 593  
 3rd per.obl. L Kabugao AF-kill-incomp.

ta ka tolay," na:n na 594  
 we-dual O person said he

kanu ma:n-kammin. Dim 595  
 reportedly on-the-contrary not-you

igduq ya anna:naq 596  
 GF-protect/side-incomp. FM-sing. children

mu                      kiya:n    na    sao.                      597  
 2nd per.poss.    L                      Lk    words

His answer to...was not good...that's why I think he is protecting them, because their answer to Aloy who rebuked him in Kabugao was not good. 'Should I kill, then?' he, reportedly, said, instead. That kind of answer surely shows that he is protecting his children.

Ramon:    Mmq.  
           yes

Yes.

Erlinda: "Pumatay                      ka    ngala.                      598  
 AF-kill-incomp.    you    only

Ikaw                      kappela    ya    makammu                      599  
 you(emph.)    alone                      Lk    AF-know-incomp.

win,"                      na:n    ne                      Aloy    ay.                      600  
 already    said    PNA                      Aloy    cert.

Tu                      maq                      ya                      akkan    naq                      601  
 that's-why    cert.    FM-sing.    not    I

makagalit                      ki    balay    yi,                      602  
 AF-get-away-incomp.    L    house    here

ta                      amminan                      da                      nga:min                      603  
 because    GF-consume-incomp.    they    all

ilakuwa:n                      bagga:t    mi,                      ay.                      604  
 GF-sell-incomp.    rice                      our-excl.    cert.

Leggeq                      ka    allod                      605  
 while-away-I    L    downstream

nakiseminar                      na:n    mu,    limma                      606  
 AF-attend-seminar-comp.    said    you    five

salup nelaku da. 607  
ganta GF-sell-comp. they

"You just kill if that's what you want. I'll leave you alone with your problem, "Aloy then said...I can't leave home because they will sell our rice. When I went downstream to attend a seminar, they sold five gantas of our rice.

Ramon: Uuuuuu! Tu maq ala bakkan 608  
Oooohh! That's cert. only not

mamminan de Romel ka 609  
GF-run-out-incomp. PNA Romel G

sigarilyu. 610  
cigarrete

Oh, no wonder Romel didn't run out cigarrete.

Ludag: "Sippatay yaq ka tolai, 611  
AF-long-to-kill-incomp. I G person

sippatay yaq ka tolai," 612  
AF-long-to-kill-incomp. I G person

na:n maq Romel kanidde. "Uuuuy! 613  
said cert. Romel here oooohh

Piga dur-duri nu ta?" 614  
how-many antique-jar you-pl. Q

'Oh, I want to kill, I want to kill someone,' Romel said when he was here. 'Ahh! How many antique jars do you have?'

Erlinda: Alaq ku ya anuq 615  
GF-get-incomp. I FM-sing. chicken

kiya:n pagmaka:t, anuq de 616  
that morning chicken 3rd.poss.pl.

Aldrin,	ta	weg			617
Aldrin	because	AF-go-incomp.			
ita:li		kitu	anuq	kanna:n.	618
Gf-exchange-npst	L	chicken		there	
Di:kod	mangulis		saq	kanmin	619
therefore	AF-do-again-incomp.		I	again	
magsingir		ka	anuq	da...	620
AF-collect-incomp.	G	chicken		their	
May	partiyán		ku	win	621
but	GF-kill-incomp.		I	already	cert.
Ta	tallu	wala	nga	anuq	622
because	three	already	Lk	chicken	
kinna:n	daya:n	kitu	naggubra		623
GF-eat-comp.	those	L	AF-work-comp.		
mi	ka	nga:tu			624
we-excl.	L	uphill-village			
kitun...	Nangippan		da		625
sometime-ago	AF-take-comp.		they		
nangipasente			kiyaq		626
AF-take-to-hospital-comp.			1st per.obl.		
na:n	mu,	da:ga	ngala	ya	627
said	you	blood	just	FM-sing.	
tebol.	Nagkalbaw		da	ka	628
table.	AF-steal-comp.		they	0	chicken
Mai	ya	ara:mid	tolay.		629
I-don't-know	FM-sing.	bad-work	person		
Ata:n	naq	maq	lugud		630
there-is	I	cert.	now		
sumraq		in	gapu	kadaya:n	631
AF-enter-incomp.		already	due	those	
na	tolay.	Meram-ra:man		nga:min	632
Lk	person	GF-implicate-incomp.		all	

umi:li ya na:n ku ta 633  
villager Lk said I because

magriri:ri da tolay. 634  
AF- recip.-trouble-incomp. FM-pl. people

I will get the chicken in the morning, Aldrin's family's chicken, and I will exchange it with the chicken yonder. And then I will again ask for a chicken from them for the exchange. But I will eat it. Because they ate three chickens when we worked in the village uphill...When I was taken to the hospital, our table was full of blood when I came back. They stole and ate some chickens. Their deeds are evil. Sometimes I want to go wild in the forest because of these people. All villagers get involved, I think because they (the people) get into trouble (because of them).

Ludag: Agkod datu anuq da ngin 635  
rhet.Q FM-pl. chicken their now

na adu. Paanna:n, mai:nu-i:nut 636  
Lk many how little-by-little

da kanu la. Ata 637  
they reportedly just becaue

partiyán dada nu we 638  
GF-kill-incomp. they-them when AG-go-incomp.

de Annawan magkuwa. 639  
PNF Annawan AF-work-incomp.

.Their many chickens are already gone. They vanish one by one. Because they eat them when Annawan goes to work.

Erlinda: Anuq de Aguinaldo, duwa 640  
chicken 3rd. poss.pl. Aguinaldo two

nga u:pa, kinna:n da kanu. 641  
Lk hen GF-eat-comp. they reportedly

Se	da	kanu	immin	642
and	they	reportedly	GF-consume-comp.	
pinat-pa:tan	ya	ammay	643	
GF-cut-down-comp.	FM-sing.	rice		
de	Aloy...	Nga:min	644	
3rd poss. pl.	Aloy	all		
ba:gat	naliku:bag.	645		
banana-tree	GF-fall-down-comp.			

Aguinaldo's chickens, two hens, they also ate them, it was said. And then they, reportedly, cut the rice plants of Aloy's family. They also cut down their banana trees.

Ludag:	Al-alnga:n	kanu	Annawan	da	ngamay
	GF-scold-incomp.	reportedly	Annawan	they	but
	aga-a:gud	tutu	wala	Romel	ki aliwa.
	GF-strike-and-miss-incomp.	very	much	Romel	I knife

Annawan rebukes them but Romel threatens to strike her with a knife.

Erlinda:	Nga:min	balet	Aloy	mawe	646
	all	pig-trap	Aloy	AF-go-incomp.	
	da	kanu	kul-kulsap...	647	
	they	reportedly	GF-uncock-incomp.		
	Ammu	na	tuni	allang	ta!
	GF-know-incomp.	he	that	scolding	rhet.Q
	Ya	masa:pul	na	tuni	649
	FM-sing.	GF-need-incomp.	he	that	
	ya	abay	ya	disipli:na.	650
	FM-sing.	big	Lk	dsciplinary-action	

All of Aloy's pig traps, they also deactivated all of them... He does not listen to any rebuke anymore. What he needs is more

severe discipline.

Ramon: Mng 651  
Yes.

Yes.

Erlinda: ....abay ya tolay yin. 652  
....big Lk person already

Monoq: MePC nga agdisiplina. 653  
GF-PC-incomp. Lk mann.-discipline

A dsicipline through the P.C's.

Erlinda: Taannam kanu ya 654  
how reportedly FM-sing.

mangisipsip kitu:ni ay 655  
AF-secretly-report-incomp. that Lk

akkan ikaw bu:gut makin 656  
not you-sing. true own

an-anaq. Di ittu pay ya 657  
child not the-one ... Lk

magan-anaq ya mangippan kiya 658  
parent FM-sing. AF-take-incomp. L

adayyu. Tu maq peyang ya:n 659  
far-place the-one cert. always that

kagiyon mi se Aloy 660  
GF-tell-incomp. we-excl. and Aloy

ke Victor. Ngamay 661  
3rd.Per.-Obl.-pl. Victor but

ammuq		kod	'ra	akkan	na	662
GF-know-incomp.-I		rhet.Q	why	not	he	
kuwaan.		"Ata:n	ammu			663
GF-do-incomp.		there-is	GF-know-incomp.			
ta		makadisipli:na		kadaya:n		664
we-dual		AF-discipline-incomp.		obl.prn pl.		
nu	piya:n	ta	kammala	ngin,"		665
if	like	we-dual	surely	cert.		
na:n	ku	maq	tutu	wala	ngamay....	666
said	I	cert.	very	much	but	

How can you tell on them (to the P.C.) when you are not the real parents. The parents themselves should be the ones to take them away. That's what Aloy and I always tell Victor. But I don't know why he would not do it. 'I know of some people who can discipline them if we only want it,' I flatly said but....

Ludag:	Bangngag	kayu	ma:n	kammin		667
	deaf	you-pl.	....	on-the-contrary		
	kiya....	mangabaga:tan		da		668
	L	AF-massacre-incomp.		they		
	kanu	nu	ata:n	na....		669
	reportedly	when	there-is	Lk		

Don't you hear what they say...they said they will massacre the villagers if someone....

Erlinda:	....Akan	naq	ala	mali:dug		670
	....not	I	just	AF-worry-incomp.		
	kadaya:n...					671
	obl.-prn-pl.					

I am not worried at all by that.



- Ludag: .....magpatay kada anna:naq 672  
 .....AF-kill-incomp. G-pl. children
- da. 673  
 3rd per.poss.
- Ludag: ....Aggi:da kammin mamatay 674  
 ....3rd (front.)pl. same AF-kill-incomp.
- kada anna:naq da senu 675  
 G children 3rd per.poss. so-that
- mangabaga:tan da ngin 676  
 AF-massacre-incomp. 3rd per.pl. already
- nu kuwa... 677  
 when impl.

They themselves will kill their children and then they will massacre the (people) when...

Ramon: Adu la ngin nu ata:n isa duwa  
 many .. already if there-is one two

If there is one or two, that's already plenty...

- Erlinda: ...Nu ata:n mapatay ta 678  
 ...if there-is GF-kill-incomp. we-dual
- nga umma:n kadatuni.... 679  
 Lk like those

If they will be able to kill anyone at all, people like them...

Ramon: 'Ra mu la ma:laq 680  
 rhet.Q you-sing. .. GF-get-incomp.

manmin mapatay ya tolay! 681  
 finish GF-kill-incomp. FM-sing. person

Magsirug pe ya tolay. 682  
 AF-hide-incomp. also FM-sing. person

Magta:law. Magli:si. 683  
 AF-run-away-incomp. AF-save-reflex.-incomp.

You can't kill all people. People will hide from you. they will  
 ran away. They will protect themselves.

Erlinda: Tangkurap lugud agkaq 684  
 instead then unexpect.

aggi:da ya matay 685  
 3rd per.front.pl. FM-sing. GF-die-incomp.

mapak-pakuna. 686  
 GF-happen-incomp.

They might be the ones who will get killed instead.

Ramon: Kanna:n takayu id-idagga:n nu 687  
 why I-you-pl. GF-wait-incomp. if

we daq patayan nin. 688  
 AG-go-incomp. you-me GF-kill-incomp. already

'Ra ngaq ala.... 689  
 why I just

Why should I wait for you if you are coming to kill me? Why  
 should I...

Ludag: ...Oq maq a nu 690  
 yes cert. .. if

mapadaldal mu may nu 691  
 GF-see-some-by-incomp. you-sing. but if



you...they will not like me because...

Monoq: (Se) pe ta bittiq kam 702  
and also that few yet

tu kuwa ne Ula:t. 703  
FM-sing. impl. PNA Ulat

And why is it that there were only very few that Ulat....

Ramon: Mng. 'Tu tu akkan 704  
yes the-one DtF-sig. not

sikkungat pumatay.... 705  
AF-long-to-stop-incomp. AF-kill-incomp.

Yes. He was the one who did not want to stop killing people.

Monoq: Oq... Akkan na kam nammin tu 706  
yes not he ... consume FM

tolay. 707  
people

Yes..But he did not (kill) all the people.

Erlinda: Di da maq kam umanan da 708  
not they cert. ... massacre pl.

tolay nu kuwa... 709  
people when hest.

Didn't they say that they will massacre the people if/when...

Ludag: We manin da anna:naq 710  
AF-go-incomp. again they-pl. children.

Induan mi kaden da anna:naq 711  
GF-kind-incomp. we ..... they children

bibittiq da iskul ngamay 712  
small-pl. they students but

makaab-absen AF-absent-incomp.	da they	tuya the-reason			713
nagalngana:n LF-rebuke-comp.	ne PN	Arling Arling	kaggi:da them	ya FM	714
absen absence	da. their	May but	a:wan none	a:ta because	715
'Agawa:n GF-send-out-incomp.		nakami she-us-excl.	Arling, Arling		716
na:n said	da they	kid. spec. part.	Seda And-they		717
nawe. AF-go-comp.					718

The children leave again. We are very kind to the small children who are going to school but they always miss classes and this is the reason Arling scolded them, (for) their absence from class. May unexpectedly, 'Arling sent us out,' they said (I believe). And they left.

Erlinda:	Ammu know	ya:n that	nu when	umbet AF-come-incomp.	Romel, Romel	719	
	ay Lk	unma:n like	kanu hedge part.	kituni that	a ..	720	
	nga Lk	'a:wan none	ub-ubraan. GF-do-incomp.	Ay And	nu when	'ra why	721
	ka you	la just	miqdam wink	ka G	bitting little	ngin already	722
	ay and	ata:n there-is	naqwa happen	ngin already	a surely	723	
	ki L	balay house	mu your	wa Lk	unawan AF-disappear-incomp.	oray even	724
	nu if	inna what	kiya:n there..	Kanda:du padlock	na of	725	

laka:sa mi na:n mu di 726  
 chest our said you-sing. not

nekukula:tang kiya kuwa... diq 727  
 GF-mutilated-comp. L hest. part. not-I

ammu nu na:gan na pinagkuri:kur 728  
 know if what Lk IF-pry-comp.

da kituni. Ay ya bisagra na 729  
 they that and FM hinge it

may pamayam tutu wala ya... 730  
 and too-much very much FM

You know, when Romel comes here, he looks like someone who does nothing bad. But any moment you wink even just a little, something will disappear in house house whatever it may be...Our chest padlock, you wouldn't believe it, it was mutilated and lying in the...I don't know what they used to pry and drill it with. Even the hinge you wouldn't believe how much the...

Monoq: ...Tukil. 731  
 pry

Erlinda: Oq. 732  
 Yes.

Yes.

Ramon: Na:gan kuma ya alaq da? 733  
 what wish FM GF-take-comp. they

What did they want to get from there?

Erlinda: Maga:pul da ka piraq. 734  
 AF-find-incomp. they G money

They are looking for some money.

Ramon: Maga:pul           da    ka    piraq?           735  
 AF-find-incomp.   they   G    money

Are they looking for some money?

Monoq: Maga:pul           da    maq    a       ka           736  
 AF-find-incomp.   they   cert.   surely   G

piraq,   ikaw           Ta       ittu   ya:n           737  
 money    you-sing.   Because   it-is   that

ya    sapu:lan                   da.           738  
 FM   GF-look-for-incomp.   they

Surely, you know they are looking for some money. Because that's what they always look for.

Erlinda: Ay    na:n   ne   Victor,   'Akkan   da           739  
 And   said   PNA   Victor   not   they

kod   maq       kut-kutiyan       ya   piraq           740  
 ...   cert.     GF-touch-incomp.   FM   money

ku    oray   nu   iwaren           741  
 my   even   if   GF-put-in-the-open-incomp.

ku,'   na:n   na.   Kanna:n   da           742  
 I     said   he   why       they

takawan                   ya       piraq   ki           743  
 GF-steal-incomp.   FM-sing.   money   L

balay   da       ta?       Ta           744  
 house   their   rhet. Q   because

mammuwan               da       lugud   nu   kuwa...   745  
 GF-know-incomp.   they   cert.   when   impl.

And Victor said, 'You know, they don't ever touch my money even if I put it out in the open,' he said. And why will they steal the money in their house? Because they (the parents) will know when...

Ludag:	Bila:ngan	da	kanu	maq	746	
	GF-count-incomp.	they	reportedly	surely		
	ya	piraq	may	maddi	da	747
	FM-sing.	money	but	not	they	
	mangalaq	a:ta...			748	
	AF-take-incomp.	because				

They, reportedly, will count the money but they never take any of it because...

Erlinda:	Oq,	a:ta	balay	da.	Ta	749
	yes	because	house	their	because	
	a:wan	saba:li	mapatil-tila:n	di		750
	none	other	GF-blame-incomp.	not		
	aggi:da.		Tu:ya	"magta:kaw		751
	3rd Per.pl.front.		that's-why	AF-steal-comp.		
	ta	ki:di	ta	kuwa,"	na:n	752
	we-dual	here	because	impl.	said	
	da	kada	babalay	Maya:n	mu	753
	they	L-pl.	houses.	imagine	you-sing.	
	kanu	tu	sina:kaw			754
	reportedly	FM-sing.	GF-steal-comp.			
	ne	Romel	kitu	kuwa,		755
	PNA	Romel	when	hest.		
	a:kit	ne	Diyoner.			756
	marriage	PNA	Diyoner			
	Aggi:da		se	itu	an-anaq	757
	3rd per. pl.front.		and	the-one	child	



ne	Leon	na....	sigarilyo	758
PNA	Leon	Lk	cigarette	
Nanalen		da	ki lamda:wan	759
AF-walk-comp.		they	L window	
de		Ramon.	Wan baks	760
3rd per.poss.pl.		Ramon	one box	
kanu	wa	sigarilyo	na.	761
reportedly	Lk	cigarette	3rd.per.poss.	
Aga:sam		ya	ba:yaba:yad	762
imagine-you-sing.		FM-sing.	price	
na		isa	sigarilyo.	763
3rd per.poss.		one	cigarette	

Yes, because it is in their house. No one will be the target of suspicion but them. That's why, 'Let us (excl.) steal here because..' they, in other houses. You would not believe what Romel again stole during the, during Diyoner's wedding. He and the Leon's other son...cigarette. They got in through the window of Ramon's house. (They took) one box of cigarettes. Could you imagine the value of the one box of cigarette?

Ramon:	Mesa	pe	ide	mangwa	pe	764
	one	also	this	AF-do-incomp.	also	
	ide	an-anaq	ne		Leon	765
	this	child	PN poss.		Leon	
	bittiq,	kadaya:n.	Tu	daya:n		766
	little	those	the-one	those		
	daya	nagamet		kiya		767
	FM-pl.	AF-destroy-incomp.		G		
	ta:lad		ku,	panillod		768
	sugar-cane-plant		my	downstream-side		
	balay	de	Manong	kitu		769
	house	PN poss.	elder-brother	L		
	gabi.	Aggi:da		se	Joel.	770

night	3rd per.pl.front..	and	Joel		
De	Motan	se	Joel.	We	771
PNF	Motan	and	Joel	AF-go-comp.	
da	inamet		ya	tanga	772
they	GF-destroy-comp.		FM-sing.	one	
pun	na	ta:lad		ku	nga
hill	Lk	sugar-cane-plant		my	Lk
pane	kade		Dalenog.	Akkan	774
side	Dt.Per.obl.pl.		Dalenog	not	
da	makali:si		a	ta	775
they	AF-escape-incomp.		cert.	because	
nasingan		Dalenog	da.		776
GF-see-comp.		Dalenog	they		
Aggi:na			nani:la:g		777
3rd per.sing.front.			AF-shine-comp.		
kaggi:da.					778
3rd per.obl.pl.					

Leon's little son, is also one of them who does things like that. They are the ones who stole some of my sugar cane that I planted at the downstream side of Elder brother's house, last night. He and Joel. Motan and Joel. They stole one hill of my sugar cane plantation near Dalenog's house. They cannot deny it because Dalenog shone on them. He was the one who shone on them.

Erlinda:	'Ra	ta	di	pada:san	779
	why	we-dual	not	GF-try-incomp.	
	pilta:ngan....		nam	de	780
	GF-break-limb-incomp.		but	PNA	
	Dalenog	ta!			781
	Dalenog	rhet.Q			

Why didn't Dalenog try to hit and debilitate them.

Monoq: Pa:ti na nu a:buy da. 782  
 thought he if pig they

He will mistake them as pigs.

Ramon: "Busid," akkan da na:n a 783  
 lie not they said cert.

ta akkan iyaq ya 784  
 because not me-front.. FM-sing.

magbaqbaqna:n kiya:n. Ya 785  
 AF-talk-incomp. that FM-sing.

nakasingan. Akkan ku pe 786  
 AF-see-comp. not I also

am-ammu ya:n. Ngamay tu 787  
 GF-know-incomp. that but FM-sing.

maq pe la nga nagiqnaq 788  
 cert. also just Lk GF-hear-comp-I

ya istorya daya:n 789  
 FM-sing. conversation them

de Manang. 790  
 PNA elder-sister

They cannot say that it is not true because it's not me who tells the story. The one who saw them. I did not know it. But I overheard the story of Elder sister and her friends.

Monoq: Akkan ikaw ya nakadi:la:g. 791  
 not you FM-sing. AF-shine-comp.

You were the one who shone on them.

Ramon: Melug ku maq lugud 792  
 AF-desire-incomp. I cert. surely

we	kagiyán	kitu	pagmaka:t	793		
AF-go-incomp.	GF-tell-incomp.	L	morning			
ta...	"Pangaasi	nu	ta	794		
Lk	please	you	because			
sikwa:tan	nuda	anna:naq	nu,"	795		
GF-watch-incomp.	you-they	children	your			
na:n	ku	kuma	may	lam-lamtan	ku	796
said	I	wish	but	GF-think-incomp.	I	
manin,	ya	mana:kan	na	797		
again	FM-sing.	parent	Gen.			
anna:naq	ay	akkan	da	ipagrob	798	
children	Lk	not	they	GF-send-incomp.		
ya	maglokoloko,"	na:n	799			
FM-sing.	AF-do-foolishness-incomp.	said				
manin	na	uray	ku.	800		
again	gen.	mind	my			

I wanted to tell on them in the morning.. 'Would you please watch your children closely,' I wanted to say but it occurred in my mind that the parents of the children would not let them do the foolish things, I said in my mind.

Erlinda:	O,	may	middan	da	ka	801
	yes	but	GF-give-incomp.	they	G	

disiplina	maq.	802
discipline	cert.	

Yes, but they will be disciplined.

Ramon:	Partuwat	na	an-anaq	ya	803
	creation	gen.	child	FM-sing.	

umma:n	kiya:n	na	aramid.	804
like	that	Lk	bad-work	

Tu:tu	akkan	ku	netu:luy	805
that's-why	not	I	GF-continue-comp.	
ya	ga:kat	ku	ta	806
FM-sing.	purpose	my	because	
tagi-insultuwan		ku	manin pe	807
GF-insult-incomp.		I	again also	
daya...	nu	kuwa...	maganna:naq Nu	808
FM-pl.	if	impl.	parents. when	
kuwa...	we		yaq ilngoq	809
impl.	AF-go-incomp.	I	GF-tell-incomp.	
kaggi:da				810
3rd per.obl.pl.				

Those kinds of bad deeds are the children's own creation. That's why I did not continue what I wanted to do because I did not want the parents to get insulted if...If I will tell them.

Erlinda:	May	ittu	ya:n	ya	agkuna	811
	but	the-one	that	FM-sing.	to-be	
	da	maq.	May	ittu	ya:n	812
	they	cert.	but	the-one	that	
	ya	agkuna	da	duddu:ma.		813
	FM-sing.	being	they	others		
	nga...					814
	Lk					

But that's the reason that they do such things. But that the reason why some children do such things.

Ramon:	Akkan	ku	maq	iallang	815	
	not	I	cert.	GF-prohibit-incomp.		
	daya	noray	adaddu	win	kadaya	816
	FM-pl.	anyone	long	already	among	

una:t	kiya:n.	Ata:n	maq	817			
sugar-cane	there	there-is	cert.				
ambuwa:n		da	anna:naq	818			
LF-cut-sugarcane-incomp.		they	children				
kiya	naganubang	kiya	kurung	819			
L	on-either-side	L	poultry-house				
mi.	Duwa	nga	pun.	Akkan	ku	wayya	820
our	two	Lk	hill	not	I	cert.	
iallang		tuni	nu	ata:n	821		
GF-prohibit-incomp.		those	if	there-is			
da	melug			822			
they	AF-desire-incomp.						
mangus		kadaya	anna:naq.	823			
AF-chew-sugarcane-incomp.		among	children				

I will not hold back the longer sugar canes. There is a place where the children usually get some sugar cane, on either side of our poultry house. There are two hills. I will not prohibit the children from getting them when they want to chew some sugar cane.

Monoq:	Nu	we	da	magadang.	824
	if	AF-go-incomp.	they	AF-ask-incomp.	

When they ask for it.

Ramon:	Oq,	we	da	magadang.	825
	yes	AF-go-incomp.	they	AF-ask-incomp.	
Kanna:n	ta	iallang	826		
why	we-dual	GF-prohibit-incomp.			
ya	mabalin	kanan	ta!	827	
FM-sing.	can	GF-eat-incomp.	rhet.Q		
Tu	neta:lad	ku	ka	pane	828
FM-sing.	GF-plant-comp.	I	L	side	

kade	Dalenog	ay	ittu	pikam	829
Dt.Per.pl.	Dalenog	Lk	this-is	yet	
ya	anggayat	na		nga	830
EM-sing.	beginning	3rd pr.sing.		Lk	
kuwa...	gumnika:t.		Akkan	ku	831
hest	AF-get-up-incomp.		not	I	
wayya	iallang		ngin	nu	832
cert.	GF-prohibit-incomp.		already	when	
adaddu	win.	Tu	ta		833
long	already	the-one	we-dual		
agta:lad	kiya	i:li	ta...		834
planting	L	village	because..		

Yes, if they come and ask. Why would I hold back anything that is edible? Those that I planted near Dalenog's house are just beginning to develop stalks. I will not hold them back when they get longer. The reason we plant sugar cane in the village is to...

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