

A Role and Reference Grammar Analysis of Kankanaey

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**A Role and Reference Grammar Analysis
of Kankanaey**

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I retain full responsibility for all technical inconsistencies, misunderstandings, errors in expression and ignorance of existing work or further data.

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ABSTRACT

Kankanaey gehört zur austronesischen Sprachfamilie und wird von ca. 150.000 Menschen auf den Nord-Philippinen gesprochen. Die Forscherin schreibt aufgrund ihrer 30-jährigen positiven Erfahrung im sozialen Umgang mit Kankanaey-Sprechern; ihr Ziel ist es, die Anwendung des syntaktischen Analyse-Modells der *Rollen- und Referenz-Grammatik* (RRG) auf eine Sprachbeschreibung vorzustellen. Die Daten stammen von einem Textkorpus einheimischer Autoren.

Die Darstellung beginnt mit einem Überblick über typologische Merkmale anhand eines Vergleichs zwischen Kankanaey und anderen Sprachen, ausgehend von benachbarten Minderheitensprachen bis hin zu austronesischen Sprachen im allgemeinen. Es folgt eine Übersicht über die RRG, wie sie auf die Analyse des Kankanaey angewandt wurde. Im Hauptteil der Dissertation wird das Modell der RRG auf diese zuvor nicht dokumentierte Sprache angewandt.

Im 2. Kapitel wird das Lexikon eingeführt sowie die Anwendung von modifizierten *Aktionsart*-Kategorien und ihrer semantischen Repräsentationen auf das Verständnis der Prädikatbildung in Kankanaey. Das 3. Kapitel enthält eine ausführliche Beschreibung der *basic clause structure* mit Hilfe der Konstituenten- und Operatoren-Projektionen der RRG. Eine separate Analyse der Konstituenten getrennt von den Modifikatoren ermöglicht eine differenzierte Darstellung. Kapitel 4 behandelt die Konstituenten- und Operatoren-Kategorien der Nominalphrase (in der RRG als "*Referenzphrase*" bezeichnet), wiederum mit einer einfachen Erklärung der Daten. Kapitel 5 behandelt komplexe Konstruktionen auf Satzebene. Die verschiedenen *extra-clause* Positionen sowie Konstruktionen der *clause combination* werden analysiert unter Anwendung der Prinzipien der RRG für Relationen zwischen Konstituenten. Kapitel 6 behandelt das Thema der Informationsstruktur im Kankanaey. In Kapitel 7 werden die Erkenntnisse aus den vorigen Kapiteln herangezogen, um die grammatischen Relationen im Kankanaey mit Hilfe des RRG-Prinzips des *privileged syntactic*

argument zu beschreiben und um all die Schritte von der Semantik zur Syntax des Kankanaey aufzuzeigen.

Einige Charakteristika des Kankanaey könnten sich als von besonderem Interesse erweisen. In der Morphologie erfüllen Reduplikation und Affigierung viele Funktionen. Bei der Prädikatbildung werden elf Affixe benutzt, aber ihre Komplexität reduziert sich nach Klärung der grammatischen Relationen. Da Präpositionen praktisch nicht vorkommen, erfüllen *oblique* Referenzphrasen eine Vielzahl an Funktionen. Ergativmuster sind in dieser Sprache sehr häufig; ein Antipassiv für Koreferenz ist in mehreren Konstruktionen erkennbar. Existenzialsätze erfüllen im Kankanaey eine Vielzahl von Funktionen und benutzen *oblique* Phrasen für interessante Präzisierungszwecke. Eine Informationsstruktur-Analyse zeigt, dass *narrow focus* durch Nebeneinanderstellung von Referenzphrasen ohne Kopula ausgedrückt wird. Ein *sequence* Satz, der sich durch *multiple clause linkage* auszeichnet, lässt auf wichtige Funktionen in Erzähl- und Erklärtexten schließen.

In diese Beschreibung fließt mit ein, welchen Einfluss die pragmatische Funktion und der Zweck von Strukturen, Positionen und Formen haben; dies sind Faktoren, die für Sprecher aller Sprachen und insbesondere des Kankanaey maßgeblich sind.

Maps

The following map locates the Philippines in southeast Asia.



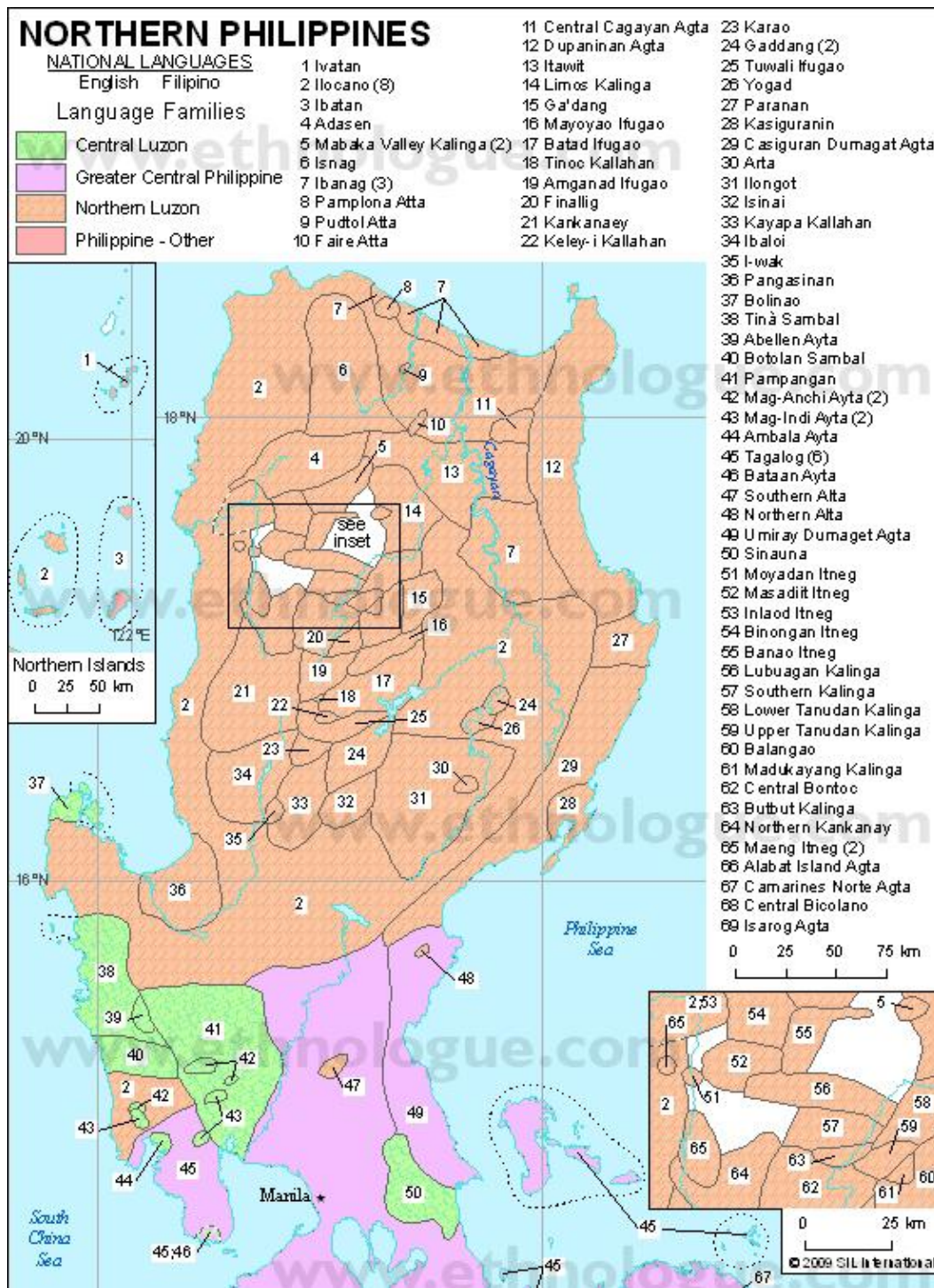
http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.idrc.ca/IMAGES/map/asia/Asia_Southeast.gif&imgrefur

This map identifies Luzon as the northern island of the Philippines, with the mountains of the Cordillera visible in the northern half of the island.



http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/philippine_language_map.html

This language map of northern Luzon indicates the boundaries of the languages spoken there. Kankanaey is spoken in language area 21 at lower left side. Tagalog is spoken in area 5 around Manila, and Iloko is spoken in area 2 surrounding the Cordilleran region. Central Bontok is in area 62 in the inset and Tuwali Ifugao in area 25.



http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=PH&seq=30

Kankanaey – land and people



Abbreviations

-	prefix or suffix
< ... >	infix
>	goes with following morpheme
<	goes with earlier discontinuous morpheme
=	enclitic morpheme
1	first person/near speaker
1 + 2	first and second person
2	second person/near hearer
3	third person/far from speaker and hearer
4	impersonal
I, II etc	Class
ABIL	Abilitative
ACT	Actor macrorole index
ADJ	Adjectivizer
ARG(S)	Argument(s)
ASSOC	Associate index
ATT	Attributant index
B	Bound
c	CAUSEE role
C	(subscript) Core
C	Consonant
CAUS	Causative
CHANGE	Changed-state operator/ index
CLM	Clause-linkage marker
COLL	Collective
COMP	Comparative
d	Definite
d	DIRECTIONAL role
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun
DRM	Demonstrative-related RM
DISP	Displacement marker
DUR	Durative aspect
EVID	Evidential particle
EXCL	Exclamation

EXIS	Existential
FUT	Future particle
HSY	Hearsay evidential particle
i	Indefinite
IMM	Precipitate-actor index
INTS	Intensive aspect
IRR	Irrealis particle
l	LOCUS role
LH	Lexical (content) Hierarchy
LK	Linker
LOC	Locative marker or demonstrative
LS	Logical Structure
m	MOVER role
N	(subscript) Nuclear
NEGEXIS	Negative existential
NOM	Nominalizer, nominal
NUC	Nucleus
O	Oblique
P	Perfective aspect
p, pl	Plural
PART	Particle
PRM	Personal RM
PRED	Predicate
PROG	Progressive aspect
Q	Question marker
QT	Quote-marker
R	(subscript) Reference
RECENT	Recent
RECIP	Reciprocal
REF	Referential word
RelCl	Relative clause
RM	Reference phrase marker
RP	Reference phrase
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
s	Singular

s	State
SR	Semantic representation
t	THEME role
Th	Non-PSA THEME role
UND	Undergoer macrorole index
UNIT	Reciprocal unit
V	Vowel
VOC	Vocative particle

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Introduction

This dissertation will begin by presenting Kankanaey, a language of the Philippines, in its linguistic setting. It will then give an overview of the theoretical model used in this analysis, Role and Reference Grammar, as presented in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) and Van Valin (2005). Chapter 2 begins the description of the Kankanaey language by examining the lexicon and predicate formation. Chapters 3 and 4 present reference phrases and simple clauses. Chapter 5 explores the details of complex constructions. Chapter 6 puts together the evidence for grammatical relations, while chapter 7 lays out the resources of this language to express information flow in context.

The research behind this analysis was carried out by the author and her husband, Lawrence Allen, under the auspices of SIL Philippines from 1975 to the present, but primarily up to 1997 in intermittent but extended residence in the municipalities of Kibungan, Atok and Kapangan in Benguet Province.

A diverse corpus of written texts and transcribed oral texts authored by Kankanaey speakers formed the data base from which the examples were drawn. This corpus included oral tradition narratives, poetry, extemporaneous lyrics, personal-experience and historical narratives, recipes and explanatory texts, formal hortatory discourses, and personal letters. A 5000-root Kankanaey-English dictionary with many spontaneously-generated example sentences was also consulted for corroboration of the description and analysis. Some examples, particularly in the earlier chapters, were simplified from the original texts¹. A few examples came from texts translated from English to Kankanaey by a Kankanaey speaker, but they were not used as the basis for analysis unless other original material also evidenced the construction in question. Because we lived in three different dialect areas of the Kankanaey-speaking region, some dialect differences in syntax were observed, but this sketch reflects most closely the dialect spoken in Kibungan, Benguet, home of most of the native authors².

¹ All names and other non-syntactic details have been changed in the examples to protect identities.

² Please see the References at the end for acknowledgements of all my contributors.

Chapter 1 Introduction to Kankanaey and to Role and Reference Grammar

1.1 The Kankanaey language in its context

Kankanaey³ (ISO: KNE) is spoken by some 150,000 people living in the provinces of Benguet, Nueva Vizcaya, Ilocos Sur, La Union, and Mountain Province on the island of Luzon, the Philippines. The *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) classifies Kankanaey as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Northern Philippine, Northern Luzon, South-Central Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran, Nuclear Cordilleran, Bontok-Kankanaey. Kankanaey is the southernmost of the Nuclear Cordilleran languages, and its range abuts the large Iloko-speaking coastal plain on the west. South and southeast is the Ibaloi language, of the Southern Cordilleran group. To the east the Kankanaey area shares a boundary with Tuwali Ifugao and Amganad Ifugao, and to the north are the Northern Kankanaey and Central Bontok languages. Maps of the Austronesian language family region and a language map of the Cordilleran region of the Philippines are found on pages iv-vi.

Typological studies of Austronesian languages, notably Himmelmann (2005), as well as more specific studies and surveys of Philippine languages, such as Reid (1974, 2002, 2004), have provided a wealth of information with which to compare and contrast the Kankanaey data. This section will first highlight some of the general characteristics of Austronesian languages, and show how these characteristics are exemplified in typical Philippine languages, including Kankanaey. Well-documented languages in the wider area include Bahasa Indonesia in the neighboring country to the south, Cebuano in the central Philippines, and Sama in the southern Philippines. The focus will then narrow to compare the features of Kankanaey with Tagalog, which has long been studied as representative of Philippine-type languages, and with Iloko. As the *lingua franca* of the Cordillera, Iloko has exerted a significant influence on other languages in the area. Finally, Kankanaey will be compared to two languages with which it is closely related, Bontok to the north and Tuwali Ifugao to the east.

³ “Kankanaey” is pronounced [kənkə'nɛʔij]

Very little has been published on the Kankanaey language. This author has written five short studies on various aspects of the language, and Lawrence Allen has published three phonological studies as well as editing and contributing to many publications in the Kankanaey language itself. Patterson (2007) reanalyzes the morphophonemics of reduplication in Kankanaey.

1.1.1 Austronesian and Philippine-type languages

Austronesian is one of the largest language families in the world—*Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) lists 1257 languages in that category. In the Austronesian family, the Malayo Polynesian group contains a further subgroup of 179 Philippine languages, of which fifty-two are in northern Luzon and eight share the Nuclear Cordilleran grouping with Kankanaey. Among others, Blust (1999) and Ross (2002) have used various criteria, both phonological and lexical, to trace the history of these languages and to subdivide Austronesian into typological groups, without perfect consensus. Himmelmann (2005:111) suggests geographical criteria to group the Austronesian languages, defining Western Austronesian as non-Oceanic Austronesian languages, and Philippine languages as those in the Republic of the Philippines. Adelaar (2005) gives a historical account and perspective with new groupings. Not surprisingly, with these differing approaches, the category ‘Philippine’ or ‘Philippine-type’ is not always clearly defined, nor is Northern Philippine a subgroup at the same level in all taxonomies.

1.1.1.1 Morphology

This study touches on the morphophonemics of Kankanaey only when necessary to separate morphemes in order to understand examples. The complex morphophonemics are very typical of Philippine-type languages. For example, its homorganic nasal, which is realized as a velar nasal before vowels but assimilates in various ways before consonants, is common throughout the Austronesian family (Himmelmann 2005:118). Another widespread morpheme is the infix <um> (<om> in the Kankanaey orthography). The form is shared, but the functions in Kankanaey cover a different set than in many other languages.

Reduplication is a morphological process that is productive in all Western Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005:121). Kankanaey uses a subset of all the types of reduplication that are possible, mostly to express aspectual concepts. Many Kankanaey roots have repeated syllables, probably fossilized forms of historical root formation.

1.1.1.2 Lexicon

Many Austronesian languages tend to have lexical bases that are underdetermined as to word class (Himmelmann 2005:128). The Kankanaey lexicon is made up of roots which may

be used in their base form or with affixation. The word class is determined by the affixation and the function of the word in a clause, either to predicate or to refer. Himmelmann refers to this type of lexicon as having morphologically and syntactically subcategorized roots.

Reid (2002) gives a comprehensive listing of the wide variety of labels that have been used for Philippine-language nominal markers. In this study they are labelled 'Reference Phrase Markers'. Reid and Liao (2004) note that Bontok has three distinct 'case' markers for nominal phrases, Iloko to the west of the Kankanaey has only two, while Kabayan Inibaloi, abutting the Kankanaey area to the south and east, has five.

Kankanaey does not have many prepositions, but the oblique marker *si* can often be translated into English with a preposition, based on the semantics of the nuclear word. This oblique marker precedes adjuncts and is an obligatory concomitant of what few prepositions there are.

Many Austronesian languages have more than one negator. Kambera of eastern Indonesia (Klamer 2005:723), for example, has five forms, including a 'not yet' negator. Kankanaey has two simple negators, one that modifies states, nominals and whole propositions, and the other that modifies dynamic predicates. Like Kambera, it also has a 'not yet' negator.

Discourse particles, "small, uninflected words that are only loosely integrated into the sentence structure" (Fischer 2006:4), expressing speaker attitude toward the truth or relevance of an utterance, are common in Indonesian (Ewing 2005:254) and many Philippine languages, including Kankanaey.

1.1.1.3 Predicates

Linguists working in the Philippines have yet to agree on how to describe and characterize the complex systems of predicate formation in the over 100 languages of the country. Reid and Liao (2004) in their survey found that certain predicating affixes have common forms throughout the Philippines. Thus they posit three typical Actor-referencing affixes: MAG-, -UM- and MANG-. Dynamic Undergoer-referencing affixes are typically similar to -EN, -AN, I-, and I...AN. Prefixes typically similar to MA- mark Statives. Other affixes may be used for other types of predicates in the different languages, but these eight are nearly universal in the Philippine languages that they surveyed, and have close counterparts in Kankanaey.

Himmelmann (2005:112ff) has proposed a category that he calls 'symmetrical voice languages' as a subset of Austronesian languages that includes Philippine-type languages. Not all of the characteristics that he lists fit the Kankanaey data. He describes symmetrical voices as independent from each other (one not derived from another) with a syntactically equivalent

Actor voice and Undergoer voice. The alternative analysis, in Himmelmann's view is an ergative analysis in which the Actor-voice is analyzed as an antipassive (Himmelmann 2002:14). Neither analysis⁴ fits the Kankanaey data satisfactorily. Himmelmann's defining features for Philippine-type languages (2005:113) do include Kankanaey characteristics—at least two different Undergoer voices, clitic phrase markers, and pronominal second-position clitics. Kankanaey, like many other languages in the area, also shows split-intransitivity based on semantic differences and affixation differences between intransitive predicates that index an Actor vs. an Undergoer.

Ross (2002: 439) suggests that verbs in Philippine-type languages have at least four different possible role-indexations: Actor, patient, local, and some other (such as instrumental, benefactive, etc.) An analysis proposed by Walter Spitz (2001) for Hiligaynon names ten voices, constrained by event phase—inception for Actor voices, exhaustion for Undergoer. The analysis of Kankanaey proposed in this dissertation suggests that predicate affixation reflects the assignment of macrorole status to either one or two arguments, and that an Undergoer voice is the default expression of two macroroles. Both Actor and Undergoer voices have thematic-role indexing variations.

Givón (1994) notes that a major component of transitivity is the relative topicality of the Actor and Patient in a semantic event; an 'inverse' voice may encode a P argument that is more highly topical than the A argument. Some Philippine linguists have found an 'inverse' pattern in argument ordering, for example, in Cebuano (Payne 1994) and Obo Manobo (Brainard and VanderMolen 2006). Kankanaey handles the situation of a more-topical patient by dropping the agent of dynamic Undergoer voices or using the passive state voice.

Existentials in many Western Austronesian languages are clearly differentiated from verbs; in Kankanaey the existentials generally occur unaffixed, but may also take some predicating affixation. Many other languages have a locative predicate, such as the Tagalog *nasa* 'is in/at'; in Kankanaey the existential serves as the predicate with locative phrases.

Talmy (1991, 2000) suggests a division between what he calls verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages. Verb-framing involves encoding the path or trajectory of motion within the predicate rather than expressing it in a 'satellite' expression. Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005) in their study of motion verbs found that in the six Western

⁴ It is beyond the scope of this study to present arguments against certain analyses. Definitions of key terms such as 'syntactic transitivity' would clarify some of the apparent contradictions. This analysis of Kankanaey uses the RRG model, with its concept of a clause core that holds both direct and oblique arguments. Syntactically, transitive clauses have two direct arguments, while intransitive clauses have only one.

Austronesian languages they studied, greater attention is typically given to path rather than manner information in motion events. Motion roots exhibit very high path salience in Kankanaey as well, eliminating the need for specific prepositions. An oblique referent is most often sufficient to identify the direction or location of motion.

1.1.1.4 Grammatical relations

An ergative pattern of NP distribution is “very rare” in Austronesian languages, according to Himmelman (2005:158). Kankanaey reference phrases have a clearly ergative pattern of distribution, in that the single argument of an intransitive clause takes the same marking as the Undergoer argument in a transitive clause. An ergative analysis of NP distribution presupposes that core arguments are clearly distinguished from obliques, which is indeed the case in Kankanaey. Reference phrase markers and pronouns have distinct oblique forms. An ergative analysis also suggests that a transitive absolutive Actor would be a marked construction, which is also the case in Kankanaey, with its intransitive Actor voice and marked Antipassive voice.

Core (clitic) pronouns are displaced to a second position in many western Austronesian languages. Kankanaey clitic pronouns follow this rule, and often take a different case form in their displaced position. Other Austronesian languages, such as Makassar in south Sulawesi (Jukes 2005:664), have a similar case-shifting phenomenon with displaced clitic pronouns.

Woollams (2005:541) finds ‘identificational’ clauses in Karo Batak to have a subject-predicate order except when the first NP is clearly focal (as in *wh*- questions or with focal marker). Nias, related to the Batak languages of Sumatra, is also analyzed as having an NP in the predicate-initial position with a case-marked headless relative clause as its argument (Brown 2005:569). Zertoun (2005) notes this same construction in Tsoa of Taiwan, considering the first NP to be the predicating constituent, and uses the term ‘nominal clauses’ for the second NP. Indonesian (Ewing 2005:235) has a cleft construction in which a headless relative clause serves as subject of a specific-nominal predicate. Kankanaey has an equative clause structure similar to these, although the labels used in RRG are different.

The issue of ‘subjecthood’ has been explored and debated in many Philippine-type languages, as summarized in Himmelmann (2005:152-159). This study of Kankanaey uses the RRG concept of a ‘privileged syntactic argument’, which is defined by its properties for each separate construction.

1.1.2 *Tagalog, a meso-Philippine language*

Several linguists have offered analyses of Tagalog, a major language in the Philippines, including Foley and Van Valin (1984), Kroeger (1993), Halpern (1998) and Himmelman (2005b). Kankanaey shares many features with Tagalog, but differs in important ways as well.

1.1.2.1 **Clitics**

Clitic pronouns and clitic particles in Tagalog contrast with their Kankanaey counterparts in several ways. Tagalog, as well as other Philippine languages, moves pronouns in clusters, but Kankanaey is much more constrained in that only the transitive Actor or the single-argument pronouns are clitics and available for displacement. Tagalog clitic pronouns and particles show complex placement and ordering patterns while Kankanaey simply orders the single clitic pronoun before any clitic particles. Anderson (2008), using an Optimality Theory-based analysis, found that phonology, morphology and syntax all affect the clitics in Tagalog. Halpern (1998:105) proposed that verbal clitics are “associated with an ordered set of slots” defined by grammatical and phonological factors, noting that Tagalog orders monosyllabic pronouns before particles, which in turn precede bisyllabic pronouns, all following the clause-initial element. Another definition of clitic placement is suggested by Kroeger (1993:121), who notes that in Tagalog “clitics occur immediately after the first daughter of the smallest maximal projection which contains them.” This is a wider definition than is needed for describing the placement of Kankanaey clitics, especially the pre-verbal displacement to the position (sometimes called the *Wackernagel* position) immediately following modifiers that occur as the first word of the clause.

1.1.2.2 **Negation**

Himmelmann (2005:140-41) notes that in Tagalog “there are no particles, negators or other kinds of grammatical markers which would clearly distinguish between a verbal and an equational clause type.” By contrast, many Austronesian languages have a choice of negators (e.g. Malay, and Kimaragang Dusun, a language closely related in syntax and morphology to Tagalog (Kroeger 2005:397)). In both these languages the negator for predicates formed by adjectives and verbs is different from the negator used with NP predicates in equative clauses. In Kankanaey there are also two negators, but their distribution as noted above is defined by dynamic vs. non-dynamic predicates, clearly distinguishing between verbal and equative clause types.

1.1.2.3 Existential constructions

Examining the existential in Tagalog, Sabbagh (2009) found four distinct types. He analyzes the Tagalog existential as an impersonal clause with no subject. Kroeger (1993) also notes the lack of any nominative argument with existential predicates. Himmelmann (2005b), however, notes that a nominative phrase (*ang*-marked phrase or nominative pronoun) in an existential clause expresses a possessor. In contrast, Kankanaey existentials function as predicates, taking the same kind of single argument as intransitive predicates. Possession is expressed on the single argument of existentials as on any other phrase, i.e. with the genitive/ergative case.

1.1.2.4 Noun phrase construction

Many who have analyzed Tagalog include nominals without phrase markers as indefinite noun phrases (e.g. Sabbagh 2009, Kroeger 1993). Kankanaey distinguishes definite and indefinite reference by an indicator on the phrase markers (determiners). Kankanaey nominals without phrase markers function as predicates in Kankanaey.

The case-marking functions of Philippine noun phrase markers differ from language to language. In Tagalog, *ang* assigns nominative case to the ‘subject’ or ‘privileged argument’ of a clause. The marker *sa* is used to mark “dative case” (Kroeger 1993:13) for goals, recipients, locations, and definite objects; all other non-nominative arguments take *ng*. In contrast, Cebuano *sa* covers actors in Undergoer voice and undergoers in Actor voice (Himmelmann 2005a:144). Kankanaey reference phrase markers divide the roles differently—absolute vs. ergative vs. oblique—and as noted above can specify definiteness on each marker.

1.1.2.5 Clause structure

Both Tagalog and Kankanaey have a default predicate-initial clause order. Direct arguments have a more free order in Tagalog than Kankanaey’s rigid VSO order. Tagalog has an inverted SVO order, in which the initial S is followed by *ay*. Kankanaey does not have a similar construction, although both languages displace clitic pronouns to a pre-predicate position when there is a displacing element preceding the predicate.

Tagalog and Kankanaey share a similar equative construction, where two NPs with the same case marking (*ang* in Tagalog, *di(n)* in Kankanaey) are juxtaposed and interpreted to be coreferential. Himmelmann (2005:356) analyzes the first NP as the predicate, the analysis taken in this study of Kankanaey as well. Kroeger (1997:148; 2009:819, 822-23) views the second NP as the predicating element, a headless relative clause in a pseudocleft construction, although there is no overt relative marker (present in headed relative clauses). Kroeger also identifies

non-case-marked nominals serving as predicates as indefinite NPs, but this is a broader interpretation of NP than is taken in this study of Kankanaey.

1.1.2.6 Complex constructions

Tagalog has been analyzed as having modal verbs (Kroeger 1993:68), or ‘pseudo verbs’ (Schachter and Otnes 1972:262). These words do not have verbal marking, but they can take arguments. Kankanaey has equivalents to many of the Philippine-type pseudo verbs; they precede the clause core and take no predicate affixation. However, while argument pronouns do attach to them, they do not exhibit a predicate-argument relationship with the pronouns. Instead, Kankanaey “pseudo verbs” are analyzed by their grammatical function as modals or adverbials and by the level within the clause which they modify.

In linked clauses, both Tagalog and Kankanaey have restrictions on the affixation that may be used in the linked clause and the function of the gapped argument. Nominalized clauses are also common in both languages, but they are difficult to compare, being analyzed from varying theoretical presuppositions.

1.1.3 Iloko, a northern Philippine Cordilleran language

Iloko (Ilocano/Ilokano) is spoken by nearly 7 million people (9 million by some sources) in the broad lowland areas of the northern Philippines (see the map on p. x). Of the major languages of the Philippines, Iloko is the one most closely related to Kankanaey. A “pidginized form” (Lewis 2009) of Iloko is the trade language throughout the Luzon Cordillera, and is used by many Kankanaey speakers in their business and other contacts with the larger community. Some points of similarity and difference with Iloko are of interest.

1.1.3.1 Pronouns

Iloko personal pronouns are phonologically very similar to Kankanaey, and have 3 sets for the clause core, but not along the same functional lines as Kankanaey. Iloko has Actor/possessor pronouns, absolutive pronouns that cover S and U functions, and an independent set that serves predicatively (Rubino 2005:333, Table 11.5). In Kankanaey there are Actor/possessor pronouns, absolutive pronouns that express the S relation, and independent predicative pronouns that also serve the absolutive U function. Table 1.1 compares the patterning of the personal pronouns in both languages, giving just one example in each group.

Table 1.1. Iloko and Kankanaey pronoun patterns

Person/number	Transitive Actor/possessor	Single-Subject	Transitive Undergoer	Independent/Predicative
ILOKO				
ERGATIVE:1s (and 1p, 2s, 2p, 3s)	= k(o)	= ak		siak
UNDIFFERENTIATED 1 + 2 (and 1 + 2p, 3p)	= ta			data
KANKANAAY				
DIFFERENTIATED:1s (and 1p, 2s, 2p)	= k(o)	= ak	sakʔen	
ACCUSATIVE: 1 + 2 (and 1 + 2p, 3p)	= ta		daita	
ERGATIVE: 3s	= na	Ø/sisya		sisya

Iloko pronouns have some similarities in their split system to Kankanaey, in that the speaker and addressee pronouns take a more differentiated pattern (Iloko is ergative while Kankanaey is completely differentiated) but combinations of speaker and addressee and 3rd-person plural group together in taking another pattern (accusative in Kankanaey and undifferentiated in Iloko). The third person singular pronoun in both languages follows an ergative pattern.

Demonstrative pronouns in Iloko express a five-way range of visible and temporal distance, while Kankanaey has only three. Iloko and Kankanaey clitic pronouns are displaced to the *Wackernagel* (clause-2nd) position, but Kankanaey displays no agent neutralization, and less pronoun portmanteau than Iloko.

1.1.3.2 Noun phrases

Iloko noun phrase markers distinguish singular from plural, and proper from common; there is also a demonstrative-based marker that specifies definiteness. As case markers they differentiate only between core and oblique status, unlike Kankanaey markers that assign ergative and absolutive case, with separate oblique marking.

Iloko uses six reduplication patterns (Rubino 2005:329) to express various types of aspectual information in nominal and verbal morphology, only three of which are productive in Kankanaey, with somewhat overlapping functions.

Iloko has extensive nominalizing affixation, including complete sets for manner gerunds, instruments, and locatives that correlate to the predicating affixation. Kankanaey has a much smaller inventory of nominalization, but shares the feature of nominalizing an Actor with the *maN*-prefix.

1.1.3.3 Predicates

Predicate affixes in Iloko mirror the Kankanaey affixes almost exactly, with very similar distinctions based on the semantics of the absolutive argument. Actor and Undergoer voices are distinguished as well as ‘potentive’-mood variations (Rubino 2005:340), which in this sketch are analyzed for Kankanaey as passive voice affixation in Undergoer voice.

Iloko has two negators, *saan* for general negation and *di*, which is the preferred form with verbs (Rubino 2005:332). The distinction between stative and non-stative negation that Kankanaey exhibits is not as sharp in Iloko.

1.1.3.4 Clause

As outlined by Rubino (2005:331-32) Iloko clauses have the same canonical constituent order as Kankanaey:

VERB (+ERG) + ABS (+ adjunct)

Equational clauses are defined for Iloko as those that take a noun phrase or prepositional phrase as the predicate. Equational clauses with nominal-phrase predicates are used to contrast or identify referents, as in Kankanaey.

Existentials in both languages are used to express existence, location and possession. In Iloko, the argument of the existential is not case-marked, unlike Kankanaey. The negative existential is a single word, and takes a case-marked argument.

1.1.4 Other Cordilleran languages

The minority languages of the Philippines have been studied for many years. Numerous articles, dictionaries, and text collections have been published by linguists associated with SIL Philippines, the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and other organizations. The minority languages in the Kankanaey area have been classified as noted above; Kankanaey is included in the Nuclear Cordilleran group. Reid and Liao’s (2004) overview of typical structures and processes in Philippine languages include those in the Nuclear Cordilleran group. This group is comprised of Kankanaey, Bontok, Northern Kankanaey, Finallig, Balangao, and four Ifugao languages, as noted on the map that follows. This analysis will be limited to just a few of the many parallels between Kankanaey, Bontok, and Tawali Ifugao.

1.1.4.1 Bontok

Kankanaey shares a large percentage of its lexical inventory with Bontok to its north. Some phonological differences, for example some fricatives where Kankanaey has plosives, give a first impression of unintelligibility that is easily resolved in a short time of conversational interaction.

Kankanaey follows the Bontok pattern with a reference-phrase marker that is bound when ergative and free-standing when absolutive. Furthermore, Kankanaey is similar to Bontok in using demonstrative-related markers. Kankanaey has a set of three (speaker-associated, addressee-associated, remote) where Bontok has but two. These demonstrative-related markers have a very weak deictic function.

Bontok allows independent pronouns to follow displaced clitic pronouns, like Tagalog. Kankanaey does not allow that pattern. In most syntactic patterns, though, Bontok and Kankanaey show themselves to be very closely related.

1.1.4.2 Tuwali Ifugao

Tuwali Ifugao, one of the Ifugao dialects in the Nuclear Cordilleran group, is spoken to the east of the Kankanaey area. Other than Reid's areal work (e.g. 1974, Reid and Liao 2004), the main research on this language has been done by Richard and Lou Hohulin.

Like Bontok, Tuwali Ifugao (hereafter T. Ifugao) differs from Kankanaey phonologically, making mutual comprehension difficult at first. The lexicon is substantially different from Kankanaey as well, placing T. Ifugao further from Kankanaey than its northern neighbors like Bontok. The system of noun phrase markers is more complex in T. Ifugao than Kankanaey, although several forms are nearly homophonous.

Like Kankanaey, T. Ifugao has different negators for stative and non-stative predicates, and a separate negative-existential form. With verbs, T. Ifugao further differentiates negative past from negative non-past.

The basic predicating affixation of both Bontok and T. Ifugao follows Reid and Liao's prototypical list. Syntactic constructions show many similarities between Kankanaey and T. Ifugao such as the equative clause construction. Nominalization (topicalization in Hohulin's terms) is used in both languages for WH-questions and contrastive focus. Both languages share the special form for nominalized transitive agents (*maN-*) noted in §1.1.3.2 regarding Iloko.

1.1.5 *Conventions used in this sketch*

Examples are presented with the dash (-) indicating morpheme breaks in both the Kankanaey (italics) and the gloss lines. The equal sign (=) indicates clitic elements. Chevrons <...> indicate an infix. A discontinuous morpheme may have a single chevron pointing toward its other half, and the tilda ~ follows a reduplicative prefix. The period (.) indicates multiple-word morpheme glosses.

The symbol [ʔ] represents glottal stop following a consonant; glottal stop is also required intervocally and word initial before a vowel but is not written unless necessary for a particular example. The digraph *ng* represents the velar nasal; the letter *e* represents a close central unrounded vowel. Morphophonemics distorts some of the affixed words, especially segment deletion, vowel harmony and nasal assimilation. These are given a fuller display or the underlying vowel used when it is helpful.

Pronouns are identified by person, number, and class; demonstratives by proximity to person, and class. Affixes are tagged to reflect their indexing function, but may not be separately glossed when irrelevant to the example. Tables of affixes and pronoun classes are located when introduced, as well as in the Appendix.

1.2 Role and Reference Grammar – a practical model

1.2.1 *Introduction*

To describe a language, one needs a framework within which to work. Describing a language in a theory-neutral manner is difficult and may lead to ad-hoc definitions and labels. RRG has proven to be a very practical framework for the description of Kankanaey, and the author hopes by this dissertation to demonstrate the usefulness of RRG as a tool for field linguists.

RRG looks at language structure from four perspectives—the surface forms, the underlying semantic structure, the modifying grammatical elements, and the pragmatic information structure—and provides mechanisms for discovering, describing and integrating them all.

The surface forms are the basis for the morphosyntactic representation. The constituents occur in their actual order in the ‘constituent projection’ diagrams. Nodes in these tree diagrams identify levels of constituent grouping. A separate but similar constituent projection is used for noun-phrase analysis.

The second perspective, the underlying semantic structure, provides a clear system of lexical decomposition. For predicates, this system is an *Aktionsart*-based method of

representing the semantics of predicates with their arguments. The semantic representation is linked to the syntactic structure by means of an algorithm, or set of steps. The semantic roles of arguments are correlated with macroroles called Actor and Undergoer. Syntactic rules are based on the macrorole assignment and status of the arguments that appear in the surface forms. General and construction-specific rules comprise the syntax-semantics linking algorithm.

Third, grammatical modifiers are described in a separate representation (called the ‘operator projection’) that correlates grammatical information with the morphosyntactic representation. These modifiers are ordered according to the levels that are identified in the ‘constituent projection’ mentioned above, both for clauses and for noun phrases.

Lastly, RRG addresses the functional issue of information flow by using a ‘focus projection’. This simple diagram indicates the actual extent of focus (new information) in a construction, compared with the possible extent of the ‘focus domain’ of the construction.

The following discussion will expand this overview of RRG to give the reader a fuller introduction to the RRG model. It will also provide a preview of the specific application and adaptation of the model to the analysis of Kankanaey.

1.2.2 *Constituent projections*

RRG proposes a linear, layered conception of syntactic organization, without positing any underlying forms or movement rules. The layers in this organization are represented as nodes in a ‘constituent projection’ display as in Figure 1.1.

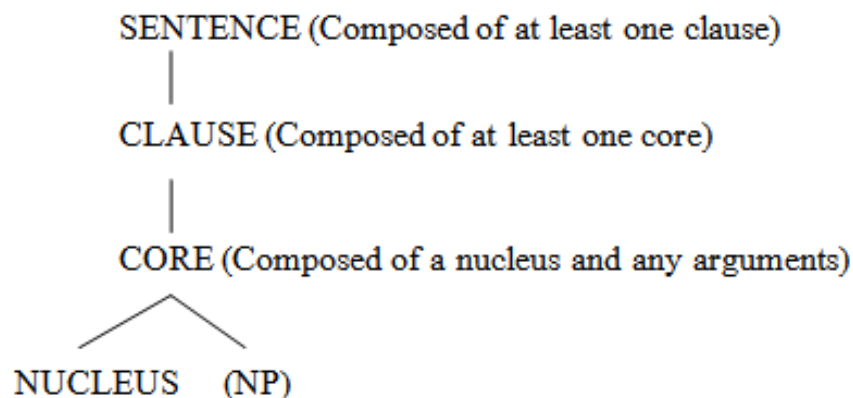


Figure 1.1. Constituent projection (basic)

1.2.2.1 Core constituents

As seen in Figure 1.1, a sentence is composed of at least one clause, which in turn is composed of at least one core. Figure 1.2 below displays the constituent projection of a Kankanaey core. Within the clause core are the nuclear predicating element and its arguments, expressed traditionally as noun phrases. In RRG noun phrases are termed reference phrases (RP). This term is especially appropriate for Kankanaey due to the high percentage of reference phrases that are nominalized clauses. The order in which the constituents of the core occur is language-specific. Kankanaey is a predicate-initial language and can take up to three arguments.

Adverbs that modify the nucleus are not core elements, but are found in positions preceding or following the nucleus. These positions are called nuclear peripheries. Peripheries are connected by arrows to the node at the appropriate level. The full constituent projection of a core is shown in Figure 1.2.

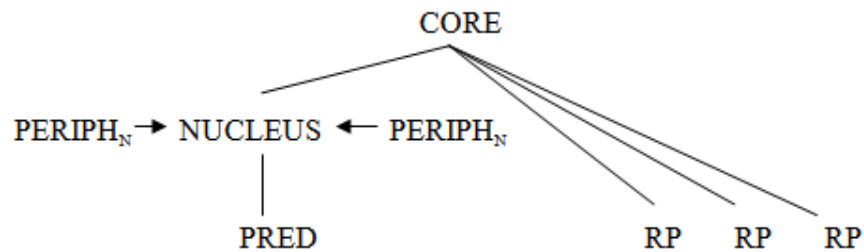


Figure 1.2. Core constituents

1.2.2.2 Clause constituents

Within a clause, core-level modifiers such as adverbial phrases are placed in peripheral positions either preceding or following the core. There are also optional peripheral positions that precede and follow the clause level. In this way, modifying information is represented at the appropriate level but is kept separate from the essential structure. See Figure 1.3.

Two other positions are represented in Figure 1.3—a Pre-core Slot and a Post-core Slot for core information that occurs outside the core but inside the clause. In many languages, new information that comprises the actual focus domain is found in one of these positions. Kankanaey makes very limited use of these slots. Note in Figure 1.3 that the peripheries for clause and core levels are labelled as such.

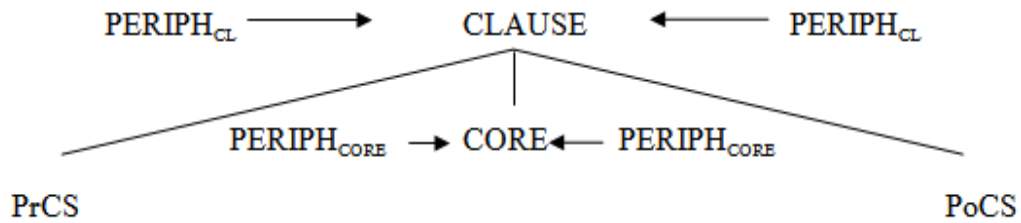


Figure 1.3. Clause constituents

1.2.2.3 Sentence constituents

As a sentence grammar, the highest level addressed by RRG is a ‘TEXT’ node to accommodate multiple-sentence constructions (Van Valin 2005:192). For Kankanaey, this node is labeled ‘Sentence Complex’. As displayed above in Figure 1.1, a sentence consists of at least one independent clause.

Furthermore, a sentence may have information in detached positions. These are labelled the left-detached position (tagged LDP) and right-detached position (RDP). Detached positions are identified by an overt detachment marker. In Kankanaey, either an intonational pause or a detachment particle separates the information in the detached positions from the main clause. The detached positions may hold words, phrases, or clauses. The pragmatic function of the left-detached position is to orient the hearer in some way to the central clause that follows, whether time/space orientation, participant orientation, or logical orientation. The right-detached position tends to carry explanatory information related to the central clause. Figure 1.4 displays the constituent projection of the upper levels of syntactic structure.

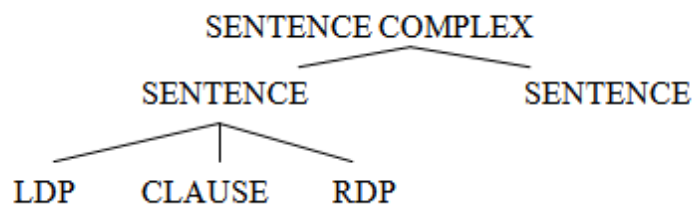


Figure 1.4. Sentence complex and sentence constituents

An example of the constituent structure of a Kankanaey clause is displayed in Figure 1.5. Note that only the predicate, arguments, and peripheral phrase are represented as constituents. Abbreviations are given in the footnote.

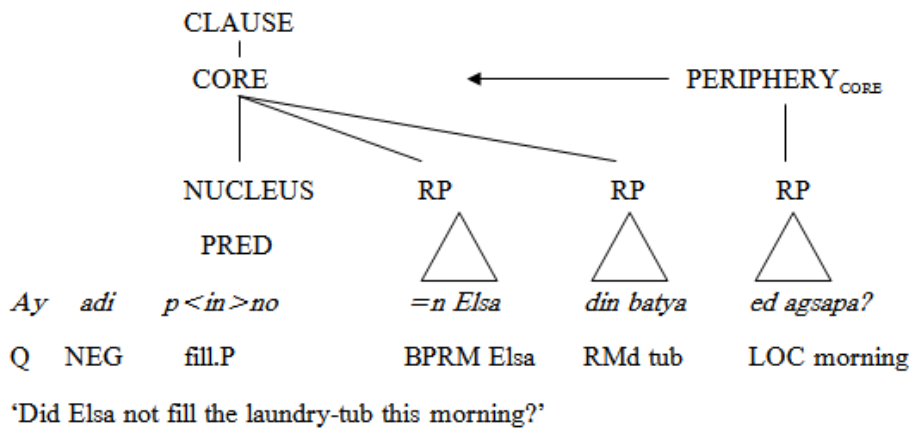


Figure 1.5. Kankanaey clause constituent projection example⁵

1.2.2.4 Reference phrases

RRG analyzes reference phrases (RP) as having a layered structure similar to the clause. RP constituent projections, like clauses, have nodes for core and nucleus. The RP has an argument position for possessive or other genitive-type phrases. Peripheral positions for adjectives and relative clauses are also part of the constituent projection for RPs. The openness of the theory to acknowledging any type of word as the nucleus of an RP is very appropriate for Kankanaey, where a reference phrase may be identified as a reference-phrase marker followed by a core whose nucleus holds an affixed or un-affixed lexical root.

Figure 1.6 shows an example of an RP constituent projection display for Kankanaey.

⁵ RP 'Reference Phrase', PRED 'predicating word', = 'bound morpheme', Q 'question word', NEG 'negator', P 'perfective', HSY 'hearsay, an evidential', BPRM 'bound personal reference-phrase marker', RMd 'reference-phrase marker definite', LOC 'marker for temporal/spatial location'

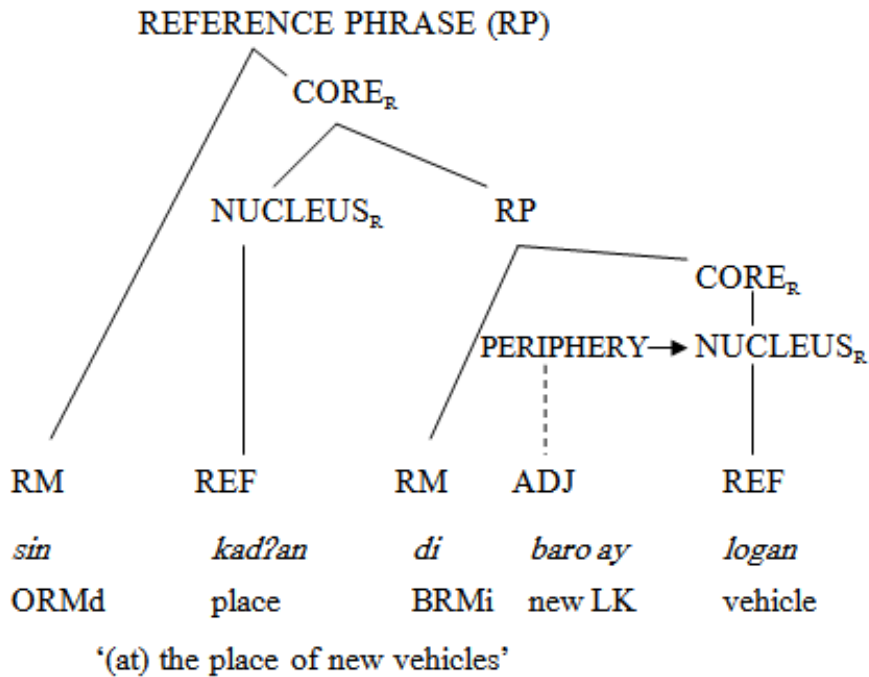


Figure 1.6. Kankanaey RP constituent structure example

1.2.3 Semantic structure

1.2.3.1 Logical structures

RRG proposes that the logical structure (LS) of a predication, with its argument positions, forms the basis for syntactic representation. The LS theory expands on Dowty’s (1979) representational scheme based on Vendler’s (1967) *Aktionsart* classification. A predicate is identified as a member of a particular classification depending on reliable grammatical tests that have been established for English and other languages. As one example, Test 3 (Van Valin 2005:35-6) presents the criterion “occurs with adverbs like *quickly* or *slowly*,” effectively assigning the feature [–punctual] to activities, accomplishments, and active accomplishments. This dissertation proposes a modified set of tests adapted for Kankanaey that enables the same classifications to be identified.

Each *Aktionsart* predicate type has its own semantic representation based on the distinction between states and activities. Predicates are represented in Logical Structure representations as constants marked with a prime accent ('). State and activity predicates are differentiated by the absence or presence of **do'**. Thus a state is represented as **predicate'** (x) or (x, y) while an activity is represented as **do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x) or (x, y)]). (The variables represent arguments of the predicates.) A very small set of modifiers such as CAUSE and BECOME build the other

Aktionsart types from those two predicates. The lexical representations for *Aktionsart* classes from Van Valin (2005:45) are given in Table 1.2. Abbreviations are in the footnote.

Table 1.2. Lexical representations for *Aktionsart* classes⁶

Class	Logical structure
STATE	predicate' (x) or (x, y)
ACTIVITY	do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)])
ACHIEVEMENT	INGR predicate' (x) or (x,y) INGR do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)])
SEMELFACTIVE	SEML predicate' (x) or (x, y) SEML do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)])
ACCOMPLISHMENT	BECOME predicate' (x) or (x, y) BECOME do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)])
ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT	do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)]) & INGR predicate' (z, x) or (y)
CAUSATIVE	[α] CAUSE [β], where α , β are logical structures of any type

The modifier BECOME has traditionally been used to express an accomplishment, although technically an accomplishment is a process leading to an achievement (thus PROC + INGR). Because Kankanaey has a contrast between processes that have a specified end result and those that do not, this study includes the operator PROC in its lexical decomposition of Kankanaey process predicates.

1.2.3.2 Macroroles and privileged syntactic argument

Argument positions for each predicate type in this system of lexical representation are represented by variables (x, y), regardless of the specific semantic role each argument may fill. The various semantic role relationships of arguments to their predicate are generalized in RRG into two macroroles, Actor and Undergoer. An argument may be assigned macrorole status, based on its position in the *Aktionsart* logical structure. The Actor-Undergoer hierarchy, shown in Table 1.3 from Van Valin (2005:126), orders the argument positions in relation to their availability for macrorole assignment. (A further predicate DO indicates explicit agency.) The principles for macrorole assignment are listed under the hierarchy in Table 1.3. As argued in Guerrero-Valenzuela and Van Valin (2004), most languages tend to present a mixed system for

⁶ INGR=ingressive (expresses punctual changes of state or activity), SEML= semelfactive (Smith 1997) (punctual events with no result state), PROC= process

undergoer selection and thus need both principles A and B to adequately account for all the patterns.

Table 1.3. The Actor-Undergoer hierarchy

ACTOR				UNDERGOER
Arg. of	>	1 st arg. of	>	1 st arg. of > 2 nd arg. of > Arg of
DO		do' (x,...		pred' (x,y) pred' (x)

Actor: assign to highest (left-most) ranking argument in LS

Undergoer:

Principle A: assign to lowest ranking argument in LS (default)

-or-

Principle B: assign to second highest ranking argument in LS

Syntax and verbal morphology interact with macrorole assignment. For example, if an argument in the logical structure is blocked from macrorole assignment, this will be reflected in the form of the verb and the structure of the clause. However, semantic transitivity in terms of two macroroles will not necessarily map into syntactic transitivity in terms of the clause structure. One important result of macrorole assignment is that one of the macrorole-assigned arguments will be chosen to hold a privileged syntactic role in clause structure, often as the ‘subject’. This privileged syntactic argument (PSA) may have unique coding and behavioral properties. Language-specific linking algorithms must be established for assigning PSA status to an argument, delineating the privileges of that argument, and providing for the marking and positioning of other constituents.

For Kankanaey, the *Aktionsart* classification and macrorole assignment fit the data very well. Variable pragmatic assignment to Undergoer (Principles A and B) in Kankanaey is especially useful. Included in the Kankanaey linking algorithm is the ergative pattern of PSA assignment in the clause.

Figure 1.7 illustrates part of the analysis of the clause from Figure 1.5. It represents the logical structure of the predicate, macrorole assignment and PSA selection. In the logical structure, ‘fill’ is shown to be a causative accomplishment predicate, in that the predicate does not denote the specific action, only the effect produced. As the left-most argument, ‘Elsa’ is assigned the Actor macrorole. The right-most argument, *batya*, is assigned the Undergoer macrorole. In Kankanaey, the Undergoer is the default choice for PSA. This choice then influences the affix on the verb, the order of the arguments, and the type of reference-phrase markers on the arguments.

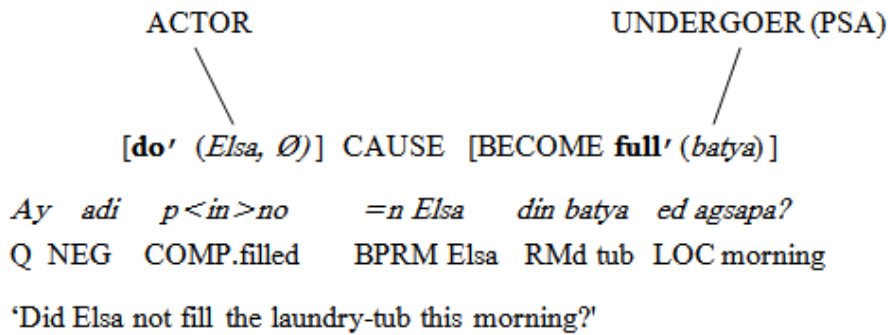


Figure 1.7. Kankanaey predicate logical structure with macroroles and PSA assigned

1.2.4 Operator projection

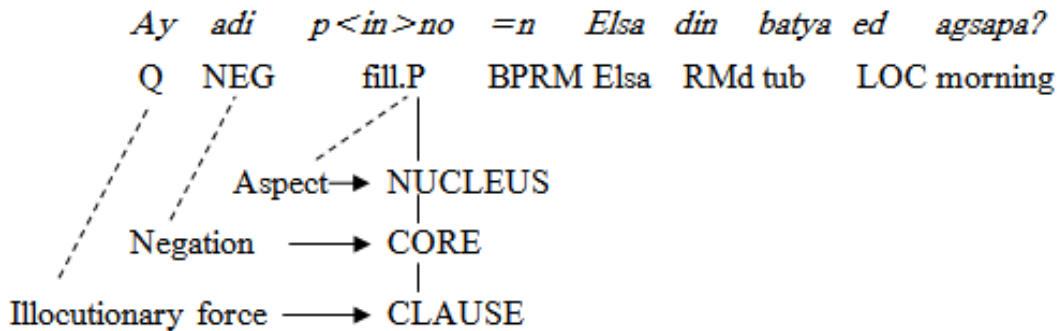
Grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, negation, and illocutionary force are termed 'operators' in RRG. Operators occur at the clause, core, and nuclear levels in a sentence and are analyzed separately from the clause constituents. Operators that occur in reference phrases, such as number and definiteness, are also analyzed separately. The 'Operator Projection' identifies the layer of the structure that each operator modifies. This is important when analyzing complex constructions. The operators in a clause are shown in Table 1.4, from Van Valin (2005:9).

Table 1.4. Operators in the layered structure of the clause

Nucleus:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspect Negation Directionals (only those modifying orientation of action or event without reference to participants)
Core:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Directionals (only those expressing the orientation or motion of one participant with reference to another participant or to the speaker) Event quantification Modality (root modals, e.g. ability, permission, obligation) Internal (narrow scope) negation
Clausal:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Status (epistemic modals, external negation) Tense Evidentials Illocutionary force

Kankanaey follows these norms in almost every case. One notable exception is the absence of tense. Perfective aspect (a nuclear level modifier expressed by affixation on the predicate) indicates completion and thus realis.

In Figure 1.8 operators are shown for the Kankanaey example sentence. They are represented in the ‘Operator Projection’ using arrows to identify the level being modified. Note that the negation is narrow-scope at the core level, and that perfective aspect (the infix <in>, tagged P) is a nuclear operator. The yes-no question word *ay* ‘Q’ indicates the illocutionary force, a clause-level operator.



‘Did Elsa not fill the laundry-tub this morning?’

Figure 1.8. Kankanaey clause with operator projection

1.2.5 Information structure

The fourth perspective in the RRG framework examines the pragmatic flow of information. It recognizes the influence of the larger context in a syntactic analysis of any sentence. Constituents of a sentence may express information that is new to the hearer, or that refers to information already known or presupposed. RRG builds upon Lambrecht’s theory of information structure (e.g. Lambrecht 1994), in which topical information is presupposed while focus refers to information that is new. It draws a distinction between the possible domain of focus information in a given structure and the actual focus of a given clause. An entire clause could potentially be new information. However, in the Kankanaey clause that we are using as an example, the information units *=n Elsa* and *din batya* ‘the tub’ and *ed agsapa* ‘this morning’ are presented as definite, known entities. This leaves only the modified nucleus *adi pinno* ‘didn’t fill’ as the focus information. The focus structure projection is shown in Figure 1.9.

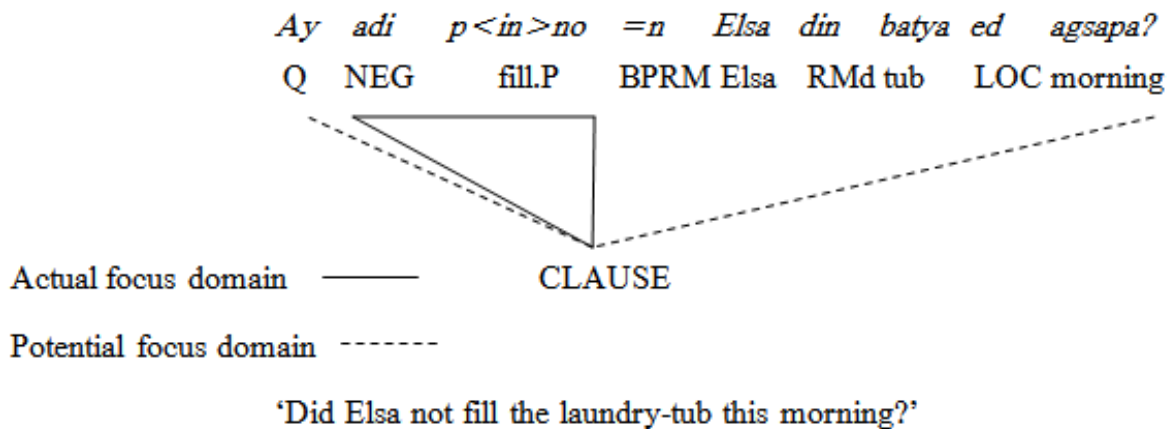


Figure 1.9. Kankanaey example with information structure projection

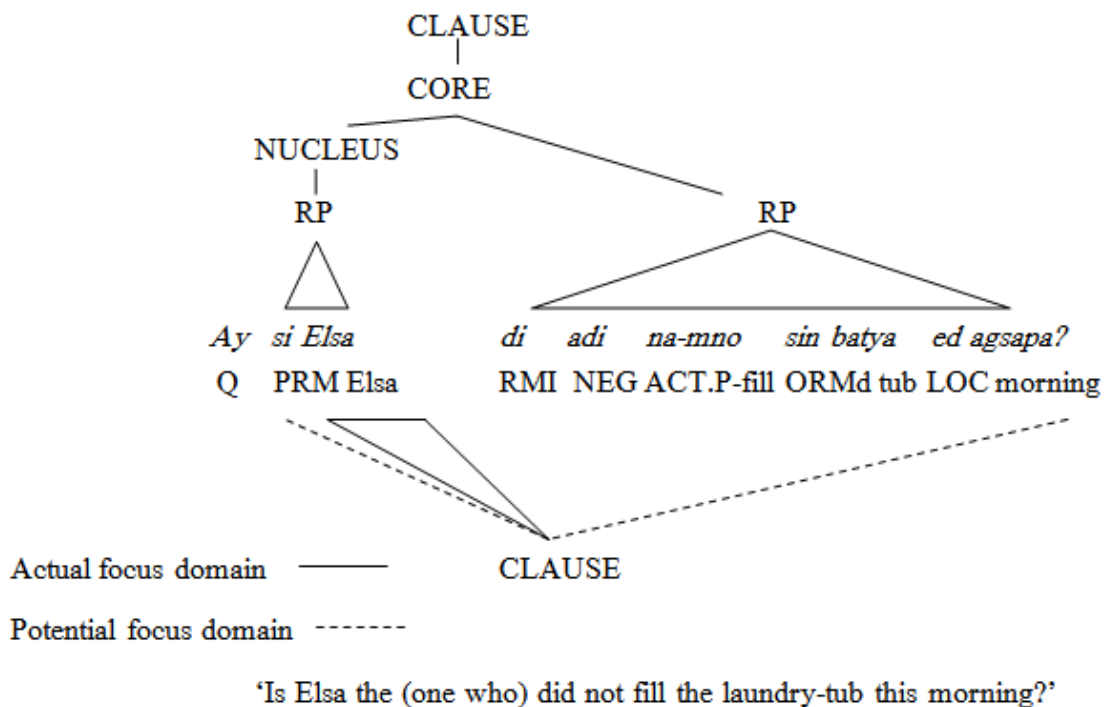


Figure 1.10. Constituent and information structure narrow-focus example

The predicate-first structure of Kankanaey fits with its focus-first tendency, a tendency common to many languages. The information structure analysis explains the syntactic phenomenon in Kankanaey of a narrow-focus RP being placed in the clause-nuclear position. Figure 1.10 above represents the constituent structure and the information structure when the

example sentence is reconfigured to express narrow focus on the constituent *Elsa*. New abbreviations are in the footnote⁷.

1.2.6 Conclusion

This introduction has provided an overview of Role and Reference Grammar and how it has been used to analyze Kankanaey. The ‘layered structure of the clause’ with its several positions gives a clear explanation of how the constituents of a clause are ordered and, more satisfying, an explanation of the hierarchical relationships between them. RRG’s separation of ‘operators’ from the other clause constituents has proved to be helpful in sorting out many confusing details. The analysis of the logical structure of predicates is most helpful in understanding the relationships that arguments have with their predicates. The complicated affixation and voice alternations in Kankanaey lose their mystery when the logical structure is used as the starting point for ‘macrorole’ assignment and syntactic relations. And finally, understanding the pragmatic ‘focus structure’ of clauses has provided a tool that aids linguistic research from clause analysis to whole discourse analysis.

The following chapters will describe the Kankanaey language in detail, using the tools and strategies of RRG. Chapter 2 deals with morphology, especially predicate formation using lexical decomposition. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the constituents and operators of reference phrases and simple clauses, respectively. Chapter 5 looks at complex constructions, while chapter 6 analyzes those complexities in terms of their privileged syntactic arguments. Chapter 7 deals with the flow of information as it is managed through Kankanaey grammar. Appendices and references follow chapter 7.

⁷ PRM=Personal Reference Phrase Marker, RMI= indefinite Reference Phrase Marker, ORMd=oblique Reference Phrase Marker

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Chapter 2 The Lexicon and Predicate Formation

2.1 The Kankanaey lexicon

Kankanaey lexical items may be syntactically categorized as content or function lexemes. Content lexemes include roots in both open and closed categories. The first section of this chapter deals with open classes of content roots. Small closed classes of independent syntactic standing, comprised of adverbs, modals and semantic particles, are discussed elsewhere, as are function lexemes, including conjunctions, determiners, interrogative markers, and a wide array of inflectional and derivational affixes.

2.1.1 *Roots*

As in other Philippine languages, many Kankanaey content roots allow both referring and predicating usages, depending on the affixation. This study considers the roots to be pre-categorical as far as syntactic category or “part of speech” is concerned. Content roots are divided into broad categories—classes, properties, statives (including perception statives), actions and physicals. Erstwhile ‘nouns’ are termed ‘classes’ to reflect the fact that when they function as predicates they indicate a classification rather than an object instantiating that classification. Physicals are given a separate classification because they involve their participant in self-affecting ways. They also take unique predicating affixes, as will be seen in §2.2 on predicate formation.

Phonologically, Kankanaey has only two syllable types—CV and CVC. Glottal stops are not orthographically represented when intervocalic or word-initial, and cannot occur syllable-final. In this study, they are written only word-medially after another consonant, or when relevant to the discussion.

Table 2.1 lists the Kankanaey lexical content categories.

Table 2.1. Lexical root categories in Kankanaey

Class
Property
Stative
Perception-stative
Physical
Action

2.1.1.1 Class roots

Following Reid's label (2004:436) class roots indicate a class of entities by physical or other sensory characteristics. Typical examples are seen in Examples 1) to 3).

- 1) *babai*
'female, especially human'
- 2) *beey*
'house, home of person or animal; container where something is usually kept'
- 3) *begas*
'hulled rice'

2.1.1.2 Property roots

Property roots indicate an essential characteristic, such as size, color, texture etc.

- 4) *em?ek*
'soft (easily cut)'
- 5) *emis*
'sweet, tasty'
- 6) *ando*
'tall, long'

2.1.1.3 Stative roots

Stative roots indicate a changeable physical condition, not necessarily permanent. States that specifically follow a change induced by an outside effector are termed result-stative roots in the discussion.

- 7) *tey*
'dead'
- 8) *gadgad*
'mangy'
- 9) *kemi*
'dented in, partially crushed'
- 10) *beteng*
'drunk'

2.1.1.4 Perception-stative roots

Perception roots indicate a perception by an animate being, including physical, emotional and mental perception-states. Because animate beings are able to actively perceive, with control, intent and cognition, these roots may form predicates of a wider range than those based on simple stative roots.

- 11) *ila*
‘see, look at’
- 12) *bongot*
‘angry’
- 13) *kibtot*
‘startled’
- 14) *kiyapot*
‘rushed, stressed’

2.1.1.5 Physical roots

Physical roots indicate movement and position—natural movements as well as body movements and positions. (They do not include body functions.) These roots may denote a location or direction as in 15) to 18) or indicate manner of movement, as 19) and 20).

- 15) *tedted*
‘drip’
- 16) *ali*
‘move toward speaker, come’
- 17) *saa*
‘go home’
- 18) *balalong*
‘move downwards, descend’
- 19) *sekad*
‘stamp, stomp’
- 20) *tagtag*
‘run’

2.1.1.6 Action roots

Action roots indicate activity by an animate, usually intentional participant. Some action roots denote the trajectory of that action to a second participant; some specify a participant as an entity involved in the action but not as the end-point. Rather than a generic type of action root modified by phrases, Kankanaey uses roots that are highly specific as to manner of action and properties of the target of the action, giving an undergoer-orientation that fits well with the ergative syntactic alignment. The specificity of Kankanaey roots may be noticed in many of the examples that follow.

21) *togda*

‘eat lunch’

22) *tilid*

‘carry something on one shoulder’

23) *tobʔong*

‘put a relatively small amount of something into a relatively large amount of water’

24) *todyok*

‘jab or poke upwards at something’

2.1.2 Word-building processes

2.1.2.1 Reduplication

Several types of reduplication are used to build words in Kankanaey⁸. Reduplication may be applied to unaffixed or affixed roots, and involve either the first CV, CVC, or CV(C)CV, with different functions expressed by each type. These functions will be explained in §2.2 on predicate formation; the examples in **Error! Reference source not found.** to **Error! Reference source not found.** are not exhaustive. Intervocalic glottal stops (required) have been shown where relevant.

25) *beey* ‘house’ + CV- → *bebeey* ‘houses’

26) *padas* ‘try’ + CVC- → *padpadas* ‘experiences’

27) *saʔig* ‘stack in rows’ + CVC(C)V- → *saʔisaʔg* ‘stacking more and more rows’

⁸ Kankanaey has numerous roots whose canonical shape contains apparent reduplication. Some of these irreducible roots consist of two identical syllables, as in *taktak* and *baba*. Other roots, such as *togingging* and *wagawag*, have two identical syllables with an apparent prefix or infix. These roots do not exemplify reduplication as a word-building process.

2.1.2.2 Prefixes

Many predicating and nominalizing affixes are prefixes, attaching directly to the front of the root as in 28). Most reduplicative affixation applies before prefixation, as seen in the derivation in 29), but some functions of CVC reduplication are applied to already-prefixed stems, as seen in the derivation in 30). (See Lawrence Allen, 1980 and Paterson, 2007, for fuller analyses.) Some roots drop their first vowel when prefixed, as in 31), where the glottal then metathesizes with the second consonant under phonological constraints. With one-syllable or vowel-reduced roots, reduplication is applied after the predicative affixation. The derivation in 32) gives an example.

- 28) *tokdo* ‘sit’ + *ka-* → *katokdo* ‘seat-mate’
29) *beteng* ‘drunk’ + *CV-* + *na-* → *nabebeteng* ‘was drunk’
30) *geyek* ‘tickle’ + *ma-* + *CVC-* → *magmageyek* ‘ticklish’
31) *?emis* ‘sweet, tasty’ + *ma-* → *mam?is* ‘sweet, tasty’
32) *tey* ‘dead’ + *ma-* + *CVC-* → *matmatey* ‘dying’

2.1.2.3 Suffixes

Two predicating affixes are suffixes, *-en* and *-an*. Some roots drop their last vowel when suffixed, as in 33).

- 33) *dateng* ‘arrive’ + *-an* → *datngan* ‘come upon, find’

2.1.2.4 Infixes

One predicating affix, *<om>* and a perfective affix *<in>* are infixes following the first consonant of the root. Two examples are seen in 34).

- 34) *?ayos* ‘flow down’ + *<om>* → *?<om>ayos* ‘flows down’
kaan ‘remove’ + *<in>* → *k<in>aan* ‘removed’

Reduplication precedes the predicating infixation, which precedes the aspect infixation, as seen in 36), the step-by-step construction of the word *pinmanapanakpak*. (Vowel reduction occurs when the two infixes co-occur before a vowel, thus *<in>* + *<om>* → *<inm>*). In 36), the reducible vowel in the root re-orders the reduplication to follow predicating affixation.

- 35) *panakpak* ‘hit with slapping sound’
+ *CVCV-* → *panapanakpak*
+ *<om>* → *pomanapanakpak*
+ *<in>* → *pinmanapanakpak* ‘was repeatedly hitting/slapping’

36) *betak* ‘explode’

+ <om> → *bomtak*

+ CVC- → *bombomtak*

+ <in> → *binombomtak* ‘were exploding’

A few highly marked affixes include an infixated glottal stop before the second vowel, as in 37).

37) *banga* ‘pot’ + CVC- <ʔ> → *bangbangʔa* ‘little old pots, toy pots’

2.1.2.5 Circumfixes

A number of affixes have two parts, a prefix or infix and a suffix (most often *-an*). The functions of these circumfixes are unique, not a sum of the functions of the two parts. They are tagged by glossing the prefix or infix, and using a left-pointing chevron for the suffix. Two examples are seen in 38).

38) *ila* ‘see’ + *ka-...-an* → *ka-ila-an* ‘appearance’
NOM-see <

oto ‘cook’ + *i-...-an* → *i-oto-an* ‘cook for someone’
UNNd-cook <

2.1.2.6 Co-occurring affixes

A few prefixes can occur in combination with other prefixes or infixes at the front of the root. One of these, the prefix *i-*, has several functions, one of which is to indicate the presence of a second argument as in 39). Other more specialized prefixes include those exemplified in 40).

39) *payag* ‘set down’ + *ka-* + *i-* → *kaipayag* ‘set it down suddenly’

40) *ila* ‘see’ + *man-* + *asi-* → *manʔasiila* ‘see each other’

ila ‘see’ + *man-* + *pa-* → *manpaila* ‘appear, show oneself’

esa ‘one’ + CVC- + *mang-* + *i-* + *pan-* → *mangipanʔesʔesa* ‘concentrate on it’

As has been shown, the mechanics of word formation in Kankankaey is complex and multi-functional. The semantics and subsequent syntactic constructions utilizing these complex words will be covered in the next section and in the following chapters.

2.2 Predicate formation

VVLP (1997: 154) notes that "the information contained in lexical entries is very important, as it consists of the crucial semantic, morphosyntactic and other properties which

determine how a lexical item will behave grammatically. The logical structure of the verb is the heart of its lexical entry." As detailed in §2.1.1 above, the lexicon of Kankanaey is arranged by root morphemes, and indicates the crucial semantic properties of each root.

Kankanaey roots depend on affixation to license their function in a phrase or clause. This section deals with predicate formation, the process that creates a word that is able to function grammatically in its context, although it does not specify what that function is. Predicating affixes abound in Kankanaey, and may license a word to either predicate or refer, depending on the construction in which it appears. The predicates that each may form are a function of the interaction of affixation with the properties of the root that are relevant in each specific context.

One system of classifying predicates in terms of event semantics is *Aktionsart*, proposed by Vendler (1967), which categorizes states of affairs by whether they are ‘happenings’ or static situations, and distinguishes the ‘happenings’ by their temporal properties and the dynamicity of the event. VVLP (1997) and Van Valin (2005) expanded the list of categories to reflect resultant situations, adding semelfactives and complex predicates—active accomplishments and causatives. To accommodate the full range of predicates, this study includes classificational and attribute predicates as subtypes of states.

2.2.1 *Aktionsart logical structures*

Table 2.2. Predicate types in Kankanaey

<i>Aktionsart</i> class	Logical Structure
CLASS/ATTRIBUTE	be' (x,[root'])
EXPERIENCE-STATE	feel' (x,[root'])
STATE	root' (x,(y))
PROCESS	PROC root' (x)
ACHIEVEMENT	INGR root' (x)
ACCOMPLISHMENT	PROC + INGR root' (x)
SEMELFACTIVE	SEML root' (x,(y)) SEML do' (x, [root' (x,(y))])
ACTIVITY	do' (x, [root' (x,(y))])
ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT	do' (x, [root' (x,(y))]) & INGR root' (z, x,) or (y)
CAUSATIVE	α CAUSE [root' (x,(y))] where α is an unspecified predicate

Aktionsart predicate classes are shown in Table 2.2. Their labels have been adapted for Kankanaey to account for morphosyntactically consequential generalizations and distinctions. *Aktionsart* predicates are described in terms of their ‘logical structures’ (LS) which include the minimum number of semantic arguments that each predicate may require. The following discussion includes the representation of these logical structures. The conventions of LS representation include predicates in boldface with a prime (in Kankanaey these are root categories), predicate modifiers in all caps, arguments as x, y, z, etc., and parentheses and brackets enclosing arguments of the predicate(s).

2.2.2 Tests for *Aktionsart* classes

The *Aktionsart* classes may be determined in any given language by tests that isolate relevant semantic features of each class. The tests used for Kankanaey are adapted from VanValin (2005: 35-40).

Table 2.3. Kankanaey Tests for *Aktionsart* classes

Criterion	State	Achiev	Seml	Process	Activity	Act- Accomp	Causative
1. CVC interpretation	-	plural	iterative	progress	progress	progress	+/-
2. CV	+	-	-	-	-	+	+/-
3. Pace modifier	-	-	-	+	+	+	+/-
4. Time designation	FOR	AFTER	FOR	FOR	FOR	AFTER	+/-
5. Stative modifier	+	+	-	-	-	+	+/-
6. ‘Cause’ paraphrase	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
7. Negator	<i>baken</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>adi</i>

Tests 1 and 2 ask whether the predicate occurs with temporal aspect marking. In Kankanaey, CVC reduplication serves several functions, among them indicating progressive aspect. The availability and function of CVC reduplication is crucial to answering Test 1, as it must read iteratively for semelfactives, as an ongoing situation for activities and changes of

state, and indicate plurality for achievements. Test 2, unique to Kankanaey, asks whether the predicate occurs with CV reduplication, which generally indicates continuity in terms of duration of a temporary static situation, including the relevant effect of actions, providing evidence for the presence of a state predicate in the semantic structure.

Test 3 asks whether expressions of pace can co-occur with the predicate. Such ‘pace’ designations exclude stative and punctual predicates. Kankanaey has very few adverbs, none regarding pace; modifying pace verbs however can be used for Test 3. The tests suggested for English (Van Valin 2005) include ‘manner’ adverbs such as ‘vigorously.’ but no general verbs of manner such as ‘do vigorously’ have been attested in Kankanaey. A reduplicative ‘intensive’ affix (CVC(C)V) can intensify either vigor or repetition. This affix may differentiate predicates with an activity component but is not crucial, as other tests also provide sufficient contrasts.

A time word with the indefinite oblique marker *si* can indicate duration if the predicate allows duration. If the predicate is punctual, it indicates the time span before the event. Test 4 asks how time designations interact with the predicate in question—whether the time phrase will indicate duration (‘FOR x minutes’) or end-point (‘AFTER x minutes’) in relation to the predicate. Kankanaey does not have prepositions parallel to the English ‘for,’ ‘in’ or ‘after,’ so this test only asks for the interpretation. Time duration of a state of affairs that culminates in an end-point is not expressed as a phrase within the clause.⁹ Thus no test is available in Kankanaey to identify predicates that involve both duration and an end-point.

Test 5 asks whether a predicate can be used as a stative modifier. It identifies process, semelfactives and activities as those that cannot be so used. Relative clauses formed with passive constructions are ideal for examining this criterion, and §2.3.4.1 includes examples of stative modification.

⁹ Natural modes of expression are exemplified by the following sentences:

- 1) *At?atik di maobla mon enggay piga ay agew asi ma-kdeng.*
 little RMi work but even how.many LK day and.then UNDs-finish
 ‘There is only a little work to be done, but still it will be several days before it’s finished.’
- 2) *Man-balin na ay tapey ma-pa-labas di esa=y bowan.*
 ACT-turn.into DEM1I LK wine UNDs-CAUS-pass RMi one=LK month
 ‘This will turn into wine (when) one month has been allowed to pass.’

Test 6 asks whether the predicate can be paraphrased with ‘cause’. Although Kankanaey has an overt ‘cause’ prefix that easily identifies many causative predicates, causative predicates that are not morphologically marked may be identified by this test.

Test 7, also unique to this study, asks for the form of negator that is used with the predicate, since Kankanaey has two forms, *adi* and *baken*, that modify different predicate types. This test uncovers state predicates.

The following sections look at each type of predicate with its logical structure and examine how Kankanaey builds such predicates.

A note is in order here for understanding the glossing. One syntactic function of predicating affixation is to index one argument of the predication. This function depends not only on the predicate type but also on factors that range from phrase and clause formation to discourse-level considerations. The tags for the affixes reflect this indexing function, as will be clarified in later chapters. The examples will include tags to identify the relevant affix. Affixation that is irrelevant to a given example may not be separately identified.

Table 2.4 lists the basic predicating affixes of Kankanaey and indicates the number of arguments they allow. This number will not be greater than the number of arguments in the logical structure. (A few exceptions such as weather predicates will be noted as needed.) The table also includes a second form for each affix that includes perfective aspect. Some morphophonemic processes create alternate forms.

Table 2.4. Basic predicating affixes in Kankanaey including perfective aspect

1 Argument	2-3 arguments
<i>man-</i> , <i>nan-</i>	<i>i-</i> , <i>in-</i>
<i>maN-</i> , <i>naN</i> ⁻¹⁰	<i>-en</i> , <i><in></i>
<i>ma-</i> , <i>na-</i>	<i>-an</i> , <i><in>...-an</i>
<i><om></i> , <i><in(o)m></i>	<i>i-...-an</i> , <i>in-...-an</i>

¹⁰ *N-* represents a nasal consonant that replaces the first consonant of the following morpheme and assimilates to its place of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, or velar (includes ?).

2.2.3 *Identificational and attribute state predicates*

State predicates depict states of affairs that are static and atelic. This section covers identificational and attributive state predicates that are unaffixed. They are subtypes of *Aktionsart* states.

2.2.3.1 **Identificational states**

Identificational states have the logical structure **be'(x, [class'])** .

The single argument is an entity being identified by the predicate. These states are formed with class roots and no affixation. The class root indicates a classification and does not refer to any particular instance of that class, as in 41) and 42). Overt plurality is not normally expressed in identificational state predicates. Membership in a classification reflects an inherent state of affairs, and CV-reduplication does not apply. Negation of identificational predicates is expressed by *baken*, as in 43). (Note: see p. xii-xiv for abbreviations on the gloss lines).

41) *Babai din anak = da.*
female/girl RMd child = 3pII

‘Their child is a girl.’

42) *Anak = mi si Martin.*
child = 1pII PRM Martin

‘Martin is (one of) our child(ren).’

43) *Baken anak si Marjane.*
NEG child PRM Marjane

‘Marjane is not a child.’

2.2.3.2 **Attribute states**

Attribute states have the logical structure: **be'(x,[property'])**.

The single argument is an entity bearing the specific individual-level property denoted in the root. Attribute states do not occur with time phrases or with reduplication that indicates time duration. These predicates are formed with two classes of property roots—a small group that takes no affixation to form attribute state predicates, and those that take predicating affixes. Many in the first group of unaffixed state predicates begin with the letter *a*, leading to a speculation of an historical aspect-neutral prefix. The resistance of some of these forms to affixation may be due to the fact that they express very common attributes, as in 44).

- 44) *addawi* ‘near’ and *asagʔen* ‘far’
adʔado ‘many’ and *atʔatik* ‘few’
aptik ‘short’ and *ando* ‘tall’ and *annawa* ‘wide’
asʔasi ‘dirty’ and *ayʔayyo* ‘still good’

2.2.3.2.1 Attribute-state affixation

Most property roots form attribute state predicates with affixation that is arbitrarily specified by the property root. Three affixes *ma-*, *na-*, *man-* (tagged ATT) may form these state predicates, as in 45) to 47). Consistent with the logical structure that specifies only one argument, these affixes indicate an intransitive predicate. When these affixes occur with property roots, they are identical to each other in function, and do not indicate aspect.¹¹

- 45) *Na-kayang din dontog.*
ATT-high RMd mountain
‘The mountain is tall.’
- 46) *Ma-ngetit din bistida.*
ATT-black RMd dress
‘The dress is black.’
- 47) *Man-kilat din sabsabong.*
ATT-white RMd flower
‘The flower is white.’

2.2.3.2.2 CVC reduplication on unaffixed attribute predicates

When an unaffixed property root is being used as a predicate, reduplication of the initial CVC often occurs without adding any semantic information. CVC reduplication is evident with numerals and a few other instances. See 48) and 49).

- 48) *Doddowa(dow~dowa) da.*
CVC-two 3pl
‘There are two of them (lit. they are two).’

¹¹ When prefixed to other roots, these affixes indicate aspect and differ significantly in function.

- 49) *Law~lawa din aso ay nay.*
 CVC-bad RMd dog LK this
 ‘This dog is bad.’

For some unaffixed attribute predicates, the initial CVC reduplication has frozen into a required form, as may be noticed in 44) above and in 50).

- 50) *Dakdake din aso ya kitkitoy din oken = na..*
 large RMd dog and small RMd puppy = 3sII
 ‘The dog is big and its puppy is small.’

2.2.3.2.3 CVC Reduplication for comparative form

Attributes build their comparative form with CVC reduplication of the root.

- 51) *Dak~dakdake din oboan = yo mo din kawwitan.*
 CVC-large RMd hen = 2pII than RMd rooster
 ‘Your hen is larger than the rooster.’

- 52) *Ma-bik~bikas = ka mo si Margit.*
 ATT-CVC-strong = 2sI than PRM Margit
 ‘You are stronger than Margit.’

2.2.3.2.4 Negation of attribute predicates

Negation of attribute predicates uses *baken*, as in 53) through 55).

- 53) *Baken na-dayetdet din bab?a = k.*
 NEG ATT-evenly.spaced RMd tooth = 1sII
 ‘My teeth are not evenly spaced.’

- 54) *Matekyeng din eges = tako et baken = tako man-dagaang.*
 full RMd stomach = 1 + 2pII and NEG = 1 + 2pI ATT-hungry
 ‘Our stomachs will be full (of water) and we won’t feel hungry.’

- 55) *Baken = ak ma-bikas ay mandan.*
 NEG = 1sI ATT-strong LK walk
 ‘I’m not a good hiker (lit. strong to walk).’

2.2.4 Other state predicates

2.2.4.1 Experience states

Physical, emotional or mental experiences are temporary, stage-level states that have come about for an EXPERIENCER argument. State experiences do not denote cognitive attention or direction, the EXPERIENCER having no control over that state of affairs. Experience states may be used as stative modifiers in a reference phrase.

Experience states have the logical structure: **feel'** (x,[root']).

Formed with stative roots of non-directable experience, they are formed with the affix *ma-*, tagged UND(ergoer)s(tate) which can take perfective marking (P) as *na-*. The EXPERIENCERS of these predicates are animate beings, most often human, as in 56) and in the second clause of 57). 58) and 59) show other experience states.

56) *Nasdaaw(na-sedaaw)=ak sin kaad?ado =n di pilak=na.*
UNDS.P-amazed=1sI ORMd large.quantity =BRMi money=3sII

'I was amazed at how much money he had (lit. the large quantity of his money).'

57) *Istay=ak en maitapi tan anggay ay ma-skaw=ak.*
almost=1sI go join because already LK UNDS-chilled=1sI

'I almost went¹² to join (them at the fire) because I was really cold.'

58) *Masnit(ma-sinit)/Nasnit si Aden sin songbat=mo.*
UNDS/UNDS.P-offended PRM Aden ORMd answer=2sII

'Aden is/was offended by your answer.'

59) *Na-sngang=ak isonga adi=ak makakali.*
UNDS.P-mental.block=1sI therefore NEG=1sI able.speak

'I had a mental block, therefore I couldn't speak.'

Root reduplication and time phrases are pragmatically incompatible with many experience-state predicates, as inner experiences are not often thought of in linear terms. Some examples, however, show that with these predicates a time phrase indicates duration, 'for *x* time,' as seen in 60) and 61). In the latter example, the intensive CVCV reduplication indicates repeated rather than extreme attacks of dizziness.

¹² Completion of a state of affairs in Kankanaey (usually translated with past tense in English) is often set by perfective aspect marking on one clause, and the following clauses may be interpreted within that time frame, even though, as in this example, they are not marked with perfective aspect.

60) *Na-olaw = ak si dowa ay agew.*

UNDS-dizzy = 1sI ORMi two LK day

‘I was dizzy for two days.’

61) *Enggay maka-bowan ay ma-ola~olaw = ak.*

already ABIL-month LK UNDS-CVCV-dizzy = 1sI

‘It’s been a month that I have been having dizzy spells.’

Negation of inadvertent experiences is expressed with *baken*, as in 62) and 63) from a text translated from English, where the context gives a ‘habitual’ interpretation to the *ma-* affixed predicate.

62) *Baken = takon ma-sdaaw tan say iyat di ipogaw.*

NEG = 1 + 2p UNDS-amazed because that’s way BRMi person

‘We aren’t surprised, since that’s how people are.’

63) *Din ogali = na abe et masapol ay baken ma-bonget Ø.*

RMd custom = 3sII PART PART necessary LK NEG UNDS-anger 3sI

‘As for his character, it is necessary that he not be short-tempered.’

2.2.4.2 Physical states

‘Physical’ roots in this study are those that denote movement generally in or through space, and those that denote physical positions. Physical position predicates may express static situations, especially with CV reduplication. Physical states have the simple logical structure:

physical’ (x)

Physical states of body position may be formed with a variety of affixes: *ma-* is used when no intentionality is possible, *man-* and *<om>* are more ambiguous. The latter two affixes can also form change-of-state predicates such as process or accomplishment (see §2.2.6.2.3). CV reduplication specifies durative aspect, ensuring a stative interpretation. Note the various affixes in 64) to 67).

64) *Nan-do~dodlon = da ay pasya.*

ACT-CV-positioned.close = 3pI LK extreme

‘They are stacked/lined up too close together.’

65) *Ma-bo~bok?ong = ak tan mansakit gitang = ko.*

UNDS-DUR-arched = 1sI because hurt lower.back = 1sII

‘I am hunched over because my lower back hurts.’

- 66) *T<om>o~tokdo=kami sin baliwang.*
 UNDM-CV-sit = 1pI ORMd front.yard
 ‘We were sitting (for a long time) in front of the building.’
- 67) *Siga-a(n)=k ay pag ?<om>alagey.*
 dislike-UND = 1sII LK PART UNDM-stand
 ‘I hate to just stand.’ (e.g. in line)

2.2.4.3 Perception states

Perception states have a PERCEIVER and a STIMULUS corresponding to the two arguments in the logical structure: **perception-stative'** (x, y). In Kankanaey these predicates are built with the suffix *-en* (perfective *<in>*). Perception states are usually unambiguously non-volitional, as in (68) to (70).

- 68) *Dengng-e(n)=m di palato ay mankilis.*
 hear-UND = 2sII RMi plate LK clink
 ‘You will hear some plates clinking.’
- 69) *<In>ila=k si Mrs. Mantad sin bas.*
 UND.P-see = 1sII PRM Mrs. Mantad ORMd bus
 ‘I saw/*looked at Mrs. Mantad on the bus.’
- 70) *Ay d<in>law=mo din yegyeg?*
 Q UNDM.P-feel = 2sII RMd earthquake
 ‘Did you feel the earthquake?’

2.2.4.4 Result states

Result state predicates have the logical structure: **stative'** (x).

Result states are non-inherent situations that come about by some process and are stage-level states. Because they follow a change of state, they are often morphologically ambiguous with achievement predicates, especially when given perfective affixation. The pragmatic context usually disambiguates the two. Result-states take as their argument an entity such as a THEME or PATIENT that has come to be in that state, generally due to a change in location or condition. The affix tag reflects the argument role. Another type of non-inherent state is an effect upon an entity that does not involve a total change. This section will look at wholly-affected states and partially-affected states. Result states are freely used as stative modifiers.

2.2.4.4.1 Result-state affixation

Kankanaey result-state predicates are formed with stative roots and the affix *ma-* (*na-* perfective). Examples 71) and 72) demonstrate this alternation. In isolation some result-state predicates with perfective marking are ambiguous as to telicity and punctuality, as in 73) where it could be an achievement predicate. Example 74) shows the result-state predicate used as a stative modifier (bracketed).

71) *Mo inomem (inomem = mo) sa, ma-beteng = ka.*
 if drink = 2sII DEM2I UNDS-drunk = 2sI
 ‘If you drink that, you’ll be/get drunk.’

72) *Na-beteng si Sefin.*
 ST.P-drunk PRM Sefin
 ‘Sefin is/was drunk.’

73) *Na-pʔes din goma = na.*
 UNDS.P-deflate RMD innertube = 3sII
 ‘Its innertube went/was flat.’

74) *Inila = k din [na-pʔes ay] goma = na.*
 saw = 1s RMD UNDSP-deflate LK innertube = 3sII
 ‘I saw its flat tire.’

Result states may just happen, or be caused deliberately. With *ma-/na-* the predicate does not imply any causer, as in 75). The denotation is only the resultant state. To specify deliberate cause, a causative state predicate is used, as detailed in §2.2.10.

75) *Na-kilot din sakdoan.*
 UNDS.P-dirty RMD water-fetching-place
 ‘The place to get water is dirty.’

Some roots denote an effect that is partial, temporary, or external. The affix used to form these state predicates is analyzed in this study as a circumfix (*ma-...-an*). The PATIENT is basically unchanged by the effect, being presented as the locus of the state. The tag UNDLs (for locus state) will indicate the circumfix and the left-chevron < will indicate that the final *-an* is part of the affix. Example 76) indicates a partial effect, 77) illustrates a surface effect, and 78) exemplifies a temporary effect.

- 76) *Mo man?emes = ka sin kaagawan, ma-kolang-an dada = m.*
 if bathe = 2sI ORMd daytime UNDLs-insufficient < blood = 2sII
 ‘If you bathe in the daytime, your blood will be reduced/lessened.’
- 77) *En = ka mansidom tan sana ay ma-koning-an = ka.*
 go = 2sI take.shelter because DEM2V LK UNDLs -sunburn < = 2sI
 ‘Go take shelter because there you are getting sunburned.’
- 78) *Ma-loya-an = ak sin inoto = da ay bagoong.*
 UNDLs -dirty < = 1sI ORMd cooked = 3pII LK anchovy.paste
 ‘I am repulsed/lose appetite by the anchovy paste they cooked.’

When a predicate indicates that something or someone is the locus of an effect, it is often in an adversative sense with an unwelcome effect. Examples 79) to 81) illustrate adversative states with a variety of roots.

- 79) *Na-abos-an = kami = s gasol ed na-sdem.*
 UNDLs.P-used.up < 1pI = ORMi gas LOC UNDLs.P-afternoon
 ‘We ran out of bottled-gas yesterday.’
- 80) *Wat = ak na-aga~agag-an ay nan-(t)agta~tagtag ed agsapa.*
 only = 1sI UNDLs.P-CVCCV-rush < LK ACT.P-CVCCV-run LOC morning
 ‘I was just terribly rushed racing about this morning.’
- 81) *Na-labi-an = kami sin danan.*
 UNDLs.P-night < = 1pI ORMd path
 ‘We were be-nighted (i.e. overtaken by nightfall) on the trail.’

2.2.4.4.2 Reduplication with result-state predicates

Initial CV reduplication of the root specifies durative aspect with result-state predicates. Durative aspect precludes interpretation of the predicate as the achievement of the state, as seen in 82) and 83). Morphophonemic vowel deletion in the root triggers the application of reduplication to the predicate-initial CV, as in 84).

- 82) *Mo na-be~beteng Ø yan yamyama(n) = m Ø...*
 If UNDLs.P-CV-drunk 3sI and scold = 2sII 3sIII
 ‘If he is (*gets) drunk and you scold him....’

83) *Na-lo~lokaw-an* *din* *tobo*.
UNDls.P-CV-hole < RMd pipe

‘The pipe is (*became) hollowed out.’

84) *Nanapno(na~na-pono)* *din* *beey=da* *si* *mangili*.
UNDs.P-CV-full RMd house = 3pII ORM outsiders

‘Their house was full of visitors.’

Reduplication of the initial CVC(C)V of the root indicates intensive aspect, as in 85).

85) *Na-gala~galabgab-an* *din* *takkay=ko* *sin* *sibit*.
UNDls.P-CVCCV-scratched < RMd hand = 1sII ORMd thorn

‘My hands were all scratched up from the thorns.’

2.2.4.4.3 Negation of result-state predicates

The negator *baken* is used to negate result-state predicates. This overlap with attribute negation indicates that the negated state is descriptive rather than indicating an achievement that did not or will not happen. Admittedly, the fine line between a purely descriptive state and a resultant state is hard to document in many cases. In example 86) and 87) an achievement reading is not possible.

86) *Baken na-beteng* *si* *Sefin*.
NEG UNDs.P-drunk PRM Sefin

‘Sefin isn’t/*didn’t get drunk.’

87) *Baken na-pno* *din* *tangki*.
NEG UNDs.P RMd tank

‘The tank is not/*didn’t get full’.

2.2.5 Process predicates

2.2.5.1 Affixation for process predicates

A process predicate in Kankanaey has the logical structure: PROC **root'** (x) .

Processes are changes of state that begin, but do not have an inherent telicity or endpoint. This predicate indicates atelic progression in a particular direction. Process predicates are most often formed with property roots. The entity is asserted to exhibit more of that property, but the predicate does not specify how far in that direction the process will progress. Example 88) illustrates a process predicate. The infix <om> indicates change of state, and it is the denotation of the property root that specifies whether the change is necessarily complete.

88) *Ng<om>etit din lokto mo ibilag = mo Ø.*
 CHANGE-black RMd yam if put.in.sun = 2sII 4III

‘The yams will darken (but not necessarily turn black) if you put them out in the sun.’

2.2.5.2 Reduplication with process predicates

Reduplication of the initial CVC of the root of a process predicate indicates progressive aspect, an ongoing state of affairs. Example 89) includes a process predicate with progressive aspect.

89) *Mantaoli = kami yan medyo p<om>od~podot yan natenaw Ø.*
 return = 1pI and somewhat CHANGE-CVC-hot and melted 4I

‘We returned and it was getting a little warmer and it (the snowman) had melted.’

2.2.5.3 Negation and time phrases with process predicates

Process predicates are negated with *adi*, as in 90). Time phrases are interpreted in context, but always as duration of the process, as in 91).

90) *Adi <inm>ad?ado din pilak = ko.*
 NEG CHANGE.P-much RMd money = 1sII

‘My money didn’t increase.’

91) *Man-payegpegØ, pag <om>atong din awak = na si dowa = y olas.*
 ACT-shiver 3sI then CHANGE-warm RMd body-3sII ORMi two = LK hours

‘She shivers, then her body gets hotter (i.e. fever rises) for two hours.’

2.2.6 Achievement and accomplishment predicates

Achievement predicates assert an instantaneous change of state while accomplishment predicates involve a process leading to the achievement of a state. The operators in the logical structures of these predicates reflect this difference. Achievements have an INGRessive operator (instantaneous change) while accomplishments have a BECOME (process + ingressive) operator.

The logical structure for achievements is INGR **root'** (x)

The logical structure for accomplishments is BECOME **root'** (x).

Kankanaey achievements and accomplishments are based on result-stative roots, property roots, physical roots and experience-stative roots that have a single participant. Kankanaey uses two methods of creating achievement and accomplishment predicates— perfective affixation with result-state predicates, and <om>-affixation with other roots. Negation, the interpretation

of reduplicative affixes, and time phrases are discussed following the discussion of these two types of affixation.

2.2.6.1 Achievement and accomplishment by perfective affixation

As mentioned earlier, result-state predicates often take on an accomplishment or achievement interpretation when marked as completed, as in 92), repeated from 73), which is ambiguous. With the inflected prefix *na-*, the predicate may indicate an event, the completion of the change of state as in 93). Ambiguity as to achievement or state predication can be dispelled with a time frame in context as in 94). Negation also disambiguates, as a state reading is negated by *baken* (§2.2.4.4.3 above) while an achievement reading is negated by *adi* as in 95).

92) *Na-pʔes din goma = na.*
 UNDS.P-deflate RMd innertube = 3sII
 ‘Its innertube went/was flat.’

93) *Na-tdok di danom sin bagan.*
 UNDS.P-dry.up RMi water ORMd spring
 ‘The water in the spring (has) dried up.’

94) *Na-tey si ama = na ed tawen.*
 UNDS.P-die PRM father = 3sII past.time year
 ‘His father *was dead/ died last year.’

95) *Adi na- pʔes din goma = na. Baken na- pʔes din goma = na.*
 NEG UNDS-deflate RMd innertube = 3sII NEG UNDS-deflate RMd innertube = 3sII
 ‘Its innertube didn’t go flat (i.e. it didn’t happen).’ ‘Its innertube isn’t flat (i.e. it’s fine).’

Some result-stative roots indicate a position or relative location. As an achievement or accomplishment, a predicate based on such roots indicates a change of location or position. While there may be an element of intention in some movements, the denotation of the roots is that of a direction or goal or particular position, as in 96) and the perfective affix indicates an achievement reading of the stative. In the flow of a narrative, perfective marking regularly indicates an achievement as an event, as in 97).

96) *Na-gʔas din nowang Biti.*
 UNDS.P-fallRMd water.buffalo Biti
 ‘Biti’s water buffalo fell (over a drop-off).’

97) *Pag et na-tokang Ø yan inila=k ay ma-anod Ø.*
 Then PART UNDs.P-tip.over 3sI and saw = 1sII LK UNDs-wash.downstream 3sI
 ‘Then he suddenly fell over (*was in horizontal position) and I saw that he would be swept away by the water.’

2.2.6.2 Achievement and accomplishment predicates with <om>

Many changes of state in Kankanaey are indicated by the infix <om> (<in-om> when perfective). The instantaneous or gradual time factor is part of the semantic content of each stative root, so this use of <om> (there are several) may be seen to indicate the change of state, while the root specifies the appropriate value for duration and telicity. The affix is thus tagged CHANGE for all state-change predicates that are formed with <om>.

2.2.6.2.1 with result-state, property and experience-stative roots

Achievement and accomplishment predicates with result-stative roots and experience-stative roots are exemplified in 98) and 99). In example 98) there is an unambiguous achievement predicate with the result-state root *betak* as compared to 92). Example 99) has perfective marking to set the event in the real past, but the change to the depressed state *sadot* probably was not instantaneous. Thus it may be categorized as an accomplishment predicate.

98) *B<in-om>tak din goma=na.*
 CHANGE.P-burst RMd innertube = 3sII
 ‘Its innertube popped.’

99) *S<inm>adot sin nateyan ama=na.*
 CHANGE.P-sad ORMd death father = 3sII
 ‘He became sad/unmotivated at his father’s death.’

2.2.6.2.2 with action roots

Onset of activity is often indicated in Kankanaey by a predicate like ‘begin’, but some roots may express onset with <om>. One example, from a story of a talking bird, is in 100) with a root that is usually prefixed with *man-* to express the activity of birds in the sky. The root used in example 101) is also usually affixed with *man-* to express the sun’s light emission, but with <om> the predicate specifically indicates the onset, such as when coming out from behind a cloud or after a storm.

100) *"Witdokit," kanana(kanaen = na) yan pag t <om > ayaw.*
 witdokit say = 3sII and PART CHANGE-fly
 ‘“Witdokit,” it said, and then flew away.’

101) *Awni = t s <om > git.*
 later = PART CHANGE-sunshine
 ‘In a little bit the sun will come out.’

Physical roots may create an inchoative predicate with the change-operator indicated by *<om >*, as in the second clause of 102). The affix indicates the onset of the change of the direction of movement but does not indicate that any end-point is reached, unlike the first predicate in this example, an active accomplishment with the root ‘climb uphill’.

102) *Tinikid = mi din dontog asi = kami pay b <om > alalong.*
 climb.uphill = 1pII RMD mountain then = 1pI furthermore CHANGE-descend
 ‘We scaled the mountain, then we began going downhill.’

2.2.6.2.3 with physical roots

‘Physical’ roots in this study are those that denote movement generally in or through space, and those that denote physical positions of animate entities. When a predicate indicates that a person or animal changes position, it may be an achievement predicate with the affix *<om >*, as in 103) to 104).

103) *Basta t <om > okdo = ka sin doy kad?an di bato.*
 simply CHANGE-sit = 2sI ORMd DEM3V place BRMi rock
 ‘Just sit down there by the rock.’

104) *? <om > alagey = ka.*
 CHANGE-stand = 2sI
 ‘Stand up!’

The time phrases included in 105) and 106) are interpreted as time elapsed before the change of position. Many changes of positional or physical movement are intentional or directed—these are covered in §2.2.7.

105) *Kaanan = da din inbalod = da et doy ninina yan t <om > okdo.*
 remove = 3pII RMD binding = 3pII and DEM3V little.while and CHANGE-sit
 ‘They removed what they had bound her with and there in a little bit she sat up.’

106) *Maga di na-bayag, b <inm>aba din talipyano.*
 NEGEXIS RMi UNDs.P-long.time CHANGE-descend RMd airplane
 ‘It wasn’t very long, the airplane came down lower.’

2.2.6.3 Reduplication with achievement and accomplishment predicates

CVC reduplication (Test 1) is interpreted as plural or repetitive with achievements, but as progressive with accomplishments that have internal time duration.

Reduplication of the initial CVC of the root (or word, with morphophonemic changes) can occur with <om>-affixed achievement and accomplishment predicates. Predicates formed from roots that specify punctuality are achievements and take an iterative reading with CVC reduplication, as in 107), or repeated instances of the change of state with plural subjects, as in 108).

107) *B <in>om~b <om>tak din bomba ed Camp John Hay.*
 P. CHANGE-PROG-burst RMd bomb LOC Camp John Hay
 ‘The bombs were exploding at Camp John Hay.’

108) *B <om>al~bala din Japon ed Baguio City.*
 CHANGE-PROG-emerge RMd Japanese LOC Baguio City
 ‘The Japanese were coming out into Baguio City.’

With physical roots, the change of position is in progress, as in 109) and 110).

109) *? <om>al~alagey si Mayor Ismit.*
 CHANGE-PROG-stand PRM Mayor Ismit
 ‘Mayor Ismit is getting to his feet.’

110) *B <om>ab~baba sin baliwang di iskowilaan din esa.*
 CHANGE-PROG-descend ORMd yard BRMi school RMd one
 ‘The one (airplane) was coming in low over the school yard.’

With experience-stative roots that are not telic, CVC reduplication with the CHANGE operator indicates ongoing time and increase in the experience, as in 111). The presence of both PROCESS and INGRESSIVE operators in accomplishment predicates gives room for both telic interpretations and progressive modifications.

111) *S <om>ad~sadot si Meli.*
 CHANGE-PROG-sad PRM Meli
 ‘Meli is getting steadily more depressed.’

As noted in §2.2.6.1, some achievement predicates are formed by perfective affixation on result-states. When the approach of such an event is presented as perceptible and taking place over time, usually a relatively short time, CVC reduplication indicates progress toward the change of state creating accomplishment predicates, as in the second clause of 112) and in 113).

112) *Ilagalagaan =yo Ø yan dooy ay anggay mat~ma-tey =et Ø!*
 do.laga.ritual = 2pII 3sIII and DEM3III LK already PROG-UNDS-die = PART 3sI
 ‘You keep doing the ritual for him and there he’s already dying!!’

113) *Mag~mag?as(ma-?egas) di pantalon = (n)a.*
 PROG-UNDS-fall RMI pants = 3sII
 ‘His pants are falling down (e.g. as he runs).’

2.2.6.4 Time/pace phrases with achievements and accomplishments

Oblique time phrases do not indicate duration with achievement but rather the time span before the change, as in 114). Examples 105) and 106) above showed general time-duration phrases, indicating elapsed time before the change. Time and pace indicators with accomplishment predicates modify the PROCESS element, as in 115).

114) *Awni ta asi = tako b <om> ala sin maika-dwa ay bowan.*
 later so.that next = 1pI ACTm-emerge ORMd ordinal-two LK month
 ‘Wait and then we’ll go out in the second month.’

115) *...insigon sin ka-dalas di sanglay ay k <om> ompitay.*
 depending ORMd NOM-quick BRMi roots LK CHANGE-soft
 ‘...depending on the quickness of the roots to soften.’

2.2.6.5 Negation with achievement and accomplishment predicates

The negator *adi* is used with achievement and accomplishment predicates. Example 116) shows negation with an <om> accomplishment. 117) comes from instructions on how to prepare rice wine.

116) *Kaman = ak adi ? <om> osto sin tokdoan.*
 like = 1sI NEG CHANGE-correct ORMd seat
 ‘It was as if I would not fit in the seat.’

117) *Siyat ma-kotob Ø ay pasya ta adi l <om> eg~legsew Ø.*
 must UNDS-cover 4I LK well so.that NEG CHANGE-CVC-stink 4I
 ‘It must be tightly covered so that it is not getting stinky.’

Adi is the negator with *ma-/na-*affixed result-state roots that have formed achievement predicates, disambiguating the “fine line” between those result-states and achievements. Negation with a perfective-marked result-state predicate indicates an unambiguous achievement reading, as in 118), while 119) indicates a problem such that the achievement of a ‘full’ state will not happen to the sack. As a descriptive state, the negator is *baken*. Example 120) compares the negated achievement predicate and the negated state predicate.

118) *Adi na-nged si Poltag.*

NEG UNDs.P-drown PRM Poltag.

‘Poltag didn’t drown.’ *Poltag wasn’t dead from drowning.

119) *Adi ma-pno din sako. Baken na-pno din sako.*

NEG UNDs-full RMd sack NEG UNDs-full RMd sack

‘The sack won’t get full.’ ‘The sack is not full.’

120) *Sapay.koma.ta adi = kayo ma-oma en sak?en. Laton, baken = ak na-oma.*

hopefully NEG = 2pI UNDs-bored OPRM 1sIII OK NEG = 1sI UNDs-bored

‘I hope you won’t get/*aren’t tired of me.’ ‘It’s OK, I’m not bored.’

A very common use of the negated achievement predicate is in a purpose clause with *ta* ‘so that,’ as in 121). In 122) CVC reduplication indicates an accomplishment with internal time duration even though the experience did not happen. Again, the negator in this mid-river misadventure is *adi*.

121) *Paalonsod-e(n)=m din agdan ta adi ma-tokang Ø.*

set.at.slant-UND = 2sII RMd ladder so.that NEG UNDs-tip.over 4I

‘Set the ladder at a slant so that it won’t/can’t tip over.’

122) *Adi na-lit~litaw di nemnem = ko et nan-pakod = ak si bato.*

NEG UNDs.P-CVC-lost RMi thought = 1sII and ACT-clutch = 1sI ORMi stone

‘My thoughts were not getting lost (i.e. I kept my wits) and I grabbed onto a large rock.’

2.2.7 Activity predicates

Activity predicates indicate dynamic events, “happenings” with no inherent temporal end-point. Activities have Actor arguments that do the activity. In the logical structure, the constant **do'** with an Actor argument (x) is the indicator of an activity predicate, thus **do'(x, [root'(x/x,y)])**. The root specifies whether the (x) argument is an inanimate EFFECTOR, such as a MOVER, or EMITTER, or an animate, potentially deliberate Actor such as a PERFORMER, CONSUMER, USER, PERCEIVER, etc. Three different types of roots form activity predicates in

Kankanaey: physical actions, actions that affect another entity, and perceptions. §2.2.7.1 to §2.2.7.3 will cover the various roots and affixes that form activity predicates. §2.2.7.4 to §2.2.7.6 examine reduplication, time phrases and negation with activities.

2.2.7.1 Physical actions

Some activity predicates denote physical motion, emission or positioning that only affects a single participant. In Kankanaey, these activity predicates are formed with the prefix *man-* (in a few arbitrary cases, *maN-*). The logical structure for these predicates is **do'**(x, [**root'** (x)]). Examples 123) and 124) illustrate motion and emission activities. Although as noted in §2.2.6.2.2 a physical position may be interpreted as an accomplishment, it is more common to assume that there is a degree of intentionality to an entity being in a physical position, and thus the participant is viewed as an Actor, as in 125). Note that in 126) the speaker is not crying uncontrolledly like an infant.

123) *Man-dan si Romy ya managtag (maN- + tagtag) si Lydia.*
 ACT-walk PRM Romy and ACT-run PRM Lydia
 ‘Romy walks and Lydia runs.’

124) *Palalo ay man-ngisangis di segit.*
 too.much LK ACT-shine.brightly RMI sunlight
 ‘The sunshine is too bright.’

125) *Man-salikaot Ø sin ed baeg.*
 ACT-crouch 3sI ORMd LOC rafter-rack
 ‘She was crouching up in the drying rack.’

126) *Pag=ak man-?oga tan mansakit nemnem=ko.*
 then=1sI ACT-cry because hurt thought=1sII
 ‘Then I cried, because I felt sad.’ (idiom: ‘thoughts were sick/painful’)

When the MOVER performs the movement without any specification of being deliberate, intentional, controlled or animate, a non-agentive predicate can be formed with the multi-tasking infix *<om>*. The intentionality of the argument of **do'** in activities formed with this infix is blocked. 127) and 128) exemplify activities effected by natural forces while the human EFFECTOR of the predicate in 129) is presented as mindlessly playing.

127) *?<om>aloyas din dada=na.*
 ACT-flow RMd blood=3sII
 ‘His blood flows down.’

128) *S<om>aliktoto din innapoy.*
 ACT-boil RMd cooked.rice
 ‘The rice boils.’

129) *G<om>oy~goyang si Baby.*
 ACT-PROG-play.aimlessly PRM Baby
 ‘Baby is playing (not with objects).’

A nuance of intentionality may be seen in the comparison of two predicates built with *onod* ‘follow.’ 130) shows overt intention while in 131), the path taken only happens to be the same as the brother. There is no intent to overtake or deliberately trace his steps. In fact, the ‘following’ is temporal as well as spatial. Example 132) is a commonly-heard response to an invitation to go somewhere.

130) *Man-lisi=ak koma ta asi=ak on~onod-en sisya.*
 ACT-move.to.side=1sI PART so.that then=1sI CVC-follow-UND 3sIII
 ‘I was going to pull over (and let his vehicle overtake mine) so that I would then be following him.’

131) *?<om>onod=ak en agi=k.*
 ACTm-follow=1sI OPRM brother=1sII
 ‘I will follow along after my brother.’

132) *Asi=ak <om>onod!*
 then=1sI ACTm-follow
 ‘I’ll come along later (you go ahead)!’

2.2.7.2 Actions affecting a second participant

Some activity predicates are based on roots that denote actions by an animate entity which affect other participants. As noted in VVLP (1997:122-3), the second argument of many activity predicates differs from other arguments in logical structures, in that they are often non-referential and tend to be inherent in the meaning of the predicate, characterizing the nature or locus of the action. This may be because the atelic nature of activity predicates precludes a full effect upon a second participant from being specified. (This study has simplified the classifications of Kankanaey roots: it may be shown as Latrouite (2011) did for Tagalog, that some roots favor the formation of activity predicates because the denotation of the root primarily carries information about the ACTOR’s role. Other roots may disfavor the formation of

activity predicates because the root denotes salient information about the affected second participant.) The logical structure of these activity predicates is represented as:

do'(x, [**root'** (x,y)])

The affix used to form most activities in Kankanaey is *man-*. Roots of consumption, and creation can form the basis of an activity predicate, so long as the second argument is not specific, as in 133) and 134). In 135) there is no referential entity that is pinched by the scissors.

133) *Man-sibo din anak si digo.*

ACT-sip RMd child ORM broth

‘The child sips (some) broth.’

134) *Man-solat = ak koma ay dagos.*

ACT-write = 1sIPART LK immediately

‘I should have written (a letter?) right back.’

135) *Man-ipit di kaltib mo i-pokis Ø.*

ACT-pinch RMi scissors if UNDt-cut.hair 4III

‘A scissors pinches if (one) uses them for haircutting.’

When the effect of an activity upon a specific second participant is explicitly partial, the infix $\langle om_2 \rangle$ (not the CHANGE operator) expresses this situation. For example, in 136) the activity is atelic in that it is not known how many of the eggs will be taken, but it is certain that some will be left behind.

136) *K <om₂> awet = ka sin itlog sin kobongan.*

ACT-reach.in&get = 2sI ORMd egg ORMd nest

‘Reach in and get some of the eggs in the nest.’

Some activity predicates do affect a definite second participant, but with no change of state or lasting effect on it that could delimit the activity. Definite second participants may be the locus of the activity, as in predicates of physical interaction such as ‘hold’. With a definite activity locus, Kankanaey uses one of the Undergoer voices.

137) *I-g?en = mo Ø sin siki = na.*

UNDt-hold = 2sII 3sIII ORMd leg = 3sII

‘Hold it by its legs.’

138) *Kawe-e(n)=m si Lola.*
 hug-UND = 2sIIPRM grannie
 ‘Hug Grannie!’

2.2.7.3 Activities of experience

The third group of activity predicates is formed with state roots of inner experience, including emotion and perception. When the EXPERIENCER of a situation is presented as exhibiting or expressing the experience with intention or cognitive involvement, a **do'** component is included in the LS, represented as:

feelings: **do'** (x, [**feel'** (x, [**pred'**])])
 perceptions: **do'** (x, [**perceive'** (x,(y))])

Activity predicates with one participant are formed using the affix *man-*. Example 139) illustrates this affixation with the feeling root *bongot* ‘anger’—a predicate that indicates the anger is outwardly expressed, as is the ‘happiness’ of example 140). In 141) the root *sakit* ‘pain/illness’ with *man-* affixation can only mean ‘sick’ in this context, while in 142) the sufferer is cognizant of the pain exhibited by the affected body part.

139) *Man-bongot si Akod.*
 ACT-angry PRM Akod
 ‘Akod is angry.’

140) *Man-layad din poso=k si dakdake.*
 ACT-happy RMd heart = 1pII ORM big
 ‘My heart is very happy (lit. hugely happy).’

141) *Man-sakit din manok Pabling.*
 ACT-sick/hurt RMd chicken Pabling
 ‘Pabling’s chickens are sick/*hurting.’

142) *Man-sakit din tengged=ko.*
 ACT-sick/hurt RMd neck.back = 1sII
 ‘The back of my neck is hurting/*sick.’

With the prefix *man-*, perception predicates allow for intentionality of the Actor, who directs his perception toward a nonreferential STIMULUS, as in 143).

143) *Man-ila=ka=s asawa=m.*
 ACT-see = 2sI = OPRM spouse = 2sII
 ‘Keep an eye out/Look for a wife (for yourself)!’

When the STIMULUS of a perception root is referential, the Kankanaey activity predicate is formed with the suffix *-en* (tagged UND). These perception predicates are most often interpreted as cognizant, but not volitional, experience. In 144) conscious directed perception of the definite STIMULUS is indicated. In 145), the CONTENT of the mental perception is stated, but conscious awareness, not volition, is indicated in perception activities. Example 146) shows this distinction as well, with the activity an expected event, but not a planned event.

144) *Deng~dengek(denge-en=ko) din bogaw di mangan?anap en sak?en.*
 CVC-hear-UND = 1sII RMd shout BRMi searching OPRM 1sIII

‘I was listening to the shouts of those searching for me (he was hiding).’

145) *Pag =dan ammo-en ay wada baw di mantabtabon ay guerrilla.*
 then = 3pII know-UND LK EXIS PART RMi hiding LK guerrilla

‘Then they knew that aha, there were guerrillas who were hiding.’

146) *Ila-e(n)=k si Mrs. Mantad si bigat.*
 see-UND1sII PRM Mrs. Mantad ORM next-day

‘I’ll see/*look for Mrs. Mantad tomorrow.’

Imperative perception predicates necessarily imply directed perception as in 147). In 148) the omitted STIMULUS is the referential situation in general, yielding a cautionary imperative.

147) *Adi=kayo deng~dengngen(denge-en) din lawlawa ay ibagbaga =n di odom.*
 NEG = 2pI CVC-hear-UND RMd bad LK saying = BRMi other

‘Don’t listen to/pay attention to the bad things that others are saying!’

148) *Ila-em(-en=mo) tan maitok?o = ka.*
 see-UND = 2sII because hit.head = 2sI

‘Watch out lest you hit your head.’

2.2.7.4 Reduplication with activity predicates

Reduplicative CVC affixation on activity predicates indicates progressive aspect. In 144) above, the reduplication indicated progressive aspect, thus “I was listening...” Imperatives, as in 147) above, use the progressive as a softening device, thus more literally, “Don’t be listening to...” In 149), from the background section of a narrative, the speaker’s ongoing activity is interrupted as the story unfolds. In 150) the progressive has a pragmatic overtone of present reality, which enhances the expression of the inner emotion.

149) *Ed agsapa = s sa ay man-ot~oto = ak yan aket ...*
 past.time morning = DEM2IV LK ACT-CVC-cook = 1sI and PART

‘This morning there I was cooking, and to my surprise....’

150) *Laylaydek(lay~layad-en = ko) di music.*
 CVC-happy-UND = 1sII RMi music

‘I really enjoy music.’ (so please send me a CD)

When appropriate, activity predicates can express intensive or repetitive aspect by CVC(C)V reduplication. Example 151) is typical.

151) *? <om> oga~oga din moyang.*
 ACT-INTENS-cry RMd baby

‘The baby is bawling and bawling.’

Reduplicative CV affixation with *man-* is not possible with most activity predicates, but with physical position roots or perception state roots, CV with *man-* indicates duration of the effect of the activity (similar to CV with achievement predicates noted in §2.2.6.3 above), or duration of the exhibited situation that was expressed as an activity. This may be seen in 152), where the position is taken and maintained by a volitional actor. In 153) the use of CV correlates with the time phrase to indicate the ongoing experience expressed by the activity ‘live’. Example 154) shows CV reduplication that indicates duration of the experience as a temporary or stage-level state. It is notable that each example observed of this particular word (*manlalayad* ‘happy’) is followed by a causing event, limiting the experience state to that context rather than a general life attitude. Example 155) is also a context-limited expressed-experience activity.

152) *Nan-sa~sadam = ak sin esa = y kaiw et boy~boya-e(n) = k din bapor.*
 ACT.P-CV-lean.on = 1sIORMd one = LK tree and CVC-watch-UND = 1sII RMd boat

‘I was leaning against a tree and watching the boats.’

153) *Mabayag ay man-bi~biyag da nay ay ili,*
 long.time LK ACT-CV-live pl DEM1V LK town

asi pay man-taoli san siged ay kabibiyag = da.
 then PART ACT-return DRM2 good LK lifestyle = 3pII

‘It will be a long time these towns must live before that pleasant lifestyle of theirs returns (after earthquake).’

154) *Man-la~layad=kamitan laton ay dinmateng baw.*
 ACT-CV-joy = 1pI because OK LK arrived EVID
 ‘We are happy because we found out she arrived OK.’

155) *Man-a~agag=ak ay <om>ey.*
 ACT-CV-hurry = 1sI LK ACTm-go
 ‘I am in a hurry to go.’

2.2.7.5 Time phrases with activity predicates

With an activity predicate, an oblique time phrase will indicate the length of time spent in the activity. In 153) above the ‘long time’ indicates the duration of the activity. In 156) the Actors were walking for five hours but had not necessarily reached their destination.

156) *Nandad?an(nan-CVC-dan)=kami si lima ay oras.*
 ACT.P-CVC-walk = 1pI ORMi five LK hours
 ‘We were walking for five hours.’

2.2.7.6 Negation of Actitivity predicates

The negator *adi* is used with activity predicates, as seen with the activities in 157) to 159).

157) *Adi=kami man-apoy si kanen=mi.*
 NEG = 1pI ACT-fire ORMi food = 1pII
 ‘We didn’t (burn a fire to) cook our food.’

158) *Adi=ak man-i-solo ed niman.*
 NEG = 1sI ACT.Th-teach LOC now
 ‘I am not teaching at this time.’

159) *Adi man-sakit din eges=ko.*
 NEG ACT-sick/hurt RMDstomach = 1sII
 ‘My stomach doesn’t hurt.’

2.2.8 Semelfactive predicates

Aktionsart semelfactives are punctual activities that do not affect any second participant in the action. The punctuality is denoted by the action root, differentiating them from the activity predicates described above in §2.2.7. The logical structure is represented as:

SEML do' (x,[action' (x,(y))])

Semelfactives in Kankanaey are expressed like activities with the affixes *man-* or suffixes *-en* or *-an*, as in 160) and 161). A few roots take *<om>*, such as a group denoting light-emission, which is perhaps a type of punctual physical action. Example 162) is representative.

160) *Man-ak~akbis si Tonia.*

ACT-CVC-sneeze PRM Tonia

‘Tonia is sneezing (more than once).’

161) *Teg~tegteg-en = da din pappait.*

CVC-pound.on-UND = 3pII RMd wild.sunflower

‘They repeatedly pound on the sunflowers.’

162) *B<om>on~boniing din komkomti.*

CHANGE-CVC-glow RMd firefly.

‘The firefly/ies are blinking.’

Many punctual action roots are onomatopoeic and imply repetition as semelfactive predicates. A few example roots are listed in 163). In 164) the pragmatic intent is probably more than one blow on the door.

163) *pagpag*

‘strike or tap’

palakpak

‘clap, applaud’

pikpik

‘pat gently’

tegteg

‘pound with a blunt object’

164) *Togtog-em(-en = mo) din tangeb.*

strike-UND = 2sII RMd door

‘Knock (on) the door.’

CVC reduplication on a semelfactive must be interpreted as iterative or plural rather than indicating time duration of one event. Examples 160) to 162) above show the iterative interpretation of CVC. Negation of semelfactives is with *adi*, as in 165).

165) *Adi = ak p<in>ikpik Ø yan nay na-ek met.laeng.*

NEG = 1sI UND.P-pat 3sIII and here UNDS-sleep PART

‘I didn’t pat her and here she fell asleep anyway.’

2.2.9 Active accomplishment predicates

Active accomplishment predicates are formed with action roots that indicate movement, consumption and creation, where the specified action entails a resulting change of state or location for the Actor or for another entity. As pointed out by VanValin (2005:44-45), these might be “more accurately characterized as ‘active achievements’.”

2.2.9.1 Active accomplishments with self-affecting motions

Linear spatial movements with specific locative end-points have the logical structure:

do' (x,[**motion'** (x)]) & INGR **be-at'** (y, x)

The locative state structure included in this logical structure cannot occur as an independent state predicate structure, but its presence influences and licences state-related phenomena. Very few self-affecting motion roots in Kankanaey can form active accomplishments. In the data gathered, only five roots are used to form predicates that can be followed by an end-point. The root *saa* ‘go home’ lexicalizes the end-point. Locative phrases occurring with the general roots *ey* ‘go’, *ali* ‘come’ and *dateng* ‘arrive’ always indicate the endpoint. Not surprisingly, given the rugged terrain occupied by the Kankanaey people, the roots *tikid* ‘go uphill’ and *balalong* ‘go downhill’ can also imply reaching the inherent end-point (hilltop or valley). Example 166) shows two active accomplishment predicates. In 167) the destination of a means of public transportation is mentioned. Time phrases, as in 168), indicate time before reaching the destination, not time spent in traveling, since the root denotes the punctual arrival at home.

166) *Ay ?<om>ali=ka sina ono s<om>aa=ka?*
 Q CHANGE-come=2sI DEM1IV or CHANGE-go.home=2sI
 ‘Will you come here or go home?’

167) *Emey(?<om>ey) din dyipni ay nay ed UBC.*
 CHANGE-go RMD jeepney LK DEM1V LOC UBC
 ‘This jeepney will go to U.B.C.’

168) *Nay enggay piga ay agew yan asi=da s<om>aa.*
 DEM1V already how.many LK day and then=3pI CHANGE-go.home
 ‘Here it is still how many days before (lit. and then) they come home.’

In 169) and 170), it may be seen that the verb specifying the mode of ‘going’ cannot specify the destination by itself alone. In 169) the active accomplishment predicate *emey* (with morphophonemic changes) with a place name indicates arrival, while in 170) the place name with only the ‘walk’ predicate can not indicate end-point.

169) *Kabigatana, nankoyog=kamiay nan-dad?an(CVC-dan) ay <om>ey ed Ambagan.*
 Next.day accompany=1pILK ACT-PROG-walk LK ACT-go LOC Ambagan
 ‘The next day, we went together walking to Ambagan.’

170) *Man-dan di bas ed Balakbak.*

ACT-walk RMI bus LOC Balakbak

‘The bus goes through/*to Balakbak.’

With the suffix *-en*, the root *dateng* ‘arrive’ can form an active accomplishment with the meaning of ‘come to’ or ‘find’. It cannot denote control over the situation, as seen in 171) and 172). In 173) the ‘sudden’ particle and the lack of the definiteness operator on the Reference-phrase marker attest to the markedness of this construction. With other motion verbs, the predicate created by *-en* is not an active accomplishment, as in 174).

171) *Datng-ek(-en = ko) din ketang asi = ak pag songen.*

arrive-UND = 1sII RMD brook then = 1sI next go.upstream

‘I came to the brook, then I followed it upstream.’

172) *Atikawkawe(n) = na Ø, datng-e(n) = na din eten Dania.*

sort.through = 3sII 4III arrive-UND = 3sII RMD skirt Dania

‘Sorting through it, he found Dania’s skirt.’

173) *Idi inmaddawi = ak, d < in > teng = ko = et di ginawang.*

when go.far = 1sI UND.P-arrive = 1sII = PART RMI river.

‘When I had gone a fair way, I suddenly arrived at a river.’

174) *Adi = ka dan-en din danom ay sana.*

NEG = 2sI walk-UND RMD water LK DEM2V

‘Don’t walk in that water!’

The suffix *-an* with *dateng* also creates an active accomplishment predicate that specifies a person as locus (l), ‘come upon,’ as in 175).

175) *Idi = et d < om > ateng = ak ed Badiw, d < in > teng-ak(-an = ko) si manong.*

when = sudden ACT-arrive = 1sI LOC Badiw UNDI.P-arrive < = 1sII PRM brother

‘Well, when I got to Badiw, I came across (my) older-brother.’

2.2.9.2 Active accomplishments with other-affecting actions

Active accomplishment predicates can denote a specified action by one participant that results in some change of state for a second participant. (These predicates must be distinguished from causative achievements in which an unspecified action precedes an effect.) Action roots can specify manner, direction and other semantic particulars. The logical structure as suggested by Van Valin (2005:45) is as follows:

do' (x, [**pred**₁' (x, y)]) & INGR **pred**₂' (y)

Predicates of consumption and creation, formed with the suffix *-en*, should be understood as active accomplishments because the entity consumed or created is specific and fully affected. In example 176), the plan is to consume the entire quantity of beer, and in 177) the buildings were built from scratch, not fixed or enlarged.

176) *Inom-en = tako din nay Stateside.*
 drink-UND = 1 + 2P RMd DEM1V stateside

‘Let’s drink this imported beer!’

177) *? <in> amag di gobilno di Pidinsiya ya iskowilaan sina.*
 UND.P-make BRMi government RMi gov’t-center and school DEM1IV

‘The government built a municipal center and school here.’

2.2.9.3 Reduplication and time phrases with active accomplishments

Time phrases with active accomplishments have not been observed in Kankanaey, neither for duration nor for end-point. CVC reduplication is most often used when an active accomplishment predicate is nominalized or relativized. In such cases it can indicate plurality or repetition of habitual actions, as in 178) or progressive aspect as in 179).

178) *Ammo-a(n) = na din siged ay <in> am~amag di ipogaw ed nabaon.*
 know-UND1 = 3sII RMd good LK UND.P-CVC-do RMi people LOC long.ago

‘He’ll learn the good (things) that people did long ago.’

179) *Ay ad?ado di am~amag-en = yo?*
 Q much RMi CVC-do-UND = 2pII

‘Do you have a lot to do? (lit. Is what you are doing much?)’

2.2.10 Causative predicates

Kankanaey has a prefix *pa-* which derives overt causative predicates from a wide variety of roots, see §2.3.7. Many causative predicates, however, may be constructed from stative roots by the use of transitive *-en*, which requires an Actor argument. In Kankanaey, the action is unspecified (**do'** (x, Ø)) and causes a change of state of the affected participant, as seen in the logical structure of these predicates.

2.2.10.1 Causative change-of-state predicates

With result-stative roots, the suffix *-en* creates causative achievement predicates with this logical structure:

[do'(x,Ø)] CAUSE [INGR stative'(y)]

The activity part of the predicate is unspecified, as such predicates do not indicate what action causes the resultant change of state. They only assert that such a change is caused by some effector. For example, in 180), ‘break’ does not indicate the action by which the person would cause the jar to be broken.

- 180) *Mo gopak-e(n)=m san bogsit, bayad-a(n)=m Ø.*
 if break-UND=2sII RM jar pay-UND1=2sII 4III
 ‘If you break that jar, you’ll pay for it.’

In 181) and 182) a fuzzy semantic line may have been crossed—the action involved in ‘drop/let fall’ is very nearly unspecified. The semantic particulars relate to the effect on the second participant, which is total but due to natural causes. With this root, the prefix *i-* (*in-* perfective) connotes more intention than with the suffix *-en*; either may be used to form the predicate.

- 181) *In-tekdag = da din armas sin talipyano.*
 UNDt.P-fall.distance = 3pII RMd weapons ORMd airplane
 ‘They dropped the weapons from the airplane.’

- 182) *Adi = ka eg~?egas-en Ø tan ma-gopak Ø.*
 NEG = 2sI CVC-fall.short.distance-UND 4III because UNDS-break 4I
 ‘Don’t let it fall it because it will break.’

2.2.10.2 Three-argument predicates

Three-argument predicates such as ‘put’, ‘sell’, ‘give’, and ‘tell’ are causative achievement predicates in Kankanaey. They all involve a locative state predicate (e.g. **be-at'**), which as noted in §2.2.9.1, can only be part of complex predicates in Kankanaey. (It will be noted in §2.5 that simple location is expressed not with a locative predicate but with the existential.) Again, the activity causes the achievement of a change-of-location state, but is not otherwise specified. One possible logical structure follows, where (y) is a location and (z) is a theme argument.

[do' (x, Ø)] CAUSE [INGR **be-at'** (y, z)]

The affixes *i-*, *-an* and *i-...-an* are used to form causative achievements. Example 183) has two causative achievement predicates indicated by *i-*, while 184) shows an *i-...-an*-marked predicate. Chapter 6 explains the variable assignment of affixes to predicates.

183) *Mabalin ay i-paw?it=ko Ø en Jery ono i-gto=k Ø pay laengisna.*
 possible LK UNDt-send = 1sII4III OPRM Jery or UNDt-store = 1sII 4IIIPART DEM1IV

‘It’s possible for me to send it to Jery or to still store it here.’

184) *Asi=na i-dawt-an dakami si pala kanen.*
 then = 3sII UNDD-give < 1pIII ORMi for food

‘Then he gave us (something, i.e. money) for (getting) food.’

The resulting location may be inherent, as in 185), where a recipient is implied. In 186), a storage location is implied by the root, and the time expression indicates the duration of the resultant state. Note that in 187), when CVC reduplication is applied to the causative achievement predicate, the punctual nature of the change of state gives an iterative rather than progressive-aspect interpretation.

185) *Asi=ak i-dawat Ø mo <om>ey=ak issa.*
 and.then = 1sI UNDt-give 4III if/when ACT-go = 1sI DEM2IV

‘I’ll give it to (to you) when I go to your place (lit. there).’

186) *I-dolin=da Ø si manga tolo=y agew.*
 UNDt-put.store = 3pII 4III ORMi about three=LK day

‘They put it in storage (i.e. set it aside) for about three days (e.g. to ferment).’

187) *Mo wada di ma-bay?ansi i-lako=yo, i-dol~dolin=yo Ø koma.*
 if/whenEXIS Rmi UNDS-left ORMi UNDt-buy = 2pII UNDt-CVC-put.store = 2pII4IIIPART

‘Whenever there is (money) left over from what you have for buying, you should put it in storage (save it).’

2.3 Derived predicates

Some predicates are derived from non-canonical roots, such as causatives from attribute roots, and activities from property roots. Other predicates are derived by increasing or decreasing the participants from the default norm specified by the root, or by expanding the possible roles a participant could fill. The affixes used for these predicates may add semantic content or license a participant to hold a specific role. Types of derived predicates that are covered in this section are: potential predicates, derived attributives, predicates with temporal immediacy, passive statives, complex predicates with extra licensed participants and derived causatives.

2.3.1 Potential predicates

A predicate expressing the potentiality of a state of affairs lacks agentivity and has a potentiality operator as part of the predicate. With EFFECTORS and EXPERIENCERS, especially humans, it indicates ability. With ATTRIBUTANTS it indicates propensity. The symbol \diamond indicates potentiality.

2.3.1.1 Potential activities with *maka-*

Potential activities may be derived with experience and action roots using the prefix *maka-*, tagged ABIL(itative), which blocks the agency implicature of *do'* with these roots. This derivation yields predicates that express the ability of the EFFECTOR in relation to the root. The semantic representation (SR) for the derivation of *maka-anges* ‘able to breathe’ is shown in 188) and exemplified in 189). An example with EXPERIENCERS is 190).

188) *man-anges si Mims* SR: *do'* (Mims, [*breathe'* (Mims)])
 ‘Mims breathes/takes a breath.’

maka-anges si Mims SR: \diamond *do'* (Mims, [*breathe'* (Mims)])
 ‘Mims can breathe.’

189) *Mang-i-pa-kayabkab tet?ewa Ø mo adi=ka maka-anges.*
 ACT-Th-CAUS-heart.pound true 4I if/when NEG=2sI ABIL-breathe
 ‘It really is frightening (makes the heart pound) when you can’t breathe.’

190) *Olay sin mabolinget, maka-ila=ka pay dedan.*
 even ORMd darkness ABIL-see=2sI PART PART
 ‘Even in the dark, you are nevertheless able to see.’

With perfective marking, the lack of agency implicature yields a ‘fortuitous’ reading, as in 191). This derived form is often used with the negative to deflect responsibility for one’s lack of success, as in 192). The negator for the potential activities is *adi*, as in 192).

191) *Enggay naka-a=ak si esa ay reference=ko en da Danlo.*
 already ABIL-get=1sI ORMi one LK reference=1sII OPRM pl Danlo
 ‘I was already able to get one reference from Danlo (and someone with him.)’

192) *Adi=ak naka-solat ay dagos tan na-sangaw=ak sin pitsa.*
 NEG=1sI ABIL.P-write LK immediately because UNDS.P-distract=1sI ORMd date
 ‘I wasn’t able to write (you) immediately because I got confused about the date.’

Both CV and CVC reduplication can occur with potential activity predicates. CV reduplication may modify the potentiality operator, indicating the continuing potentiality or

lack thereof over time, as in 193). CVC reduplication, on the other hand, expresses an at-the-moment situation as in 194).

193) *Adi maka-i~inat si Poltag.*

NEG ABIL-CV-pull.away PRM Poltag

‘Poltag wasn’t able to pull away (implied: he was stuck, he tried repeatedly)’

194) *Maka-ot~ota =ak.*

ABIL-CVC-vomit = 1sI

‘I feel like I can/am going to vomit.’

2.3.1.2 Potential attributives with *maka-*

With certain roots, potentiality tends to be interpreted as propensity, as in 195), and these predicates fall into the attributive class, describing their ATTRIBUTANT as an individual-level stative, and taking *baken* as the negator, as in 196).

195) *Ma-lastog ono maka-etek =da.*

ATT-lie or ABIL-deceive = 3pI

‘They are liars, deceivers.’

196) *Baken maka-apal si ka-dwa =k.*

NEG ABIL-envy PRM companion-two = 1sII

‘My husband is not (an) envious (person).’

2.3.1.3 Potential attributives with *kaCV-*

When the ability to trigger emotions or mental states can be attributed to something or someone, an abilitative-attributive predicate is formed with *ka-* followed by CV reduplication of the state root. Like other attribute predicates, it does not inflect for aspect, and thus cannot assert that a participant actually caused the state, although pragmatically this is generally the assumption. The symbol \diamond indicates potentiality. The EXPERIENCER is unspecified in the Stative LS (compare to VVLP:402).

[be' (...x...) \diamond CAUSE [feel' (\emptyset ,pred')]

Thus, in 197) the ‘words’ had the potential to offend, while in 198) the ‘path’ is characterized by its potential for causing ‘fear’. Like other attributive predicates, this derived attribute is negated with *baken*, as in 199).

197) *Kasi-sinit tomet din kali =m.*

ATT.ABIL-offended PART RMd word = 2sII

‘Your words were certainly offensive.’

198) *Kae-egyat ay danan Ø tan deppas Ø.*
ATT.ABIL-fear LK path 4I because precipice 4I

‘It’s a scary/dangerous path because it’s precipitous.’

199) *Baken koma kae-egyat di pese.*
NEG should ATT.ABIL-fear RMi death

‘Death should not be frightening (to anyone).’

2.3.2 *Attributive predicates with CVC +ma-*

Many different roots may be affixed with *ma-* and then reduplication applied after affixation to the first CVC of the resulting word; this process yields a derived attributive predicate indicating current or customary stage-level attributes. Examples 200) and 201) are formed from property and internal-experience roots, respectively.

200) *Mal~ma-liteng san kapi; ipaatong=yo Ø.*
PROG-ATT-cold DRM2 coffee heat =2pII 4III

‘That coffee is cold; heat it up.’

201) *Mab~ma-bain si Emy.*
PROG-ATT-embarrassed PRM Emy

‘Emy’s feeling shy.’

These derived attribute predicates are formed with a variety of roots—actions in examples 202) and 203), and a class root used metaphorically in 204).

202) *mag~ma-geyek.*
CVC-ATT-tickle

ticklish’

203) *mat~ma-tao*
CVC-ATT-bark

‘characterized by loud and continuous barking’

204) *mak~ma-keweng*
CVC-ATT-ear

‘attentive’

2.3.3 *Predicates with temporal immediacy*

The prefix *ka-* can indicate temporal immediacy—a suddenly beginning event, or a just-completed event.

2.3.3.1 Inchoative predicates with *ka-*

Actions that are not inherently precipitous may be prefixed by *ka-*, tagged IMM(ediate), to indicate that the event is suddenly beginning. This affix forms an achievement predicate with this logical structure:

INGR **do'** (x, [**root'**(x,(y))])

205) *ngem ka-posipos = ak et adi ...*

but IMM-twist/turn = 1sI PART PART

'but I just quickly twisted really...'(and escaped!)

206) *Et doy etay ka-sigbo Ø, en = (n)a pay kano = n ila-(e)n Ø.*

and DEM3V PART IMM-dive 3sI go = 3sII PART HSY = DISP see-UND 3sIII

'And there wow! he dove right in, he went to see him.' (upon realizing his friend was stuck underwater)

2.3.3.2 Recently completed predicates with *ka-CVC*

The combination of CVC reduplication with the prefix *ka-* indicates recently completed activities or changes of state. Examples 207) and 208) show this predicate.

207) *Sa = y address = na tan doy kakal~kali = k.*

DEM2I = RMi address = 3sII because DEM3IV RECENT-speak = 1sII

'That's his address (I know) because I just now spoke (with him).'

208) *Kadat~dateng = mi = d labi en da Pedring.*

RECENT-arrive = 1pII = LOC night OPRM pl Pedring

'We just arrived last night--Pedring and others and I.'

2.3.4 *Passive states with ma-*

Previous examples have shown that the prefix *ma-* can form several different kinds of predicate, and passive states are yet another use of this prefix. Any two-argument predicate with a state **pred'** in its logical structure may be passivized by a process (see §1.2.5.3 of Chapter 6) in which *ma-* replaces *-en* or co-occurs with *i-*, *-an*, or *i...an*. (Perfective aspect is marked on *ma-* yielding *na-*.)

Passive states have only one direct argument, the affected entity. Examples of passive states are shown in 209) to 211).

209) *Na-galabgab-an* *din* *takkay* *Malisay*.

UNDIs.P-scratch < RMd hand Malisay

‘Malisay’s hand was scratched.’

210) *Na-sawad=ak* *sin* *tolo* *ay* *pewek*.

UNDs.P-block = 1sI ORMd three LK typhoon

‘I was blocked (from my plans) by the three typhoons.’

211) *Nakdeng* *ay* *nai-galot=kami* *amin...*

done LK UNDts.P-tie = 1pII all

‘(When) all of us were fastened (by seatbelts)...

Imperfective marking on passive predicates (*ma-* as opposed to perfective *na-*) creates an open-ended proposition that may easily imply potentiality rather than assurance of its fulfillment. A passive derivation from a directed-perception activity is shown in 212) by the semantic representations built on *ila + 2s* ‘see you’.

212) *Ila-en=mi sik?a.* SR: **do'** (we [**see'** (we, you)]) ‘We are looking at/see you.’

Ma-ila=ka. SR: \diamond (**see'** (\emptyset , you)) ‘You are able to be seen/visible.’

213) *Ma-lako-an* *amin.*

UNDIs -buy < all

‘Everything can be bought (it’s all for sale).’

2.3.4.1 Passives as stative modifiers

Passive predicates can be used as stative modifiers. For example, in 214) the reference phrase *din itlog* ‘the eggs’ has a linked modifier, the passive predicate *na-i-do~dolin* ‘were stored’. This passive was derived from the causative achievement predicate *i-dolin*. CV reduplication was added to indicate that the resulting state had duration in time.

214) *Na-boyok* *din* *itlog* *ay* *nai-do~dolin*.

UNDs-rot RMd egg LK UNDts.P-CV-store

‘The stored eggs/eggs that were stored are rotten.’

Test 5 above predicts that semelfactive, activity and process predicates cannot serve as stative modifiers. This is borne out by examples 215) to 217), which attempt to passivize semelfactive, activity, and process predicates by adding a co-occurring *ma-*, all of which are ungrammatical.

215) **Na-ek* *din* *anak* *ay* *na-pikpik(-en)*.

UNDS-sleep RMd child LK UNDS-pat

*‘The patted child/child who was patted slept.’

216) **Na-ek* *din* *anak* *ay* *na-man-dan*.

UNDS-sleep RMd child LK UNDS-ACT-walk

*‘The walked child/child who walked slept.’

217) **Ay* *in-dolin = mo* *din* *lokto* *ay* *na-ng <om > etit?*

Q UNDt.P-store = 2sII RMd yams LK UNDS-CHANGE-black

*‘Did you store the darkened yams/yams that darkened?’

2.3.4.2 Reduplication with *ma-* passives

CV reduplication indicates the continuing duration of a passive state, as was noted in 214). This reduplication is also seen in the second clause of 218) and in 219).

218) *Nan-ta~tangad* \emptyset *et* *anggay* *ma-i~ila = n* *ngalab = na*.

ACT.P-CV-face.up 3sI and already UNDS-CV-see = RMd privates = 3sII

‘She was facing upwards and her private parts were completely visible.’ (woman turned to stone)

219) *Nay* *etay* *mai-li~ligat-an = ak*.

DEM1V PART UNDDs-CV-hardship < = 1sI

‘Oh my, here I am being given/having a very hard time.’

CVC reduplication with *ma-* passives indicates an on-going current situation, as in the bracketed word in 220).

220) *Dalon* *b <inm > ab~baba* *din* *eroplano* *et* [*ma-il~ila*] *din* *Americano*.

much ACTm.P-CVC-descend RMd airplane and UNDS-CVC-see RMd American

‘The airplane was coming down low and the American (soldier) was being seen.’

2.3.4.3 Negation of *ma-* passives

As noted above regarding result-state predicates, passivized predicates may also show ambiguity as to whether they represent a situation as an event or a descriptive state. The negation of passivized states depends on this interpretation. Thus in 221) the negator *baken* and the durative *CV-* gives the predicate a descriptive reading, while in 222) *adi* is used for an event that did not happen. There is some dialect shift toward greater use of *adi*, making this a

somewhat fuzzy area between the clear use of *baken* with identificational and attributive states and the clear use of *adi* with activity predicates.

221) <In> ammo-an = (n)a am?in dana, tan baken met nai-ta~tabon Ø.

UNDI.P-know < = 3sII all pl.DEM1I because NEG PART UNDTs.P-CV-hide 4I

‘He learned all these things, because they certainly weren’t hidden.’

222) Ka-parti abe ay dagos din akin-aso et adi na-observar-an Ø.

IMM-butcher PARTLK immediately RMD owner-dog and NEG UNDI.P-observe < 4I

‘The owner of the dog killed (it) immediately and it (dog) was not observed (for rabies).’

If potentiality is implied, the negation of that potentiality is with *adi*. Examples 223) and 224) show that when *ma-* is negated, the prefix *ka-* often substitutes for it to specifically indicate and perhaps intensify the impossibility.

223) Adi ka-bilang di badang = yo.

NEG UNDS.INTENS-count RMI help = 2pII

‘Your help can not be calculated (i.e. you were so very helpful).’

224) Adi ka-silaw-an di danan tan masde di liboo.

NEG UNDI.INTENS-light < RMI way because thick RMI cloud

‘The way couldn’t be lit up because the cloud/fog was so thick.’

2.3.5 Derived predicates with *i-* and *i...an*

Many predicates formed from any root class may express a situation not entailed by the root denotation, such as an entity being used or moved in the course of the main event. Such predicates take the affix *i-* as an applicative to license the participant introduced by such a state of affairs, such as an INSTRUMENT, CONCOMITANT, or other THEMES that are moved or used. The Actor of these activity predicates is generally interpreted as agentive, even causative, depending on the root. In 225), which exemplifies a causative semelfactive predicate, the item that ‘knocks’ is brandished by an agent. In 226), the prefix *i-* with ‘take to sleep’ has licensed the ‘doll’ as a concomitant THEME and with ‘pillow’ it has licensed the ‘towel’ as an instrument THEME.

225) I-togtog = na din payong sin tangeb.

UNDT-knock RMD umbrella ORMd door

‘She knocked (with) the umbrella on the door.’

226) *I-ek = na* *din daldali = na; i-pongan = (n)a* *din towalya.*
 UNDT-sleep = 3sII RMd doll = 3sII UNDT-pillow = 3sII RMd towel
 ‘She takes her doll to sleep with her; she uses the towel as a pillow.’

Many actions and movements may be specified in terms of direction vis-à-vis some entity, whether literally ‘toward’ or ‘away from’ the entity, or more metaphorically, as in the case of a BENEFICIARY or other RECIPIENT. The *i...an* circumfix, tagged UNDD(irectional), is used as an applicative to form the predicate and to license such entities when they are specified as relevant to the activity. Example 227) compares three predicates based on *tagtag* ‘run.’ 228) to 231) exemplify various interpretations of directional specification.

227) *managtag* *i-tagtag* *i-tagtag-an*
maN-tagtag *i...an-tagtag*
 ‘to run’ ‘to run off with something’ ‘to run from something or someone’

228) *I-tneng-a(n) = m* *kod mo sino san* *i-bog~bogaw = da.*
 UNDD-hear < = 2sII please if what DRM2 UNDT-PROG-shout = 3pII
 ‘Please listen (attentively) to (hear) whatever it is they are shouting about.’

229) *I-tep?a-a(n) = m* *pay din manok si kane(n) = na.*
 UNDD-toss < = 2sII PART RMd chicken ORMi food = 3sII
 ‘Toss the chicken some food.’

230) *Iandoanas* *tatang = na.*
i-ando-a(n) = na = s(i)
 UNDD-tall < = 3sII = PRM father = 3sII
 ‘He passes his father in height.’

231) *I-lako-a(n) = m* *kod sak?en si arina.*
 UNDD-buy < = 2sII please 1sIII ORMi flour
 ‘Please buy me some flour.’

2.3.6 Derived activity predicates with *maki-*

The prefix *maki-* (ASSOC for ‘associate’) indicates that a participant joins others in an activity. The time phrase indicates duration of the activity with no inherent telic point. A more detailed look at this predicate is found in Chapter 6.

232) *Siyat = ta = n* *maki-line si piga ay oras.*
 must = 1 + 2I = DISP ASSOC-line ORMi how.many LK hour
 ‘We have to stand in line for how many hours.’ (e.g. at the post office)

2.3.7 *Derived causative predicates with pa-*

The prefix *pa-* (CAUS) on the root adds an agentive CAUSER participant to the logical structure of a predicate, often in addition to other affixation that specifies the presence of affected participants. The causing activity is unspecified, and β represents another LS:

[DO (x, [do', Ø]) CAUSE [β]

2.3.7.1 With the prefix *man-*

Man- + pa- forms causative predicates such as the causative activities in 233) and 234) and the causative perception-state in 235). Often these predicates take a reflexive function, as may be seen in Examples 234) through 237). With place-names, as in 238) , *man-pa-* creates a causative locative state, indicating ‘to head toward’ that place.

233) *Man-beey kano di kabonyan sidi ay manpa-kan si ma-dagaang-an.*
 ACT-house HSY RMi god DEM3IV LK ACT-CAUS-eat ORMi UNDIls -hunger <
 ‘Gods live there, they say, who feed hungry (people).’

234) *Asi=ak man-pa-amag si baro ay beey=ko.*
 then = 1sI ACT-CAUS-makeORMi new LK house = 1sII
 ‘Then I’ll have a new house built for me.’

235) *Na-bayang-an Ø et man-pa-ligat Ø tan man-ga~gate Ø.*
 UNDIls.P -wound < 3sI and ACT-CAUS-suffer 3sI because ACT-CV-itchy 4I
 ‘He got a wound and he’s having a hard time (causing himself to suffer) because it is always itchy.’

236) *Man-pa-pokis = ak kod.*
 ACT-CAUS-cut.hair = 1sI please
 ‘I’d like to get a haircut please.’

237) *Man-pa-ila = ak si doktor.*
 ACT-CAUS-see = 1sI ORMi doctor
 ‘I’m going to see a doctor (lit. cause myself to be seen by a doctor).’

238) *Nan-logan = kami en Mrs. Mayos ay man-pa-Bagyo.*
 ACT.P-vehicle = 1pI OPRM Mrs. Mayos LK ACT-CAUS-Bagyo
 ‘Mrs. Mayos and I got on a vehicle to go to Baguio.’

2.3.7.2 With *i-*, *-en* and *-an*

With *i-*, *pa-* forms causative active accomplishments, causative perception-states or causative activities, as in 239) to 241) respectively.

- 239) *I-pa-kan = mo din sakati sin baka.*
 CAUS.ACT-eat = 2sII RMd grass ORMd cow
 ‘Feed the grass to the cow.’
- 240) *Asi = na i-pa-dnge Ø sin soldados = na.*
 then = 3sII UNDt-CAUS-hear 4I ORMd soldiers = 3sII
 ‘Then he told it to his soldiers. (lit. caused to hear it)’
- 241) *Olay i-pa-chekup = yo agan?o Ø ta.say ma-pnek di bayer = yo.*
 OK UNDt-CAUS-check = 2pII before 4III so.that UNDs-satisfy RMi buyer = 2pII
 ‘It’s OK to have it checked out first so your buyer will be satisfied.’

With *-en*, *pa-* also forms causative activities and causative states, with action roots in 242) to 244), stative roots as exemplified in 245) and 246) and even a class root in 247). Time expressions, as in 243), indicate duration of the action.

- 242) *Pa-kan-en = da si Doligen.*
 CAUS-eat-UND = 3pII PRM Doligen
 ‘They fed Doligen.’
- 243) *P <in> a-kan di man-ili di soldados si dowa ay agew.*
 CAUS-UND.P-eat BRMi ACT-town RMi soldiers ORMi two LK day
 ‘The townspeople fed soldiers for two days.’
- 244) *En = ak pa-lobwat-en dakayo ed Bagyo.*
 go = 1sI CAUS-depart-UND 2pIII LOC Bagyo
 ‘I am going to see you off (lit. cause to depart) in Baguio.’
- 245) *Masapol ay pa-pigsa-e(n) = m din nemnem = mo ya t <om> oled = ka.*
 necessary LK CAUS-strong-UND = 2sII RMd mind = 2sII and CHANGE-brave = 2sI
 ‘It’s necessary that you strengthen your mind and become brave.’
- 246) *Pa-sadot-e(n) = na = s Ana gapo sin ka-iwed di anak = na.*
 CAUS-sad-UND = 3sII = PRM Ana due.to ORMd NOM-NEGEXIS RMi child = 3sII
 ‘He made Ana sad because of her not having children.’
- 247) *Si sak?en koma di mang-onod sin papilis ngem pa-bigat-e(n) = k Ø.*
 PRM 1sIII IRR RMi ACT-follow ORMd papers but CAUS-morrow-UND = 1sII 4III
 ‘I should be the one to follow-up on the paperwork but I put it off.’

There are very few instances of *pa...an* in Kankanaey. One of these is with the general movement root *ey* ‘to go’. The *pa-* prefix triggers morphophonemic assimilation with this root

253) *Oka-en Pidlo din bingay=na ay daga.*

belong-UND Pidlo RMD share=3sII LK land

‘Pidlo will take possession of his share of land.’

254) *Oka-an=da din pedis di nangon?ona ay napalti.*

belong-UNDI=3pII RMD bile BRMi preceded LK butchered

‘They will offer up (in ritual) the bile of the preceding (animal) that was butchered.’

2.3.9 Class roots with predicating affixes—argument incorporation

Predicate affixes are typically used with action or stative roots. When a class root takes predicating affixes, the resulting predicate denotes a typical activity or state involving entities of the denoted class. A special case in point is the affixation possible on number words. §2.4 details this intriguing set of affixes.

2.3.9.1 Natural phenomena

One analysis of predicates of natural phenomena is that they incorporate their only argument. Dynamic natural events are activity predicates with *man-*, while states that come about by natural means are affixed with *ma-*. Thus in 255) rain is expressed as an activity predicate while nightfall is a state predicate. In 256) both earthquakes and typhoons are expressed as activities with *man-*. (The modifier ‘strong’ is an adverbial adjunct.)

255) *Man-?odan dowan ma-labi.*

ACT-rain while UNDs-night

‘It was raining as night came on.’

256) *Nan-yegyeg si na-pigsa~pigsa, ya nan-pewek si na-pi~pigsa*

ACT-earthquake LK ATT-CVCCV-strong and ACT-typhoon LK ATT-CV-strong

et linibo di nat~na-tey.

and thousands RMI CVC-UNDS-die

‘It earthquaked extremely strongly, and it typhooned strongly over time and those who died were (numbered in the) thousands.’

2.3.9.2 Class roots as nonreferential participants

With other class roots, an activity predicate indicates that the root is a nonreferential undergoer. Examples of such activities would include many predicates about gathering things, as in 257). When a state predicate is formed with *ma-* or *ma...an*, as in 258) and 259), the root denotes a state affecting the participant.

257) *Mang-owang = tako!*

maN-kowang

ACT-worm = 1 + 2pI

‘Let’s dig worms!’

258) *Na-kowang = da.*

UNDS.P-worm = 3pI

‘They are infested with worms.’

259) *Na-dalangki-an din moyang ay nay.*

UNDIs-cradle.cap < RMd baby LK DEMIV

‘This baby has cradle-cap (a scalp condition).’

2.4 Predicates built with numbers

Predicates built with numbers show more variety than those built with other types of roots. Reduplication and common affixes build predicates with numbers but there is other affixation unique to numerical predicates.

2.4.1 Reduplicative affixation

Examples 260) and 261) show reduplicative affixation. CV reduplication with numbers is common when the number is the nuclear element in the clause core. CVC reduplication is an idiomatic way of estimating, used most commonly with the numbers three, five, and seven.

260) *To~tolo din bisita = mi.*

CV-three RMd visitor = 1pII

‘We have three visitors.’

261) *Tol~tolo di anak = mi.*

CVC-three RMi child = 1pII

‘We have just a few kids.’

2.4.2 Predicating affixation

Numbers can be affixed with almost any predicating affix to indicate activities or states having to do with that number. The following examples 262) to 268) show numbers with the most common affixes.

262) *Man-tolo din balat mo pit?ing-e(n) = m Ø.*

ACT-three RMd banana if break.in.hands-UND = 2sII 4III

‘The banana will split into three parts if you break it in your hands.’

- 263) *Opat-e(n) = m din lokto.*
 four-UND = 2sII RMd yams
 ‘(Divide/cut) the yam into four.’
- 264) *Opat-e(n) = m di lako-a(n) = m.*
 four-UND = 2sII RMi buy-UNDI = 2sII
 ‘Buy four.’
- 265) *Ma-opat din mangga = s di.*
 ST-four RMd mango = DEM3IV
 ‘Mangoes cost four pesos there.’
- 266) *Pan-tolo-en = da din tawid = na.*
 UND.CAUS-three = 3pII RMd inheritance = 3sII
 ‘They will divide his estate into three.’
- 267) *Man-taoli Ø sin ka-tlo = na.*
 ACT-return 3sI ORMd ordinal-three = 4II
 ‘He will return day after tomorrow (in 3 days).’
- 268) *Sino san ka-dwa = m?*
 who DRM2 NOM-two = 2sII
 ‘Who is your companion?’

2.4.3 Unique affixation

Several unique affixes have developed in Kankanaey to express fine points regarding mathematical concepts. Examples 269) to 276) have affixes observed only with numbers, and include some metaphorical extensions. Vowel deletion and other morphophonemic processes are clarified in the following examples.

- 269) *Mamin-dowa = ka ay manakdo (maN-sakdo).*
 times-two = 2sI LK ANTI-fetch.water
 ‘Fetch water twice.’
- 270) *<Inm>ey = ak sidi si namin-tolo.*
 ACTm-go = 1sI DEM3IV ORMi times-three
 ‘I went there three times.’

- 271) *Ay sa=y maika-pito ay anak=yo?*
 Q DEM2I=RMi sequence-seven LK child=2pII
 ‘Is that your seventh child?’
- 272) *Sag-o~opat di ala-en=yo.*
 each-CV-four RMi take-UND=2pII
 ‘Take four apiece.’
- 273) *Sag-do~dowa-e(n)=m di i-watwat=mo sin anan?ak.*
 each-CV-two-UND=2sII RMi UNDt-distribute=2sII ORMd children
 ‘What you distribute to the children, make it two apiece.’
- 274) *Kap?atam (ka-?opat-an=m) kod sa.*
 ?-four <=2sII please DEM2I
 ‘Please bring that up to four (as when vendor offers 3 for a certain price).’
- 275) *I-pi-dwa=m kod Ø.*
 UNDt-?-two=2sII please 4III
 ‘Please say/do it again (repeat).’
- 276) *Ipingsan ... mamingsanpingsan*
 ?-esa ...ma-?-esa?-sa
 UNDt-once ...UNDs-once first.cousin
 ‘do once.....next/sometime....first cousin’

2.4.4 Glottal infix with numbers

A glottal stop [ʔ] infixed before the second vowel of the root indicates a limitation, ‘only’. This combines with reduplicative affixation and predicating affixation in unique ways with number roots, as seen in 277) to 280).

- 277) *Tol~tol<ʔ>o din anak=mi.*
 CVC-ʔ-three RMd child=1pII
 ‘Our kids are only three (i.e. we have just three kids).’
- 278) *Tol~tol<ʔ>o din book=na.*
 CVC-ʔ-three RMd hair=3sII
 ‘He is balding.’

279) *Pit~pit < ? > o-e(n) = m di lako-a(n) = m.*
 CVC-ʔ-seven-UND = 2sII RMi buy-UNDI = 2sII
 ‘Just buy seven.’

280) *Matʔolo (ma < ? > tolo) di na-bayʔan.*
 UNDS-ʔ-three RMi UNDS.P-left.over
 ‘There are only a few left.’

2.5 Existential predicates

Existentials are the final type of predicate that will be introduced in this chapter. Existentials occur in their base form to express simple existence or physical presence. With a locative phrase, they express location. With a possessive phrase, they express possession. Kankanaey has three existentials—one positive, *wada*, and two interchangeable negatives, *maga* and *iwed*, which vary by geographical dialect. *Wada* may be shortened to *wa* when the following reference-marker is shortened and cliticized. Table 2.5 shows the existential forms.

Table 2.5. Kankanaey Existential Forms

Positive	<i>wada/wa</i>
Negative	<i>maga</i>
	<i>iwed</i>

With an indefinite argument, the existential indicates simple existence, as in 281). With a definite argument, the existential indicates physical presence, as in 282).

281) *Iwed di danan.*
 NEGEXIS RMi path
 ‘There wasn’t any path/road.’

282) *Ay wada = s Mrs. Mayamno? Iwed Ø.*
 Q EXIS = PRM Mrs. Mayamno NEG-EXIS 3sI
 ‘Is Mrs. Mayamno here?’ ‘No/she’s not.’

Location is shown by locative phrases following the existential, as in 283) and 284). When an indefinite argument has a possessor, as in 285), the existential indicates that possession.

283) *Wa = y balat sin apis gowab = da.*
 EXIS = RMi banana ORM area below = 3pII
 ‘There are banana trees just below their place.’

284) *Wada = da = s di.*

EXIS = 3pI = > DEM3IV

‘They are there.’

285) *Maga = y sapatos = na.*

NEGEXIS-RMi shoes = 3sII

‘He doesn’t have any shoes.’

Existential predicates can take some of the predicating affixation introduced in previous sections, as in 286) and 287). A euphemistic expression using *ma-...-an* is seen in 288).

286) *Emey = et di piga ay minoto, ka-wada = et di logan.*
go = PART RMi how.many LK minute IMM-EXIS RMi vehicle

‘A few minutes went by, (and) suddenly there was a vehicle.’

287) *Aket ma-iwed din anak = ko mo?*

why UNDS-NEGEXIS RMd child = 1sII why

‘Why has my child disappeared?’

288) *Mo ma-wad[?]-an = ka, man-tee = ka sin beey.*

if UNDI^s-EXIS < = 2sI ACT-stay = 2sI ORM house

‘If you get pregnant (lit. become locus of existence), stay at home.’

Existentials may be used in many constructions—in clauses, in reference phrases, and with predicating and nominalizing affixes. Chapter 4 will show the existential as it functions in various constructions. Chapter 7 will include the role of existentials in its study of information flow in Kankanaey discourse.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the Kankanaey lexicon, with its roots and affixes. A complex variety of basic predicates are formed by the combination of affixes with different types of roots. Other derived predicates are built with more affixes and combinations of affixes. Numbers and existentials form yet other types of predicates. Chapter 3 will turn to reference phrases in Kankanaey, and then Chapter 4 will put predicates and their reference-phrase arguments together in the clause structures of Kankanaey.

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Chapter 3 Reference Phrases

Introduction

Reference phrases were introduced in Chapter 1, where the concept of the layered structure was explained. This chapter will explore Kankanaey reference phrases in more detail. In §3.1-3 the various constituents are explained, then in §3.1.4-5 the modifiers at each level are examined. Complex reference phrases and those with affixed roots in the nucleus are examined in §3.3 and §3.4. Reference phrases placed in the predicate position of a clause are introduced in §3.5. The chapter ends with a look at an interesting pro-form, the multi-use *siya*.

Figure 3.1 displays an example of a Kankanaey reference phrase in its constituent structure projection, repeated from Chapter 1 Figure 1.6.

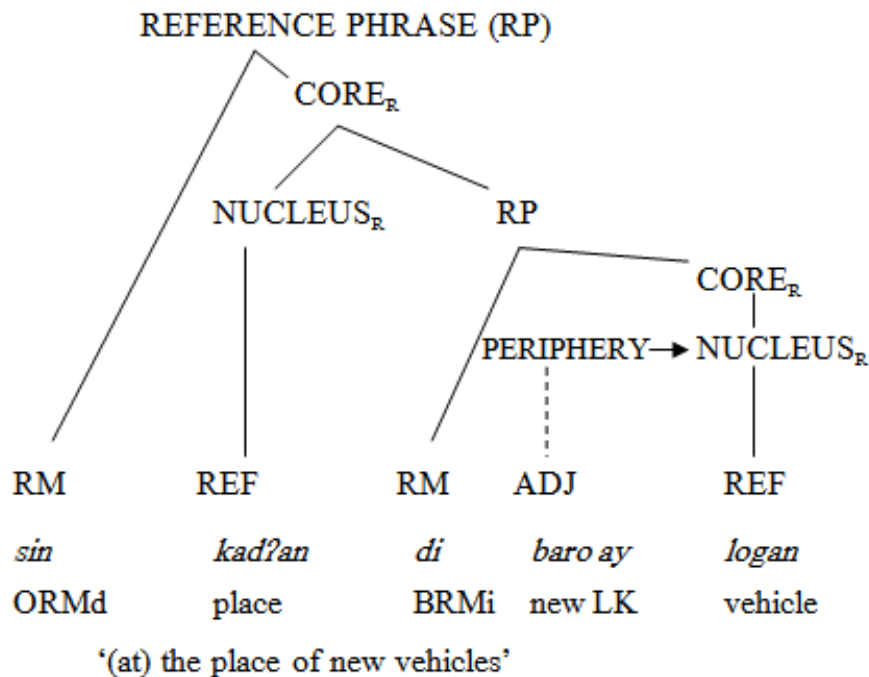


Figure 3.1. Constituent projection of a Kankanaey reference phrase

3.1 Reference phrase structure

3.1.1 Reference phrase markers

Reference phrases in Kankanaey are preceded by a reference phrase marker, except in the case of most pronouns. This marker identifies the phrase as having the semantic function of reference, and licenses it to function as an argument or adjunct in a syntactic construction. Reference phrase markers (hereafter RM) occur in the initial position of an RP. With the exception of most pronouns, every reference phrase must be marked as such by a RM.

3.1.1.1 Markers for common reference phrases

The common RP (as opposed to proper names and pronominals) uses the markers displayed in Table 3.1. These markers identify the syntactic relationship of the RP to the predicate, a system that will be explained fully in Chapter 4. Note that the Undergoer argument of a transitive predicate takes the same RM as the single argument of an intransitive predicate, while a transitive Actor argument takes the Bound reference-phrase marker (BRM). Optional contractions of RMs that cliticize to a preceding vowel-final word are shown in the table.

The tags ‘d’ and ‘i’ mark definite and indefinite RPs respectively. The grammatical category of definiteness is covered in §3.2.1.2.

Table 3.1 Kankanaey common reference phrase markers

Relation to predicate:	Single argument or transitive Undergoer	Transitive Actor	Oblique
definite	<i>din</i> (RMd)/= <i>n</i>	= <i>n din</i> (BRMd)	<i>sin</i> (ORMd)
indefinite	<i>di</i> (RMi)/= <i>y</i>	= <i>n di</i> (BRMi)	<i>si</i> (ORMi)/= <i>s</i>

Example 1) shows the full and contracted forms of the definite RM with a single argument. 2) and 3) show transitive predicates with two arguments. In many examples, such as 2) the marker *din* appears to be the same for both direct arguments, because the clitic =*n* preceding the bound reference phrase marker only appears following a vowel-final word, as in 3). A three-argument clause (grammatical but pragmatically unlikely) is given in 4). The third argument takes oblique marking.

- 1) *Man-ʔoga din anak.* or *Man-ʔoga = n anak.*
 ACT-cry RMd child ACT-cry = RMd child

‘The child cries.’

- 2) *I-pigpig din anak din onas.*
 UNDt-fling BRMd child RMd sugarcane
 ‘The child flings the sugarcane.’
- 3) *I-tanga =n din anak din onas.*
 UNDt-hold.in.mouth =BRMd child RMd sugarcane
 ‘The child holds the sugarcane in his mouth.’
- 4) *In-adawa =n din anak din onas sin moyang.*
 UND.P-hand BRMd child RMd cane ORMd baby
 ‘The child handed the sugarcane to the baby.’

The BRM marker *=n din* that marks a transitive Actor argument in basic clauses is a required clitic if the preceding word ends in a vowel; the clitic is not a contraction or an ‘ergative’ suffix on the predicate. This can be seen in 5) where a vowel-final particle intervenes between the predicate and the BRMd.

- 5) *Gelʔad-an kano =n din anak din onas.*
 peel-UNDI HSY =BRMd child RMd sugarcane
 ‘They say the child peels the sugarcane.’

3.1.1.2 Markers for proper-name reference phrases

Reference phrases that specify a proper name or kin term use a set of RMs different from common RPs. Table 3.2 displays the markers that precede proper names and kin terms. The tags for these markers include P for proper/personal. Like common RPs, the same marker is used for the single argument of an intransitive predicate and the Undergoer argument of a transitive predicate.

Table 3.2 Kankanaey proper reference-phrase markers

	Single argument or Transitive Undergoer	Transitive Actor	Oblique
proper and kin names singular	<i>si / =s</i> (PRM)	<i>=n Ø</i> (BPRM)	<i>en</i> (OPRM)
proper and kin names plural	<i>da</i> (PRM.pl)	<i>=n da</i> (BPRM pl)	<i>en da</i> (OPRM pl)
place or time	--	--	<i>ed</i> (LOC)

The PRM for proper names that function as single arguments of a predicate is *si*, optionally contracted to *=s* after vowel-final words as in 6).

- 6) *Man-ʔoga si Langdew.* or *Man-ʔoga=s Langdew.*
 ACT-cry PRM Langdew
 ‘Langdew cries.’

Although the PRM *si* is homophonous with the marker for an indefinite oblique common RP (ORMi, cf. Table 3.1), word order and the common vs. proper distinction disambiguate them, as in 7).

- 7) *Man-sibo si Rony si digo.*
 ACT-sip PRMRony ORMi broth
 ‘Rony sips (some) broth.’

The BPRM is manifested only by the clitic *=n* after a vowel, as in 8). Otherwise it is null for proper names, as in 9). Examples 10) and 11) exemplify the plural proper marking. Third arguments are oblique, as seen in the last RP in 11).

- 8) *I-tanga=n Langdew din onas.*
 UND-hold.in.mouth=BPRM Langdew RMd sugarcane
 ‘Langdew holds the sugarcane in his mouth.’
- 9) *I-agadang Langdew si ama=na ed Balang.*
 UNDt-cross.riverLangdew PRM father=3sII LOC Balang
 ‘Langdew takes his father across the river at Balang.’
- 10) *Adi ammo =n da tatang din istorya.*
 NEG know.UND BPRM pl father RMd story
 ‘Father and the others don’t know the story.’
- 11) *In-dawat Langdew din onas en da Margita.*
 UND.P-give Langdew RMd cane OPRM pl Margita
 ‘Langdew gave the sugarcane to Margita and the others.’

3.1.1.3 Combinations of RMs

PRMs mark reference phrases as referential and identifiable. In cases where a participant known to the speaker but new to the hearer is referred to by name, the indefinite common nominal marker *di /=y* may precede the personal marker *si* to yield “a certain person named ...” as in 12). Another combination, shown in 13), combines the definite common marker and the personal marker. In texts dealing with historical events, this combination is often used to

refer to someone who is deceased. Here it may imply a more impersonal reference to the woman as the child's mother than if the personal marker *si* were used alone.

12) *Wada=y si Nabulay ed nabbaon ed Abas.*

EXIST=RMi PRM Nabulay LOC long.ago LOC Abas

'There was a (certain woman named) Nabulay long ago in Abas.'

13) *Din anak ya din si ina=na di na-bay?an.*

RMd child and RMd PRM mother=3sII RMI UNDS-left

'(Those) left behind were the child and her mother (lit. the mother of her).'

3.1.2 *RP nucleus*

3.1.2.1 **Pronouns**

A reference phrase in Kankanaey may consist of simply a demonstrative or personal pronoun.

3.1.2.1.1 *Demonstrative pronouns*

Demonstrative pronouns (DEM) in Kankanaey are divided into five classes, three of which may be used as reference phrases. Table 3.3 displays these pronouns, with some alternate forms that may reflect local dialect differences. Note that like the RMs discussed above, single arguments and transitive Undergoer arguments take the same form, DEM class I, while transitive Actors are expressed by DEM class II. Demonstrative pronouns indicate referents that are near the speaker (tagged by 1), near the hearer (tagged 2), or not near to either (tagged 3), as seen in Table 3.3. Two of the oblique demonstratives have clitic contractions which are possible following vowel-final words. Demonstratives I and II also have a plural form.

**Table 3.3 Kankanaey demonstrative pronouns
as reference phrases**

	Single and Trans. Undergoer	Trans. actor	Oblique
Pronoun Class TAG	I	II	IV
DEM1	<i>na</i>	<i>nina</i>	<i>sina/isna</i> = <i>s na</i>
	<i>da na</i> (pl)		
DEM2	<i>sa</i>	<i>nisa/nasa</i>	<i>issa</i> = <i>s sa</i>
	<i>da sa</i> (pl)		
DEM3	<i>di</i>	<i>nidi/nadi</i>	<i>sidi/isdi</i> = <i>s di</i>
	<i>da di</i> (pl)		

Example 14) illustrates a demonstrative pronoun as the Undergoer argument of a transitive verb. The contracted form of the oblique DEM1IV appears in Example 15).

14) *I-pigpig din anak di.*
 UNDt-fling BRMd child DEM3I
 ‘The child flings that.’

15) *din opisina = s na...*
 RMd office = DEM1IV
 ‘the office here...’

3.1.2.1.2 Demonstrative-related RMs

The common RM *din* introduced in §3.1.1.1 above is probably historically related to the 3I demonstrative pronoun *di*. The other class I and the class IV demonstratives 1 and 2 also have related RMs as shown in Table 3.4. These demonstrative-related RMs have a very weak deictic function, explained in §3.2.1.2.

Table 3.4 Demonstrative-related RMs

Function:	Single or transitive Actor argument	Oblique
DEM-related RM	<i>nan</i> (1) <i>san</i> (2)	<i>isnan</i> (1) <i>issan</i> (2)
Tag:	DRM	ODRM

3.1.2.1.3 Personal pronouns

Kankanaey personal pronouns identify person and number. They are assigned to classes I to III, which indicate syntactic relationships. The person distinctions are first, first with second, second, and third. Each of these may be pluralized. Another (less elegant) way to group these pronouns is by positing dual, inclusive and exclusive forms of the first person plural. A set of impersonal pronouns is tagged as fourth ‘person’; these do not allow plural marking.

The Kankanaey pronouns present a very mixed pattern of marking the relations within a clause. The three patterns that personal pronouns exhibit can be seen in Table 3.5. Chapter 6 explores the significance of the pronoun patterns more fully. Rather than reflect the various patterns, the pronoun class numbers indicate the relationship to the predicate, which is sufficient for purposes of describing clause constructions. Thus, single arguments of a predicate are expressed by Class I pronouns, transitive Actor arguments by Class II pronouns, and Undergoer arguments in transitive clauses by Class III pronouns. Note that classes I and II are clitic, while III are free-standing. The pronouns I and III with an ergative pattern are not clitic. Further uses of these classes, such as II for possessive pronouns and III for focal pronouns, are discussed in §3.1.3.1 and §3.5 below.

Table 3.5 Kankanaey personal pronouns

pronoun class	I	II	III
	Single	Trans.Actor	Trans. Undergoer
Tripartite split:			
1s	= <i>ak</i>	= <i>ko</i> /= <i>k</i>	(PRM +) <i>sak?en</i>
2s	= <i>ka</i>	= <i>mo</i> /= <i>m</i>	(PRM +) <i>sik?a</i>
1p	= <i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	PRM + <i>dakami</i>
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	= <i>yo</i>	PRM + <i>dakayo</i>
Accusative split:			
3p	= <i>da</i>	= <i>da</i>	PRM + <i>daida</i>
1 + 2	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ta</i>	PRM + <i>daita</i>
1 + 2p	= <i>tako</i>	= <i>tako</i>	PRM + <i>datako</i>
Ergative split:			
3s	Ø/ <i>sisya</i>	= <i>na</i>	Ø/(PRM +) <i>sisya</i>
4(impersonal s/p)	Ø	= <i>na</i>	Ø/ <i>siya</i>

Examples 16) and 17) illustrate clauses with pronoun arguments. In 16) 3p is the single argument and is expressed by Class I. In 17) 3s is the Actor and 1p the Undergoer: the Actor is a Class II pronoun, while the Undergoer is expressed by Class III.

16) *Man-?oga = da.*

ACT-cry = 3pI

‘They cry.’

17) *Liw?-an = na = s dakami.*

forget-UND = 3sII = PRM 1pIII

‘He/she forgets us.’

In §3.1.1.1 above it was noted that the reference marker for the transitive Undergoer is realized as *din* while for the Actor argument it is *din* as well, except that it is bound to the predicate with =*n* when the predicate is vowel-final. The only structural difference is the clitic bond. A similar distinction holds with pronouns. Transitive Actor pronouns (Class II) and single argument pronouns (Class I) are clitics, bound to the predicate or other preceding word, but the binding of class II is tighter, involving morphophonemic changes with the singular forms, as seen with 1sII = *ko* which follows consonants but shortens to =*k* after vowels. In 18) further morphophonemic reduction is seen with ‘*asog-ak*’ where the suffix ‘-*an*’ combines with

the 1s pronoun ‘=ko’ to yield ‘-ak’ (not to be confused with =ak, which is 1s in Class I). With ‘mo’ it would yield ‘-am’ and with ‘na’ ‘-ana’.

- 18) *Asog-ak si Fianza.*
asog-an =ko
 persuade-UND.1sII PRM Fianza
 ‘I persuade Fianza.’

3.1.2.2 Lexical roots in the RP nucleus

The nucleus in simple RPs is an unaffixed lexical root. The major root classifications in Kankanaey are described in Chapter 2. Class roots normally occur without affixation to function as the nucleus of a reference phrase, referring to an instance of that class. Examples 19) and 20), repeated from 7) and 8) above, have class roots in the bracketed RP nucleus.

- 19) *Man-sibo si Rony si [digo].*
 ACT-sip PRM Rony ORMi broth
 ‘Rony sips (some) broth.’

- 20) *I-tanga =n Langdew din [onas].*
 UND-hold.in.mouth = BPRM Langdew RMd sugarcane
 ‘Langdew holds the sugarcane in his mouth.’

Unaffixed roots other than class roots in the nucleus of an RP may refer to an abstraction of the denotation of the root, as with property and experience-stative roots such as *gasto* ‘expense’, *teg?in* ‘cold (weather)’, *beteng* ‘drunkenness’, and *iliw* ‘homesickness’. Example 21) shows a property word as an unaffixed root.

- 21) *Maga =y lawa sidi.*
 NEGEXIS = RMi bad DEM3IV
 ‘There’s nothing bad there.’

Action roots also can refer to an abstraction of the event, such as *ponpon* ‘burial’. Examples 22) to 24) exemplify action roots in the RP nucleus.

- 22) *D<in>nge =k din [bogaw] =na.*
 UND.P-hear = 1sII RMd shout = 3sII
 ‘I heard his shout.’
- 23) *Adi =ka kaigeb?at si [yamyam].*
 NEG = 2sI do.w/o.provocation ORMi scold
 ‘Don’t light into (him) with scolding.’

24) *Wadwada din [obla]=k sin opisina.*

priority RMd work = 1sII ORMd office

‘My work at the office is deemed more important.’

With action roots involving transfer of an entity, such as *abang* ‘rent’ and *otang* ‘debt,’ the unaffixed root can refer to the money to be transferred, as in 25), but is dependent on the context, as in 26).

25) *Mo din [lako] =n di diblo asi=yo kod alaen mo omali=kayo.*

as.for RMd sell BRMi book then = 2pII please get if/when come = 2pI

‘As for (the money from) the sale of the books, please just get it when you come here.’

26) *Man?anos=kayo kod tan ad?ado di [otang]=mi ay daan mabayadan.*

be.patient = 2sI please ‘cuz many RMi debt = 1pII LK not.yet paid

‘Please be patient, because we have a lot of debts that (we) haven’t been able to pay yet.’

With action roots of communication, the unaffixed root most often refers to the product of the communication, as *kalalag* ‘prayer’, *iitaw* ‘dream’, and *kali* ‘word, language’. Example 27) shows an inner state *iyaman* ‘gratitude’ and a communication product, *solat* ‘letter’ as referential terms.

27) *Peteg di iyaman=ko sin [solat]=mo.*

great RMi thankful = 1sII ORMd write = 2sII

‘I’m very grateful for your letter.’

A few result-state roots occur unaffixed, referencing the inanimate cause of the result-state, thus *sangaw* ‘distraction’ from the stative root ‘distracted’. Contextual clarification differentiates the readings ‘viewpoint’ or ‘appearance’ for the perception-state root *ila* ‘see’ in 28) and 29).

28) *Baken rumbeng ay isin?eng=ko=s daida si kaman nadi ay [ila].*

NEG right LK gaze = 1sII = PRM 3pIII ORMi like DEM3II LK see

‘It wasn’t right that I was looking at them from a viewpoint like that (superior attitude).’

29) *Din beey, owat kaman ay?ayam di [ila]=na.*

RMd house just like toys RMi see = 3sII

‘The houses, just like toys was their appearance (from an airplane).’

§3.4.1 below covers nominalizing affixation, such as *kina-* in 30), which is more common than unaffixed root nominalization and more specific, as Table 3.9 there attests.

30) *Mo* <*om*> *ituray* *din* *aklong* *si* [*kina-baknang*]...
 if ACT-govern RMd desire ORM NOM-rich
 ‘When/If the desire for wealth drives (a person)....’

3.1.3 Arguments of the RP nucleus

A reference phrase nucleus can take one direct argument. §3.1.3.1 details the bound direct argument within an RP core. Pronominal RPs may take a clarifying oblique RP argument, explained in §3.1.3.2.

3.1.3.1 The direct argument of an RP nucleus

The RP nucleus can take one direct argument, itself a full reference phrase. A direct argument immediately follows the nucleus and is bound to it, using the same markers or pronoun class as transitive actors in a clause. The direct argument (bracketed) may stand in a possessive or other genitive-type relationship to the nucleus, as in (31) to (33).

- 31) *din* *aso* [= *yo*]
 RMd dog = 2pII
 ‘your (pl) dog’
- 32) *din* *aso* [= *n* *Langdew*]
 RMd dog BPRM Langdew
 ‘Langdew’s dog’
- 33) *din* *silbi* [= *n* *di* *manok*]
 RMd purpose BRMi chicken
 ‘the purpose of chickens’

Figure 3.2 shows an oblique RP with a genitive argument.

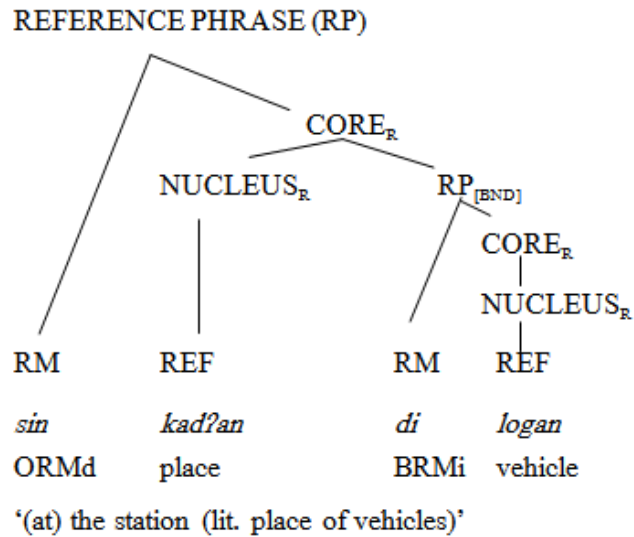


Figure 3.2. Kankanaey reference phrase with direct argument

When the nucleus of the RP is not a pronoun or root, i.e., when it is an affixed word, the relationship of the direct argument is constrained by the type of root and the affixation on it. Further discussion of the ramifications of affixed roots in RP nuclei is in §3.4 below.

3.1.3.2 Oblique core arguments of pronominal RPs

A plural pronominal expression is often ambiguous as to the exact referents. An oblique RP (bracketed in the following examples) can follow a plural pronoun or other plural RP to specify the other referent(s), as seen in 34) to 36). This construction is more natural than a coordinate construction, such as those found in the English translations. Another construction to handle ambiguity is shown in §3.1.4.1 below.

34) *kami* [*sin among = ko*]; *kayo* [*sin pamilya = m*]
 1pI ORMd boss = 1sII 2pI ORMd family = 2sII
 ‘my employer and I; you and your family’

35) *Nan-logan kami* [*en Mrs. Mayamno*] *ay man-pa-Bagyo*.
 ACT.P-vehicle 1pI OPRM Mrs. M LK ACT-CAUS-Bagyo
 ‘Mrs. Mayamno and I rode (took a bus) going to Bagyo.’

36) *Nan-adawag da ina = na* [*en ama = na*].
 ACT-plead PRM.pl mother = 3sII OPRM father = 3sII
 ‘His mother and father pled.’

Figure 3.3 shows the first RP from example 34). It has a pronominal nucleus with an oblique argument in the core of the RP. Within that oblique RP is a direct argument, the possessive pronoun.

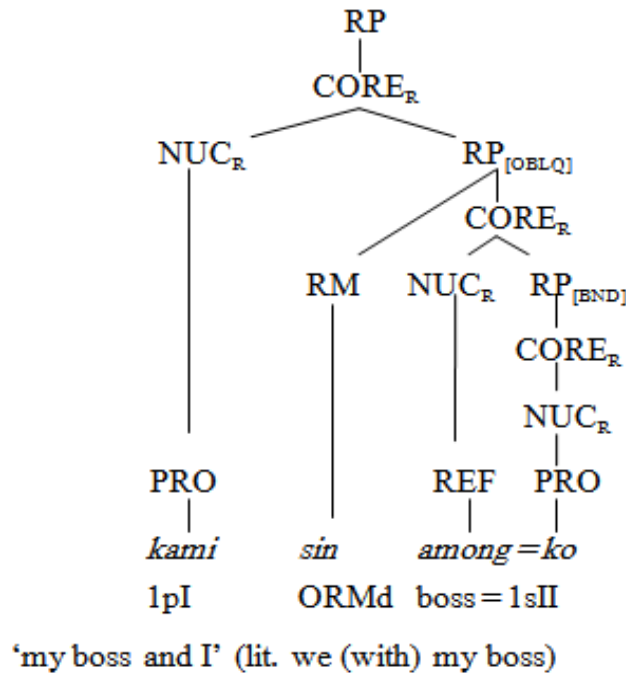


Figure 3.3. Pronominal RP with core arguments

3.1.4 Peripheries in the RP

Like a clause, a reference phrase can be modified at each level of its structure. For Kankanaey, peripheries are posited to the right of the RP level, and on either side of the RP core (Core_R) and RP nucleus (Nucleus_R). The peripheries are used to incorporate lexical modifiers into the structure. These modifiers are words, phrases or clauses that often require overt linkage, usually the linker *ay*.

3.1.4.1 RP periphery

Nominal coreferents, appositives that clarify the referent, are in the RP periphery, linked with *ay*. Examples 37) and 38) show these clarifying, non-restrictive modifiers.

- 37) *nan mayor [ay Felimon Rido] ed Binggal*
 DRM mayor LK Felimon Rido LOC Binggal
 'the mayor, Felimon Rido, of/in Binggal'

38) *si bigat [ay agew di ponpon]*

ORM next.day LK day BRM burial

‘the next day, the day of the burial’

Ambiguous pronouns, including demonstratives and question words, may also be clarified by a modifying *ay*-linked nominal, as shown in the bracketed RPs in 39) to 42).

39) *Sa.pay.koma.ta mayat di kasasaad = [yo ay sin-pamilya]*

(wish) good RMI situation = 2pII LK UNIT-family

‘May the situation of you (who are) a family unit be good.’

40) *Layd-en [nina ay nakay]...*

want-UND DEM1II LK old.man

‘This-one old man wants . . .’

41) *i-gink-a(n) = [m ay lalaki]*

UNDD-quiet < = 2sII LK man

‘You keep it quiet, (man)’ (not a vocative, but to differentiate the addressee from the woman of the couple.)

42) *[Sino ay agew] di <om> ali-an = da?*

what LK day RMI NOM-come < = 3pII

‘What day is the time of their coming?’

Indefinite RPs, such as those that introduce new participants, can take non-restrictive, attributive modifiers in the left RP periphery, as in 43). With a definite RP, an attributive modifier would be interpreted as restrictive, as in §3.1.4.3.2.

43) *Wada = y [nakayang ay] dontog ed Baknon.*

EXIS = RMI high LK mountain LOC Baknon

‘There is a high mountain at Baknon.’

3.1.4.2 Core_R peripheries

RPs with pronouns or lexical roots in their nuclei do not use the core_R periphery. When the RP is a nominalized clause, its core peripheral adjuncts are in the RP-core periphery.

Nominalized clauses are described in §3.4.3.

3.1.4.3 Nuclear_R peripheries

Left and right nuclear peripheries in Kankanaey hold restrictive modifiers. Attributive modifiers and relative clauses may be placed on either side of the nucleus. No nominal nuclear modifiers have been observed in Kankanaey that correspond to English nominals such as

“brick wall” or “bamboo floor”. Such expressions are rendered in Kankanaey by relative clauses.

3.1.4.3.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses, bracketed in the next six examples, are linked most commonly from the right nuclear periphery, but may also freely occur in the left as in 49). Relative clauses do not necessarily embed, and are usually found in the final position in the phrase. They may modify the nucleus regardless of other elements that may follow the nucleus.¹³ Thus, in 44) the relative clause modifies *gomot*, not *dapan = ko*. In 45) both relative clauses modify the nuclear word ‘*begas*’. In 46) however, the second bracketed relative clause is embedded within the first. Context and pragmatics influence the interpretation. Examples 47) and 48) exemplify the range of possible relativizations. Chapter 5 explores relative clauses and their internal structure more fully than is relevant to reference phrases, which are in focus here.

44) *Din gomot di dapan = ko [ay napotoan...]*

RMd digit BRMi foot = 1sII LK UNDI_s.cut

‘My toe (lit. digit of my foot) that had a piece cut off it.’

45) *si begas [ay kan-en di mantonod] [ay i-balalong = mi]*

ORMi rice LK eat-UND BRMi harvesters LK UNDT_t-descend = 1pII

‘with rice that the harvesters will eat that we will carry down’

46) *Man-beey kano di kabonyan sidi [ay manpakan*

ACT-house HSY RMi gods DEM3IV LK ACT.CAUS.eat

si madagaangan [ay man?illeng sin isdi]].

ORM UNDI_s.hunger LK ACT-rest ORMd DEM3IV

‘They say that gods live there who feed hungry (people) who rest there.’

47) *sin timpo [ay naki-asawa-an = mi]*

ORMd time LK ACT_a.P-spouse-NOM = 1pII

‘at the time when we got married’

48) *din logan [ay in-baga = da din numero = na]*

RMd vehicle LK UNDT_t.P-tell = 3pIIRMd number = 3sII

‘the vehicle whose number they had told (me)’

¹³ “in many Philippine languages, a relative clause refers back to noun in the main clause, not to the closest preceding noun (as in English).” Sherri Brainard, p.c.

- 49) *din* [in-dawat =yo en sak?en ay] *Biblia*
 RMD UNDt.P-give = 2pII OPRM 1sIII LK Bible
 ‘the Bible that you gave to me’

3.1.4.3.2 Attributive modifiers

When an RP is definite, descriptive modifiers are generally interpreted as restrictive. Attributive words are in the nuclear periphery. They require overt linkage with *ay*, as in 50). Restrictive attributives may occur in the right nuclear periphery, as in 51). (Unlike English, Kankanaey age relation is lexically specified for kin terms while gender is optional.)

- 50) *din* [kitkitoy ay] *anak = ko*.
 RMD small LK child = 1sII
 ‘my little child’ (as distinct from the older ones)

- 51) *din pangpangoan = ko* [ay lalaki]
 RMD older.sibling = 1sII LK male
 ‘my elder brother’

The comparative phrase *kaman* + DEMII are attributive and restrictive in function. This phrase is linked from the left nuclear periphery, as in 52).

- 52) *Baken rumbeng ay isin?eng = ko = s daida si* [kaman nadi ay] *ila*.
 NEG right LK gaze = 1sII = PRM 3pIII ORMi like DEM3II LK see
 ‘It wasn’t right for me to be looking at them from that point of view (superior attitude).’

3.1.4.3.3 Adjunct modifiers

RPs that bear a locative relationship to the nucleus are restrictive modifiers, and are in the right nuclear periphery. They immediately follow the nucleus and any direct argument. Locative RPs are marked with an Oblique RM, either the proper place-name oblique *ed*, as in 53), or *sin*, as in 54) and 55). Note that the locative phrase in 53) locates the ‘place,’ not the ‘vehicle,’ in Tiblak. The Oblique demonstrative pronoun (DEMIV) may also occur in this position.

- 53) *sin kad?an di logan* [ed Tiblak]
 ORMd place BRMi vehicle LOC Tiblak
 ‘(at) the station (lit. place of vehicles) in Tiblak’

54) *din bayang=na [sin lopa=na]*
 RMd wound=3sII ORMd face=3sII
 ‘his wound on his face’

55) *Wadwada din obla=k [sin opisina.]*
 priority RMd work=1sII ORMd office
 ‘My work at the office is deemed more important.’

3.2 Operators in the RP

In Chapter 1 the concept of grammatical modifiers, termed ‘operators’ in RRG, was introduced. Reference phrases have these operators at each level. Table 3.6 (adapted for Kankanaey from Van Valin 2005:24) lists the RP operators and shows the levels that they modify.

Table 3.6 Operators in the layered structure of the RP

Nuclear_R operator:
 Nominal aspect
 Core_R operators:
 Number
 Quantification
 RP operators:
 Definiteness
 Deixis

Operators in the RP may be expressed by reduplication, affixes or separate words. They are represented below the constituent projection in a mirror-image ‘operator projection’ that indicates the type of modification at each level.

Figure 3.4 adds these positions to the abstract structure of the Kankanaey RP. Arrows in the operator projection indicate the level that each operator modifies.

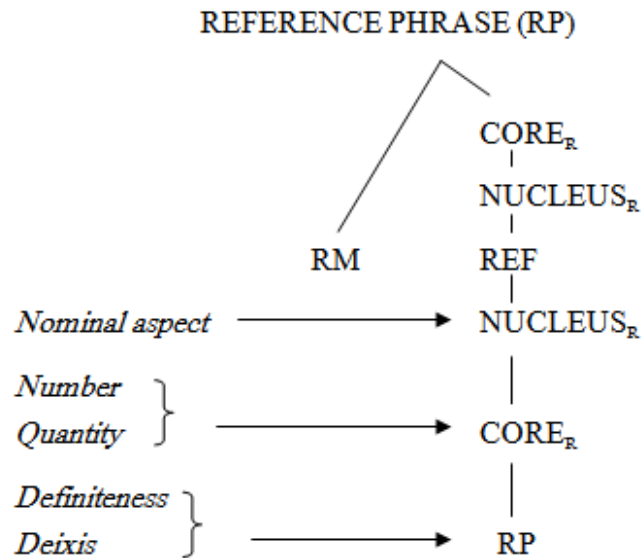


Figure 3.4. Kankanaey reference phrase structure with operator projection

3.2.1 RP operators

3.2.1.1 Deixis

Deixis is shown by modifying demonstratives. Demonstrative pronouns class V (Table 3.7 below) are attributive. As modifiers of an RP, they usually specify spatial or figurative proximity to the participants. They may be in the right RP-periphery, as exemplified in 56) to 58); they follow the core and are linked by *ay*.

Table 3.7 Kankanaey demonstrative modifiers

	Attributive
TAG:	V
1 (near to speaker)	nay
2 (near to hearer)	sana
3 (not near to either)	doy

56) *Din istorya [ay nay]*

RMd story LK DEM1V

‘This story (author is about to tell)’

- 57) *din anak = da [ay sana]*
 RMd child = 3pII LK DEM2V
 ‘that (previously-mentioned) child of theirs’
- 58) *Itoltoloy = yo din obla = yo [ay sana].*
 continue = 2pII RMd work = 2pII LK DEM2V
 ‘Keep on with that work of yours.’

Demonstratives may precede the core in the left RP periphery, as in 59) to 61). The unstressed linker *ay* may be dropped after the *y*-final demonstratives *nay* and *doy*, as in 60).

- 59) *Ka-dama sin sana ay banig Nabulay.*
 ACT.IMM-fight ORMd DEM2V LK ghost Nabulay
 ‘(He)attacked that (aforementioned) ghost of Nabulay.’
- 60) *sin doy kad?an di bato*
 ORMd DEM3V place BRMi rock
 ‘at that (well-known) place of the rock’
- 61) *Ibagak [sin nay panteteeak sina].*
 tell = 1sII ORMd DEM1V NOM.stay.1sII DEM1IV
 ‘I will tell (it to) these (people) I am staying with here.’

Deictic operators precede any relative clauses, as seen in 62) and 63).

- 62) *sin timpo [ay nay] ay kolang am?in di ka-sapol-an*
 ORM time LK DEM1V LK lack every BRM NOM-need-NOM
 ‘at this time when there is a shortage of every needed thing’
- 63) *Na-labi din alas sinko [ay doy] ay s <om> aa-a(n) = k.*
 ATT-night RM time five LK DEM3V LK NOM-go.home < = 1sII
 ‘It’s dark at that five o’clock my go-home time.’

3.2.1.2 Definiteness

Table 3.4 above noted that some reference phrase markers are related to the demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative-related RMs (DRM) with deixis 1 and 2 (near speaker, near hearer) are not strongly deictic and are used more frequently in the northern parts of the Kankanaey-speaking area. The default RMs 3 are not deictic at all. Table 3.8 displays the full set with the corresponding demonstrative pronouns for comparison.

**Table 3.8 Kankanaey deictic reference phrase markers
with corresponding demonstrative pronouns**

	Direct Argument DRM	DEM I	Oblique Argument DRM	DEM IV
1	nan	na	isnan	sina/isna
2	san	sa	issan	issa
3	di(n)	di	si(n)	sidi/isdi

The final *-n* of the reference phrase markers correlates with referentiality and identifiability of the whole reference phrase. This final *-n* functions as a definiteness operator for the RP, especially for the non-bound forms.

In many contexts where RPs (bracketed) are non-referential as in (64), hypothetical as in (65), or not known to the hearer, the lack of the definiteness marker fills an important semantic function. In (66) a brand-new participant is introduced by name using a combination of indefinite marker and personal marker.

64) *Si Maria [di Pa ya Ma] ed nowani.*

PRM Maria RMi pa and ma LOC present-time

‘Maria is the father and mother at this time (since parents have passed away).’

65) *Siyat waf=y mapa] si e~egen-an.*

must EXIST=RMi map ORMi CV-hold-UNDI

‘(You’d) have to be holding a map (lit. there must be a map to hold)(or you’d get lost).’

66) *ngem idi wadaf=y si Doligen] ay p<in>a-kan=da...*

but when EXIS=RMi PRM Doligen LK UND.P-CAUS-eat=3pII

‘but (once) there was a (certain) Doligen whom they fed...’

3.2.1.3 Negation

Kankanaey does not have argument negation as such. Negation of an argument RP is handled by the negative existential construction, as in (67). When an RP is functioning as the predicate in an RP-RP equative clause, it may be negated with *baken* preceding the entire RP, as in (68), with the predicative RP in brackets. This, however, is predicate negation rather than argument negation.

- 67) *Iwed di begas = na.*
 NEGEXIS R_{Mi} rice = 3sII
 ‘He has no rice (lit. his rice does not exist).’
- 68) [*Baken din begas*] *di bayo-e(n) = na.*
 NEG R_{Md} rice R_{Mi} pound-UND = 3sII
 ‘What he will pound is [not the rice].’

Figure 3.5 shows an example of both constituent and operator projections for a reference phrase in Kankanaey.

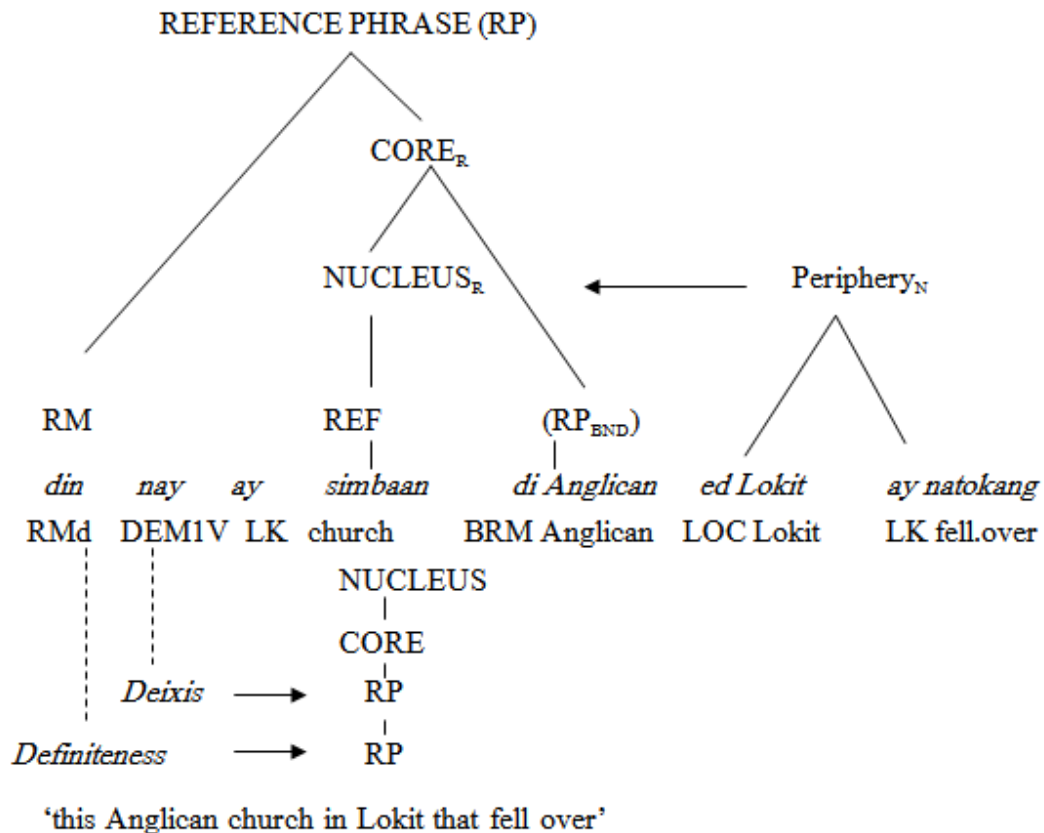


Figure 3.5. Example of RP Constituent and Operator projections

3.2.2 Core_R operators

Operators that modify the core of a reference phrase core are mostly concerned with number—plurality and quantifiers, as discussed in 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2. Negation is usually considered a core operator, but in Kankanaey there is no RP-internal negation. The negator *baken* before a class root negates it as a class, not an RP referring to an instance of that class. A concept such as “no rice” is expressed with the negative existential.

3.2.2.1 Plurality

Kankanaey uses two strategies to express plurality: reduplicative affixation and an overt plural marker. Plurality is usually determined by context, but countable objects in the RP nucleus can take plural marking if necessary for clarity or emphasis.

3.2.2.1.1 Reduplication

Plurality may be indicated on countable RPs by *CV* or *CVC* reduplication (note the symbol ~), as in 69) and 70). The form of reduplication seems to be arbitrarily assigned to the lexical root. There is no other distinction between count and mass nouns.

69) *In-kosokos = na din be~beey sin il~ili.*
UNDt.P-collapse = 3sII RMd pl-house ORMd pl-town
'It (the earthquake) collapsed (all/many of) the houses in (all) the towns.'

70) *Bay?a(n) = m si ag~agi = mi.*
leave. UNDI = 2sII PRM pl-relative = 1pII
'Leave our relatives alone.'

3.2.2.1.2 Plural marker *da*

As noted in Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 above, plurality of demonstratives and proper names is obligatorily marked with *da*, as in 71) and 72).

71) *<om> ali [da Alicia].*
ACTm-come pl Alicia
'Alicia (and others) will come.'

72) *Adi = ak <in> ila [da di] ay nankakay.*
NEG = 1sI UNd.P-see pl DEM3I LK elders
'I didn't see those elders.'

The plural marker can also precede the RM as an alternative to reduplication. Often the context of a sentence makes overt plural marking unnecessary, but when a speaker wishes to specify that there are more than one, the plural *da* can precede the RM, as in 73) and 74).

73) *Il?ila(en) = k [da nan] litrato.*
looking = 1sII pl DRM picture
'I was looking at these pictures (in an album).'

74) *In-kosokos = na din be~beey ya [da din] siged ay danan.*
 UNDt.P-collapse = 3s RMd pl-house and pl RMd good LK road
 ‘It collapsed the houses and (all) the good roads.’

When the nucleus is a word derived from an action or stative root (see §3.4.3 below), reduplication cannot be applied to the nucleus for overt plurality marking. In such cases overt plurality must use the plural marker *da* preceding the RM, as in 75).

75) *Man-golo [da din] man-bonong.*
 ACT-disrupt pl RMd ACT-pray
 ‘The (ones who) pray (i.e. the traditional priests) will make a fuss.’

3.2.2.2 Quantity

RPs may be quantified by overt numbers or by general quantifiers, the most common of which is *amin* ‘all.’

3.2.2.2.1 Numbers

Numbers are linked from the left with *ay*. The linker can be shortened to *=y* after vowel-final quantifiers and numbers, the only instances of *ay* being contracted, as in 76). Attributive modifiers in the nuclear periphery are ordered closer to the nucleus than numbers, as seen in 77). General quantifiers such as ‘many’ or ‘few’ are also linked from the left, as in 78).

76) *I-tapos = mi di tolo = y bowan.*
 UNDt-finish = 1pII RMi three = LK month
 ‘We will finish three months (doing something).’

77) *din dowa = y pasado ay mayor = yo*
 RMd two = LK past LK mayor = 2pII
 ‘your last two mayors’

78) *Isdi <in> aspo = k di adʔado ay ga-gait.*
 DEM3IV UND-meet = 1sII RMi many LK pl~friend
 ‘There I met up with many friends.’

3.2.2.2.2 Inclusive quantifiers

The quantifiers *kaadoan* ‘most’ and *amin* ‘all’ (with variants *amʔin* and *namʔin*) can function as the nucleus of an RP, as in 79) and 80).

79) *Adi ma-dlaw di kaadoan.*

NEG UNDS-notice RMi most

‘Most (of the mistakes) can’t be noticed.’

80) *Sa=y pangitaltaka(n)=k si amin.*

DEM2I=RMi NOM- trust=1sII ORMi all

‘That’s who I am relying on for everything.’

The quantifier *amin* can also modify the core of the RP. When quantifying pronouns, it follows the pronoun with no connector, as in 81) and 82). When quantifying other RP nuclei, the quantifier precedes the nucleus and is linked with *ay*, as in 83).

81) *Tamang-en=[yo amin] ed demang.*

look-UND=2pII all LOC other.side

‘All of you look over there.’

82) *[Piga amin] di daan?*

how.much all RMi not.yet

‘How much in all is still remaining?’

83) *Si dakayo di maka-ammo si [amin ay] kasapolan=y.*

PRM 2pIII RMi ACT.ABIL-know ORMi all LK needs=2pII

‘You are responsible for all your needs.’

The general quantifier can also precede the entire RP, yielding the possibility that the quantifier is in the nucleus of an RP with the second RP as its bound argument, as in 84).

84) *Ma-agom am[?]in din M company*

UNDS-gather all BRMd M company

‘All of the M Company gathered together.’

Finally, the inclusive quantifier does not take a RM in a left-detached phrase expressing a general inclusiveness, as in 85) and 86), where both quantifiers appear.

85) *[Am[?]in ay ipogaw] et matey=da.*

all LK person PART die=3pI

‘All people, they will die.’

86) [Kaadoan, mo baken nam?in], et laydena ay man-i-dawat.
 most if NEG all PART want.4II LK ACT-Th-give
 ‘Most, if not all, they wanted to give something.’ (after an earthquake)

3.2.3 Nuclear_R operator: nominal aspect

Nominal aspect in Kankanaey indicates specification of a set of individuals denoted by the root, or a special kind of instance of that object. Kankanaey has affixes that indicate a paired unit, a large group of individuals, or a diminutive kind of referent.

The prefix *sin-* with kin terms indicates a matched pair, such as mother-child, siblings, or spouses, as in example 87).

87) Ed nabayag kano wada di sin-asawa.
 LOC P.long.time HSY EXIS RMi unit-spouse
 ‘Once upon a time there was a married couple.’

A large group, such as a crowd or herd, is indicated by the affix (*ka- + CVC(C)V~*) on a class root.

88) kabisa~bisaang
 kaCVCV-pig
 ‘herd of pigs’

Three affixes indicate the referent as different in kind from the normal denotation of the root. The prefix *sinan-* (sometimes with *CV~*) indicates imitation or representation, such as the ‘statue’ in 89). Another affixation, *CVC + <in>* as in 90), indicates the same diminution, namely representation, such as a carving. Because this affixation is identical to verbal aspect affixation, there is some doubt as to its classification as a nominal aspect marker. Falseness may denote pretense or denigration, as with the *CVC* reduplication and an infix glottal stop, as in 91).

89) Wada=y sinan-i~ipogaw sin sango.
 EXIS=RMi false-CV~person ORMd front
 ‘There is a statue (of someone) at the front.’

90) t<in>ol~toldo
 CVC<in>-eagle
 ‘eagle figure’

- 91) *bang~bang* <? > *a = k*
 CVC <? > pot(*bang*) = 1sII
 ‘My toy pots/ my little old pots’

3.3 Complex RP constructions

Three levels of juncture are possible in the referring phrase: RP phrase level as well as core_R, and nucleus_R levels. RRG posits three types of relationships cross-linguistically between units that join at any level—coordinate, subordinate, and cosubordinate. Kankanaey RPs use mostly coordinate relationships, with only the relative clause in a subordinate relationship to the nucleus_R. These will be exemplified and explained in the following sections. No evidence of cosubordinate relationships involving shared operators in the RP has been found in Kankanaey.

3.3.1 Phrasal juncture

Sometimes two RPs are joined in a coordinate construction with the conjunctions *ya* ‘and’ or *ono* ‘or’. The two RPs share the same syntactic function in a clause, such as a direct argument or an oblique adjunct. The first RM carries the syntactic case-marking function for both cores, and the second RP is given a ‘dummy’ RM—always unbound *din*, or *si* with personal names. Coordinate RPs appear in the clause, as in 92).

- 92) *Kumusta baw abe [en kadwa = m] ya [din an?ak = yo].*
 greet PART also OPRM spouse = 2sII and RMd kids = 2pII
 ‘Oh yeah, greetings also to your wife and your(pl) kids.’

In 93) both RPs express a referent for which thanks is being expressed (oblique relationship to the predicate), but the relative clause is not shared with the first referent. In 94) the second RP has a deictic modifier.

- 93) *[sin solat = mo] ya [din tikit ya libro ay in-paw?it = mo]*
 ORMd letter = 2sII and RMd tickets and book LK UNdit.P-send = 2sII
 (Thanks) ‘for your letter and the tickets and book that you sent.’

- 94) *Marowam = ka [sin sine] ono [din doy beliard].*
 accustomed = 2sI ORMd cinema or RMd DEM3V billiard
 ‘You are used to the movies or those billiard games.’

In 95) the bound Actor function is filled by a coordinate set of RPs—‘you man or you woman.’ The bound pronoun cannot be repeated as such in the second RP, where it appears as the free-standing form of the pronoun.

95) *Iginka(n)[=m Ø ay lalaki] ono [sikʔa ay babai]*
 UNDDquiet < = 2sII 4III LK man or 2sIII LK woman

‘You man or you woman be quiet about it.’ (from wedding advice regarding critical thoughts)

When the first of two coordinate RPs is marked by *din*, as in 96) and 97), the second RP core will take the same marking. In such a case, it is not possible to know whether the second RM is a ‘dummy’ or not. Not every junction between RPs follows the ‘dummy-RP’ convention: a few instances with a repeated oblique RM, as in 98), have been noted.

96) *Sino di banolen=tako, [din siping] ono [din awak Narding]?*
 what RMI value.UND = 1 + 2p RMD money or RMD body Narding

‘What is it we value (more), the money or Narding’s body (health)?’

97) *Inawat=ko [din solat=yo] ya [din intatapi=yo].*
 UND.P.receive = 1sII RMD letter = 2pII and RMD UNDt. included = 2pII

‘I received your letter and what you had enclosed.’

98) *Man-ʔiyaman=ak [en Diyos] ya [en dakayo].*
 ACT-thank = 1sI OPRM God and OPRM 2pIII

‘I give thanks to God and to you...’

3.3.2 Nuclear or core juncture

A reference phrase can have two nuclei joined in a coordinate relationship by the conjunctions *ya* ‘and’ or *ono* ‘or’. Coordinate RP nuclei are exemplified in 99). In this example the nuclei share a possessor argument. In example 100) coordinate cores are shown, as each nucleus has its own possessor argument.

99) *ammo=tako din mayat ay [panggep ono plano]=na*
 know.UNDp = 1 + 2pII RMD good LK intention or plan = 3sII

‘We know his good intentions or plans.’

100) *din [anak=ko] ya [apo=k]*
 RMD child = 1sII and grandchild = 1sII

‘my children and my grandchildren’

Another example of nuclear coordination is given in 101), where the two nuclei share the bracketed non-restrictive relative clause in the RP periphery. Coordinate nuclei can also share restrictive modifiers, such as the bracketed modifier in 102).

101) *di lokto ya onas [ay l<in>a~lagba = na]*
 RMi yams and s.cane LK UND.P-DUR-basket = 3sII
 ‘some yams and sugarcane that she had basketed’

102) *din [odom ay] kenggit ya okook*
 RMd other LK large.trap and small.trap
 ‘the other (i.e. remaining) large traps and small traps’

Each nucleus in a coordinate construction can have its own periphery, however, as the bracketed modifiers show in 103) and 104). Pragmatics determines the scope of such restrictive modifiers. Descriptive words that are joined by *ya* will both modify the RP nuclear nominal, as in 105).

103) *Man- i-lak~lako = da si [bogosa ay] balitok ya paltog.*
 ACT-Th-PROG-sell = 3pI ORMi bogus LK gold and gun
 ‘They were selling fake gold and (real) guns.’

104) *sin [nassawaan ay] kenggit ya [nassawaan abe ay] okook*
 ORMd ten LK large.trap and ten also LK small.trap
 ‘the ten large traps and also-ten small traps’

105) *din [na-ka~kayang ya kinittoy] ay be~beey*
 RMd ATT-pl-tall and pl.little LK pl-house
 ‘(both) the tall and small houses’

3.4 Affixed roots in the RP nucleus

To this point we have examined RPs with pronouns and unaffixed roots in the nucleus. However, affixed roots may also occur as the nuclear reference entity in an RP. Not at all uncommon in Kankanaey, affixed nuclei comprised 42% of the *di(n)*-marked RPs in an analysis of nearly 3,000 RPs in natural texts. Of RPs with the oblique marker *si(n)*, 29% had affixed nuclei. The affixation may be nominalizing. This will be discussed in §3.4.1. Predicative affixation, as discussed in Chapter 2, may also occur on RP nuclei. Section 3.4.3 looks at RP nuclei with predicative affixation.

3.4.1 Roots with nominalizing affixation

Table 3.9 lists a few nominalizing affixes of Kankanaey (a full table is found in Appendix 5). Attached to specific root types, they may express reference to an entity related to the root in some way, such as the possessor, companion, instrument, or means. They may refer to an

attribute as an abstract entity, or to the spatial or temporal locus of a state or event. Examples 106) to 113) show a variety of phrases with nominalized nuclei.

Table 3.9 Some nominalizing affixes in Kankanaey

Affix	root type	Denotation
<i>akin-</i>	class	owner
<i>ka-</i>	action	companion
<i>kina-</i>	attribute	quality
<i>maN-</i>	action	actor
<i>paN-, pan-</i>	various	instrument used
<i>-an</i> with some other affixes	any	time or place or event

106) *din ka-tolong = ko*

RMd NOM-help = 1sII

‘my helper (usually househelper)’

107) *gapo sin kina-ngina = na*

due.to ORMd NOM-expensive = 3sII

‘due to its expensiveness’

108) *sin panganan*

paN-kan-an

ORMd NOM-eat <

‘at the restaurant/on the plates’

109) *sin na-tey-an tatang = na*

ORMd NOM-die < daddy = 3sII

‘at the time/place/event of his dad’s death’

110) *Natken di inglis = da, kaman sin pang-i-ngadan si badbado.*

paN-i-ngadan

different RMI English = 3pII like ORMd NOM-Th-name ORMi clothing

‘Their (Australian) English is different, like what they use to name (various pieces of) clothing.’

- 111) *di panlaydak sin nakikalkaliak sin nankakay*
pan-layad-an = ko naki-kal~kali-an = ko
 RMi NOM-happy < = 1sII ORMd NOM.P-CVC-speak < = 1sII ORMd old.men
 ‘what made me happy about my conversation with the old men’
- 112) *pan-logan = ko ay emey ed singbaan*
 NOM-vehicle = 1sII LK go LOC church
 ‘what I will use for a ride to go to church (fare money)’
- 113) *din ka-i-basal-an di pan-asi-ka-awat-an*
 RMd NOM-Th-base < RMi NOM-RECIP-NOM-receive <
 ‘the memorandum of agreement (lit. basis of mutual understanding)’

3.4.2 Existentials in the nucleus of a reference expression

Existentials can be used in the nucleus of a reference phrase in two ways: with nominalizing affixes or unaffixed. The prefix *ka-* and circumfix *ka—an* refer to the existence or presence of an entity, as in 114) and 115). Note that in 116), the much-shortened *kadʔan* (probably from *ka-wada-an*) indicates ‘current location.’

- 114) *Mon gapo sin ka-iwed di padpadas = ko, ...*
 but reason ORMd NOM-NEGEXIS BRMi experience = 1sII
 ‘But due to my not having any experience...(lit. absence of)’
- 115) *Siya di gapo si ka-wada-an di kaag sinan daga ay nay.*
 4III RMi reason ORMi NOM-EXIS < BRMi monkey DEM1VI earth LK DEM1V
 ‘That is the reason for the existence/presence of monkeys here on this earth.’
- 116) *Into = y kadʔa = m?*
ka-wada-a(n) = m
 where = RMi place = 2s
 ‘Where are you?’

Unaffixed existentials in the reference-phrase nucleus may refer to either located entities or possessors. If there is a locative phrase, the existential will refer to the entity that is present in that location. In 117), the argument of the existential predicate is the entity which is located by the oblique phrase. In 118) that existential fills the nucleus, referring to the omitted entity that is located as noted.

117) *Wa=y balat sin apis gowab=da.*

EXIS=RMI banana ORM area below=3pII

‘There are banana trees just below their place.’

118) *Daan maom din wada sin apis gowab=da.*

not-yet ripe RMd EXIS ORM area below=3pII

‘The ones below their place aren’t ripe yet.’

When possessive predicates formed by unaffixed existentials are functioning as reference expression nuclei, they cannot omit any arguments. In such cases, the pronominal possessor is the referent while the whole clause fills the nucleus slot, as in 119).

119) *S<inm>aa din wada di anak=na ay babai.*

ACT.P=go.home RMd EXIS RMI child=3sII LK female

‘The one who had the daughter went home.’

3.4.3 *Roots with predicating affixation*

Chapter 2 details predicate formation, and the predicate affixes were introduced there. As was mentioned in that chapter, predicating affixation performs multiple functions. One of those functions is to index or cross-reference one participant RP. In the case of predicates built from action or state roots, the predicating affixes give a cross-reference in terms of macrorole (ACT(or) or UND(ergoer)) and in terms of somewhat generalized thematic sub-roles such as MOVER, PATIENT, LOCUS, etc. With attribute roots, the affix indexes the ATTRIBUTANT.

Any affixed predicate can occur as the nucleus of a reference phrase. With such an affixed nucleus, the RP refers to an entity that would fill the semantic role indicated by its affixation. Thus an affixed attribute root such as *na-pintas* ‘pretty’ denotes ‘the pretty one’ when preceded by a RM, as in 120).

120) *Idawat=mo Ø [sin na-pintas].*

give.Th=2sII 4III ORMd ATT-pretty

‘Give it to the pretty one.’

Other examples of RPs with affixed nuclei follow in 121) to 123).

121) *din nan-akbis*

RMd ACT.P-sneeze

‘the one who sneezed’

122) *di* <*inm*>*ali*
 Rmi ACTm.P-come
 ‘those who came’

123) *Dengdengək din bogaw [di mang-an~anap en sak?en].*
maN-an~anap
 hear.1sII RMd shout Rmi NOM-PROG-search OPRM 1sIII
 ‘I was listening to the shouts of those looking for me.’

As with other referential nuclei, direct arguments are allowed. With affixed roots they will not be possessors but ergative Actors, as in 124). With the special ‘RECENT’ affixation that marks its single argument with class II pronouns or the bound RM, the direct argument is indicated in the same way, as in 125).

124) *din oto-en = da, din i-oto-an = da*
 RMd cook-UND = 3pII RMd UNDD-cook < = 3pII
 ‘what they will cook, who they will cook for’

125) *din kat~ka-tey = na ay doy*
ka + CVC-tey = na
 RMd RECENT-dead = 3sII LK DEM3V
 ‘that one who just died’

If an entire clause core is included within the RP, with peripheral phrases and other modifiers, it begins to look like a ‘headless relative clause’. In this description the presence of a RM rather than the linker *ay* that precedes relative clauses leads to an analysis of an expanded RP. This avoids an embedding analysis of every affixed root in an RP nucleus. Figure 3.6 expands the template for RPs, increasing the constituent nodes with both direct and oblique arguments and an adjunct phrase. Figure 3.7 shows two oblique arguments.

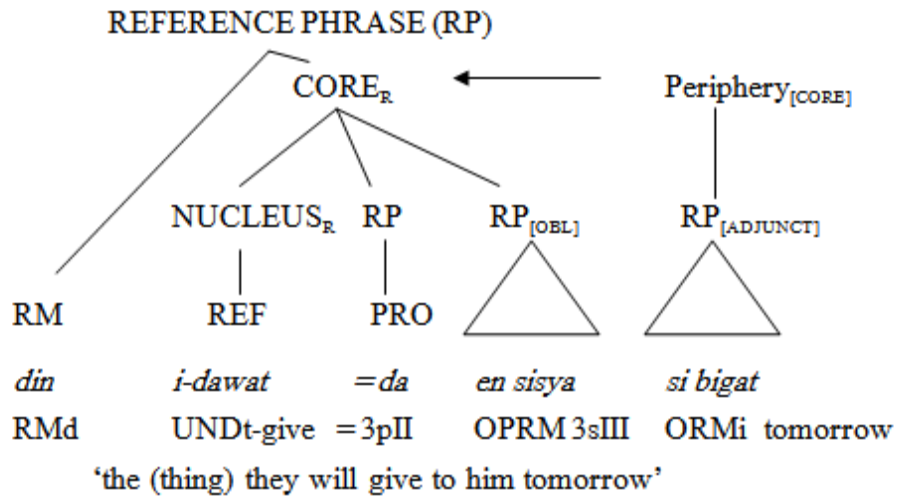


Figure 3.6. Kankanaey reference phrase constituent projection with affixed-root nucleus

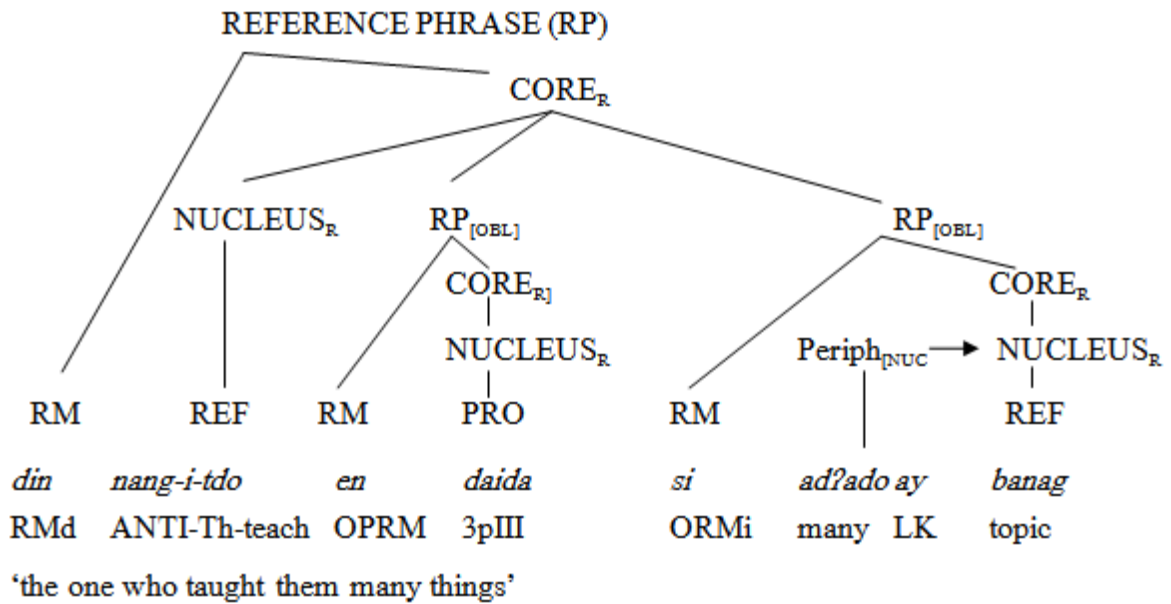


Figure 3.7. Kankanaey reference phrases: another constituent projection with affixed-root nucleus

3.5 RP as predicate

A reference phrase can function as the predicate of an equative clause. Matthews (1997:116) defines ‘equational predication’ as an assertion ‘that two referents are identical’. An equative clause in Kankanaey consists of two juxtaposed RPs; there is no copula. The first RP is always definite; the second RP may not be. The semantic force of this type of clause is to assert that the first RP is coreferential with the second, as in 126), which may pragmatically be correcting a misperception about what someone took along with him. The first RP (bracketed) serves as the predicating element of the clause. This construction is detailed in Chapter 4, and its function is fully explored in Chapter 7. This section will address the forms that an RP takes when it is functioning as a predicate. Common RPs with the predicating function in equative clauses are marked with *din* (RMd).

126) *Din lokto di i-takin = na.*
 RMd yams RMi UNDt.-take.along = 3sII
 ‘(It’s) the yams (that) he will take with him.’

Proper-name RPs are marked with *si* (PRM) for singular, *da* (PRM.pl) for plural, as in 127).

127) [*Da Elsa*] *di i-takin = na.*
 PRM.pl Elsa RMi UNDt.-take.along = 3sII
 ‘(It’s) Elsa’s group (that) he will take with him.’

Table 3.10 displays the marking of personal pronouns when they are used as predicates. Note that the PRM *si* is optional with some of the pronouns. Example 128) uses a personal pronoun in the predicate position.

Table 3.10 Personal pronouns (class III) as predicates

1s	(PRM +) <i>sak?en</i>	1p	PRM + <i>dakami</i>
2s	(PRM +) <i>sik?a</i>	2p	PRM + <i>dakayo</i>
1 + 2	PRM + <i>daita</i>	1 + 2p	PRM + <i>datako</i>
3s	<i>sisya</i>	3p	PRM + <i>daida</i>
4	<i>sa</i>		

128) [*Sak?en*]*di i-takin = na.*
 1sIII RMi UNDt.-take.along = 3sII
 ‘(It’s) me (that) he will take with him.’

Table 3.11 displays the unique forms (class III) and marking of demonstrative pronouns in predicate position. An example is given in 129). Oblique-marked class III demonstratives are found in complex constructions where a class II or class IV demonstrative, which might otherwise be acceptable, would be ambiguous or less specific. They are included in this table and an example given in 130).

Table 3.11 Demonstrative pronouns as predicates and oblique phrases

	(sing.)	(pl.)
PRM + DEM1III	<i>(si) naey</i>	<i>da naey</i>
PRM + DEM2III	<i>(si) sana</i>	<i>da sana</i>
PRM + DEM3III	<i>(si) dooy</i>	<i>da dooy</i>
OPRM + DEM1III	<i>en naey</i>	<i>en da naey</i>
OPRM + DEM2III	<i>en sana</i>	<i>en da sana</i>
OPRM + DEM3III	<i>en dooy</i>	<i>en da dooy</i>

129) [*Si sana di i-takin = na.*

PRM DEM2III RMi UNDt.-take.along = 3sII

‘(It’s) that one (by you) that he will take with him.’

130) *Sin nangititdoan di padi [en da naey ay banag]...*

ORMd NOM.P.teach BRMi priest OPRM pl DEM1III LK topic

‘When the priest was teaching these topics (lit. the teaching-time of the priest)...’

3.6 The pro-form *siya*

Personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns have already been explored in this chapter. Another kind of pronoun that has not yet been discussed is *siya*. It is interesting that *siya* is cognate with the Tagalog 3rd-person singular specific pronoun (Himmelmann 2005:358). The Kankanaey 3rd-person singular absolutive/predicate pronoun *sinya* is suspiciously similar to the personal reference phrase marker *si + siya*. This multifunctional word might be more accurately termed a “pro-form,” because it can represent not only an RP, but can also function as an adjective, a predicate, and a conjunction, and give anaphoric reference to a predicate, a clause, and even a paragraph!

As a pronoun, *siya* is 4th person (impersonal) and often functions as the first RP in RP-RP clauses, more or less interchangeably with the absolutive near-hearer demonstrative *sa*. This function is shown in 131), where the intervening particle would not be possible with *sa*. When

a person is the antecedent, *sisya* ‘3sIII’ can sometimes be interchanged with *siya*, as in 132). The second RP in the clause is bracketed to clarify these examples.

131) ...*tan siya met laeng [di os~osal-en = da.]*
 because 4III PART RMi CVC-use-UND = 3pII
 ‘because that’s what they are using anyway.’

132) *Din an?anak ay nay et siya [din mang-ay~ayoan sin man-sakit].*
 RMD child LK DEM1VPART 4III RMD ANTI-CVC-care.for ORMd ACT-sick
 ‘This kid, that’s who was taking care of the sick person.’

As an adjective, *siya* means ‘like, thus’ and can modify the DEMI in the function of first RP in the equative clause structure, as seen in 133) and 134).

133) *Layde~layd-e(n) = k ay mang-ila = d Bingga ngem siya na[= y pasamak].*
 CVCCV-enjoy-UND = 1sII LK ANTI-see = LOC Bingga but like DEM1I = RMi event
 ‘I really want to visit (lit. see) Bingga (town) but like this is what has happened.’

134) *Aw, siya sa [din eg~egen-a(n) = k].*
 yes like DEM1I RMD CVC-carry-UNDI = 1sII
 ‘Yes, what I am carrying is like that (the same amount).’

As a predicate, *siya* means ‘(It is) like, it is the same’ as in example 135). Followed by DEMI, it means ‘It is like this/that’. Examples 136) and 137) illustrate this function. The brackets enclose the predicate *siya* in these examples.

135) *Ban~bantay-a(n) = na abe si manang = na tan [siya abe] ay na-ataki = Ø.*
 CVC-watch-UNDI = 3sII also PRM sister = 3sII because same also LK UNDS-attack = 4I
 ‘He is taking care of his older sister because [it’s the same situation again (as a previously mentioned person)], she had a heart attack.’

136) *Na-biteg = da. [Siya ngin] di tan adi = da man-obl.*
 UNDS-poor = 3pI like PART DEM3I because NEG = 3pI ACT-work
 ‘They are poor. [It’s probably like] that because they don’t work.’

137) *Bol~bolod-e(n) = k kali = yo ngem olay a, [siya pay] di*
 CVC-borrow-UND = 1sII word = 2pII but OK PART like PART DEM3I
sin ngalat.
 ORMd conversation

‘I’m borrowing your words (i.e. English) but never mind, [it’s like] that in conversation.’

Standing alone, *siya* is a general (pro-clause?) anaphor, meaning ‘that’s it, that’s right, that’s so, yeah’ with positive connotations. *Siya* can be used as a tag question, as in 138), or to ask for confirmation of the following *ay*-linked clause, as in 139).

138) *Pag =yon <om>ey ed States, ay baken siya?*
 then=2pII ACTm-go LOC States Q NEG so
 ‘Then you go to (i.e. leave for) the States, isn’t that so?’

139) *Wada baw di dama-ge(n)=k mo siya ay tet?ewa*
 EXIS PART RMI news-UND=1sII if it’s.so LK true
din in-baga=m en Lin.
 RMD UNDt.P-tell=2sII OPRM Lin
 ‘Oh, there is something I will ask whether it’s so that what you told Lin is true.’

Standing alone as a pro-clause, *siya* often functions as a summary concession clause ‘that may be so, even so’ before contrary information, as in 140) and 141).

140) *Et siya, mon adi=kami baw ammo.*
 and it’s.so but NEG=1pI PART know.UND

‘And that was so, but it turned out that we didn’t know. (The situation was not as it had seemed!)’

141) *Adi na-kaan din bokol di bayang=ko ngem siya ay baken*
 NEG UNDS-remove RMD lump RMI wound=1sII but it’s.so LK NEG
kaman din rik~rikna-e(n)=k ed idi.
 like RMD CVC-feel-UND=1sII LOC past.time

‘The lump in my wound didn’t go away, but even so it isn’t like what I was feeling before.’

Siya can be followed by an oblique RP and translates ‘It’s the same for/the same goes for’. Interestingly, this use of *siya* is interchangeable with *isona* which is cognate with the 3s independent pronoun in Iloko (Rubino 2005:333). Both expressions are shown in 142) and 143).

142) [*Siya met abe] en sik?a ay babai.*
 same PART PART OPRM 2sIII LK female
 ‘The same goes for you, woman.’

143) *Et [isona abe] en sik?a ay babai.*
 and same also OPRM 2sIII LK female
 ‘And the same goes for you, woman.’

Another use of *siya* is in the left-detached formulaic subordinate clause (*idi*) *siya di* ‘when thus that’ (bracketed). This clause wraps up the preceding clause, sentence, or even paragraph—‘that being the case, at that point’. Any clause that follows this introduction is an important clause on the discourse level that indicates a change of scene or action, as in 144), where the whole preceding conversation is summed up and dismissed.

144) [*Idi siya di*] *et man-ayag da din man-ot~oto ay mang-(k)an.*
 when like DEM3I PART ACT-invite pl RMd ACT-CVC-cook LK ACT-eat
 ‘At that point, the ones cooking called us to come eat.’ (and thus ended that discussion)

Finally, *siya* is part of the conjunction (*et*) *siyadin*. This is followed by full clauses, and the CLM indicates a logical connection to the larger previous discourse context “(and) so, therefore, that’s why, etc.” This has been taken over in many areas by the weaker Iloko CLM *isonga* ‘therefore’.

145) *Nai-potipot din book sin bab?a =n di dalit*
 UNDTs-twist RMd hair ORMd tooth BRMi eel
et siyadin adi ka-balin ay adi ka-lokmos = Ø.
 and therefore NEG UNDS-able LK NEG UNDS-slip.off=4I

‘The hair was twisted around the eel’s teeth and that’s why it was impossible, it could not slip off.’

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Chapter 4 Simple Clauses

4.1 Simple clause structure

Following the Role and Reference Grammar model of a layered structure as it is presented in VanValin 2005, a clause includes a core and optional peripheral or modifying information. As seen in Figure 4.1, the core consists of a nucleus (often a verb) and its arguments. The function of the nucleus is to give information about its argument or arguments.

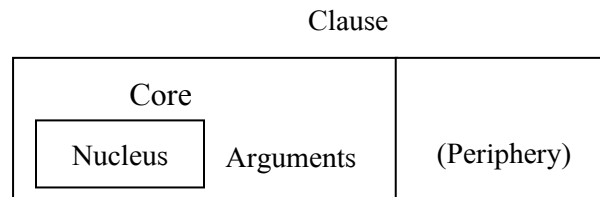


Figure 4.1. Components of the layered structure of the clause¹⁴

As noted in §1.2 the constituents of a clause are diagrammed in RRG to show the layers of its structure in a ‘constituent projection’. The nucleus is core-initial in Kankanaey; it expresses

¹⁴ VanValin and LaPolla (1997: 26); VanValin (2005:4)

a predication (PRED) about its argument(s). Up to three arguments may follow a predicate. Arguments in RRG are designated as reference phrases (RP) instead of using the more traditional ‘noun phrase’ label, as Chapter 3 explained. Other RPs that refer to non-argument entities such as time designations modify the core and occur in the core periphery. Figure 4.2 gives the maximal schema or template, using a ditransitive (three-argument) clause. The sample sentence is grammatical but pragmatically unlikely, due to the presence of lexical RPs in every position.

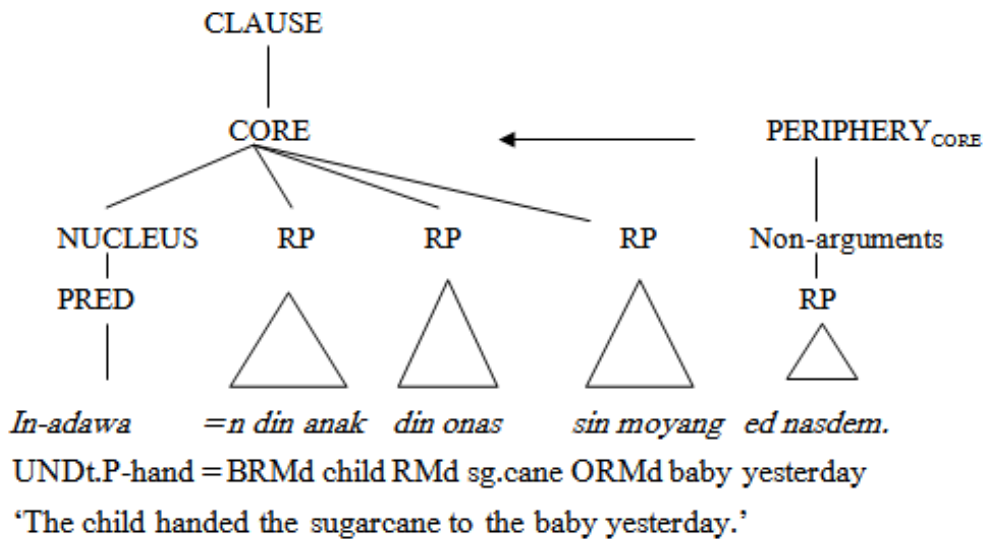


Figure 4.2. Kankanaey clause structure constituent projection

4.1.1 The nucleus

A Kankanaey clause core may consist of only a nucleus, as in 1) with nature verbs that cannot take an overt argument. The lexical root expresses its own argument, something like “The rain is raining.” (Verb morphology and the glosses for affixes were covered in Chapter 2.)

1) *Man-ʔodan.*

ACT-rain

‘It rains¹⁵.’

Affixed predicates are not the only possible fillers of the clause nucleus. Unaffixed existentials and class roots can also function as predicates, as can a reference phrase. At this

¹⁵ The free translations use English simple present tense, and no habitual implication is present in the Kankanaey clause. In some contexts, these could be translated better with progressive, future, or even past tense in English.

point the examples will all be affixed predicates; §4.1.3 will explain the other types of clause nuclei.

4.1.2 *Core arguments*

With the exception of nature verbs, Kankanaey predicates take at least one argument. Based on the meaning of the predicate, an argument can be identified as being like an Actor or more like an Undergoer, ‘macroroles’ in RRG terms. If there is only one argument, this distinction does not affect the syntactic marking of a single argument, but when there are two or more arguments, the Actor-Undergoer distinction determines the order and marking of the arguments in the clause structure. Thus, transitive verbs identify their direct arguments by the order in which they occur (Actor precedes Undergoer) and by different RP markers. Third arguments are not direct but oblique, and are marked accordingly. This section will present the forms, positions, and functions of RPs in simple clauses, building on the presentation of RPs in Chapter 3. (Chapter 6 will explain macrorole assignment and the details of grammatical relations, including case-marking.)

Argument positions are generally filled by reference phrases in Kankanaey. Where other languages might use complement clauses, Kankanaey generally uses reference phrases with affixation on the nucleus. These RPs with affixed nuclei were presented in §3.7. (See §5.2 for complements as arguments.)

4.1.2.1 **Direct arguments**

4.1.2.1.1 Common reference phrases

The common RP can be identified by a Reference Marker (RM), which is the first word in the phrase. This marker identifies the syntactic relationship of the RP to the predicate. Table 4.1, repeated from Table 3.1, shows that transitive Undergoer arguments pattern with single arguments in taking the RM, whereas transitive Actor arguments take the BRM. This clearly indicates an ergative pattern of RP marking.

The tags ‘d’ and ‘i’ refer to definite and indefinite, as explained in Chapter 3. Because the transitive Actor referent in a clause is usually highly topical and identifiable, the definiteness operator is not an essential marker, and so it is often not used with the BRM .

Table 4.1 Kankanaey common reference phrase markers

Relation to predicate:	Single argument	Transitive Actor	Transitive Undergoer
definite	<i>din</i> / = <i>n</i> (RMd)	= <i>n</i> <i>din</i> (BRMd)	<i>din</i> / = <i>n</i> (RMd)
indefinite	<i>di</i> / = <i>y</i> (RMi)	= <i>n</i> <i>di</i> (BRMi)	<i>di</i> / = <i>y</i> (RMi)

Example 2) shows a predicate with one common RP argument. 3) shows a predicate with two direct arguments. When there are two direct arguments, the first is always the Actor (the more agentive), followed by the Undergoer (the less agentive.)

2) *Man-?oga din anak.*
 ACT-cry RMd child
 ‘The child cries.’

3) *I-tanga =n din anak din onas.*
 UNDt-hold.in.mouth =BRMd child RMd sugarcane
 ‘The child holds the sugarcane in his mouth.’

4.1.2.1.2 Proper name reference phrases

Table 4.2 displays the markers that precede proper names and kin terms. The tags for these markers include P for proper/personal. The binding marker for transitive Actor arguments only appears after vowel-final words, otherwise there is no overt marker.

As with common nominals, the marking of the proper RP clearly follows an ergative pattern. Examples 4) and 5) show proper RPs as arguments in clauses.

Table 4.2 Kankanaey proper reference phrase markers

	Single	Trans. Actor	Trans. Undergoer
proper and kin names singular	<i>si</i> / = <i>s</i> (PRM)	= <i>n</i> \emptyset (BPRM)	<i>si</i> / = <i>s</i> (PRM)
proper and kin names plural	<i>da</i> (PRM.pl)	= <i>n</i> <i>da</i> (BPRM.pl)	<i>da</i> (PRM.pl)

- 4) *Man-ʔoga si Langdew.*
 ACT-cry PRM Langdew
 ‘Langdew cries.’
- 5) *Os-en Langdew din onas.*
 chew.cane-UND Langdew RMd sugarcane
 ‘Langdew chews the sugarcane.’

4.1.2.1.3 Pronouns as reference phrases

An argument position may be filled by a pronoun, either demonstrative or personal. As explained in Chapter 3, pronouns in Kankanaey are tagged by a person number (1-3 or combinations thereof), plural (tagged s and p) and a class number in Roman numerals. This section will show how the pronoun classes relate to argument positions in the clause structure.

Demonstrative pronouns (DEM) in Kankanaey follow an ergative pattern when used as reference phrases within a clause. Both a single argument and a transitive Undergoer argument are filled with DEM class I, while transitive Actors are expressed by DEM class II. Actor arguments always precede Undergoer arguments. Information in Table 4.3 is repeated from Chapter 3 for easy reference.

**Table 4.3 Kankanaey demonstrative pronouns
 as direct arguments**

	Single/trans. Undergoer	Trans. Actor
Class TAG	I	II
DEM1	<i>na</i>	<i>nina</i>
	<i>da na</i> (pl)	
DEM2	<i>sa</i>	<i>nisa/nasa</i>
	<i>da sa</i> (pl)	
DEM3	<i>di</i>	<i>nidi/nadi</i>
	<i>da di</i> (pl)	

Example 6) illustrates a demonstrative pronoun as the Undergoer argument of a transitive verb. The homophony of DEM3I with the indefinite RMI *di* is disambiguated by its position in the clause as well as prosodically.

- 6) *I-pigpig din anak di.*
 UNDt-fling BRMd child DEM3I
 ‘The child flings that.’

Chapter 3 showed that the Kankanaey personal pronouns present an interesting split pattern of marking the direct arguments in a clause. Table 4.4 repeats information from Chapter 3. Note that classes I and II are enclitics, attaching with various degrees of morphophonemic change to the first element in the clause core.

Table 4.4 Kankanaey personal pronouns

pronoun class	I	II	III
	Single	Trans.Actor (and Possessor)	Trans. Undergoer (and Predicate)
1s	= <i>ak</i>	= <i>ko/=k</i>	(PRM +) <i>sak?en</i>
2s	= <i>ka</i>	= <i>mo/=m</i>	(PRM +) <i>sik?a</i>
1p	= <i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	PRM + <i>dakami</i>
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	= <i>yo</i>	PRM + <i>dakayo</i>
3p	= <i>da</i>	= <i>da</i>	PRM + <i>daida</i>
1 + 2	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ta</i>	PRM + <i>daita</i>
1 + 2p	= <i>tako</i>	= <i>tako</i>	PRM + <i>datako</i>
3s	Ø / <i>sisya</i>	= <i>na</i>	Ø / <i>sisya</i>
4(impersonal s/p)	Ø	= <i>na</i>	Ø / (<i>siya/sa</i>)
Blended:			
1sII + 2sIII	= <i>naka</i>		
3II + 2sIII	= <i>daka</i>		

Examples 7) - 9) illustrate clauses with pronoun arguments. In 7) the single argument is expressed by Class I. In 8) the Actor is a Class II pronoun while the Undergoer is expressed by Class III. Again, homophony of the forms, this time 3sII = *na* with DEMII *na*, is not confusing

when they are encountered in their position in the clause. In 9) a blended pronoun is exemplified.

- 7) *Man-ʔoga = da.*
 ACT-cry = 3pI
 ‘They cry.’
- 8) *Liwʔ-an = na = s dakami.*
 forget-UND = 3sII = PRM 1pIII
 ‘He/she forgets us.’
- 9) *Asog-an = daka.*
 persuade-UNDI = 3II + 2sIII
 ‘He/They will persuade you.’

4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments

The preceding examples have shown direct arguments, those participants in a state of affairs that are required by the predicate and are judged most salient to the speaker’s presentation. Other participants in the state of affairs, required or optional, appear as oblique-marked phrases. Oblique arguments may be common nominals, proper nominals, demonstratives, or personal pronouns. The Kankanaey forms of oblique marking are displayed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Oblique argument markers and pronouns

Type of RP	Marker and/or pronoun class	TAG
common nominal (definite)	<i>sin</i>	ORMd
(indefinite)	<i>si (=s)</i>	ORMi
place or time	<i>ed</i>	LOC
proper nominal (sg)	<i>en</i>	OPRM
(pl)	<i>en da</i>	
personal pronoun	<i>en + III</i>	

Although the ORMi *si* is homophonous with the PRM for proper RPs (cf. Table 4.2), word order and the common vs. proper distinction disambiguate them, as in 10). Oblique arguments are bracketed in the following examples in this section.

10) *Man-sibo si Rony [si digo].*
 ACT-sip PRM Rony ORMi broth

‘Rony sips (some) broth.’

Oblique arguments generally follow the direct arguments. A three-argument clause is repeated from Figure 4.2 in 11), showing two direct arguments followed by an oblique argument.

11) *In-adawa =n din anak din onas [sin moyang].*
 UND.P-hand BRMd child RMd cane ORMd baby

‘The child handed the sugarcane to the baby.’

Example 12) demonstrates the null form of the 3s/4 class I pronoun and a lengthy oblique RP.

12) *Ibagak Ø [sin nay panteteek sina].*
 tell = 1sII 4III ORMd DEM1V NOM.stay.1sII DEM1IV

‘I will tell it to these (people) I am staying with here.’

As Table 4.5 shows, the OPRM *en* serves not only to mark proper nominals but also to identify personal pronouns as oblique arguments. Examples 13) and 14) show oblique arguments with *en*.

13) *Nan-solat = kayo [en sisya].*
 ACT.P-write = 2pII OPRM 3sIII

‘You wrote to him.’

14) *In-paw?it = ko di [en Jerson].*
 UNDt.P-send = 1sII DEM3I OPRM Jerson

‘I sent that [to Jerson].’

Oblique argument phrases include entities such as those bracketed in 15) to 18). Note that the indefinite ORMi marks phrases that are indefinite, even hypothetical. English glosses often use prepositions to identify the relationship of these oblique arguments to the predicate.

15) *Na-sawad = ak [sin tolo ay pewek].*
 UNDs.P-block = 1sI ORMd three LK typhoon

‘I was hindered [by the three (back-to-back) typhoons].’

16) *Sokat-a(n)=k din pantalon =ko [si nalayak ay bado].*
 change-UNDI = 1sII RMd pants = 1sII ORMi loose LK clothes

‘I changed my pants [for a loose garment].’

17) *Mai-arig =ak [si man-ayag]...*

UNDT-example = 1sI ORMi ACT-invite

‘I may be compared [to someone who invites]...’

18) *Na~na-pno din beey = da [si mangili].*

UNDS.P-CV-full RMd house = 3pII ORMi visitors

‘Their house was full [of visitors].’

Oblique arguments generally follow direct arguments, as in previous examples, but they may precede the second direct argument in certain contexts. In 19), for example, the single direct argument is lengthy and the bracketed oblique argument is a required participant.

19) *Enggay na-i-polang [en sik?a]din nay babai ay asawa =m.*

already UNDS.P-Th-hand.over OPRM 2sIII RMd this woman LK spouse = 2sII

‘This woman, your wife, has now been handed over [to you] (i.e. become your responsibility.)’

In 20) the instrument of hitting is integral to the full meaning of the predication; this may license its preceding the Undergoer argument, or perhaps the information structure requires it (see Chapter 7.

20) *Dosnog-e(n)=k [si bato] din logan.*

pound-UND = 1sII ORM stone RMd vehicle

‘I pounded the vehicle [with a stone].’

4.1.3 *Non-verbal predicates in the clause nucleus*

The nucleus of the clause core to this point has been filled by predicates built from affixes and roots. Other predicates include class words, reference phrases and existentials.

4.1.3.1 *Class roots and reference phrases as predicates*

Class roots in the nucleus of a clause are not reference phrases, but classify the RP that stands as its argument. In 21), the predicate indicates that the single argument is a member of the designated class ‘female’. In Figure 4.3, no particular yams are referred to; rather, the class of food for his lunch is identified.

- 21) *Babai di oken = na.*
 female Rmi puppy = 3sII
 'His/her puppy is female.'

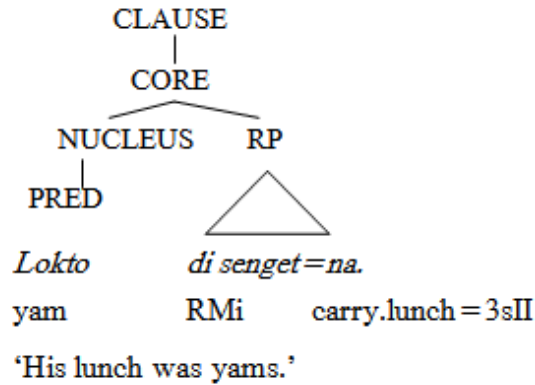


Figure 4.3. Clause with class-word predicate

Reference phrases can also take the nucleus position, with another RP as the direct argument, forming a clause consisting of two juxtaposed RPs. This clause type was briefly introduced in Chapter 3. Such clauses are equative, asserting a co-referential relationship between the two RPs. The first RP is in the clause nucleus, while the second RP is its argument. Predicate RPs are definite and referential; they may be pronouns or RM-marked RPs. Figure 4.4 exemplifies an equative clause construction.

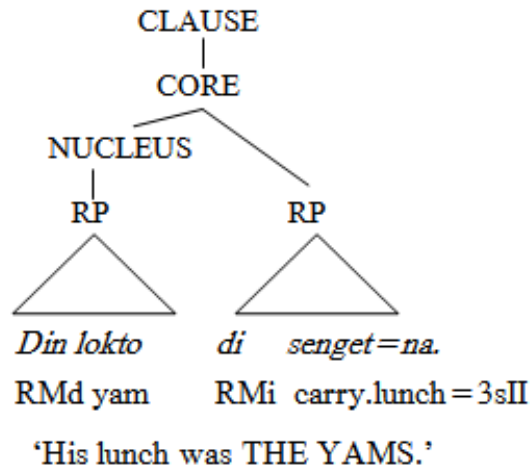


Figure 4.4. Focal equative clause

Equative clauses may be used to contrast or identify a referent as the focus of the clause. Note that the nucleus holds a full RP with RM. Examples 22) and 23) show other RPs in the clause-nuclear position. Note that pronouns use class III. Chapter 7 on Information Structure examines the functions of focus clauses of this type.

22) *Sik?a di kababatangan.*

2sIII RMI most.beautiful

‘You are the most beautiful one!’

23) *Si Apo Diyos di kanayon ay gait = yo.*

PRM Lord.God RMI constant LK companion = 2pII

‘Lord God is your constant companion.’

4.1.3.2 Existential clauses

Existential predicates were introduced in Chapter 2. Table 4.6 is repeated from that chapter, listing the existential predicates of Kankanaey.

Table 4.6 Kankanaey existentials

Positive	<i>wada/wa</i>
Negative	<i>maga</i>
	<i>iwed</i>

Existentials may occur in their root form or with various predicating or nominalizing affixes. Existentials predicate existence, possession, and physical presence as well as other functions. They take a single reference phrase as their argument.

4.1.3.2.1 Existence

Example 24) shows the simple existence meaning of *wada*.

24) *Man-kedaw = ak en Quinn si similya mo wada.*

ACT-request = 1sI OPRM Quinn ORMi seeds if EXIS

‘I’m going to ask Quinn for seeds if there are any.’

Existentials with an indefinite RP argument may introduce new participants. Example 25) is typical.

25) *Wada = y si Nabulay ed nabbaon ed Abas.*

EXIS = RMI PRM Nabulay LOC long-ago LOC Abas

‘There was a certain Nabulay long ago at Abas.’

Things that don't exist sometimes need to be pointed out, when a hearer might reasonably expect otherwise. These are instances of nonreferential RPs, and they use the indefinite RM. Often such information explains why events turn out the way they do, as in 26).

26) *Iwed di danan.*

NEGEXIS R_{Mi} path

'There wasn't any path/road (and that created the following problem).'

4.1.3.2.2 Possession

If an indefinite argument of an existential has a direct argument of its own, the clause asserts general possession, as in 27), or other associative relationships, as in 28). To assert possession of a particular item, the existential cannot be used. A different root, *oka* 'belong to', is used, discussed in Chapter 2.

27) *Maga=y sapatos=na.*

NEGEXIS-R_{Mi} shoes = 3sII

'He doesn't have any shoes.'

28) *Ay wada=y pan-tee-a(n)=na=s sa?*

Q EXIS = R_{Mi} NOM-stay < = 3sII = DEM2IV

'Does she have a place to stay there?' i.e. 'Is she going to stay with you?'

4.1.3.2.3 Presence

When the argument of an existential is a definite RP, the meaning is physical presence as in 29). Use of the definite RM before a possessed entity indicates presence, not possession, as may be seen in 30).

29) *Ay iwed si Langdew?*

Q NEGEXIS PRM Langdew

'Is Langdew not in/not here?' (e.g. asking at the door)

30) *Wada din anan?ak di natey.*

EXIS R_{Md} children BR_{Mi} dead

'The children of the deceased were present.'

4.1.3.2.4 Location

Examples 31) to 34) demonstrate the existential as a locative predicate. The locative phrase itself cannot be used as a predicate, a restriction that is different from Tagalog.

- 31) *Din kitkitoy ay anak=ko, wada Ø metlaeng en sak?en.*
 RMD small LK child=1sII EXIS 3sI PART OPRM 1sIII
 ‘My littlest child, she is still with me.’
- 32) *Mo maga=ak sina wada=ak ed Baguio.*
 if/when NEGEXIS = 1sI DEM1IV EXIS = 1sI LOC Baguio
 ‘When I’m not here, I’m in Baguio.’
- 33) *Idi wada Ø sin gawa=n di ginawang, pag=et na-tokang Ø.*
 when EXIS 3sI ORMD middle=BRMi river then=PART ST.P-fall.over 3sI
 ‘When he was in the middle of the river, he (suddenly) fell over.’
- 34) *Wa=y balat sin apis gowab=da.*
 EXIS=RMi banana ORM area below=3pII
 ‘There are banana trees just below their place.’

4.1.3.2.5 Indefinite reference

Existentials are often used in Kankanaey where English would have an indefinite pronoun, such as ‘someone’. The argument of the existential in such cases is an RP with an affixed root of some kind as its nucleus. Such a nucleus refers to an entity that fills the role associated with the agreement affix. In 35) an Actor is cross-referenced on the RP nucleus; in 36) the Undergoer cross-referenced is the CONTENT argument of ‘do’. When an Undergoer role is cross-referenced, the bound argument on the RP root is understood as the Actor, not the possessor, although in the English gloss the possessive ‘have’ may also be a good translation, as in 37).

- 35) *Wada=y <om>ali.*
 EXIS-RMi ACTm-come
 ‘There is someone coming.’
- 36) *Iwed di am-?amag-ena.*
 NEGEXIS RMi CVC-do-UND.3sII
 ‘He’s not doing anything (lit; the thing that he is doing does not exist).’
- 37) *Wa=y i-baga=k.*
 EXIS-RMi UNDT-say = 1sII
 ‘I have something to say (lit. what I will say exists).’

One function of this indefinite reference is to soften a statement by making it indirect for some pragmatic purpose, as in 38) to 39).

38) *Wada di <inm>ali-a(n)=kngem iwed=kayo.*
 EXIS RMi NOM-come< = 1sII but NEGEXIS = 2pI
 ‘There was a time when I came but you weren’t (here).’
 This statement is less direct/accusing than ‘I came but you weren’t here.’

39) *Wa=y b<om>aba.*
 EXIS = RMi ACT-go.down
 ‘There’s someone to get down.’
 This is less direct than ‘Stop the car! I want to get out.’

4.1.3.2.6 Number

The existential with a quantified indefinite RP asserts the quantity, as in 40). A quantifying adjective, such as ‘many’ or ‘few’, does not co-occur with the existential, but replaces it in asserting the quantity, as in 41).

40) *Wada=y 20 ay Day Care children.*
 EXIS = RMi20 LK Day Care children
 ‘There are 20 day-care children.’

41) *Adʔado=y lalaeg ed niman.*
 many-RMi flies LOC now
 ‘There are lots of flies nowadays.’

4.1.3.2.7 Affixed existentials

The existentials may take certain predicative affixes, as pointed out in chapter 2. With *ma-*, it indicates a changeable state of existence, as illustrated in 42). The presence or absence of the definite operator on the RP argument is key to interpreting the meaning of the existential.

42) *Koma mo ammo=k ay man-ʔobla sina ta adi ma-pa-iwed*
 PART if know = 1sII LK ACT-work here so-that NEG UNDs-CAUS-NEGEXIS
di ammo=k.
 RMi know = 1sII
 ‘If only I knew how to work here so I wouldn’t forget what I know (lit. so what I know won’t be caused to cease to exist).’

In examples 43) and 44) the CVC reduplication indicates an ongoing (progressive) situation.

43) *Dowa ay agew ya dowa ay labi=mi ay nan-ob~obla*
 two LK day and two LK night=1pII LK ACT.P-CVC-work
yan iw-iwed pay.laeng di d<in>teng mi.
 and CVC-NEGEXIS still RMI UND.P-arrive=1pII

‘For two days and two nights we were working and still there was (being) nothing that we found.’

44) *Adi=ak man-isolo ed niman mon wad~wada din obla=k sin opisina.*
 NEG=1sI ACT-teachLOC now but CVC-EXIS RMD work=1sII ORMd office
 ‘I am not teaching now but I always have my work at the office. (lit. there is (always) my work)’

4.1.4 Peripheries in the clause

The core periphery was introduced in Figure 4.1 above. In more complex clauses, each level in the clause may have its own periphery for modifying information; thus there are clause, core, and nuclear peripheries. This section will introduce the use of modifying words and phrases that occur in the peripheries. Peripheral elements are bracketed. (Chapter 5 gives an analysis of entire clauses as constituents in the peripheries.)

4.1.4.1 Clause-level peripheries

Whole clauses may be modified by phrases that express reasons, parameters or conditions for the event presented. Deictics with non-spatial reference can also modify whole clauses.

4.1.4.1.1 Prepositional phrases

Where English requires various prepositional phrases, Kankanaey generally uses an oblique RM and depends on the semantics of the predicate root to suggest the appropriate semantic relationship between the core and the adjunct phrase. However, Kankanaey does have a few prepositions that precede oblique-marked phrases for specific meanings, such as ‘regarding’ and ‘depending on’, among others. Any affixation on these prepositions is frozen, and does not carry aspect or inflection.

45) *Adi=kayo pan-talk-an da am~ama=yo [maipanggep sin kasapolan].*
 NEG=2pI UNDI-trust< PRM.pl pl-father=2pII regarding ORMd needs
 ‘Don’t depend on your parents [regarding the things that are needed].’

46) ...*si mga tolo=y agew [insigon sin kadalas di sanglay ay*
 ...ONM about three = LK day depending ORMd speed BRMiroot.crop LK
komompitay].
 become.soft

‘(They store it) for about three days, [depending on the speed of the roots to become soft].’

Prepositional phrases that give reasons are in the clause periphery, as seen in 47) with the preposition *gapo* ‘due to’.

47) *Sinokat-a(n)=k din agas [gapo sin kina-ngina =na].*
 change-UNDI = 1sII RMd medicine due.to ORMd NOM-expensive = 4II
 ‘I changed the medicine [because of its expensiveness].’

4.1.4.1.2 Clause-modifying deictics

Chapter 3 described the attributive class V demonstratives that modify RPs. The same demonstratives may precede a clause (often linked with *ay*) in the left clause periphery. They contribute to the flow of the discourse by indicating attitudinal or evidential distance. In 48) the writer owns her own statement with demonstrative-1, and in 49) the demonstrative-2 is not literal, but associates the information with the reader, in this case as the source of the writer’s information.

48) [*Nay*] *enggay ad?ado di insolat =ko.*
 DEM1V already much RMi write.P = 1sII
 ‘[Here] it’s really a lot (too much?) that I’ve written.’

49) *Advance congratulations = ak tan [sana ay] man-graduate Ø sin June.*
 advance congratulations = 1sI because DEM2V LK ACT-graduate 3sI ORMd June
 ‘I’ll congratulate (your daughter) in advance because [there (i.e. as you said)] she is going to graduate in June.’

4.1.4.2 Core peripheries

The information in a core periphery modifies the entire core. One distinguishing feature of core peripheries is that they fall within the intonation curve of the clause. Kankanaey has a left core periphery as an optional position for certain time phrases. The right core periphery holds several types of oblique-marked phrases.

4.1.4.2.1 Left core periphery

Very few phrases are placed to the left of a Kankanaey core yet still within its intonational curve. Time phrases that are salient only to the event expressed by the core may occur in the left core periphery, proceeding without pause, as in 50). They are often linked with *ay*, as in 51) and 52) (time phrases bracketed).

50) [*Ed niman*] *i-tolong=ko nan kalloloya ay golis=ko.*
LOC now UNDt-send=1sII DRM1 bad LK write=1sII
‘[Now] I send this awful handwriting of mine.’

51) [*Dandani inag?gew ay*] *wada=y en mang-ayag en sisya.*
almost daily LK EXIS=RMi go ANTI-invite OPRM 3sIII
‘[Almost every day] someone was calling for him.’

52) [*Ed niman anggoy ay*] *man-solat=kami.*
LOC now only LK ACT-write=1pI
‘[Only now] are we (having a chance to) write.’

4.1.4.2.2 Right core periphery

The periphery to the right of the core holds several types of information: time and place designations, and adverbial phrases expressing temporal and manner modifications. With non-verbal predicates, a restriction on the range of the predicate is expressed by an oblique phrase in the core periphery as well.

4.1.4.2.2.1 Time and space designations

Time and space designations that modify the core of a clause usually follow the predicate and its arguments in the right core periphery. In Kankanaey, place-names and time words referring to the past are marked by the definite locative *ed*, as in 53).

53) *Lawlawaw din danan ed Kabasang ed idi.*
bad RMD road LOC Kabasang LOC when
‘The roads were bad in Kabasang back then.’

Other time/space phrases take the Oblique Reference Marker *si* or its more definite variant *sin*, both shown in 54). They may be interpreted as required locative arguments or peripheral phrases based on the semantic representation of the predicate, but the distinctions can become fuzzy. For example the locative phrase “at home” in 54) is probably a required argument of the

predicate ‘stay’, but not of ‘feed’ in 55). Because the same oblique marker covers many relationships, there may be some ambiguity that the context would probably clear up, as in 56).

54) *Man-tee = ka sin beey si bigat.*
 ACT-stay = 2sI ORMd house ORMi tomorrow
 ‘Stay at the house/home tomorrow.’

55) *Man-megmeg = ka = s manok sin beey.*
 ACT-feed = 2sI = ORM chicken ORMd house
 ‘Feed chickens at home/the house.’

56) *S < inm > adot Ø sin na-tey-an ina = na.*
 ACT.discouraged 3sI ORMd UNDs.P-die-NOM mother = 3sII
 ‘She became discouraged when/because her mother died.’

4.1.4.2.2.2 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases are also marked by the oblique marker *si*. The absence of the definite suffix *-n* (thus *si* not *sin*) helps to distinguish the phrases as non-referential. Adverbial phrases may express a time duration or frequency, or they may express the manner of the predicating nuclear word.

Example 57) shows the salient time duration phrase (in brackets) modifying the nucleus.

57) *S < in > akit = ko [si dowa ay agew] din tili = k.*
 UND.P-hurt = 1sII ORMi two LK day RMd butt = 1sII
 ‘My tailbone hurt [for two days] (lit. I pained my tailbone).’

Examples 58) and 59) show frequency phrases.

58) *Nan-solat si Peds [si namindowa].*
 ACT.P-write PRM Peds ORMi twice
 ‘Peds wrote (a letter) [twice].’

59) *B < in > asa = k [si nasolok.mo esa ay sinka-basa.]*
 read-UND.P = 1sII ORMi more.than one LK UNIT-read
 ‘I read it [more than once (lit. more than one read-through)].’

Adverbial phrases that express manner are also oblique phrases, as in 60) to 62).

60) *Maka-basa Ø [si kosto].*
 ACT.ABL-read 3sI ORMi correct
 ‘She can read very well.’

61) *Kana = na [si nakapsot ay kali]...*
 say.UND = 3sII ORMi weak LK word/voice
 ‘She said in a weak voice....’

62) *Gipgi~gipgip-en = da Ø [si naingpis].*
 CVCCV-slice-UND = 3pII 4III ORMi thin
 ‘They slice them (the yams) thinly.’

4.1.4.2.2.3 Range restrictions

Many nonverbal predicates such as existentials and attributives may be restricted in their range by phrases in the core periphery. The indefinite oblique marker *si* does not give referential status to these phrases. In examples 63) and 64) the presence, possession or existence of the single argument of the existential predicate is restricted or described by the *si*-marked phrase (bracketed). Figure 4.5 shows the position of an oblique peripheral phrase.

63) *Maga da [=s ma-ila = na].*
 NEGEXIS 3pI ORMi UND-see = 3sII

‘They were not there [for him to see]’ (i.e. they may have been there, but he didn’t see them).

64) *Siyat wa = y pilak [si ni-libo].*
 must EXIS = RMi money [ORMi UNDs-thousand]

‘There has to be money [in the thousands] (e.g. in order to go to America).’

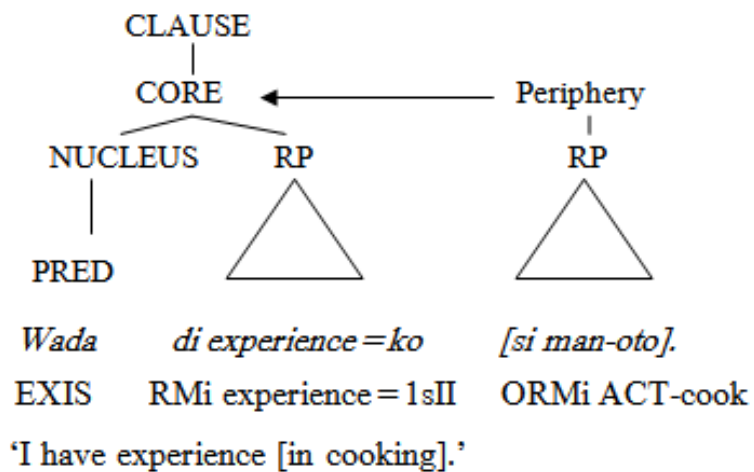


Figure 4.5. Existential clause with peripheral modifier

In 65) to 67) the descriptive word in the predicate is restricted in its application to only the parameters or range indicated in the *si*-marked phrase. An English expansion might be “in terms of....”

65) *Enggay na [si mai-baga =k].*
 already DEM1I ORMi UNDTs-say = 1sII
 ‘This is enough [for me to say].’

66) *Siged ka[=s ma-ong~ongngo-an].*
 good 2sI=ORMi UNDIIs-CVC-kiss
 ‘You’re nice [for kissing]!’

67) *Kitkitoy sa [=s bisaang].*
 small DEM2I =ORMi pig
 ‘That’s a small pig (lit. small [for a pig]).’

4.1.4.2.2.4 Vocatives

Vocatives operate at the discourse level, and may precede or follow the clause core. In example 68) the two questions are taken from different paragraphs of the same narrative. In the first question, the vocative precedes the clause in a detached position (see Chapter 5). In the second, the vocative follows the core with no intonational pause or marker, indicating its position in the core periphery.

68) "*Ay nanang, ay osto adi na?*" "*Ay osto di ay nanang?*"
 VOC mom Q correct PART DEM1I Q correct DEM3I VOC mom
 “‘Mom, is this really right?’” “‘Is that right Mom?’”

4.1.4.2.3 Differentiating oblique core arguments from core peripheral phrases

Oblique core arguments may be differentiated from peripheral phrases (bracketed) in that they are ordered prior to peripheral phrases, as in 69), where the location is an argument of the motion predicate, but the duration phrase is in the periphery. In 70) the two *sin*-marked phrases cannot be interchanged because the first is an oblique argument of the predicate *kom?ot* ‘gulp down’, while the second is a locative phrase in the periphery.

69) *<Inm>ey=kami sin dontog Kamanoboan [si piga ay agew].*
 ACTm.P-go = 1pI ORMd mountain K. ORMi how.many LK day
 ‘We went to Kamanoboan Mountain for a few (lit. how many) days.’

70) *Kai-kom?ot* \emptyset *sin* *babai* [*sin* *gawan* *di* *danom*].
 ACT.Th-gulp.down 3sI ORMd female ORMd middle BRMi water
 ‘He (crocodile) swallowed down the woman [in the middle of the water (i.e. river)].’

RPs in the core periphery do not have ordering restrictions, although seldom would more than two be present in a given clause. Example 71) shows two peripheral RPs in optional order.

71) *Na-sigit-an = ak* [*sin* *seng?ew* *di* *Baygon*] [*sin* *kakitkitoy = ko*].
 UNDI.s.P-allergic < = 1sI ORMd fragrance BRMi Baygon ORMd childhood = 1sII
 ‘I had an allergic reaction [to the smell of Baygon] [in my childhood].’

4.1.4.3 Nuclear peripheries

Nuclear peripheries hold adverbs that indicate aspectual information about the predicate, such as inchoativity, intensity, and completion. Aspect is normally expressed with affixation on the predicate (see §4.2.1 for a full discussion of nuclear operators); these overt adverbs stress the particular aspect that they denote. For example, in 74) both the verbal prefix and the adverb express immediacy, and in 75) both the predicate’s perfective affix and the adverb express completion.

Adverbs in the left periphery of the nucleus may immediately precede the predicate with no linker, as in 72). The linker *ay* is often used as well, as in 73) and in 74), where the adverb is linked from the right nuclear periphery.

72) *Dagos* *man-biweng* *din* *sailboat*.
 immediately ACT-go.fast RMd sailboat
 ‘The sailboat immediately got going fast.’

73) *Palalo* *ay* *inmopsat* *di* *mata = k*.
 overmuch LK became.pale RMi face/eye = 1sII
 ‘My face became very pale.’

74) *Ka-parti* *abe* *ay* *dagos* *din* *akin-aso* *et* *adi* *na-observar-an* \emptyset .
 IMM-butcher PART LK immediately RMd owner-dog and NEG UNDI.P-watch < 4I
 ‘Furthermore, the owner of the dog butchered (it) immediately and it was not observed (for signs of rabies).’

For some adverbs the linker *ay* is optional, as seen in 75); these two clauses appeared together in a letter.

- 75) *Enggay ay nakaro di sakit Kili. Enggay kinmapoy Ø.*
 already LK worsen.P RMi illnessKili already became.weak 3sI
 ‘Kili’s sickness has already gotten worse. He is already weak.’

4.1.5 A pre-core slot?

In RRG theory, there are possible pre- and post-core positions in which core NPs, PPs, and adverbs can occur without intonational pause. In many languages the PreCore Slot is the position for WH-question words and other narrow-focus constituents. In Kankanaey, this is not the case; instead, the equative clause structure introduced in §4.1.3 is used. The WH-word or focal RP is placed in the clause-nuclear position, and all other constituents are nominalized by a preceding RM, and sometimes by nominalizing affixation as well. Note in the examples that the WH-word is an RP, and what follows is also an RP, marked with an indefinite RM. In 76) the predicate in the nucleus of the second RP is cross-referenced to the thing done—the referent of the WH-word. In 77) the nucleus of the second RP is nominalized for place/time/event (see Chapter 3 for the discussion on nominalization). These examples include the ungrammatical results of an attempt to place the focal RP in a Pre-Core slot with no other changes. These ungrammatical versions are marked by asterisks.

- 76) *Sino =y <in> am~?amag = mo? *Sino inam?amag = mo?*
 what = RMi UND.P-CVC-do = 2sII what were.doing = 2sII
 ‘What you were doing (is) what?’ *‘What were you doing?’
- 77) *Pig?an di s <om> aa-an = da? *Pig?an somaa = da?*
 when RMi NOM-go.home < = 3pII when go.home = 3pI
 ‘Their going home (is) when?’ *‘When will they go home?’

Example 78) presents a basic clause with the RP in brackets, while 79) with bracketed RPs shows the RP-RP structure of the clause with a focused RP left-most in the clause. Note that in 79), the focus RP is in the nucleus of the core and the remainder of the core is comprised of an indefinite RP, with nominalizing affixation indicating the locus of ‘dependence’.

- 78) *K <in> am~kamang-a(n) = k [si Diyos anggoy] si oway.*
 CVC.P-depend-UNDI = 1sII PRM God only ORMi always
 ‘I was always depending on God alone.’
- 79) *[Si Diyos anggoy] [di nan-kam~kamang-a(n) = k] si oway.*
 PRM God only RMi NOM.P-CVC-depend < = 1sII ORMi always
 ‘Who I was depending on all the time (was) God alone.’

Kankanaey does use the pre-core slot in certain subordinate clauses (see Chapter 5) and the post-core slot with a complex equative clause structure (see Chapter 7).

4.1.6 *Clitic pronoun displacement*

As seen in Table 4.4 above, class I (intransitive-argument) pronouns are clitics, as are class II (transitive Actor) pronouns. These clitic pronouns in Kankanaey follow the well-known Wackernagel's Law (Wackernagel 1892), by which they attach to the first word in the core, typically the nuclear predicate. When certain modifying words such as a modal or negative precede the nuclear predicate, any clitic pronoun is displaced to attach to it, thus preceding the predicate in the non-canonical RP-PRED-(RP) order. Often the displaced pronoun has a final =*n*, with no particular function discernable (thus tagged DISPlaced), and in some dialects or with some modifiers it is not required.

Examples 80) to 82) show clitics following a modal and a negative.

80) *Siyat = ta = n makiline si piga ay oras.*
 must = 1 + 2I = DISP join.line ORMi how.many LK hours
 'We have to stand in line for hours.'

81) *Adi = kayo pantalkan si daida.*
 NEG = 2pI trust PRM 3pIII
 'Don't depend on them (for support).'

82) *Adi = da gagaoden din danom.*
 NEG = 3pI paddle RMd water
 'They don't paddle the water (in a motorboat).'

Some sequential clause-linkage markers (conjunctions) can displace core pronouns as well, as in 83), where the linker consists of two words, and the pronoun comes between them (bracketed sequence).

83) *Idolin = da Ø si tolo ay agew [asi = da pag] ipeey Ø sin koli.*
 store = 3pII 4III ORMi three LK day then = 3pII then put 4III ORMd jar
 'They set it aside for three days, and then they put it in the wine-jar.'

This accusative pattern (S and A pronouns displace, but not U) is different from many other Philippine languages that displace pronouns in other patterns.¹⁶ The class assignment of the pronoun in its displaced position is not syntactically constrained, supporting Comrie's

¹⁶ See for example Quakenbush and Ruch (2006) for Kalamianic and Kroeger (1993) for Tagalog.

(1989:89) observation that the positioning rules governing clitic pronouns relate only loosely to their grammatical relation. With most modifiers that cause displacement, the class I pronoun is the preferred form of the clitic, especially with the group that have a tripartite split (see Table 4.4 above). Example 84) shows the Actor pronoun =*m* ‘2s’ as class II in the canonical clause order, but as class I when displaced by an adverb in 85).

84) *Ibaga =m* \emptyset *en* *sak?en!*
 tell = 2sII 4III OPRM 1sIII
 ‘Tell it to me!’

85) *May, asi =ka* *ibaga* \emptyset *en* *sak?en* *mo* *mansolat =ka.*
 OK and.then = 2sI tell 4III OPRM 1sIII if write = 2sI
 ‘OK, then tell it to me when you write.’

The displacement of clitic pronoun arguments to a pre-nuclear position in the clause core suggests a second constituent projection or template for the Kankanaey clause, shown in Figure 4.6.

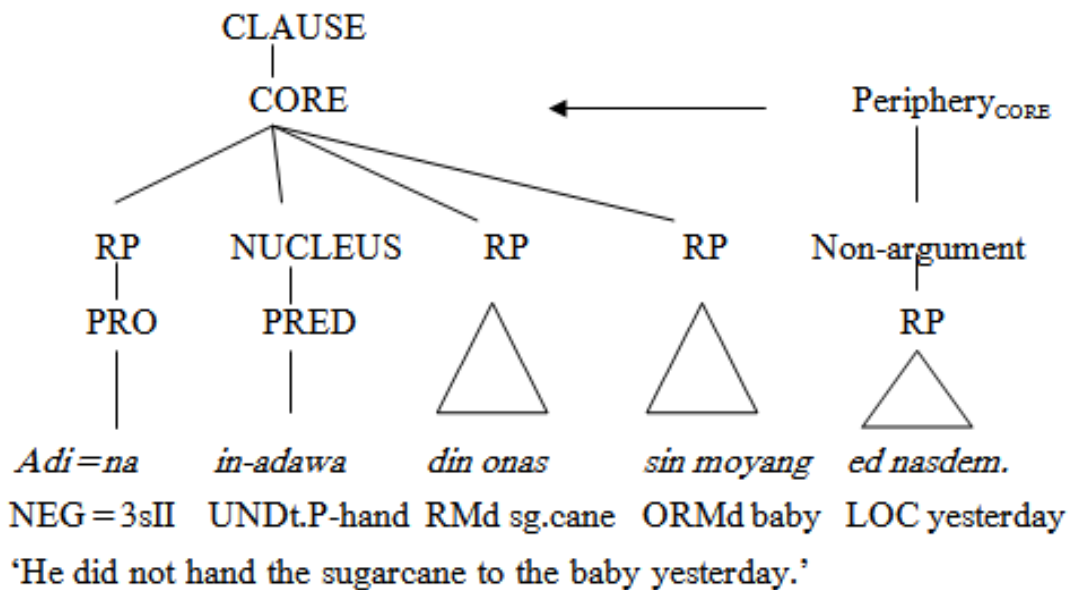


Figure 4.6. Kankanaey clause structure
 constituent projection #2

4.2 Modifiers in the clause

Modifiers, grammatical and adverbial, can occur at every constituent level: at the nuclear level, the core level, and the clause level. RRG represents the grammatical modifiers in an “Operator Projection” separate from the Constituent Projection. Adverbial modifiers and the

plethora of higher-level modifying semantic particles that are typical of Philippine languages are covered in §4.2.4.1. Table 4.7 (modified from VanValin 2005:9) shows the operator categories relevant to Kankanaey, their relation to the layers of the Kankanaey clause, and the forms that they take in Kankanaey. Affixes on the nucleus serve as grammatical operators with several functions.

Operators maintain a linear order in the clause, with nuclear operators closest to the nucleus and clause level operators furthest from the nucleus. Among the affixes, nuclear affixation is closer to the root than the core-level modifying affixation, with the exception of perfective aspect.

Table 4.7 Layers of the clause with operators

Level	Operator	Form
Nuclear	Internal temporal aspect	Reduplicative affixes
	Perfective aspect	Affix
	Nuclear negation	<i>baken</i> negator
Core	Event quantification	Affix
	Deontic modality	Core-internal modals
	Core negation	<i>adi</i> negator
Clause	Epistemic modality	Core-external modals
	Propositional negation	<i>baken</i> negator
	Evidentials	Particles
	Illocutionary force	Particles

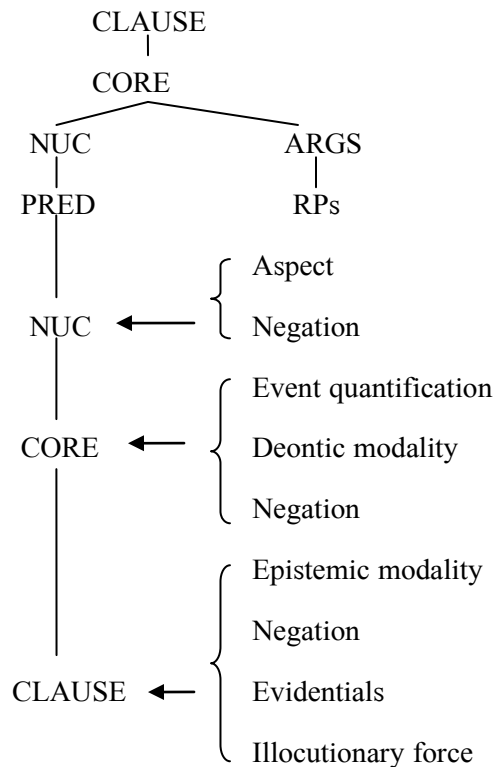


Figure 4.7. Constituent and operator projections for Kankanaey

4.2.1 Nuclear operators

4.2.1.1 Perfective aspect

The perfective affix in Kankanaey indicates whether a state of affairs is completed. In a narrative, time orientation in real-time past is generally set with a perfective-marked predicate on the event line, with subsequent events carrying the neutral imperfective form. Later perfective-marked predicates in a narrative are often states or negated situations off the main line of the action. Perfective aspect not only adds the temporal perspective of past time, it specifies realis—the success or effectiveness of an activity or change of state.

Predicates that are not marked for perfective aspect are neutral and are interpreted in relation to the context. Imperfective (neutral) may imply irrealis. With affixes that do not support intent (such as *ma-* and *maka-*), imperfective marking indicates possibility or potential for the information in the predicate.

The marking for perfective aspect is on the predicating affixes. Affixes that in their neutral form begin with *m-* or *p-* replace those phonemes with *n-* to specify perfective; all other

predicating affixes use *in* as an infix or a prefix, as seen in 86) to 89). Attribute predicates cannot indicate perfective aspect. As noted in Chapter 2, the attributive affixes are frozen forms.

86) *ma-ek / na-ek*

‘fall/fell asleep’

87) *maki-inom / naki-inom*

‘drink/drank with’

88) *t<om>ayaw / t<in> <om>ayaw*

‘fly/flew away’

89) *ponas-an / p<in>onas-an*

‘wiped’

At times, in conversation or narrative, Kankanaey places an action in the immediate past using *ka- + CVC*, tagged ‘RECENT’. This affx does not index an absolutive or Class I argument, but rather its single argument is a class II pronoun, or takes the bound marker.

90) *Ka-bang~bangon = (n)a, isonga mas~ma-sadot paylaeng.*

RECENT-get.up = 3sII therefore CVC~UNDS-sluggish still

‘He just got up, so he’s still feeling sluggish.’

Kankanaey also uses various particles to make explicit some finer distinctions of a clause’s temporal setting. The clitics *=n* and *=nto* attach to vowel-final predicates or clitic pronouns to indicate ‘already’ and ‘future’, respectively. The ‘future’ particle is especially relevant with existentials or other non-verbal predicates that do not show aspect, as in 91) and 92).

91) *Wada = nto di ib?a = yo ay en = kayo tang~tangad-en sin Kapitolyo.*

EXIS = FUT RMi friend = 2pII LK go = 2pI CVC-look.up-UND ORMd capitol

‘You will have a friend to go look up to (for help) at the Capitol Building (if you vote for me).’

92) *Palalo = nto di lagsak ading = ko.*

extreme = FUTRMi happiness younger.sibling = 1sII

‘My younger brother is going to be ever so happy (lit. his happiness will be extreme) (when he gets this gift).’

4.2.1.2 Internal temporal aspect

Internal temporal aspect refers to the internal temporal situations of a predicate, specifically whether the state of affairs has continuity over time. Internal aspect is marked on the root by means of reduplicative affixation. In general, CV reduplication indicates duration of a static situation, while CVC reduplication indicates progressive, repeated or on-going dynamic situations and CVC(C)V reduplication indicates repetitive, vigorous or otherwise intensified continuation of a dynamic situation. Words that begin orthographically with a vowel have a glottal stop preceding the vowel, the first C of the reduplication. In the following examples the glottal stop is represented where relevant to the reduplication.

4.2.1.2.1 Durative aspect

Durative aspect specifies an unchanging, continuous duration of a static situation. Durative aspect is indicated by a reduplicated CV prefix on the root. With one-syllable or vowel-reduced roots, reduplication is applied after the predicative affixation. (See L. Allen 1980.). Durative aspect pairs naturally with State predicates, as in 93) and 94). Predicates built on physical motion/position roots may be Activities or States. With CV reduplication they are specifically States, as in 95).

93) *ma-ʔi~ʔila* ‘visible’

94) *na-be~beteng* ‘was drunk’

95) *T<om>okdo = ka.* *T<om>o~tokdo si* *Dolika.*
ACTm-sit = 2sI ACTm-CV-sit PRM Dolika
‘Sit down!’ ‘Dolika is seated.’

When the logical structure of a word includes a change-of-state predicate, CV reduplication indicates duration of the changed state, which can yield a perfective sense of ongoing relevance of the change of state. Example 96) shows this use of CV reduplication, which is restricted to nominalized and relativized clauses.

96) *Na-tenaw* *Ø* *et* *owat din* *scarf di* *na-i-wa~waglat* *sin* *baliwang.*
UNds-melt 4I and only RMd scarf RMI UNds-Th-CV-discard ORMd yard
‘It (snowman) melted and only the scarf was (left) discarded in the yard.’

4.2.1.2.2 Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect specifies an ongoing atelic activity, or iterative punctual activity, depending on the root. Progressive aspect is indicated by CVC reduplication. It indicates continuation over time with Activity, Process, and all Causative predicates, as in 97) and 98).

With Semelfactive and most Achievement predicates the progressive aspect gives an iterative or plural meaning, as in 99).

- 97) *man-tay~tayaw* 'is flying'
 98) *tap~tapi-an* 'is adding to'
 99) *bom~b <om> tak* 'are exploding (plural)'

4.2.1.2.3 Momentary aspect

Momentary or diminutive duration of an activity or state is expressed with the prefix *panga-*, as in 100).

- 100) *Man-panga-ey = ak.*
 ACT-momentary-go = 1sI
 'I will just go for a minute.'

4.2.1.2.4 Intensive aspect

CVC(C)V reduplication shows intensive aspect, indicating markedly repetitive or long-lasting actions, as in 101), or intensive quality, as in 102).

- 101) *? <om> oga~?oga* 'crying and crying'
 102) *Layde~layd-e(n) = k* *ay* *<om> ey* *issa.*
 CVCCV-enjoy-UND = 1sII LK ACTm-go DEM2V
 'I really want to go there.'

4.2.1.3 Nuclear negation

Baken negates class and descriptive predicates, as in 103) and 104).

- 103) *Baken tet?ewa sa.*
 NEG true DEM2I
 'That's untrue.'
 104) *Anggan mo baken = ka = n diadal,...*
 even if NEG = 2sI = DISP educated.person
 'Even though you are not an educated person....'

Existentials lexicalize the negative as *maga* or *iwed* (dialect difference).

4.2.1.4 Action directionals

Kankanaey does not have many prepositions, and none that correspond to English locatives such as ‘on’, ‘in’, ‘toward’ etc. Instead, many Kankanaey roots specify direction lexically, as may be seen in 105) and 106).

105) *Man-song = ka ay gakki.*

ACT-go.upstream = 2sI VOC crab

‘Go upstream, crab.’

106) *Osdong-an = (n)a din posong.*

look.down-UNDI-3sII RMd pool

‘He looked down into the pool.’

4.2.2 Core-level operators

4.2.2.1 Participant directionals

As mentioned above, Kankanaey does not use particles or prepositions to indicate direction. When a predicate denotes movement or change of location of one of the participants, the predicating suffix *-an* or the circumfix *i-...-an* may index the static or directional locus. The indexed participant will be the entity toward or away from which the movement takes place. This can be physical or metaphorical direction, as may be seen in the sample predicates in 107).

107) *togpa-an i-layaw-an i-gaga-an*

saliva-UNDI UNDD-flee< UNDD-chew<

‘spit at/on’ ‘flee from’ ‘chew for (as for a baby)’

4.2.2.2 Event quantification

When an activity is performed by all members of a group of participants, and that fact is noteworthy, a collective prefix *ka-* or *an-* (COLL) is used, following an Actor-indexing predicate affix. CV reduplication also specifies plurality of actors with predicates that are inherently reciprocal, such as ‘converse’, ‘separate’, or ‘meet’, as in 110).

108) *Man-ka-ma-maga = da am?in.*

ACT-COLL-CV-NEG.EXIS = 3pI all

‘They will all disappear together.’

109) *T <om> an-a-tai = da.*

ACT-COLL-CV-defecate = 3pI

‘They all defecated.’ (animals leaving an enclosure)

110) *Man-a~abat = tako si tapi =n di agew.*

ACT-CV-meet = 1 + 2pI ORMi add BRMi day

‘We’ll all meet together another day.’

4.2.2.3 Modals and negation

Most core operators in Kankanaey are monomorphemic words that precede the nucleus of the core. The core-level analysis is attested by their ability to displace core argument pronouns to a pre-predicate position, described in 4.1.6. Modals and negation are core operators.

Modals in this section include words that indicate the ability, need or propensity of a participant to act. The first sub-section looks at deontic notions of personal ability and obligation. The second looks at intention and motivation. (The inherent ability to perform an action is also indicated by the prefix *maka-*, described in §2.3.1.)

4.2.2.3.1 Deontic modals

Modals with a deontic reading modify the core and are linked with *ay*. These modals displace any clitic pronoun to the second position. The scope of possibility is within the participant, not the situation, as indicated by the asterisk in 111).

111) *Mabalin =yo ay ala-en din alikamen.*

possible = 2pII LK take-UND RMD tools

‘You’ll be able to take the tools.’

* ‘It’s possible that you will take the tools.’

Sentence 112) exemplifies an alternate possibility structure, *kaya* ‘able’ (a particle which may be borrowed from the Tagalog modal noun).

112) *Ay kaya =m ay mang-(g)awa?*

Q able = 2sII LK ACT-judge(legal)

‘Are you able to decide the sentence?’

Deontic obligation also is expressed with two forms. *Siyat* displaces clitic pronouns, and indicates necessity or obligation, whether physical or social, as examples 113) and 114) demonstrate.

113) *Siyat man-yogton Ø, asi t<om>ayaw Ø.*
 must ACT-crouch 4I and.then CHANGE-fly 4I

‘It has to crouch, in order to/then take off.’

114) *Siyat=ka=n man-tee sin beey.*
 must=2sI=DISP ACT-stay ONM house

‘You must stay at home/the house.’ (due to the hearer’s pregnancy)

Less commonly used is the word *masapol* ‘necessary’, but when it displaces the core pronoun, it can be seen to apply the necessity to a core argument rather than to the entire situation.

115) *Masapol=na di doktol ay mang~mang-set ya mang-i-dawat sin agas.*
 necessary=3sII RMi doctor LK ANTI-CVC-do.well and ANTI-Th-give ORMd meds

‘He needs the doctor to be taking care of him and give him the medicines.’

4.2.2.3.2 Motivation

Motivation is another modifier of the actor’s performance of the predicate. Motivation particles are taken to be modals based on their frozen form and their ability to displace core pronouns. Examples 116) and 117) illustrate presence and absence of motivation. In 116) there is self-motivation, a cognitive purpose in ‘going’ to do something. In 117) the actor is explicitly without motivation, as the experience just happens without intention.

116) *En=(n)a <in>abat din gayyem=na.*
 go=3sIIUND.P-meet RMd friend=3sII

‘She went to meet her friend.’ (purpose)

117) *Mo eteng=ka=n i-al~?alin di asawa=m...*
 If unmotivated=2sI=DISP UNDt-PROG-jealous RMi spouse=2sII...

‘If you just feel jealous about your spouse (for no reason)...’

4.2.2.3.3 Core-level negation

Negation is a modification that indicates things that are not true—events that do not happen, states that do not hold. *Adi* is the simple negator; other negative adverbs are described in §4.2.4.1.

Adi indicates a denial that a participant achieved a state or action; what is negated in core-level negation is the connection between the predicate and its participant(s) in a particular situation. Thus in 118) the people being served monkey meat do not experience *loya*

‘repulsion’, and in 119) they do not perform the pounding action. As a core operator, the negator *adi* displaces clitic pronouns.

118) *Adi = da ma-loya sin mata = n di kaag.*
 NEG = 3pI UNDS.-dirty ORMd eye = BRMi monkey
 ‘They aren’t repulsed by the eyes of the monkey.’

119) *Adi = da bayo-en Ø; owat = da = n ka-i-oto sin banga.*
 NEG = 3pI pound-UND 4III only = 3pI-DISP IMM-Th-cook ORMd pot
 ‘They don’t pound it; they just cook it (whole) in the pot.’

When an equative clause is negated, the RP in the predicate position is negated with *baken*, not *adi*. This is RP negation, not core negation, as seen by the bracketing in 120).

120) [*Baken din bol~bolsada = da*] *di nem~nemnem-en = da.*
 NEG RMd pl-pocket = 3pII RMi CVC-think-UND = 3pII
 ‘It is not their pockets that they are thinking about. (good politicians)’

Adi may co-occur with deontic modals. In this construction, the clitic pronoun is displaced to the first modifier, which is the negator. An example is diagrammed as Figure 4.8.

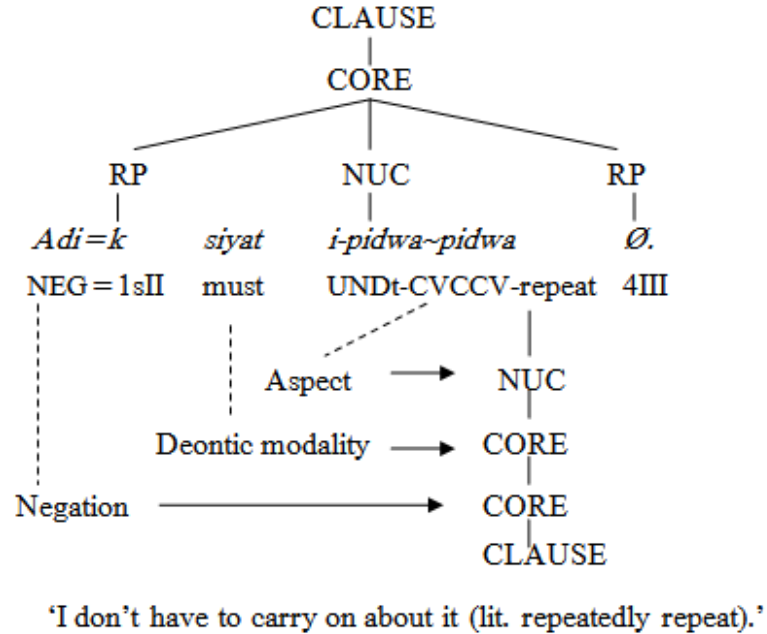


Figure 4.8. Aspect, modality and negation operators in a Kankanaey clause

4.2.3 Clause-level operators

Operators at the clause level include propositional negation, epistemic modality, illocutionary force and evidentials. Clause-level negation is indicated by *baken*. Epistemic modality uses linked modals that do not attract the core pronouns. Illocutionary force is shown by WH-words and particles, and evidentials appear as a diverse set of particles.

4.2.3.1 Clause-level negation

Baken negates a situation, especially the expected situation, i.e. ‘it’s not the case...’ Clitic pronouns are displaced by the clause-level negator, as with the core operators. The lexical form of the negator makes the level of modification clear. This use of *baken* to negate the proposition is exemplified in 121) to 124).

121) *Baken = ak nan-tet-tettee.*

NEG = 1sI ACT.P-PROG-stay.home

‘It’s not that I have been staying home.’ (the reason for my inaction).

122) *Baken = mi-n owat gaan Ø.*

NEG = 1pII = DISP just dislike 4III

‘It’s not that we just didn’t want to.’ (after listing the reasons for not coming to an event)

123) *Baken = kayo = n masapol ay i-baga Ø.*

NEG = 2pI = DISP necessary LK UNDt-say 4III

‘It’s not the case that you guys have to tell about it.’

124) *Baken = da = n baw na-na-ek.*

NEG = 3pI = DISP PART UNDs.P-DUR-sleep

‘They weren’t sleeping after all.’

4.2.3.2 Epistemic modals

Epistemic modals express a possibility or necessity based on outside factors in regards to an action or situation. The modals are *mabalin* for possibility, and *masapol* for necessity. They are linked to the clause with *ay* but as clause-level operators they do not displace the clitic pronouns in the core. Epistemic modals are bracketed in 127) to 126). Note in 126) that *adi* negates the modal.

125) *Mo i-saa = yo si Narding, [mabalin ay] maga = y problima.*

if UNDt-go.home = 2pII PRM Narding possible LK NEGEXIS = Rmi problem

‘If you take Narding back home, it’s possible that there would be no problems.’

126) [Adi mabalin ay] ma-toloy = kami ay <om>ey ed Bangan.
 NEGpossible LK UNDs-continue = 1pI LK ACTm-go LOC Bangan

‘It’s not possible that we will continue on our way to Bangan.’

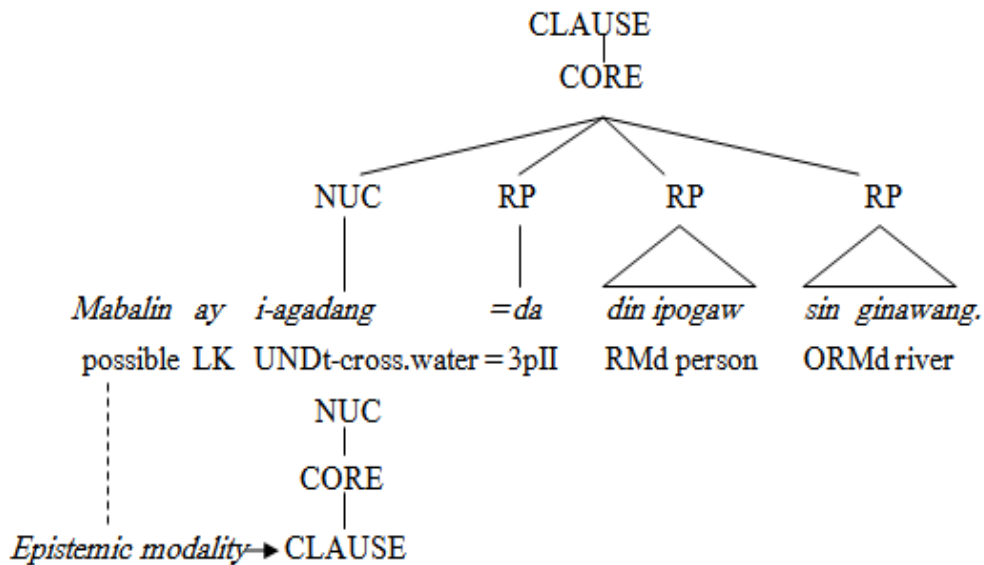
127) [Masapol ay] man-lako = ka si baro ay gears.
 necessary LK ACT-buy = 2sI ORMi new LK gears

‘(Your car’s condition makes it) necessary that you buy new gears.’

128) [Masapol ay] da din wada = d nowani di ma-botos-an.
 necessary LK pl RMd EXIS = LOC now RMi UNDI-vote <

‘It has to be that the incumbants (those there now) be voted for.’

Figure 4.9 displays a clause with an epistemic modal.



‘It was possible (it worked) for them (crocodiles) to carry the people across the river.’

Figure 4.9. Clause with epistemic modality operator

4.2.3.3 Illocutionary force

Several strategies are used in Kankanaey to express the illocutionary force of an utterance. The default indicative mood is unmarked.

Interrogative mood takes two forms—question morphemes and interrogative pronouns. The sentence-initial particle *ay* forms questions that ask for a ‘yes/no’ answer. “Why?” may be expressed informally with the discontinuous morpheme *Aket...mo?* bracketing the clause.

Other content questions place a question word or phrase in the predicate position of an equative clause. Both types of questions are illustrated in 129).

129) *Sino pay di anak=mo? Ay babai ono lalaki kasin?*
 what PART RMI child=2sII Q female or male again
 ‘What then is your child? Is it a girl, or another boy?’

Unmitigated imperatives use overt second-person pronouns and imperfective aspect. Mitigation is commonly expressed by the use of inclusive pronouns, or request particles. (See Table 4.11 in §4.2.4.2.) Another mitigation strategy is to use progressive aspect (CVC reduplication) as in 130).

130) *Adi=ka kan~kanan en lawa din <in> amag=da.*
 NEG=2sI CVC-say QT bad RMD UND.P-do=3pII
 ‘Don’t (be) say(ing) that what they did was wrong.’

Formulaic particles, such as the one in 131), fill the function of what is sometimes called ‘optative mood’ (wishes, blessings, etc.).

131) *Kadimanet b <om> aknang=ka.*
 prediction UND.CHANGE-rich=2sI
 ‘You shall certainly become rich.’

4.2.3.4 Evidentials

A wide array of about fifty free-standing semantic particles encode the Kankanaey speaker’s stance regarding his or her utterances. Particles cannot take affixation or participate in word formation, although some cliticize to other clause constituents. They can occur in many places in a clause, but most often follow the verb and any clitic pronoun and are subject to relative ordering among themselves. Wherever they occur, they modify the meaning at the level of clause or speech-act or perhaps a higher discourse level. See Allen (1978b) for an early discussion of the semantic particles including their co-occurrence and ordering. At the current stage of development, RRG does not have a framework to accommodate these modifying particles. The evidential particles, which are clearly clause-level modifiers, will be presented in this section; the rest of the particles are included in §4.2.4.2.

Part of a speaker’s responsibility for the factuality of his assertions is expressed by particles that indicate the source of his information. These are presented in Table 4.8 and exemplified in 132) to 134).

Table 4.8 Evidential particles

EVIDENTIALS	<i>baw</i>	surprised realization
	<i>kano</i>	reported by 3 rd party (HSY)
	<i>dedan</i>	obviously, of course
	<i>kayman</i>	credit to hearer
	<i>gayam</i>	self-evident; surprised recollection
	<i>adi.pay</i>	tentative deduction

132) *Adi pay mo <om>ey=kayo ed Filipinas et ma-taynan Ø issa?*
 EVID if ACTm-go=2pI LOC Phils. PARTUNDS-leave.behind 3sI DEM2IV
 ‘Surely if you go to the Philippines she’ll be left behind there (in Chicago)?’

133) *Enggay kano ay adi=yo en man-oto=s kan-en=yo.*
 EXTENT HSY LK NEG=2pII go ACT-cook=ORMi eat-UND=2pII
 ‘They say it’s to the point where you guys don’t even go cook food for yourselves.’

134) *Man-tetek din dagem tan bowan dedan di Diciembre.*
 ATT-cold RMD wind because month EVID RMI December
 ‘The wind was cold because (it was) the month obviously of December.’

4.2.4 Other modification

Previous sections showed the grammatical operators that modify each level of the clause. Other modifiers are a small set of adverbs discussed in §4.2.4.1 that express timing, extent, and quasi-negative meanings. The rest of the other modifying semantic particles is presented in §4.2.4.2.

4.2.4.1 Adverbs

§4.1.4.3 introduced the placement and linking of some adverbs in peripheral positions. This section will list them more fully, and show that they modify particular layers of the clause structure.

4.2.4.1.1 Timing and extent

A small set of adverbs can precede a predicate to add modifying information regarding the timing or extent of a state of affairs. Adverbial meanings of pace and manner, however, are achieved with affixed roots that denote these characteristics. Table 4.9 lists the timing and extent adverbs. Adverbs that modify the core will displace clitic pronouns.

Table 4.9 Timing and extent adverbs

Modification	Adverb	Gloss
temporal (core)	<i>deda</i>	‘still’
	<i>kasin</i>	‘again’
	<i>asi</i>	‘then, next’
	<i>dowan</i>	‘at the same time’
extent (core)	<i>pag</i>	‘all’
	<i>owat</i>	‘only’
	<i>dadlon</i>	‘thoroughly’
extent (nuclear)	<i>enggay</i>	‘completely, to the extent that’
	<i>palalo</i>	‘excessively’

The temporal adverbs are exemplified in 135) and 136).

135) *Deda = kayo ay maki-beb~beey en am~ama = yo.*
 still = 2pI LK ACTa-CVC-house OPRM parents = 2pII

‘You guys are still living in with your parents.’

136) *Din siping, mabalin ay kasin = tako = n i-lagbo-an Ø.*
 RMD money possible LK again = 1 + 2pII = DISP UNDD-wage < 4III

‘The money, it’s possible that we may earn it again.’

The extent to which a state of affairs holds true is indicated by extent adverbs. Core-modifying adverbs displace clitic pronouns. When *owat* puts a limit on a core, as in 119) above and in 137), it indicates that the participant only does the specified action. The word *pag* indicates the extent of participation (often co-occurring with ‘all’) while *dadlon* emphasizes the full extent of the effect, as in 138) and 139). Nuclear modifiers are linked with *ay* and do not affect the pronouns. Nuclear extent adverbs are shown in 140).

137) *Na-ataki Ø et owat b <om> a~baktad Ø ed bebeey = da.*
 UNDS-attack 3sI and only UNDM-CV-lie.down 3sI LOC home = 3pII

‘She had a heart attack and only lies down (i.e. is bed-ridden) at their home.’

138) *Tan nabiteg = da ngalod, pag = da = n ma-baa nam?in.*
 because poor = 3pI PART all = 3pI = DISP UNDS-send all

‘Because they were poor (it follows that) all of them could be sent on errands.’

139) *Dadlon = da = n tongpal-en am?in ay in-bilin = ko.*
 completely = 3pII = DISP fulfill-UND all LK UNDt.P-instruct = 1sII
 ‘They completely fulfilled all that I instructed.’

140) *Enggay na-maga = y bikas = ko ya palalo ay <inm>opsat*
 completely UNDS-NEGEXIS = RMI strength = 1sII and excessively LK CHANGE.P-pale
di mata = k.
 RMI face = 1sII
 ‘My strength was completely gone and my face became very pale.’

4.2.4.1.2 Quasi-negative adverbs

Another group of adverbs indicate a negative truth-value for a clause core; *istay*, *daan*, and *kaman* each add implications regarding the state of affairs that is not real. In every case, clitic pronouns are displaced to attach to these adverbs that modify the core of the clause.

Istay indicates that something almost happened. In 141) it may be noted that what did not happen (irrealis) is expressed with the imperfective, while the true event *inmey* ‘went’ carries perfective (P) marking. *Daan* ‘not yet’ also negates a predicate, as in 142), where the predicate obligatorily takes imperfective aspect.

141) *Istay = ak <om>ey sin kad?an = yo ngem <inm>ey = ak sin clinic yan...*
 almost = 1sI ACTm-go ORMd place = 2pII but ACTm.P-go = 1s ORMd clinic and
 ‘I nearly went to your place but (instead) I went to the clinic and...’

142) *Daan = da paylaeng i-taoli Ø sin <inm>ey-an = mi ed Bali.*
 not.yet = 3pII still UNDt-return 4III ORMd ACT.P.NOM-go < = 1pII LOC Bali.
 ‘They still had not yet returned it when we left for Bali.’

The word *kaman* ‘like, as if’ does not exactly negate, but it indicates something short of truth or reality about the relationship between the predicate and its participants. When *kaman* modifies the core, it displaces the clitic pronoun. Examples 143) to 145) show this adverb at the core level with a variety of predicates.

143) *Kaman = ak baken Kankanaey ay bolbolod-ek kali = yo.*
 like = 1sI NEG Kankanaey LK borrowing-UND.1sII word = 2pII
 ‘I’m like a non-Kankanaey (speaker), borrowing your (English) words.’

144) *Kaman = kami = n “busy” ay kanayon.*
 like = 1pI = DISP busy LK always
 ‘We seem to always be busy.’

145) *Kaman = ka = n na-engit-an si lawi = n di kawwitan.*
 like = 2sI = DISP UNDSI-decorate < ORMi long.feather = BRMi rooster

‘You are like adorned with rooster-tail feathers.’ (from a love poem)

The near-truth of *kaman* ‘like’ can also apply to a whole proposition, as in the next two examples. The core pronoun is not displaced by *kaman* when it serves as a clause modifier.

146) *Kaman nan-sa~sag?en = tako basta man-ngal~ngalat = tako = s solat.*
 like ACT.P-CV-near = 1 + 2pI provided ACT-PROG-converse = 1 + 2pI = ORMi letter

‘It is as if we are being near each other if we are conversing with each other by letter.’

147) *Kaman ad = ak ka-bael-an.*
 like NEG = 1sI UNDI-s-able <

‘It’s as if I am absolutely unable.’

Truth-value or realis is also overtly negated by the particle *koma*. The scope of the irrealis in 148) is the whole clause, since both cores are untrue.

148) *P < in > ikpik = ko Ø koma ta na = ek Ø baw.*
 UND.P-pat = 1sII 3sIII PART so.that UNDS.P-sleep 3sI PART

‘I should have patted him so that he would have slept, I see.’

(I didn’t pat him and he didn’t sleep.)

Koma translates as obligation in some clauses with imperfective aspect, as in 149). While it is difficult to translate every occurrence of this or any nuanced particle with any consistency, there is an element of speaker opinion in expressing obligation which may allow *koma* to join the other “attitude” particles in §4.2.4.2.

149) *I-toloy = ko koma ay man-iskowila.*
 UNDt-continue = 1sIIPART LK ACT-attend.school

‘I should (probably won’t) keep going to school.’

4.2.4.2 Particles

The speaker-hearer dynamic in verbal interaction is encoded less by prosodic cues than by particles that give nuances of attitude to any utterance. Table 4.10 lists particles that show a speaker’s attitude toward the truth of his/her own utterance, apart from evidentials. The next four tables list particles that show a speaker’s response to a situation or to another’s utterance. Table 4.11 lists particles used with requests or commands, while Table 4.12 lists particles used to indicate various degrees of surprise. Table 4.13 displays exclamations that indicate a speaker’s general response; they may stand alone or precede a clause in the left-detached

position. Table 4.14 covers particles used in explanation, concession, objection and emphasis. Table 4.15 lists a few other semantic particles that do not fit the previous groupings. A few of the particles are duplicated between tables due to multiple semantic components. These tables represent the Kankanaey particles which have been observed; there may be others that the present author has not yet noticed! Examples 150) to 152) were specifically selected to illustrate the use of a variety and multiplicity of particles in just a few sentences.

150) *Dooy etay ginminek Ø kasin ya. En pinikpik ngin Rosita Ø.*
 DEM3V PART quieted 3sI PART PART go patted PART Rosita 3sIII
 surprise again explanation maybe

‘Oh, there he got quiet again. Rosita may have gone to pat him.’

151) *Ay adi=ka dedan ammo Ø? Il-ilaem ngarod ay balat ket!*
 Q NEG=2sI PART know 4III PROG-see.UND.2sII PART LK banana PART
 obvious confirm certain

‘Don’t you know that? (Surely you do!) You see that they are bananas surely!’

152) *Aw=et adi pay.dedan sa!*
 yes=PART PART PART DEM2I
 immediacy really settled

‘Yes, yes, of course (we already know) that!’

Table 4.10 Kankanaey confidence particles

CERTAINTY	<i>adi</i>	really, indeed
	<i>od</i>	certainly
	<i>ket</i>	positively
	<i>ngalod</i>	sincere certainty
	<i>tet?ewan</i>	truly
	<i>mon</i>	forceful affirmation
UNCERTAINTY	<i>ngata</i>	perhaps; conjecture
	<i>baka</i>	possibly
	<i>ngin</i>	maybe, with reservation
	<i>=(n)samet</i>	likely possibility

Table 4.11 Kankanaey request particles

<i>kay</i>	diminutive polite request
<i>kod</i>	polite request
<i>man</i>	strong request or command
<i>paabe</i>	pleading request

Table 4.12 Kankanaey surprise particles

<i>aket</i>	surprise
<i>aya</i>	surprise, request confirmation
<i>baw</i> <i>kambaw 2</i>	surprised realization
<i>gayam 1</i>	surprised recollection
<i>etay</i>	mild surprise

Table 4.13 Kankanaey exclamations

Positive/neutral	<i>ana</i>	surprise
	<i>ado</i>	protest
	<i>aye</i>	interest
	<i>dake</i>	admiration
	<i>wey</i>	surprise
	<i>engngan</i>	Look!
Negative	<i>alla</i>	warning
	<i>ay.daetan</i>	frustration
	<i>ey</i>	disappointment
	<i>sis</i>	disparagement, disgust
	<i>wa, wo</i>	disbelief
	<i>ay.maney</i>	exasperation
	<i>ay (final)</i>	emphatic, forceful

Table 4.14 Kankanaey interactive particles

EXPLANATION	<i>gamin</i>	reason, relevant thing
	<i>gayam 2</i>	self-evident reason
	<i>ngalod</i>	confirm; consequently
	<i>ngay</i>	defensive explanation
	<i>(=n)tomet</i>	pinpoints reason, often blaming
	<i>ya</i>	elicits sympathetic response
CONCESSION	<i>kayman</i>	agrees with, concedes to hearer
	<i>iman</i>	concedes to, sympathizes with third party
	<i>od.baw</i>	concedes to hearer after argument
OBJECTION	<i>et.abē</i>	disparagement
	<i>etet</i>	displeasure
	<i>damdama</i>	emphatic disapproval
	<i>met</i>	objection
	<i>ngay</i>	defensive objection
	<i>pay.dedan</i>	resist opposition, already settled
EMPHASIS	<i>a</i> (final)	polite, persuasive emphasis
	<i>= et</i>	suddenness or immediacy

Table 4.15 Miscellaneous particles

TEMPORAL	<i>dagos</i>	‘immediately’
	<i>enggay</i>	‘already’
	<i>pay.laeng</i>	still
MISCELLANEOUS	<i>abe</i>	also
	<i>anggoy</i>	only, just
	<i>koma</i>	should
	<i>met.laeng</i>	also, no other

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Chapter 5 Complex Clauses and Sentences

Introduction

Sentences in Kankanaey have at least one clause which forms the central component of the sentence. A sentence may have detached positions, both pre- and post-central, that require a particle or intonational pause to mark them as detached. Peripheral positions modifying the central clause are located on both left and right, but there are no sentence-level peripheries. The constituent projection showing the basic structure of the sentence is given in Figure 5.1.

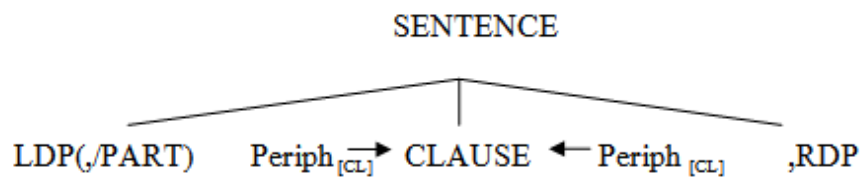


Figure 5.1. Kankanaey sentence display

Basic clause structure with its constituents and layered representation was introduced in Chapter 4. The current chapter explores how Kankanaey syntax handles complexity at various levels. Coordinate clauses can occur together in the central position of a sentence. The detached positions may hold words, phrases and clauses while the clause-level peripheries hold modifying clauses. Complexity may be found within a single clause, or in a sentence complex. Relative clauses are the final topic of this chapter. Since the influence of discourse pragmatics is greater at the sentence level than on the clause level, many of the following constructions can only be explained in terms of the pragmatic and semantic relationships between the constituents.

5.1 Clausal juncture in the sentence

A sentence may contain coordinate clauses, as indicated by the clause linkage marker (CLM) (underlined in examples 1) to 9)). Examples 1) to 3) show clausal conjunctions that bear a relation of simple temporal succession. Note that the coreferential pronouns are not deleted across these coordinate clause boundaries.

- 1) *D<om>ateng = da* *ya* *mang-(k)an = da.*
 ACT = arrive = 3pI and ACT = eat = 3pI

‘They arrived and they ate.’ (past time supplied by previous sentences)

2) *Mai-diplat = ak pag mai-beng din danom.*

UNDts-slip.fall = 1sI then UNDTs -spill.out RMd water

‘I slipped and fell and then all the water spilled out.’

3) *Okis-an = da Ø asi = da i-polkaw Ø sin gambang.*

peel-UNDI = 3pII 4III and.then = 3pII UNDT-boil 4III ORMd large.pot

‘They peel them and then they boil them in the big pot.’

Another type of coordination expresses non-dependent logical succession, as in 4).

4) *Adi maka-osok din posa, isonga <in> ayag-a(n) = na*

NEG ACT.ABIL-squeeze.through RMd cat therefore UNDI.P-call < = 3sII

din otot.

RMd rat

‘The cat couldn’t squeeze through, so therefore he called the rat.’

Other semantic relations in coordinate clauses include opposition ‘but’ and choice ‘or’. Each clause is complete and independent, as can be seen in 5), where the first clause is declarative and the second interrogative.

5) *Nay laton = ak pay ngem into = y mangi-saa ngin*

DEMIV OK = 1sI PART but where = RMI NOM.Th-go.home PART

sin dait = ko ay nay mansakit?

ORMd friend = 1sII LK DEMIV sick

‘I’m just fine but who (lit. where is one who) will take these sick friends of mine home?’

Three clausal temporal conjunctions— *pag*, *asi*, and *dowan*--displace clitic pronouns, as seen in 6) and 7). These three also function as temporal timing adverbs (covered in Chapter 4) following other conjunctions, as in 8).

6) *G<om>ine~ginek din anak dowan = da = n mang-(k)an.*

CHANGE.INTS-quiet RMd child while = 3pI = DISP ACT-eat

‘The child became very still as they ate.’

7) *Asi = da keb-en Ø pag = da = n libot-an Ø*

then = 3pII wet-UND 4III then = 3pII = DISP wrap-UNDI 4III

sin tobo = n di balat.

ORMd leaf = BRMI banana

‘Then they moisten it and then they wrap it up in banana leaves.’

- 8) *Man-a~abat=tako si tapi=n di agew, ta dowan=tako=n*
 ACT-CV-meet = 1 + 2pI ORMi add = BRMi day so.that while = 1 + 2pI = DISP
man-a si dait=tako.
 ACT-get ORMi companion = 1 + 2pII
 ‘We’ll meet together another day, so that meanwhile we (can) get our other companions.’
 (guerilla fighters splitting up to go recruit others)

Coordinate clauses may also form a larger unit that is not necessarily in the sentence-central position. This is illustrated in 9), where two clauses share the left-detached position indicated by *mo* ‘if’.

- 9) *Mo s<om>aa=ak ya istolya-e(n)=k di iso =n di*
 if/when ACTm-go.home = 1sI and story-UND = 1sII RMi same = BRMi
ed Manila et ma-ap~apos-an=da.
 LOC Manila PART UNDI-s-CVC-envy = 3pI
 ‘If/when I go home and tell what it’s like in Manila, they will be so jealous!’

5.2 Detached positions

Constituents in the “left-detached position” (LDP) are marked in one of two ways: by an intonational pause, as in 10), or by a small group of particles¹⁷, including *yan* or *et* as in 11). Some of these particles are homophonous with coordinate clause linkage markers, but are distinguishable from them by their context and by their interchangeability with a pause or written comma. The “right-detached” position (RDP) is set off by an intonational pause, as in 12), which differentiates it from phrases in the post-core slot, as well as from peripheral phrases and clauses.

- 10) *Ed nabaon kano, wada=y esa ay babai.*
 LOC long.ago HSY EXIS = RMi one LK woman
 ‘Long ago, they say, there was a woman.’
- 11) *Mo si Delia yan sisya di presidente =n din pupils government = da.*
 as.for PRM Delia PART 3sIII RMi president = BRMd pupils government = 3pII
 ‘As for Delia, the president of their student government is she.’
- 12) *Medyo maligligatan=ak, kalkalo ed nowani.*
 somewhat have.difficulty = 1sI especially LOC now
 ‘I’m having a rather hard time, especially right now.’

¹⁷ Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:36) note that substituting a particle for a pause is common cross-linguistically.

5.2.1 *Left-detached position*

The LDP may have a single word, a full reference phrase, or a subordinate clause. The pragmatic function of the LDP is to orient the hearer in some way to the central clause that follows, whether time/space orientation, participant orientation, or logical orientation.

5.2.1.1 **Time-Space orientation in the LDP**

A reference phrase (RP) may precede the central clause, giving the time or place orientation for either that particular clause or perhaps for an entire text. In 13), a simple demonstrative sets the place in contrast to other places. In 14) and 15), a time phrase gives the setting.

13) *Isna et iwed di am?amo = k si ibadang = ko*
DEM1IV PART NEGEXIS RMI know = 1sII ORMI help = 1sII
tan pag electric.
because all electric

‘Here, I don’t know any (lit. there is nothing that I know) way to help because everything is electric.’

14) *Si bigat ay agew di ponpon, adi = da <inm> ali.*
ORMi next.day LK day BRMI burial NEG = 3pI ACTm.P-come

‘The next day, the day of the burial, they didn’t come.’

15) *Mo mamingsan pay, ilokano = y pan-kal-kali = k.*
if/when one.time PART Ilocano = RMI NOM-CVC-talk = 1sII

‘Sometimes, however, what I use for talking is Ilocano.’

Subordinate clauses expressing prior events as time orientation are often found in the LDP as well, as illustrated in 16) to 18). An orienting event may be nominalized for time/place, as in 19). Note that the RP nucleus can only take an ergative/possessive argument, even though it has predicating affixation as well as the nominalizing affixes.

16) *Idi okmon-en = (n)a Ø yan man-nalisnis Ø.*
when swallow-UND = 3sII 4III PART ATT-delicious 4I

‘When he swallowed it, it was delicious.’

17) *Idi naka-balkot = ak, naek = ak.*
when ACT.ABIL-pack.up = 1sI slept = 1sI

‘When I had managed to pack up, I slept.’

18) *Domateng = da pay, kana-en din Major...*
 arrive = 3pI PART say-UND BRMd Major

‘When they arrived, the Major said...’

19) *Sin daan = mi = n <inm>ey-an ed Bambag yan*
 ORMd not.yet = 1pII = DISP NOM.P-go < LOC Bambag PART
man-sak~sakit si Manny.
 ACT-CVC-sick PRM Manny

‘(At) our not yet having gone to Bambag, Manny was (already) being sick.’

The detachment of these time expressions that set the stage for the clause contrasts with restrictive time phrases found in the clause core periphery, as seen in Chapter 4.

5.2.1.2 Participant orientation in the LDP

A phrase in the LDP identifying a particular participant may serve to alert the listener to a change or contrast in topic participants. Topic activation and topic contrast with simple clauses is described in the next two sections. (Topicalizing with equative clauses will be addressed in Chapter 7.) The placement of vocatives in dialogue clauses is covered in §5.2.1.2.3.

5.2.1.2.1 Topic activation with a simple clause

When a speaker wants to activate an entity from the context of a discourse s/he may mention it first in the LDP before making a comment about it. The purposes served by this preposing include changing the topic to another participant, as in 20) and 21), identifying one member of a group to be singled out for comment, as in 22), and giving explanations about an entity as part of the setting, as in 23). When preposed, this RP takes absolutive case marking, and a resumptive pronoun (underlined in examples 20) to 23)) indicates its syntactic function in the clause. The 3s/4 absolutive pronoun in Kankanaey is a null form, but since the predicate cross-references the absolutive argument, there is no ambiguity when the resumptive pronoun has a null form.

20) *Mo din si nanang = na, kambaw iyat = na en man-sakit*
 as.for RMd PRM mother = 3sII PART say = 3sII QT ACT-hurt
din toktok = na ngem...
 RMd head = 3sII but

‘(Meanwhile) as for her mother, well, she said she had a headache but...’

21) *Mo din istolya ay in-solat = ko, indawat = ko Ø en Jaime.*
 as.for RMD story LK UNDt.P-write = 1sII gave = 1sII 4III OPRM Jaime

‘As for the story I wrote, I gave it to Jaime.’

22) *Si Dolika, ab~aba-en = (n)a si Salmatin.*
 PRM Dolika CVC-carry.baby = 3sII PRM Salmatin

‘Dolika, she was carrying baby Salmatin.’

23) *Din <ini> s?ek = da, danggian di ngadan = na.*
 RMD UNDt.P-plant = 3pII danggian RMI name = 3sII

‘What they planted, its name is *danggian*.’

5.2.1.2.2 Topic contrast

When the purpose of topic activation is to indicate a contrast with other participants, *mo* ‘as for’ often precedes the RP as seen in some examples above and in (24) to (26).

24) *Mo din bi~biteg pay, iwed di begas = da.*
 as.for RMD pl-poor PART NEGEXIS RMI rice = 3pII

‘As for the poor people, they didn’t have rice.’

25) *Mo din lagba, owat nai-sa~saig Ø.*
 as.for RMD basket just UNDTs-CV-stack 4I

‘As for the basket, it was just stacked (with yams).’

26) *Mo din pan-sawid = na koma yan <ini> wak = da = et Ø.*
 as.for RMD NOM.use-ritual = 3sII IRR PART UNDt.P-drop = 3pII = PART 4III

‘As for what they would have used for her ritual, they just dropped it (i.e. didn’t use it).’

5.2.1.2.3 Vocatives

Naming an addressee is generally accomplished with the multifunctional *ay*, which in this context is understood as marking the name as a vocative. When the vocative precedes the clause in a dialogue, it is in the LDP. An intonational pause is only used when the vocative precedes the clause, as seen in example (27).

27) *Ay nanang, ay osto na?... Ay osto adi na ay nanang?*
 VOC mom Q right DEMII Q right PART DEMII VOC mom

‘Mom, is this right?...Is this really right Mom?’

5.2.1.3 Logical orientation in the LDP

Short comments can provide an orientation to the clause that follows them. Phrases and subordinate clauses that give a logical orientation, such as a condition or a reason, also appear before the pause or linking particle of the LDP. Lead-up events, such as perception or entering, which set the stage for the event in the main clause, may also be found in the LDP of a sentence.

5.2.1.3.1 Summarizing phrases

Certain single-word phrases or interjections, often augmented with semantic particles, summarize or comment on a situation from the speaker's point of view, as in 28) and 29).

28) *Olay a, into = y iyat = tako?*
Never.mind PART where = RMi way = 1 + 2pII
'Well, never mind; what can we do?'

29) *Esa pay, maga abe din iskowila ay ka-tolong.*
one PART NEGEXIS also RMd student LK NOM-help
'For another thing, the student helper isn't here either.'

Exclamations also serve as speaker comment, as in 30), where the narrator has just been informed of her friend's suicide plan.

30) *Wey, soy (sino = y) gapo = na pay?*
EXCL what = RMi reason = 3sII PART
'Oh my! What's going on?'

The formulaic summary *idi siya di*¹⁸ sums up a previous section of the discourse as the circumstances providing the context for the next paragraph or episode in a text, as in 31).

31) *Idi siya = et di yan nan-a = et din nakay*
when thus = PART DEM3I PART ACT-get = PART RMd old.man
si ando ay kaiw...
ORMi long LK wood

'That being so (finding the animals gone, not having done the work) the old man grabbed a long stick....'

¹⁸ see Chapter 3 for more about the pro-form *siya*.

5.2.1.3.2 Reasons

The reason for something usually follows the main proposition in the right core periphery (see §5.3.1), but with the phrase *gapo ta* ‘since’, a reason (often a previously-mentioned situation) can occur in a left-detached phrase, as in 32). Simple oblique RPs from the core periphery may also be preposed, as in 33), where it modifies the core ‘I didn’t tell’.

32) *Gapo.ta iwed pilak=ko, wada=y <in>otang=ko ay at?atik.*
 since NEGEXIS money = 1sII EXIS = RMI UNDI.P-borrow = 1sII LK few

‘Because I didn’t have any money, I incurred a little debt (lit. there was what I borrowed that was little.)’

33) *Si bain=ko, ad=ak in-baga ay man-sakit tili=k.*
 ORMi shame = 1sII NEG = 1sI UNDT.P-tell LK ACT-hurt butt = 1sII

‘From embarrassment, I didn’t tell that my tailbone was sore.’

5.2.1.3.3 Conditionals

The subordinating word *mo* may be translated ‘if’, as in 34), or ‘when’, concepts that are very close semantically, as seen in 9) above and also illustrated in 35). Either way, the clause in the LDP sets the hypothetical, irrealis orientation for understanding the matrix clause. Again, the comma is interchangeable with particles, as seen in 36), where the particle *et* separates the dependent clause from the central clause. Example 37) shows that the range of meaning of the conditional *mo* is actually broad enough to allow it to cover both participant preposing and hypothetical condition in a coordinate structure.

34) *Mo sa=y agawa-an=tako di adi=tako=n ka-taktak-an*
 if DEM2I = RMI value-UNDI = 1 + 2PII RMI NEG = 1 + 2pII NOM.delay <

ya ma-gasto-an, i-saa=yo si Narding.

and UNDI.s-expense-NOM UNDT-go.home = 2pII PRM Narding

‘If what we value is our not being inconvenienced or having expenses, (then) take Narding home (from the hospital.)’

35) *Mo kedng-e(n)=m di B.S. degree = m,*
 if/when finish-UND = 2sII RMI B.S.degree = 2sII

into=y obla-e(n)=m ngin?

where = RMI work-UND = 2sII maybe

‘If/when you finish your bachelor’s degree, where might you work?’

36) *Mo ma-olas = ka abe et s <om > a = ka, a.*
 when UNDs-time = 2sI PART PART ACTm-go.home = 2sI PART
 ‘Also when you are dismissed (from school), go home, eh?’ (*olas* indicates ‘dismissal-time’)

37) *Mo sik?a ay lalaki ya en = ka maki-lagbo,*
 as.for/if 2sII LK male and go = 2sI ASSOC-wage
tayna(n) = m si asawa = m.
 leave-UNDI-2sII PRM spouse = 2sII

‘As for you, man, if you go take a paying job, leave your wife (at home).’

5.2.1.3.4 Lead-in events

Other types of clauses found in the LDP are events that are not mainline, but which give the necessary context for the thematic clause in the sentence. In 38), for example, the teacher had gotten chilled while finishing up her work at the school. The example sentence shows the shift from that scene to the next scene encoded as dependent clauses in the LDP, as reflected in the free translation.

38) *S <om > aa = ak sin kotid = mi et s <om > gep = ak,*
 ACTm-go.home = 1sI ORMd cottage = 1pII and ACTm-enter = 1sI
na-li~likod da din gait = ko sin dap?o.
 UNDs.P-CV-gather pl RMd companions = 1sII ORMd fireplace

‘Going home to the teachers’ cottage and entering, (I found) my companions were gathered around the fireplace.’

Perception verbs may be placed in the LDP as lead-in to the content of the perception, which is the central interesting information, as in 39), from a story about riding in an airplane. The particle *pay* ‘furthermore’ often occurs with clauses in the LDP.

39) *Pag man-kilat di os~osdong-ak. Tangad-ek pay*
 all ATT-white RMI look.down-UNDI.1sII look.up-UND.1sII PART
ed kayang yan man-ngisangis.
 LOC above PART sprinkle

‘Everything was white that I was looking down at. Looking up then, (I saw that) it was sprinkling.’

Arrival verbs are often required after movement verbs, and they are often placed in the LDP as background information, as in 40).

40) *D <om> ateng = ak pay, kanan = da en man-taoli = ak ed Trinidad.*
 ACTm-arrive = 1sI PART say = 3pII QT ACT-return = 1sI LOC Trinidad
 ‘When I arrived, they told me to return to Trinidad.’

5.2.1.4 Ordering among constituents in the LDP

When more than one phrase or clause is placed in the LDP, the pragmatic scope of the orientation affects their order. Spatial orientation in 41) sets the stage for the logical orientation. Participant activation precedes the conditional clause in 37) above, but follows the formulaic summary *idi siya di* that signals the beginning of a new paragraph in 42).

41) *Tan mo ed Filipinas pay et mo wa = y ey-an et*
 Because as.for LOC Phils. PART PART if/when EXIS = RMi NOM.go PART
lagdeng = na din siki ay man-dan.
 totally = 3sII RMd leg LK walk

‘Because (as for) in the Philippines, if there is somewhere to go, (one) has no other option than to go by foot (lit. perforce the foot that walks).’

42) *Idi siya di, kambaw si Doligen, man-ot~oto sin beey = da.*
 when thus DEM3I PART PRM Doligen ACT.CVCcooking ORMd house = 3pII
 ‘That being so, (it turns out that) Doligen, he was cooking at their house.’

5.2.2 Right-detached position

Unlike the LDP, few sentence components can be found in a right-detached position. Tag questions and clarifying RPs are in the RDP, which is defined by its intonation break and the pragmatic function of either hearer-confirmation or explanation and clarification.

5.2.2.1 Tag questions

Tag questions request confirmation and follow an intonational pause, as in 43).

43) *Na-ragsak pay.laeng, siya met?*
 ATT-happy still so PART
 ‘Still happy, is that so?’

5.2.2.2 Clarifying RPs

Contrastive and clarifying constituents, as in 44) and 45), also follow an intonation break after the main clause. Constituents that are after-thoughts fit into this pattern as well.

44) *Sisya =y nam-(p)arsua ya nang-ay~ayowan en datako,*
 3sIII = RMI ANTI.P-create and ANTI.P-CVC. take.care OPRM 1 + 2pIII
baken din ap~apo = tako.
 NEG RMD pl-ancestor = 1 + 2pII

‘He is the one who created and has been taking care of us, not our ancestors.’

45) *Mo si Ana, in-toloy = na ay man-iskowila,*
 as.for PRM Ana UNDi-continue = 3sII LK ACT-student
daida en Ben ay sin-iyogtan.
 3sIII OPRM Ben LK unit-sibling

‘As for Ana, she continued to go to school, she and her brother Bennie.’

5.3 Clause peripheries

Like many verb-initial languages, the Kankanaey clause has both left and right peripheries, but uses the right periphery almost exclusively. Only deictics and epistemic adverbs have been observed modifying a clause in its left periphery. The right clause periphery may hold modifying clauses or clarifying restatements.

5.3.1 *Clauses that modify in the right clause periphery*

Modifying clauses that follow the clause are not right-detached, but in the right clause periphery. There is no intonational pause necessary at the margin of the periphery, although with longer constituents the breath-grouping tends to fall before the right peripheral element.

Among many others, Larson (1998:297-378) provides a thorough explanation of communication relations, as does Longacre (1996:51-97). This study does not attempt to give a detailed analysis of interclausal semantic relations, but rather points to the positions and marking that provide the syntactic framework for such an analysis. One of the difficulties in describing the complexity within Kankanaey sentences is that while there are many semantically distinguishable clause-linkage markers, many interclausal and intraclausal linkages are signalled by the ubiquitous neutral linker *ay*, for example, relative clauses, clausal complements, clarifying clauses, and linked cores in control constructions. It is left to the speaker and hearer to decipher, from the semantics of the predicates involved and the constituents of the construction, the correct interpretation of the relationship expressed by the linker *ay*.

Ad-clausal subordinate clauses are found in the right periphery, modify the whole clause, and are preceded by CLMs that express purpose, reason, and exclusive condition, as in 46) to 49). The CLMs are underlined in these examples.

46) *En = kayo ambos-en din Japs ta taoli-en = yo din papilis.*
 go = 2pI ambush-UND RMd J so.that return-UND = 2pII RMd papers
 ‘Go ambush the Japanese (military) so that you bring back the papers.’

47) *I-pa-chekap = yo agan?o Ø sin shop*
 UNDi-CAUS-checkup = 2pII first 4III ORMd shop
ta.say ma-pnek di bayer = yo.
 so.that UNDs-satisfied RMi buyer = 2pII
 ‘Have it checked out first at the shop so that your buyer will be satisfied.’

48) *Anggay ay s <om > kaw tan man-dibidib.*
 already LK CHANGE-cold because ACT-wind.blow
 ‘It was really getting cold because the wind was blowing.’

49) *<Om > ali = kami sin June 23 mo ma-kdeng din kasal.*
 ACTm-come = 1pI ORMd June 23 if UNDs-finish RMd wedding
 ‘We will come on June 23 provided the wedding is finished.’

Embedded subordinate purpose and reason clauses may have their own topicalized phrases or conditional clauses in a pre-core position, sometimes with an intonational or particle-marked pause, as in 50). In an independent clause, these constituents would be placed in the left-detached position as sister to the main clause. Bickel (1993, cited in Van Valin 2005:193) found that in German a conditional clause may be fronted into the pre-core slot, and in Kankanaey the same position is open for phrases and clauses that modify a dependent clause. These elements are placed inside the clause as sister to the core in the only pre-core slot construction evidenced in Kankanaey. Figure 5.2 shows the constituent projection of a sentence that includes the pre-core slot.

50) *I-lipet = mi Ø tan mo dakami, egyat-an = mi san paltog.*
 UNDt-report = 1pII 4III because as.for 1 + 2III fear-UND1 = 1 + 2II DRM2 gun
 ‘We’ll report them because as for us, we’re afraid of those guns.’

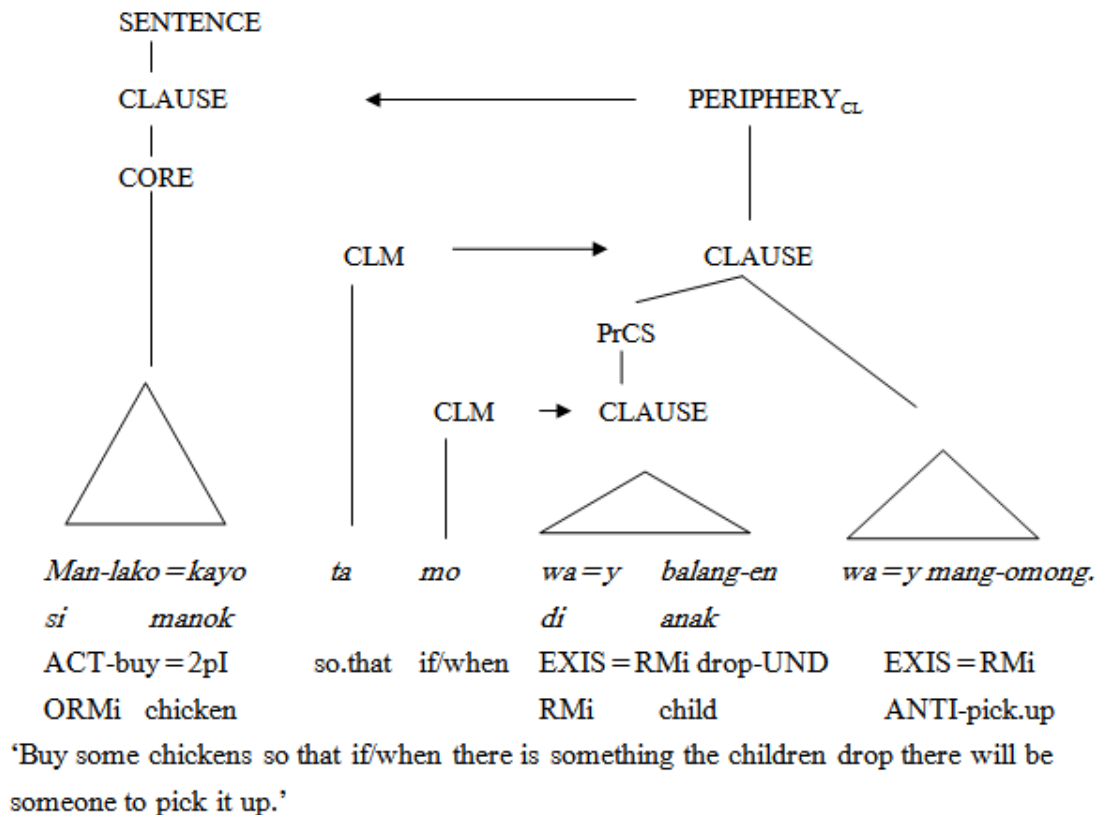


Figure 5.2. Pre-core slot in a subordinate clause

Modifying clauses can precede the main clause in the LDP or follow the main clause in its periphery, depending on the clause linkage markers that are used. Table 5.1 shows the possible positions of clauses that express logical causative relationships in Kankanaey sentences, and the clause linkage markers that express them. This group of clause-linkage markers expresses the relationship of instigation and outcome (a little broader than cause and effect). The main clause presents one side of the relationship as the more salient situation, while the subordinate clause expresses the other side, either the instigating basis or the resultant event or state. The CLMs differentiate between hypothetical or future situations and actual situations.

Table 5.1. Reasons and results
(LDP = left-detached position, R-P_{CL} = Right clause periphery)

	instigation	outcome	instigation	English approximation
irrealis	<i>mo...</i> LDP	main clause		'If X, then Y'
	main clause	<i>ta...</i> R- P _{CL}		'X, so that Y'
realis	<i>gapo.ta...</i> LDP	main clause		'Since X, Y'
		main clause	<i>tan...</i> R- P _{CL}	'X, because Y'

5.3.2 Clarifying restatement clauses

Clauses understood to be clarifying restatements or identifying clauses are not in the core, but are linked from the right clause periphery with the linker *ay* (here a CLM). The clauses may be complete, as seen in 51), where there is no coreferential argument between the two clauses.

51) *Dooy adi ma-kaan din sakit = na*
 DEM3V NEG UNDS-remove RMD sick = 3sII
ay anggay mat~matey = et Ø!
 LK already CVC-UNDS-die = PART 3sI

'There, his sickness isn't being taken away, (he's) already dying!'

In example 52) the *ay*-linked clause (in brackets) modifies the nominalized clause *sin inmaliak* 'when I came'. The main clause is *baken kaman...* '(It) isn't like...'; the *ay*-linked clause adds clarifying information and is in the right periphery of the nominalized clause.

52) *Baken kaman sin <inm> ali-a(n) = k [ay man-liboo yan kana = k en snow].*
 NEG like ORMd NOM.P-come <.1sII LK ACT-cloud and say = 1sII QT snow
 '(It's) not like when I arrived, when there were clouds and I thought it was snow.'

In 53) the coreferential pronoun is omitted in the second clause, but not as core-level argument sharing, since a control/pivot relationship is not evidenced in these amplification clauses. The example in 54) is ambiguous, with one repeated pronoun and the absolutive either the null pronoun, or deleted. The position of these clarifying clauses within the matrix clause periphery allows (but does not require) coreferential pronoun deletion, a closer relationship to the matrix clause than coordinate clauses which virtually never share coreferential pronouns across the clause boundary (as noted in §5.1).

53) *Ka.e~ey=ak abe=d Baguio ay adi nan-pak~pakada.*

IMM-CV-go = 1sI also = LOC Baguio LK NEG ACT.P-CVC-say.farewell/permission

‘I would also just go off to Baguio without letting anyone know.’

54) *Et k <in> olang-an = da = et din soldado = n Lt. Polit*

and UNDI-lack < = 3pII = PART RMd soldier = BRM Lt. Polit

ay p <in> altog-an = da.

LK UNDI.gun < = 3pII

‘And they reduced the number of Lieutenant Polit’s soldiers, shooting them.’

5.4 Complex clauses

Within a clause, regardless of its position in the sentence, there may be two or more cores joined within the clause. The core juncture may be coordinate or subordinate. No evidence has been found for cosubordinate relations between clauses or clause cores. §5.4.1 covers ‘control’ constructions with coordinate cores. Subordinate core junctures may be found where clauses are joined from the right core periphery with prepositional phrases, or when a matrix predicate takes a core as its complement. All core junctures are linked with *ay*.

5.4.1 Non-subordinate core junctures

In non-subordinate core junctures, the first core carries any perfective aspect marking as well as the illocutionary force while the second core has certain restrictions on affixation and argument omission. Single-argument control, Actor-control and Undergoer-control constructions are detailed in this section.

5.4.1.1 Single-argument control construction

In these constructions the first core has a single argument, often the EXPERIENCER of an inner state. The second core may also be intransitive, as in 55), in which case the omitted pivot will be the single argument of that predicate. If the second core is transitive and the actor is the coreferential argument, there are two possible affixations. The linked core may have an Undergoer-voice predicate with the actor argument omitted, seen in 56). The second affixation possible for the linked core indexes transitive actors. This is the prefix *maN-* (*naN-* with perfective) as a “structural antipassive” (Cooreman 1994). This prefix creates a form, seen in 57), that can not function predicatively by itself. The undergoer of a transitive predicate can only be the coreferential omitted argument if it is given detransitivizing passive morphology, as in 58).

55) *I-bado = m na ta adi = ka mab~ma-bain*
 UNDT-clothes = 2sII DEMII so.that NEG = 2sI CVC-ATT-shame
ay d <om> ateng sin iskowilaan. $S_U = S_A$
 LK ACTm-arrive ORMd school

‘Wear this so you won’t feel embarrassed to arrive at the school.’

56) *Sa.pay.koma.ta na-ragsak = kayo ay datng-an nan solat = ko.* $S_U = A_T$
 hopefully UNDS.P-happy = 2pI LK arrive-UNDI DRM letter = 1sII

‘Hopefully you are happy to receive/come upon (this) my letter.’

57) *Ma-bain = ak ay manodsod (maN-sodsod).* $S_U = S_{ANTI}$
 UNDS-shame = 1sI LK ANTI-tell.negative

‘I’m embarrassed to give the bad news.’

58) *Mai-tapi = s sisya ay mai-tayaw.* $S_U = S_U$
 UNDTs-add = PRM 3sIII LK UNDTs-fly

‘He was included in being flown away.’

Verbs of motion can form core junctures with other verbs, as with the “come to get” construction in 59), which has a preceding modal operator.

59) *Ay mabalin ay <om> ali = kayo ay mang-a en sak?en sina?* $S_A = A_{ANTI}$
 Q possible LK ACTm-come = 2pI LK ANTI-get OPRM 1sIII DEMIIV

‘Would it be possible for you guys to come get me here?’

5.4.1.2 Actor-control constructions

In Actor-control constructions the first core has an ergative actor argument that controls the reference of the omitted argument of the second predicate. The omitted argument in the second core must be a direct core argument (S , A_T , U_T) but no other syntactic restrictions are placed on it. The second core may be intransitive, its single argument omitted. If the second core is transitive, there are the same two possible affixations that were noted above in §5.4.1.1. It may use the marked antipassive *maN-* or it may use an Undergoer-voice affix. In the latter case, either its actor argument or its undergoer may be omitted as the pivot of the construction, depending on the co-reference with the actor of the first core.

Cores that modify a second core by indicating manner, phase¹⁹ or other details are linked with *ay*, as in (60) to (62). In these examples the first core has a clitic actor argument, and the

¹⁹ As Perlmutter (1970) notes, phase predicates may modify at different levels. See §5.4.4.1 example 88) for clause-level phase predicates.

omitted actor of the second core is co-referential. This controller-pivot relationship is symbolized in the right column.

60) *I-ginek = na* (Ø) *ay t <om> okdo sin kad?ak.* $A_T = S_A$
 UNDt-quiet = 3sII (3sI) LK CHANGE-sit ORMd place.1sII
 ‘She got (herself) quiet, sitting down beside me.’

61) *Kana = k ay man-nem~nemnem, “Tet?ewa kayman sa.”* $A_T = S_A$
 say = 1sII LK ACT-CVC-think true PART DEM2I
 ‘I said to myself (lit. I said thinking), “Yes, that’s true.”’

62) *In-logi = mi ay mang-i-obla sin papeles = ko.* $A_T = A_{ANTI}$
 UND.P-begin = 1pII LK ANTI-Th-work ORMd papers = 1sII
 ‘We began to work on my papers.’

Transitive verbs of internal experience form complex clauses with two cores in those cases when the experiencer (Actor macrorole) is also an argument in the linked clause. The controller of this construction is the Actor of the first core; the pivot is only restricted to being a direct (i.e. not oblique) argument of the second core. Note that in both 63) and 64), the omitted argument in the second core is the Actor argument; in 63) the transitive predicate takes the antipassive *maN-*, while in 64) the predicate indexes an Undergoer (the CONTENT of the request).

63) *Laydelaydek ay mangila = d Baguio.* $A_T = A_{ANTI}$
CVCCV~layad-en = ko maN-ila = ed
 INTENS-like-UND = 1sII LK ANTI.see = LOC Baguio
 ‘I’d just love to see Baguio (City).’

64) *Layd-ek ay dop?et-en mo pig?an di <om> ey-an.* $A_T = A_T$
 like-UND.1sII LK ask-UND if when Rmi NOM-go <
 ‘I’d like to ask when the departure-time is.’

In 65) the first Actor is coreferential with the absolutive argument of the associate-indexed predicate, in this case an Actor. In 67)a. and b., two clauses from the same text show the second core argument as an Undergoer, first indexed with the (passive) stative affix *ma-i-* in a., which can only take one direct argument, and then with the unmarked theme-Undergoer-voice affix *i-* in b. The interpretation of the pivot in 67)b is pragmatic; in this text the referent is clearly ‘the old man’; in another context it could be referring to a different deceased person, and a 3s pronoun (Ø) could be posited rather than an omitted argument.

65) *Awan, sigaa(n)=k ay maki-ey en sik?a!* $A_T = S_A$
 none dislike.UND = 1sII LK ASSOC-go OPRM 2sIII

‘No way! I don’t want to go with you!’

66) *Sigaan=(d)a abe ay ma-baa.* $A_T = S_U$
 dislike.UND = 3pII also LK UNDs-send.on.errand

‘They didn’t want to be sent on errands, either.’

67) a. *Ni-layad nina ay nakay ay mai-ponpon si kinakristiyano.* $A_T = S_U$
 UND.P-like DEM1III LK old.man LK UNDTs-bury ORMi Christianity

‘This old man wanted to be buried Christian-style.’

b. *Ni-layad=na ay i-ponpon=yo.* $A_T = U_T$
 UND.P-like = 3sII LK UNDT-bury = 2pII

‘He wanted you guys to bury him.’

Examples 68) to 72) use a variety of experience verbs of attitude and cognition. In 68) the second core uses the structural antipassive with the incorporated-theme prefix indicating the presence and definiteness of the Undergoer. 70) presents the pivot as the indexed Undergoer of the second core, while 71) has the ergative Actor as pivot. 72) has an embedded juncture, with both strategies for transitive second cores exemplified.

68) *Anosam ay mangiayoan tan na-bay Ø.* $A_T = A_{ANTI}$
anos-an=mo maN-i-ayoan

patient-UNDI = 2sII LK ANTI-Th-care.for because UNDs-tired 3sI

‘Put up with taking care of it for him because he’s tired.’

69) *Adi=na ammo ay maki-kadwa.* $A_T = S_A$
 NEG = 3sII know.UND LK ASSOC-companion

‘He doesn’t know how to get along with others.’

70) *<Ini>tlok=na ay p<in>a-kan=ko.* $A_T = U_T$
 UNDT.P-allow = 3sII LK UND.P-CAUS-eat = 1sII

‘She allowed me to feed her (lit. allowed that I fed her).’

71) *Oonong-ek ay taltal-en din tangeb.* $A_T = A_T$
 persist-UND.1sII LK pry.open-UND RMd door

‘I will persist in prying open the door.’

72) *Gaan = da ay mang-adal ay basa-en din kali = tako.* $A_T = A_{ANTI} = A_T$
 dislike = 3pII LK ANTI-learn LK read-UND RMD language = 1 + 2p
 ‘They don’t want to learn how to read our language.’

5.4.1.3 Undergoer-control constructions

Undergoer-control constructions are those in which the first core is transitive and its Undergoer is the controller of the shared argument of the second core. The pivot in Undergoer-control constructions is restricted to the single argument of a (formally) intransitive predicate, indexed on the second predicate which is given voice marking to accommodate this restriction. Thus, in example 73), the Undergoer *dakami* ‘1p’ is indexed as the intransitive Actor of the second clause. In 74), the Undergoer *sak?en* ‘1s’ is indexed as the Undergoer of a state predicate, while in 75) passive morphology makes the Undergoer the single argument of the detransitivized predicate *tapi* ‘to add or join’. In 76) the second clause has a semantically transitive predicate with a specific undergoer; the antipassive predicate indexes the shared argument as the transitive Actor.

73) *Initdoan = da = s dakami ay man-getad.* $U_T = S_A$
<in> i-todo-an
 UNDI.P-teach < = 3pII = PRM 1pIII LK ACT-fell.tree
 ‘They taught us how to cut down trees.’

74) *Keddeng-an = da = s sak?en ay ma-tey.* $U_T = S_U$
 sentence-UNDI = 3pII = PRM 1sIII LK UNDS-die
 ‘They will sentence me to die.’

75) *<In> awis = na = s sak?en ay mai-tapi sin obla = da.* $U_T = S_U$
 UND.P-persuade = 3sII = PRM 1sIII LK UNDTs-join ORMd work = 3pII
 ‘He persuaded me to join (lit. be joined) in their work.’

76) *Tolong-a(n) = m kod sak?en ay en mang-anap sin antokos = ko.* $U_T = A_{ANTI}$
 help-UNDI = 2sII please 1sIII LK go ANTI-search ORM glasses = 1sII
 ‘Please help me go look for my glasses.’

5.4.2 Core subordination

Previous chapters have noted that Kankanaey makes extensive use of nominalized predicates that index an omitted absolutive argument. When such predicates have ergative arguments, these are included in the nominalized expression, creating nominalized cores. Oblique referents and phrases that modify the periphery of nominalized cores may be included,

creating nominalized clauses. Complex RPs constructed from nominalized clauses are very common in Kankanaey.

In Kankanaey, clauses with temporal and locative functions are subordinated by nominalization and expressed as an oblique-marked reference phrase in the core periphery, as in 77). A few prepositions that express temporal functions, such as *inggana* ‘until’ in the bracketed subordinate clauses in 78) and 79), can take a linked clause rather than a nominalized phrase.

77) *Pagano sisya [sin nan-tur~turay-an=(n)a si gobierno].*
 pagan 3sI ORMd ACT.P.NOM-CVC-rule<=3sII ORMi government

‘He was following the traditional religion (lit. pagan) at/during the time that he was serving in the government.’

78) *Asi=kami pay b<om>alalong [enggana ay datng-en=mi din danan].*
 then=1pI PART ACTm-go.downhill until LK arrive-UND=1pII RMd trail

‘Then we went downhill until we found the trail.’

79) *En=kami=et nan-i~inom [enggana ay l<om>abi].*
 go=1pI=PART ACT.P-CV-drink until LK CHANGE-night

‘We went out drinking until it was night.’

5.4.3 Quotation complement subordination

A direct quotation is the semantic complement of a speech or thought predicate. These complements may be whole sentences or paragraphs, and are considered as subordinate units that are extraposed as sister to the clause with the matrix (speech or thought) predicate. In Kankanaey, a direct quotation may precede or follow the matrix predicate. If it follows, it may be preceded by the CLM *en* (tagged QuoTe), as in 80). If the matrix predicate follows, there is no CLM, as in 81). Figure 5.3 shows the extraposed position of direct quotation sentences.

80) *Anggay yan kana=na en, "Na-tey baw si Nabulay."*
 already PART say.UND=3sII QT UNDs-die PART PRM Nabulay

‘That being done, he said, “I realize Nabulay has died.”’

81) *Ma-kdeng pay, "May, en=ka i-gto Ø," kana=na.*
 UNDs-finish PART OK go=2sI UNDt-store 4III say.UND=3sII

‘When that was finished, “OK, go put it away,” he said.’

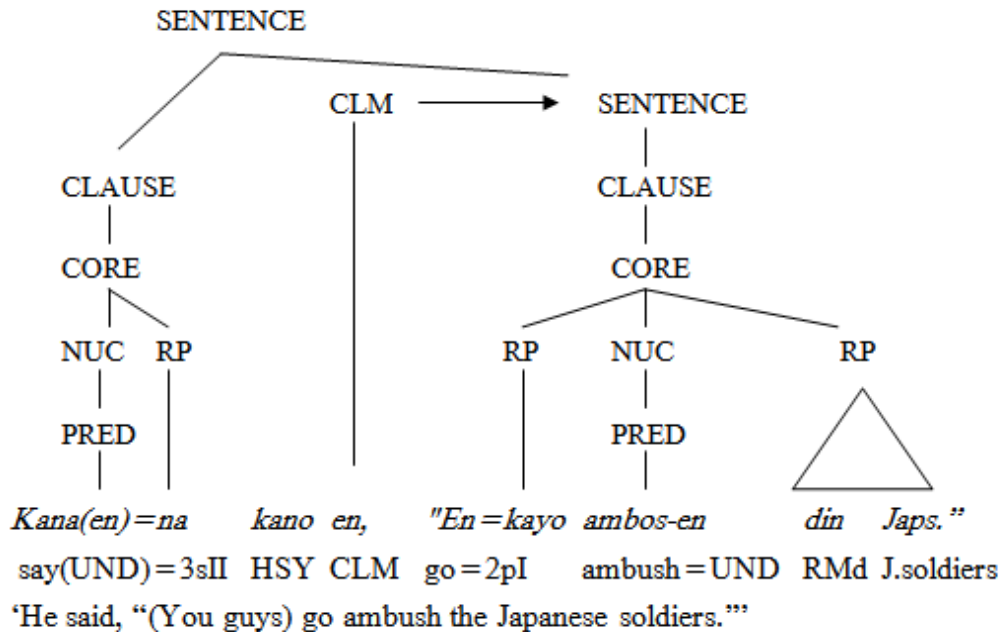


Figure 5.3. Direct quotation sentence

Indirect quotation involves a clausal complement that indirectly expresses the content of verbs of expression or mental process. In Kankanaey these complement clauses are also extraposed; they are sisters to their matrix core. Like the direct-quotation complement, the CLM is *en*, as in 82) to 84). When the complement expresses uncertainty or a question, the CLM is *mo* ‘if’, as in 85).

82) *Nem~nemnem-e(n)=k en adi=ak <om>ali=s bigat.*
 CVC-think-UND=1sII QT NEG=1sI ACTm-come=ORMi tomorrow

‘I am thinking/considering that I won’t come tomorrow.’

83) *Kana=na en <om>ey=ak ed Kabingan sin agsapa.*
 say.UND=3sII QT ACTm-go=1sI LOC Kabingan ORMd morning

‘She said that I was to go to Kabingan in the morning.’

84) *Iyat=na en man-sakit din toktok=na.*
 say.thus=3sII QT ACT-hurt RMd head=3sII

‘She said that her head hurt.’

85) *Layd-ek ay dop?et-en mo pig?an di <om>ey-an.*
 like-UND.1sII LK ask-UND if when RMi NOM-go<

‘I’d like to ask when (someone) is to go (i.e. departure time).’

Verbs of self-reporting speech often denote mental processes, as may be seen in 86) and 87). The implication with imperfective aspect is often negative, with an opposite outcome.

86) *Kana =k en man-solat =ak si lesson plan.*

say.UND = 1sII QT ACT-write = 1sI ORM lesson plan

‘I intended to write lesson plans (but didn’t).’

87) *Kana =k mo na-laka ay man-asi-il~ila =tako, kambaw na-ligat Ø!*

say.UND = 1sII if ATT-easyLK ACT-RECIP-CVC-see = 1 + 2pI PART ATT-hard 4I

‘I thought (mistakenly) it would be easy for us to get together, now I realize it is difficult!’

Extrapolation is attested by the presence of core-peripheral constituents preceding the complement, such as the time phrase *ed idi* ‘previously’ in the diagram of an indirect quotation sentence in Figure 5.4.

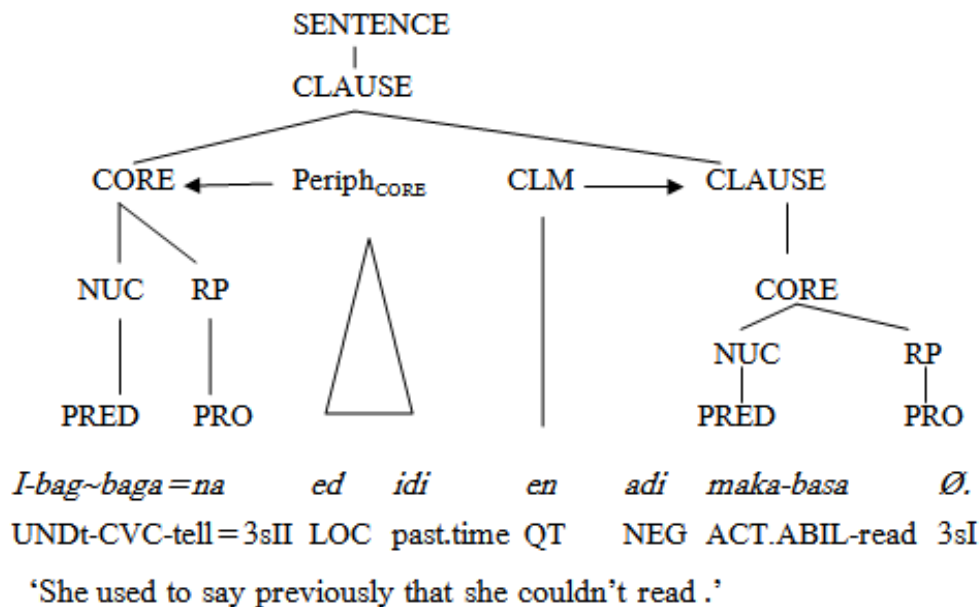


Figure 5.4. Indirect quotation sentence

5.4.4 Other clausal complements

When a clause serves as a complement (logical argument) of a Kankanaey predicate, it is preceded by *ay*, Kankanaey’s ubiquitous linker. The following sections will consider predicates that can take clausal complements; these include temporal predicates, attributive predicates, nominal predicates, perception and performative predicates.

5.4.4.1 Temporal predicates

Temporal predicates may specify a point or phase (beginning, end, etc.), as in example 88). Other temporal predicates include *kanayon* ‘all the time’, *nabayag* ‘for a long time’, as in 89), or even specific time constructions, as in 90). These predicates take clausal complements which are subordinated, preceded by the linker *ay*.

88) *Nan-logi ay nan-sakit = ak ed Trinidad.*

ACT.P-begin LK ACT-sick = 1sI LOC Trinidad

‘My being sick started in Trinidad.’ (lit. It started that I was sick)

89) *Na-bayag ay adi nan-ngal~ngalat din man-bonong.*

ATT-long.time LK NEG ACT-CVC-converse RMd ACT-pray

‘The one who prays (i.e. traditional religious leader) didn’t respond/speak for a long time.’

90) *Enggay maka-bowan ay ma-ola~olaw = ak.*

already ABIL.ACT-month LK UNDs-INTENS-dizzy = 1sI

‘It’s already been a month that I’ve been having dizzy spells.’

5.4.4.2 Attributive predicates

Another type of predicate that takes complements is a small group of attributive words that express the speaker’s evaluation of the state of affairs expressed in the entire clause. These propositional attitude predicates take the clause as complement, as in 91) to 93).

91) *Mayat ay ma-iwed di disturbo et na-olnos di ponpon.*

good LK UNDs-NEGEXIS RMi disturbance and ATT-orderly RMi burial

‘It was good that there was no disturbance and the funeral went smoothly.’

92) *Sigurado ay adi = na aboloy-an san in-baga = yo*

for.sure LK NEG = 3sII agree-UNDI DRM UNDt.P-say = 2pII

mo baken man-lig~ligat.

if NEG ACT-CVC-suffer

‘It’s certain that he would not have agreed to what you said if it were not the case that he was under duress.’

93) *Tet?ewa ay mo <om>i-turay din aklong et sa = y*

true LK if ACT(LH)-Th-rule RMd desire PART DEM2I = RMi

mang-i-turong si ka-dadael-an.

ANTI-Th-lead ORMi NOM-destroy <

‘It’s true that if desires rule a person, that will be what leads him/her to destruction.’

5.4.4.3 Nominal predicates

Kankanaey has several nonverbal predicates with an ergative/possessive argument that take a state of affairs as their second argument. Thus, in 94) the nominal predicate ‘its sufficiency was...’ takes the *ay*-linked clause as its complement. Similarly, in 95) in the second clause, beginning with *tan* ‘because’, the predicate ‘its alternative is...’ takes the following *ay*-linked clause as its argument. 96) may be seen as having a similar structure, with a full RP as the first argument and a clause as the second argument.

94) *Eped=na ay s<in>akit=ko si dowa ay agew din tili=k.*
 sufficiency=4II LK UND.P-hurt=1sIIORMi two LK day RMD butt=1sII
 ‘It was enough to make my tailbone sore for 2 days.’

95) *Ten?e(n)=m san egen=mo tan kapy=na ay*
 limit-UND=2sII DRM load=2sII because alternative=4II LK
ma-yetyet-an=ka sin danan.
 UNDI-s-dented=2sI ORMD trail

‘Limit your load because otherwise on the trail you’ll be dented (i.e. left with a dent mark in your skin).’

(from the head strap pressing on the forehead)

96) *Gandat di d<om>atng-an di odan ay ad?ado=y*
 characteristic BRMi ACTm.NOM-arrive< BRMi rain LK many=RMi
ma-pannateng.
 UNDS-colds

‘It is a customary outcome of the arrival of rainy season that many have colds.’

5.4.4.4 Perception and internal experience predicates

Verbs of perception and internal experience may also take a clausal complement when there is no shared argument. Subordinated with *ay*, as in 97) to 100), there is no restriction on the affixation in the second clause. Figure 5.5 shows embedded complementation.

97) *Mo dengng-en di aag?i=na ay mai-ponpon Ø...*
 if hear-UND RMi relatives=3sII LK UNDTs-bury 3sI
 ‘If his relatives hear that he is buried...’

98) *Na-ammo-an ay si dakami di nan-basol.*
 UNDI-s.P-know< LK PRM 1pIII RMi ACT-do.wrong
 ‘It became known that we were the ones at fault.’

99) *Sed~sed?-en = mi kasin ay <om>ali da Marlyn.*
 CVC-wait-UND = 1pII again LK ACTm-come pl Marlyn.

‘We are waiting again for Marlyn’s group to come.’

100) *Layd-e(n) = k ay <om>aptik din labi.*
 like-UND = 1sII LK CHANGE-short RMd night

‘I want/ed the night to be cut short.’

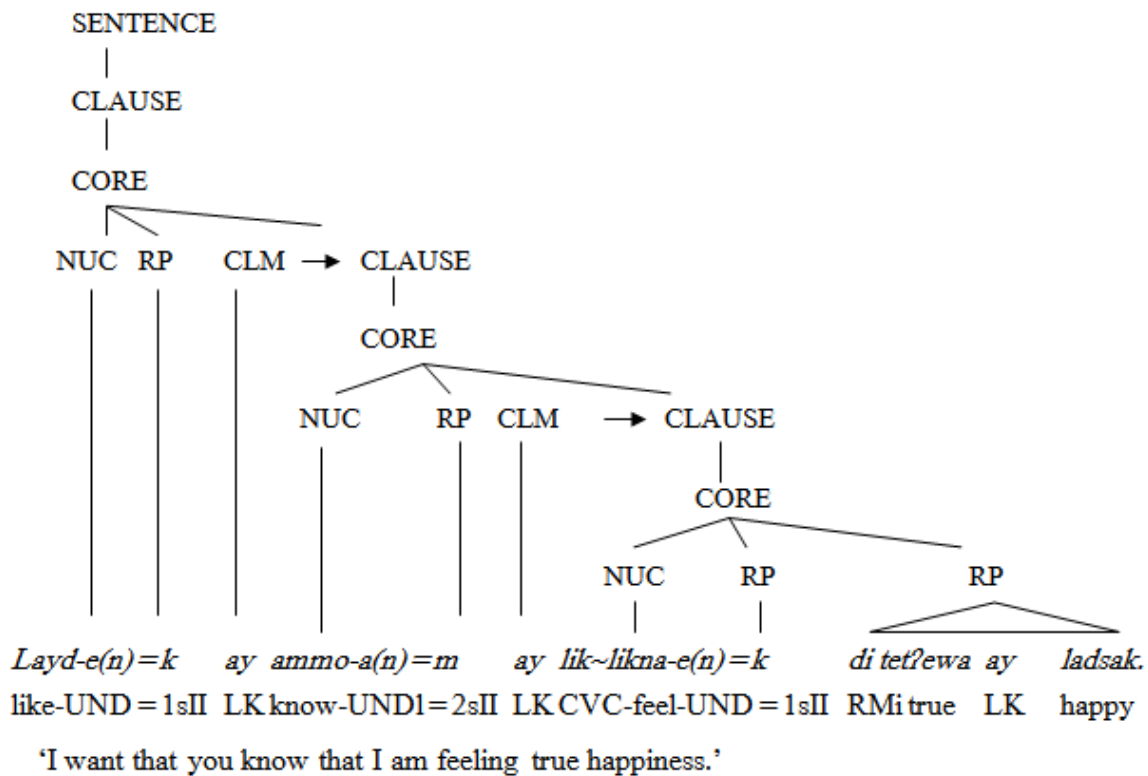


Figure 5.5. Recursive clausal complements

5.4.4.5 Performative speech predicates

Performative speech verbs such as ‘promise’ take subordinate clauses as their complement and can not take a RECIPIENT argument. The complement does not share the co-referential Actor argument with the speech-predicate core, but rather the argument is overt in each core, as may be observed in 101) and 102). For these clauses the CLM is *ay*.

101) *In-kali = n Mayor ay lokat-an = (n)a kasin din high school.*
 UNDt.P-promise = BPRM Mayor LK open-UND1 = 3sII again RMd high school

‘Mayor promised that he would open the high school again.’

102) *Kolominto-a(n)=k ay maka-ammo=ak sin anak=yo.*
 swear-UNDI=1sII LK ABIL.ACT-know=1sI ORMd child=2pII

‘I solemnly swear that I will take responsibility (lit. able to know) for your child.’

5.5 The sentence complex

In oral and written texts, a type of sentence is often encountered that provides background information or recounts events that build or release tension toward or away from peak sections. This type of sentence consists of a running sequence of independent and dependent clauses loosely connected with a variety of CLMs. The sequence comprises a semantic unit in the story line or thematic development, and its highest node is labeled ‘sentence complex’. ‘Reasoning sequences’ tend to use explanatory CLMs, while ‘action sequences’ use CLMS that loosely indicate temporal or logical succession. Because the participants carry over from one clause to the next, co-referential argument deletion can be examined in these contexts, revealing that 1s, 2p and personal 3p pronouns almost never are omitted, and therefore the 3s and 4 (impersonal) pronouns, although null, are not dropped. Pragmatics, especially the immediately preceding clause constituents, determine the referent of the null pronouns.

5.5.1 Reasoning sequences

In the following three examples of ‘reasoning sequences’, examples 103) to 105), the CLMs are bracketed giving reasons and results and extenuating circumstances, but not actions.

103) *Tamang-en=yo amin ed demang ay doy*
 look.far-UND=2pII all LOC mid-distance LK DEM3V

sin kad?a=n di bato,
 ORMd place=BRMi stone

‘All of you look over there across the way where the stone is,’

[ta] machinegun-an din soldados=ko Ø
 so.that m.gun-UNDI BRMd soldiers=1sII 4III

‘so my soldiers will shoot at it with machine guns’

[ta] ila-en=yo di ka-pigsa =n di paltog di Nipponngo,
 so.that see-UND=2pII RMi NOM-strong =BRMi gun BRMi Japanese

‘so you will see the strength of the guns of the Japanese,’

[ta] adi=kayo las~lasoy-en Ø,
 so.that NEG=2pI CVC-underestimate-UND 4III

‘so you won’t underestimate them,’

[tan] ed niman dakami di ap~apo = yo.
 because LOC now 1pIII RMi CVC-lord = 2pII
 ‘because now we are your rulers.’

- 104) *[Et mo] panggep abe din iskowila-e(n) = k,*
 and if regarding also RMd student-UND = 1sII
 ‘And then as regards my studies,’
medyo ma-lig~ligat-an = ak,
 somewhat UNDI-s-CVC-difficult < = 1sI
 ‘I’m having a rather hard time,’
kalkalo ed nowani
 especially LOC now
 ‘especially nowadays’
[ay] na-ngina amin di ma-lako-an
 LK ATT-expensive all RMi UNDI-s-buy <
 ‘when everything to be bought is expensive’
[isonga] s <om > aldeng = ak
 therefore ACTm-stop = 1sI
 ‘therefore I will stop (my education)’
[ta] man-anap = ak kano = s pan-obl-a(n) = k.
 so.that ACT-see = 1sI HSY = ORMi NOM-work < = 1sII
 ‘so I am to look (they say) for a place for me to work.’

- 105) *Siyat = da = n ila-(e)n*
 necessary = 3pI = DISP see-UND
 ‘They must watch out’
[ta] adi kap~ka-p?ot-an Ø
 so.that NEG UNDI-s-CVC-dew < 4I
 ‘so they (yams) don’t get dewed on’

[ono] adi ka-od~odan-an Ø
or NEG UNDI-s-CVC-rain < 4I

‘or don’t get rained on’

[tan mo] ma-p?ot-an Ø, ng <om > itit Ø
because if UNDI-s-dew < 4I CHANGE-dark 4I

‘because if they get dew on, they darken’

[yan] man-pait Ø mo kan-en Ø
and ATT-sour 4I if eat-UND 4III

‘and they are sour if (one) eats them’

[yan] adi abe = n kai-gto Ø si ma-bayag.
and NEG also = DISP UNDTs-store 4I ORMi UNDS-long.time

‘and they also can’t be stored for any length of time.’

5.5.2 Action sequences

‘Action sequences’ use the linkers *et* and *yan* which are almost as semantically bleached as *ay* but may indicate temporal or logical succession. Examples 106) to 108) show the types of relationships between clauses in action-sequence sentences. Again, the repetition of the personal pronouns—1s in 106) and 3p in 107)—justify the presence of the 3s and impersonal null pronouns.

Note that the first one or two clauses are marked as completive (P), setting the temporal framework for the rest of the clauses in the sequence, which are unmarked. This discourse-level temporal dependence is not restricted to action-sequence sentences, but may also cross syntactically un-linked sentence boundaries in Kankanaey.

106) Nan-sang?at = ak sin iskowilaan

ACT.P-climb = 1sI ORMd school

‘I climbed uphill by the school’

[yan] man-posopos abe

and ACT-turn also

‘and turned back again’

[et] datng-e(n) = k din ketang

and arrive-UND = 1sII RMd creek

‘and I found the creek’

[as(i)] = ak pag song-en Ø
then = 1sI then go.upstream-UND 4III

‘and then I followed it upstream’

[et] d <om> ateng = ak sin danan ed na-ongdo
and ACTm-arrive = 1sI ORMd trail LOC UNDS-above

‘and I arrived at the upper trail ‘

[et] pag = ak s <om> aa
and then = 1sI ACTm-go.home

‘and then I went home’

[yan] man-sokat = ak
and ACT-change = 1sI

‘and I changed clothes’

[et] pag = ak ma~ma-ek.
and then = 1s CV-UNDS-sleep

‘and then I went to sleep.’

107) Na-pno = da sin esa = y kowarto
UNDS-full = 3pI ORMd one = LK room

‘They filled one of the rooms’

[yan] en = ak = et i-tining Ø
and go = 1sI = PART UNDt-peek 4III

‘and I went to peek (at something)’

[et] kambaw si Nanny ay anggay man-sak~sakit Ø
and EVID PRM N LK already ACT-CVC-pain 3sI

‘and (I saw that) it was Nanny, who was very sick’

[ay] kaman ma-tey Ø,
LK like UNDS-die 3sI

‘like she was going to die,’

[yan] pag = da = n ayag-an din anak = da ay wada = d Baguio
and then = 3pI = DISP invite-UNDI RMD child = 3pIILK EXIS = LOC Baguio

‘and then they called their son who was in Baguio’

[yan] pag = da = n <om> ali
and then = 3pI = DISP ACTm-come
'and then they came'

[et] en = da i-laga-an Ø
and go = 3pI UNDD-ritual 3sI
'and they went to do rituals for her.'

108) Ad(i) = ak ammo baw Ø
NEG = 1sI know(UND) EVID 4III
'Well, I didn't know it'

[yan] din ka-tokmang = ko ay ka-dwa = k,
and RMD NOM-neighbor = 1sII LK NOM-two = 1sII
adi dedan t <inm> agtag Ø
NEG EVID ACTm.P-run 3sI

'(but) my neighbor that was my companion, he didn't run away'

[isonga] na-pasobo Ø
therefore UNDS.P-endanger 3sI
'so he got in a dangerous situation'

[et] istay todok-en din na-beteng Ø
and almost stab-UND BRMd UNDS.P-drunk 3sI
'and the drunk guy almost stabbed him'

[ngem] imbag.ta wada = n lagba = s di
but luckily EXIS = RMD back-basket = DEM3IV
'but luckily there was the back-basket there'

[et] sa = y t <in> okang = na ay nang-tingga
and DEM2I = RMI UND.P-tip.over = 3sII LK ANTI-fend.off
'and he knocked that over to fend him off'

[et asi pag] l <om> ayaw Ø
and then then ACTm-flee 3sI
'and then afterwards he ran away'

[yan] <om>ali Ø baw ed beb~beey
 and ACTm-come 3sI EVID LOC CVC-house

‘and (evidently) he came to our home’

[ay] man-og~oga Ø
 LK ACT-CVC-cry 3sI

‘he was crying’

[yan] an~anap-en=(n)a sak?en
 and CVC-seeK-UND=3sII 1sIII

‘and he was looking for me’

[tan] in-pasobo=k Ø kano.
 because UNDt.P-endanger=1sII 3sI HSY

‘because he said I had endangered him.’

5.6 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (bracketed in these examples) are modifiers in reference phrases, as introduced in Chapter 3. They are connected by the linker *ay* from the left periphery of the RP nucleus when descriptive and non-restrictive, as in 109) where the relative clause immediately precedes the nucleus, and generally from the right periphery when restrictive, as in 110).

109) Di ka-ado-an ay amag-en=da si tapey,
 RMi NOM-many< LK make-UND=3pII ORMi ricewine

din [baken d<in> eas-an ay] pagey.

RMi NEG P-well.pounded-UNDI LK rice

‘Mostly what they make into rice-wine, it’s the under-pounded rice.’

110) Si naey di dad?at di ipogaw [ay na-tey
 PRM DEM1III RMi story BRMi person LK UNDs.P-die

asi b<om>angon ed na-baon.]

and.then CHANGE-get.up LOC ATT-long.ago

‘This is a story of a person who died and then revived long ago.’

The predicate in the relative clause is affixed to index the semantic role of an omitted argument that is coreferential with the head of the modified RP, as in the examples above and in 111). As with some other subordinated clauses, a gapped transitive actor role is indicated by the structural antipassive as in 112). Nominalizing affixes are used if the relative clause indicates the time or place of the predicate, as in 113).

111) *Din istolya [ay in-solat di Amilikano]*
 RMd story LK UNDt.P-write BRMi American

‘The stories that the Americans wrote’

112) *Wada di an?anak [ay nang-i-pa-sgep en dakami].*
 EXIST RMi child LK ANTI.P-Th-CAUS-enter OPRM 1pIII

‘There was a child who invited us to come in.’

113) *din nay ay singbaan [ay pangi-mis~misa-an = da en sak?en]*
 RMd DEMIV LK church LK NOM.Th-CVC-services < = 3pII OPRM 1sIII

‘this church (where) they will be holding services for me’ (e.g. mass for healing prayer)

The gap strategy cannot apply to possessors or arguments of already-nominalized predicates in the relative clause. In such cases, a resumptive pronoun is retained, using the minimally-specified impersonal (4th-person) class II pronoun, as in 114), where it is homophonous with 3rd person singular, but in 115), it is clearly impersonal because the matrix co-referent is plural. The same pronoun indicates the actor of a nominalized Undergoer-indexed predicate, as in 116), where the coreferential matrix RP head is the 1st person pronoun. In the following examples the co-referential argument is underlined.

114) *Di animal [ay na-tey di anak = na]*
 RMi animal LK UNd.P-die RMi child = 4II

‘An animal whose young has died’

115) *Dakayo [ay man-?es~?esa di poso = na]*
 2pIII LK ACT-INTENS-one RMi heart = 4II

‘You whose hearts have become one’

116) *Am?amed si sak?en [ay iwed di am~?ammo = na]*
 especially PRM 1sIII LK NEGEXIS RMi CVC-know.UND = 4II

‘Especially me, who knows nothing’

Conclusion

This chapter has gone beyond the simple clause to examine multiple-clause and multiple-core constructions. The RRG framework accommodated coordinate junctures and subordinate junctures at both clause and core and nuclear levels, using peripheral, extra-core and detached positions. The next chapter takes a different approach to many of these structures, looking at the grammatical relations that they evidence.

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Chapter 6 Privileged Syntactic Arguments

Introduction

The syntactic status of arguments in RRG is characterized in terms of the privileges given to one constituent, the privileged syntactic argument (hereafter PSA) of a given construction. This chapter will first look in depth at the functions that are the province of the PSA of the clause. Then in §6.2 the PSAs of several other key constructions are detailed. §6.3 explains the functions that are covered by non-PSA constituents.

6.1 The privileged syntactic argument of the clause

In constructing a grammatical clause in Kankanaey, the first step is to determine the semantic representation—the ‘logical structure’ (LS) of the predicate. This process was

detailed in Chapter 2, where it was seen that each *Aktionsart* classification has a unique logical structure that includes the salient argument positions.

The next step is to assign macrorole status to arguments in the logical structure, based on their position there. One of the arguments that has macrorole status is then chosen as the privileged syntactic argument (PSA) of the clause. This section will cover the process of macrorole assignment, PSA selection, and the coding and behavioral properties that the PSA of the Kankanaey clause exhibits.

6.1.1 Assigning macrorole status and the PSA of the clause

In RRG, thematic roles such as PATIENT, LOCATION, EFFECTOR, etc. are correlated with their position in the LS of the predicate of the clause. There are five possible argument positions in the *Aktionsart* system; these are displayed in Figure 6.1. These thematic relations between predicates and their arguments may be grouped into two semantic macroroles, Actor and Undergoer, which correspond to the syntactic arguments in a clause structure.

The possible assignment of macrorole status is represented by the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy, adapted for Kankanaey from VanValin (2005:126). The arrows indicate the possible range of assignment. The principles that guide macrorole assignment are listed under the hierarchy diagram in Figure 6.1.

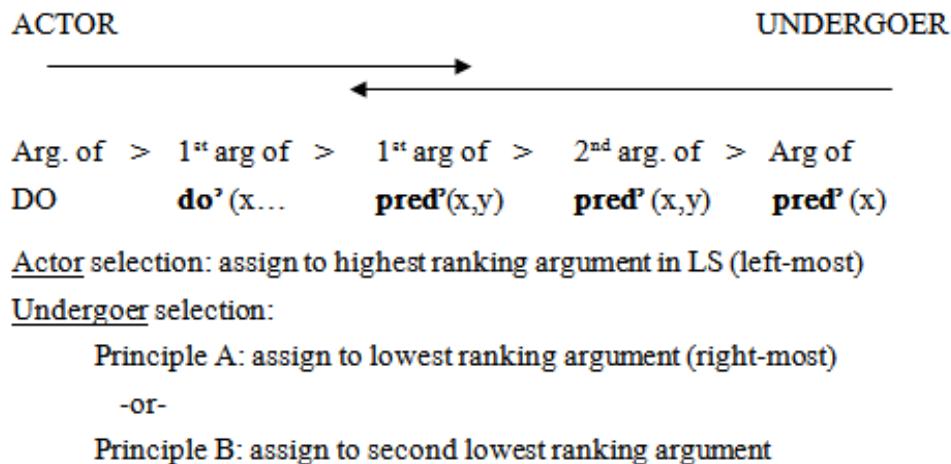


Figure 6.1. Actor-Undergoer hierarchy and assignment principles

Macrorole status is assigned to the single argument of a predicate that takes at least one argument. (Nature predicates are an exception.) As the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy predicts, the Actor macrorole is given to single arguments of **do'**(x) and first arguments of **pred'**(x,y). The single argument of an intransitive state predicate, **pred'**(x), is

assigned the Undergoer macrorole. In Kankanaey, as was seen in Chapter 2, the predicate affix indicates whether the single argument is Actor or Undergoer, and thus indicates the type of predicate, i.e. *Aktionsart* classification.

When there is more than one argument in a predicate's logical structure, there is the possibility of a second macrorole. The selection principles are shown in Figure 6.1. Assigning the Actor macrorole is a rather straightforward process, the Actor being the left-most in the LS. Some restrictions apply to the assignment of the Undergoer macrorole as the second argument—the argument must be referential and wholly included in any effect specified by the predicate. Thus Activity predicates with non-referential arguments have only one macrorole; they are macrorole-intransitive.

With a complex predicate whose LS consists of a combination of logical structures, such as a causative predicate, there may be more than two argument positions shown in the LS. Figure 6.1 shows the two possible strategies for selecting one of the non-Actor arguments for Undergoer macrorole assignment. With Principle A the right-most argument in the LS is given Undergoer assignment. With Principle B the next-to-right-most argument is selected. The factors governing the choice between Principle A and Principle B are discourse-pragmatic.

Once the macrorole assignment is clear, one of the macrorole-assigned arguments is selected to bear the privileged relation to the predicate. This relation (PSA) is privileged syntactically in that it is signalled by coding properties and by behavioral properties, a distinction suggested by Keenan (1976). The PSA is coded by absolutive case marking and the indexing on the verb; the form of the predicating affixation indicates that argument's semantic function. Historically, this function has been called "focus" marking in Philippine linguistics.

6.1.2 PSA case coding

The PSA of any clause is given absolutive case marking. For reference phrases this is expressed by the unbound reference phrase marker (RM) or the proper name reference marker (PRM). For pronouns, class I is used for single arguments and class III for the PSA of transitive clauses. Only one absolutive-marked participant is possible in a clause. (§6.3.2 will show that in a syntactically transitive clause, the Actor argument is given ergative case marking. All other arguments and adjuncts are given oblique marking.)

In basic two-argument Kankanaey clauses both the Actor and Undergoer may be topical and relevant, but an Undergoer is the default choice for PSA, an ergative pattern reflected in the absolutive marking on the PSA. In 1) the Undergoer argument takes the same RM as the single argument in 2).

- 1) *I-ali =n din babai din anak.*
 UNDt-come =BRMd woman RMd child

‘The woman brings the child.’

- 2) *<Om>ali din anak.*
 ACT-come RMd child

‘The child comes.’

In examples 3) and 4) the same ergative pattern holds with proper names.

- 3) *I-agadang =na si Romy.*
 UNDt-cross.river = 3sII PRM Romy

‘He takes Romy across the river.’

- 4) *Man-agadang si Romy.*
 ACT-cross.river PRM Romy

‘Romy crosses the river.’

Table 6.1, repeated from Table 3.6, displays the personal pronouns of Kankanaey.

Table 6.1. Personal pronoun patterns

pronoun class	I	II	III
	Single	Trans.Actor	Trans.Undergoer
1s	= <i>ak</i>	= <i>ko</i>	(<i>PRM +</i>) <i>sak?en</i>
1p	= <i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	<i>PRM + dakami</i>
2s	= <i>ka</i>	= <i>mo</i>	(<i>PRM +</i>) <i>sik?a</i>
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	= <i>yo</i>	<i>PRM + dakayo</i>
1 + 2	= <i>ta</i>		<i>PRM + daita</i>
1 + 2p	= <i>tako</i>		<i>PRM + datako</i>
3p	= <i>da</i>		<i>PRM + daida</i>
3s	\emptyset / <i>sisya</i>	= <i>na</i>	\emptyset / <i>sisya</i>
4(impersonal s/p)	\emptyset	= <i>na</i>	\emptyset

Except for 3rd person singular and the impersonal 4th person, absolutive (PSA) pronouns have two different forms that indicate their relation as the single argument

(class I) or as the transitive-Undergoer argument (class III). In example 5), two clauses have the same predicate *na-ila* and same participant ('you') selected as PSA. The first clause is transitive, with a Class III Undergoer PSA; the second clause is intransitive with a Class I Undergoer PSA. One could hypothesize that the conditioning factor for this split of pronoun form is phonological and posit bound vs. unbound allomorphs of the privileged pronoun, but example 6) disproves this hypothesis. In this example the process that displaces the Actor to a pre-predicate position has left the privileged Undergoer argument phonologically next to the predicate, yet it retains its Class III form.

5) *Na-ila = k sik?a. Na-ila = ka.*
 UND.P-see = 1sII 2sIII UND.P-see = 2sI
 'I chanced to see you.' 'You were seen.'

6) *En = kami i-ponpon sik?a tan na-tey = ka.*
 go = 1pI UND-bury 2sIII because UND.P-die = 2sI
 'We were going to bury you because you died.'

6.1.3 Ordering in basic clauses

Argument-ordering codes the syntactic functions of RPs within a clause. Single or Actor arguments occupy the first post-predicate position as in 7). This is an accusative pattern of semantic role neutralization. The only possible intervening elements are a small group of semantic particles. Rigid argument order serves to disambiguate ergative and absolutive reference phrases whose markers are homophonous following a consonant-final word. This is demonstrated in 8), where a. shows the homophonous forms, and b. shows the forms distinguished; in both cases the argument ordering is Actor-Undergoer.

7) *Na-ek din moyang.*
 UNDS-sleep RMd baby
 'The baby fell asleep.'

8) a. *Kat-en din aso din posa.* b. *I-adawa = n din anak din kawayan.*
 bite-UND BRMd dog RMd cat UNDt-hand = BRMd child RMd bamboo
 'The dog bites the cat.' 'The child hands over the bamboo.'

Because the reference phrase markers distinguish a three-way ergative-absolutive-oblique distinction, the order of the absolutive Undergoer and any oblique argument may be pragmatically determined. Thus in 9), the oblique argument 'stone' may precede

the absolutive argument, because it is semantically needed to understand the precise meaning of *adosog* ‘pound’, or perhaps it is positioned as part of the predicate-focus structure, preceding the very topical ‘vehicle’ argument (see Chapter 7 for more about topic and focus structure). In 10) the oblique recipient argument precedes the lengthy absolutive phrase (bracketed), avoiding the awkwardness that would result from placing ‘to your care’ after ‘your spouse’.

9) *Adosog-a(n)=k si bato din logan.*
 pound-UND1=1sII ORMi stone RMd vehicle
 ‘I pounded on the vehicle with a stone.’

10) *Enggay in-polang=da en sik?a [nan babai ay asawa=m].*
 already UNDTs.P-hand.over=3pII OPRM 2sIII DRM1 female LK spouse=2sII
 ‘They have now transferred to your care this woman who is your wife.’

Although oblique marking is the same for peripheral and core argument phrases, the order of the phrases differentiates them. Peripheral adjuncts such as time phrases must follow any oblique arguments, which belong to the core of the clause. Thus in 11), the locative phrase required by the motion predicate must precede the peripheral time phrase.

11) *S<om>aa=ak ed Acop si bigat.*
 ACTm-go.home=1sI LOC Acop ORMi next.day
 ‘I’m going home to Acop tomorrow.’

6.1.4 PSA indexing on the predicate

The Kankanaey clause consists minimally of a predicate. Nature predicates have no overt argument and are macrorole atransitive. (The null 4th-person absolutive ‘it’ cannot be posited here as a single argument because of its inability to be nominalized from such predicates.) Unaffixed and frozen-form predicates take one absolutive argument, but there is no PSA indexing on the predicate.

6.1.4.1 Indexing with unaffixed and frozen-form predicates

In clauses that identify a referent by class, or indicate attributes of a single participant, this single argument is semantically correlated with its predicate. Class roots take no indexing affixation, but the single argument is flagged as PSA (§6.1.2) by the RM or a Class I pronoun. A small class of attribute predicates are formed with

unaffixed property roots. Example 12) illustrates unaffixed identification and attribution predicates.

12) *Doktor din anak =yo. Ando =kayo ya ando din anak =yo.*
 doctor RMD child =2pII tall =2pI and tall RMD child =2pII
 ‘Your child is a doctor. You guys are tall and your child is tall.’

Most attribute predicates are formed with intransitive affixes as ‘frozen forms’ (the affix does not carry any aspectual information), and the entity that is described (the attributant) is the privileged single argument, as in both clauses of 13). The indexing affixes are arbitrarily assigned to property roots to form attribute predicates.

13) *Man-kilat di esa yan na-toling din odom.*
 ATT-white RMI one and ATT-black RMD other
 ‘One is white and the others are black.’

6.1.4.2 Indexing with affixed predicates with one argument

Indexing affixes on all other roots indicate the generalized thematic relation and macrorole of the privileged argument. Regardless of role, the single argument is the PSA of the clause, signalled by the affix agreement of the predicate.

6.1.4.2.1 Single-argument state and state-change predicates

With predicates that have the LS **pred'** (x) , the Undergoer macrorole is assigned to the single argument, as the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy predicts. As the PSA, the argument is indexed with the *ma-* prefix. In Figure 6.2 the assignment of the macrorole and the subsequent indexing with the prefix are shown for the simple example. The logical structure indicates a thematic role of PATIENT as the single argument of the stative root and the affix *ma-* (tagged UND(ergoer-)s(tate)) indexes this role as a type of Undergoer. Macrorole assignment of the argument is shown with a solid line, while the indexing for the PSA is represented by a broken line.

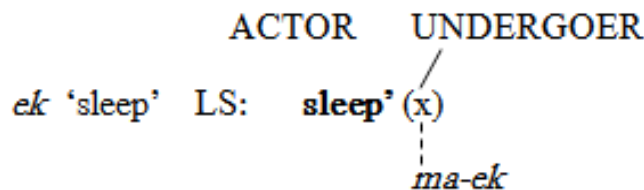


Figure 6.2. Macrorole assignment and affixation with a state predicate

- 14) *Ma-ek si Kindi.*
 UNDS-sleep PRM Kindi
 ‘Kindi is asleep.’

Single-argument change-of state predicates with the LS INGR **pred'** (x) or PROC **pred'** (x) are indexed with the infix *<om>* (tagged CHANGE) on a stative root, as in 15). The change may be punctual or not, depending on the meaning of the root.

- 15) *Ng<om>ato din blood pressure = ko.*
 CHANGE-high RMD blood pressure = 1sII
 ‘My blood pressure is rising.’

6.1.4.2.2 Single-argument activity predicates

Single-argument predicates with the LS **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x)]) are indexed with one of the four Actor-indexing affixes in Table 6.2, where it is seen that the Actor-indexing affixes in Kankanaey have distinctive semantic implications regarding agentivity.

Table 6.2. Actor-indexing affixation

Affix (and tag)	Agency implications
<i>maN-</i> (for a few roots)	agency assumed but not required
<i>man-</i> (ACT)	agency assumed but not required
<i>maka-</i> (ACT.ABIL)	abilitative, agency blocked
<i><om></i> (ACTm)	movement, no agency implicature

In 16), the single argument is an EFFECTOR and is indexed as a type of Actor with the prefix *man-* (ACT(or)) on the root.

- 16) **do'** (x, [**hop'** (x)])
Man-lakik?i si Langdew.
 ACT-hop.one.foot PRM Langdew
 ‘Langdew hops on one foot.’

Note in example 17) that although the two sets of predicates have the same affixes as in 13), the roots that take the affixes are very different. In 13) both are inherent color attributes. In 17) the first predicate indicates a dynamic situation (crying) and shows agreement with the privileged argument as an Actor while the second predicate describes a situation affecting the same entity (the children) but this time as Undergoers.

17) *Man-?oga din anan?ak tan na-kibtot = da.*
 ACT-cry RMd children because UNDS.P-startle = 3pI
 ‘The children cry because they were startled.’

The affixes *man-* and the less-common *maN-* are used to form intransitive predicates of agentive activity; the choice of affix is arbitrarily required by the root.

18) *Man-golo din manbonong.*
 ACT-create.disturbance RMd pray-er
 ‘The one who prays (traditional religious leader) will make a fuss.’

The ‘abilitative’ Actor-indexing prefix *maka-* (*naka-* with perfective aspect) blocks agentivity in the Actor argument. Figure 6.3 shows two possible affixations for the Actor argument of the movement predicate *ali* ‘come’. The abilitative indicates potential for action when imperfective. With perfective aspect it indicates fortuitous success in a situation. In 19) the writer politely implies that only inability would keep the reader from attending the next day’s event, while in 20) the packing activity took some time or effort to complete.

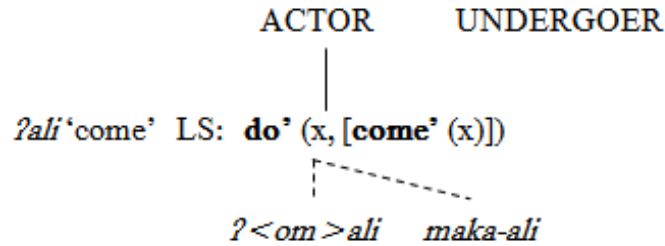


Figure 6.3. Macrorole assignment and affix indexing for two Actor roles

19) *Sapay.koma.ta maka-ali = kayo = s bigat.*
 hopefully ACT.ABIL-come = 2sI = ORMi next.day
 ‘I hope you guys will be able to come tomorrow.’

20) *Idi naka-balkot = ak, na-ek = ak.*
 when ACT.ABIL.P-pack = 1sI UNDS-sleep = 1sI
 ‘When I had managed to pack up, I slept.’

Predicates of physical movement are formed with movement or position roots and the infix *<om>*. These predicates may involve volition when the Actor is animate, as in 21), but also index inanimate MOVER Actors (thus the added tag ‘m(over)’), as in 22).

(§6.1.4.6.3 will present a small class of movement roots that index the MOVER as Undergoer.)

21) *Ay* <om> *ali=ka?*
 Q ACTm-come = 2sI
 ‘Are you coming?’

22) *L* <inm> *osop din lobid.*
 ACTm.P-untied RMd rope
 ‘The rope came untied.’

Physical movement predicates may take <om> when the action is natural, unmotivated or unintentional, such as pawing the ground as in 23). More intentional movements are affixed with *man-*, as in 24).

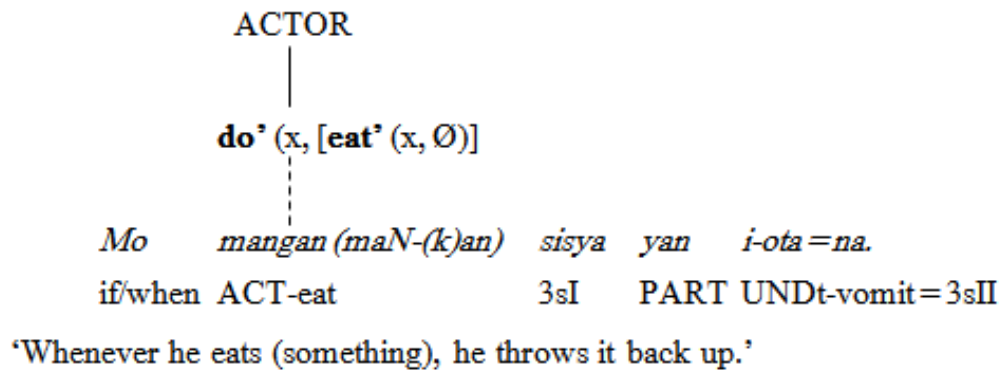
23) *K* <om> *od~kodkod din kabayo.*
 ACTm-PROG-paw.ground RMd horse
 ‘The horse is pawing the ground.’

24) *Peteg di layad=ko, man-tal~talok=ak.*
 extreme RMI enjoy = 1sII ACT-CVC-jump = 1sI
 ‘I was so happy, I was jumping up and down.’

6.1.4.2.3 Two-argument activity predicates

Many activity predicates have two arguments in the logical structure, which is represented as **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x,y)]) . The second argument may be non-referential, or incompletely affected, or not specifically identified. In such a case the second argument cannot be linked to the Undergoer macrorole, and the clause has only one macrorole assigned, the Actor. In Kankanaey the Actor is assigned as PSA, and an Actor-referencing affix is used to form the predicate of an intransitive clause. The second argument is given oblique marking.

The linking between the Actor argument in the logical structure and the affixation used is shown in Figure 6.4. The predicate ‘eat’ with the Actor-referencing affix does not require mention of the unspecified food that is eaten, but it is clearly implied, as the second clause proves. In 25), the second participant is non-referential and the clause is intransitive, with an oblique second argument.



**Figure 6.4. Macrorole assignment and affix linking
with a one-macrorole activity predicate**

- 25) *Man-lako = kayo abe si sin-asawa ay manok.*
 ACT-buy = 2pI also ORMi unit-spouse LK chicken
 ‘Also buy a pair of chickens.’

6.1.4.3 Indexing with multiple-argument clauses

If more than one participant is referential in the state of affairs, the Actor macrorole assignment is very straightforward—it is left-most in the LS, as seen in Figure 6.1. More variable is the Undergoer assignment; it is available to many participants, as specifically licensed by each root. Selection may follow Principle A or Principle B in Figure 6.1.

If there are both Actor and Undergoer macroroles assigned from the logical structure, the Undergoer participant is the required default choice for PSA. This is an ergative pattern, assigning to the Undergoer argument the same privilege as the single argument of an intransitive predicate. The predicate affix will index the non-Actor argument that has been given Undergoer macrorole assignment.

There are some exceptions to the Undergoer-as-PSA requirement. §6.1.4.6 will look at situations when a predicate meets the conditions for having both an Actor and an Undergoer, but because of specific semantic conditions the Undergoer is not selected as PSA. This is a PSA modulation construction in that the Actor macrorole in such a situation is chosen as PSA, forming a marked antipassive-voice predicate.

In most situations, though, predicates with two macroroles will be formed with Undergoer-indexing affixes. Table 6.3 lists these affixes and suggests a common thematic role that an Undergoer so indexed would fill.

6.1.4.3.1 Transitive Undergoer-indexing affixes

Table 6.3. Undergoer-indexing affixation

Affix (and tag) ²⁰	Position of PSA(x) in LS	Likely thematic role
<i>-en</i> (UND)	do'.....pred' (x)	PATIENT
<i>i-</i> (UNDi)	do'...be-LOC' (y, x) use' (y, x)	THEME INSTRUMENT
<i>ma-</i> (UNDS)	pred' (y, x)	STIMULUS (with nonagentive PERCEIVER)
<i>-an</i> (UNDl)	do'...be-LOC' (x, y)	STATIC LOCUS
<i>i...an</i> (UNDD)	do'...be-LOC' (x, y)	DIRECTIONAL LOCUS

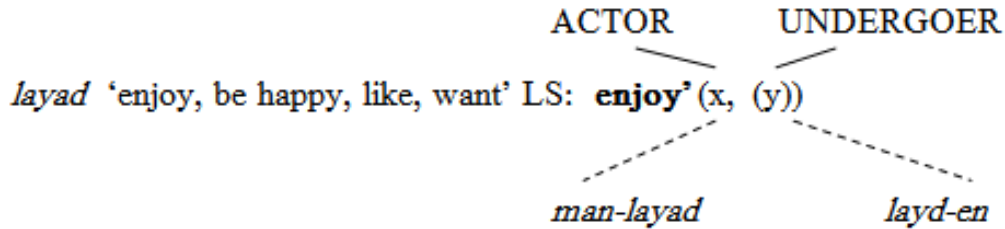
An Undergoer PSA will be indexed by a predicate affix from Table 6.3, and that PSA will be marked with absolutive case, demonstrative class I or pronoun class III. Table 6.3 indicates for each indexing affix the likely argument position where the PSA so indexed would be found. Also included is a typical thematic role that an argument might have in that position.

Principle A for Undergoer macrorole assignment (see Figure 6.1) yields predicates affixed with *-en* or *i-*. With most predicates *-en* indexes the most PATIENT-like argument. The affix *i-* generally indexes a THEME, the right-most argument (y) in LSs that have locative predicates such as **be-at'** (x,y) or **be-with'** (x,y). The second (INSTRUMENT) argument of **use'** (x,y) is also indexed by *i-*. The prefix *ma-* usually occurs with intransitive predicates but is also allowed with transitive perception predicates. Principle B assigns Undergoer macrorole status to the first argument of locative predicates, a static LOCATION or GOAL indexed by *-an*, while RECIPIENTS and BENEFICIARIES use *i...an* which indexes arguments toward which or away from which the activity moves.

The following examples show the possible linking of Macroroles to the argument structure, and the affixation that results. The logical structures of these predicates is shown, with macrorole possibilities and the linking from PSA (x, y, z, or w) to affixation.

²⁰The abbreviations for the indexing affixes are as follows: ACTor, ACTor-m(over), Th(eme), UNDergoer-s(tate), UNDergoer(patient), UNDergoer-t(heme), UNDergoer-l(ocus), UNDergoer-d(irection), UNDergoer-m(over).

Figure 6.5 shows the two affixations possible with the stative root *layad* ‘enjoy’, as seen in example 26). With only the Actor macrorole assigned, the *man-* indexing shows that the PSA is the Actor and the predicate is intransitive. When both macroroles are assigned, the Undergoer macrorole is selected as PSA. The *-en* affixed predicate is macrorole-transitive and syntactically transitive.



**Figure 6.5. Macrorole assignment and affix linking
with a two-argument state predicate**

26) *Man-layad si Bitmar. Layd=ena din mangga.*
 ACT-enjoy PRM Bitmar enjoy = UND.3sII RMd mango
 ‘Bitmar is happy. She likes/wants the mango.’

Perception-state predicates generally have arguments that indicate CONTENT of the perception by a conscious PERCEIVER. Both arguments are given macrorole assignment, the Undergoer macrorole is the PSA, and the predicate is transitive. When the Actor of such predicates is consciously experiencing her perception, an Activity component **do'** could reasonably be posited in the logical structure. The first display in Figure 6.6 for the predicate ‘see’ shows the Actor macrorole assigned to the left-most argument. If the right-most argument is not given macrorole status due to indefinite reference, the Actor is assigned as PSA with the affix *man-*, forming an intransitive Activity predicate ‘look for’, as in 27). If the Undergoer macrorole is assigned to the CONTENT argument, it must be assigned as PSA, indexed by *-en*. The second display in Figure 6.6 does not have the **do'** predicate. The PERCEIVER is assigned the Actor macrorole, but such an Actor is specifically fortuitous, non-agentive, non-directive of the perception, as reflected in the free translation of 28). The PERCEIVER maintains its canonical syntactic status as ergative Actor. This transitive use of *ma-* is only possible with perception predicates. If the Actor is not specified, it will not receive macrorole assignment and the *ma-* indexed predicate will be intransitive.

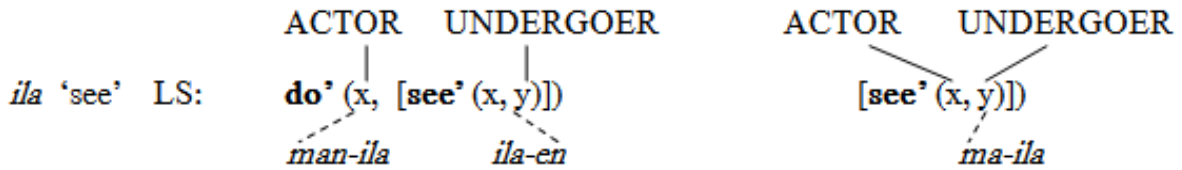


Figure 6.6. Macrorole assignment and affix linking with a perception-state predicate

- 27) *Man-ila = ka = s asawa = m.*
 ACT-see = 2sI = OPRM spouse = 2sII
 'Keep an eye out/Look for a wife (for yourself)!'

 28) *Ed England na-ila = k di snow.*
 LOC England UNDs.P-see = 1sII RMI snow
 'In England I had the chance to see snow.'

The diagram in Figure 6.7 shows a complex causative logical structure and the various options for Undergoer assignment. Four affixations are possible with the action root *pespes* 'squeeze'. Note that *-en* is used for a more PATIENT-like Undergoer, one that is bodily affected. The Actor macrorole is only given PSA status and indexing affixation on the predicate when there is no specific, fully affected argument that qualifies for Undergoer assignment, as is the case in 29).

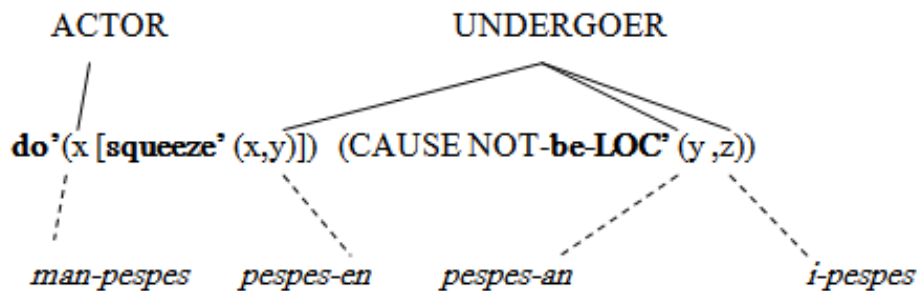


Figure 6.7. Macrorole assignment and affixation with a causative option

- 29) *Man-pespes = ka si kalamansi.*
 ACT-squeeze = 2sI ORMi calamansi
 'Squeeze some calamansi (citrus fruits).'

 30) *Pespes-e(n) = naka.*
 squeeze-UND = 1sII + 2sI
 'I'm going to give you a hug!'

31) *P<in>espes-an Marta din kalamansi.*
 UNDI.P-squeeze < Marta RMd calamansi
 ‘Marta squeezed the calamansis.’

32) *I-pespes = mo din danom = na sin tasa.*
 UNDt-squeeze = 2sII RMd water = 4II ORMd cup
 ‘Squeeze the juice into the cup.’

In Figure 6.8 the display shows predicates formed with the action root *ponas* ‘wipe’ with a full range of participants. Note that in the absence of any PATIENT argument, the THEME indexing is *-en*. This action (‘wipe’) most typically is performed for the purpose expressed in the CAUSE part of the logical structure, but the **use**’ predicate is a credible addition to the root meaning. Examples 33) and 34) show the indexing for each different PSA possibility.

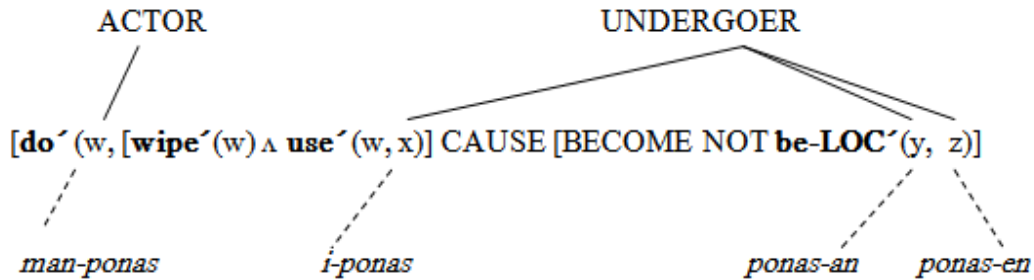


Figure 6.8. Macrorole status and affixation with no PATIENT in the LS

33) <i>Man-pon~ponas din katolong.</i>	<i>Ponas-a(n) = na din lamisaan.</i>
ACT-CVC-wipe RMd helper	wipe-UNDI = 3sII RMd table
‘The helper is wiping.’	‘She’s wiping the table.’
34) <i>I-ponas = mo nan kalaley.</i>	<i>Ponas-e(n) = m din kaloloya.</i>
UNDt-wipe = 2sII D1RM rag	wipe-UND = 2sII RMd dirt
‘Wipe with this rag.’	‘Wipe away the dirt.’

Predicates that denote a change of location for a THEME Undergoer caused by an Actor have the logical structure:

[do' (x, [root' (x,(z))])] CAUSE [INGR/BECOME **be-LOC'** (y, z)].

All three arguments (x, y, z) are required by the predicate. The z-argument THEME PSA is typically indexed with *i-*. When such predicates index the Actor, the affixes *man-* and *i-* very often occur together for this function as *man?i-*, tagged ACT.Th, to indicate

that the activity includes the movement of a THEME. Some examples of Actor-indexed location-change predicates are listed in 35).

- 35) *man?i-takin* 'take along/ cause to go with'
man?i-baa 'send on errand/cause to go somewhere for a purpose'
man?i-dateng 'bring/cause to arrive with'
man?i-daton 'offer as a sacrifice/transfer ownership via sacrifice'
man?i-lako 'sell/transfer ownership to another'
- 36) *Man?i-ali=ka=s* *kampilan.* *Man?i-baa=ka* *kod* *si* *odom.*
 ACT.Th-come=2sI=ORMi sword ACT.Th-send=2sI PART ORMi other
 'Bring a sword.' 'Please send somebody else.'

Figure 6.9 shows the typical ditransitive root *todo* 'teach: cause someone to come to know something', a transfer of information. If there is no Undergoer-macrorole assignment, the Actor is indexed with *man-* or *man?i-* and given PSA status, as in examples a) and b) following Figure 6.9. With transfer predicates, *i-...-an* indexes a RECIPIENT, as in c), and *i-* indexes the THEME, as in d). Although either argument may be given macrorole assignment as being more salient, the THEME argument takes precedence over the RECIPIENT if both are specific entities. The reason for this is that the non-macrorole third argument is given oblique marking, and a THEME with definite oblique marking will be interpreted as partially affected. A RECIPIENT, which is likely to be a person, can maintain its specific reference using the oblique reference marker. Therefore if both RECIPIENT and THEME participants are specific and salient, the THEME will be the PSA. There is no evidence of ditransitivity on the syntactic level, i.e. there are no predicates that take three direct core arguments.

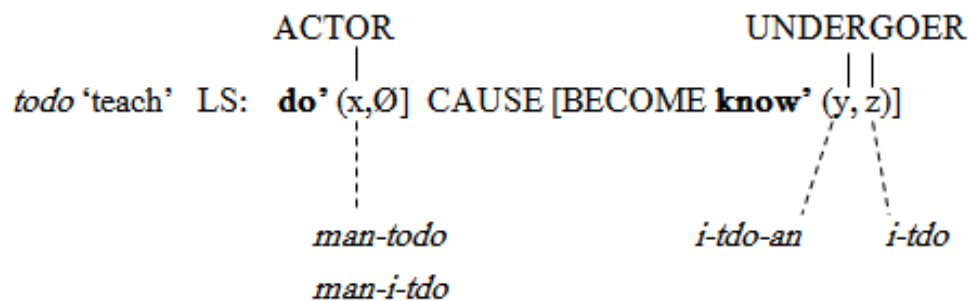


Figure 6.9. Macrorole assignment and affixation with a three-place predicate of transfer

- a. *Nan-todo = ak si Day Care children*
 ACT.P- teach = 1sI ORMi Day Care children
 ‘I taught day-care children.’
- b. *Man-it~i-tdo = ak si Sunday School.*
 ACT-CVC-Th-teach = 1sI ORMi Sunday School.
 ‘I am teaching Sunday School.’
- c. *It~i-tdo-an = yo = s sisya sin iyat = na ay man-obl.*
 CVC-UNDD-teach < = 2pII = PRM 3sIII ORMd way = 3sII LK ACT-work
 ‘(You guys) be teaching her about how to work.’
- d. *Ini-tdo = n Todyak din danan sin pamilya = na.*
 UNDt.P-teach = BPRM Todyak RMd path ORMd family = 3sII
 ‘Todyak showed/pointed out the path to his family.’

6.1.4.4 Indexing with valency-augmenting affixation

Three constructions in Kankanaey increase the options for macrorole assignment. The first is the presentation of a self-affecting motion as reflexive, having an Undergoer that is co-referential with the Actor. A second is the introduction of a second argument such as a comitative or instrument with intransitive roots. The third is the overt introduction of a causing AGENT to the logical structure of a predicate.

6.1.4.4.1 Self-affecting movements and activities

As seen in Chapter 2, physical roots may form an activity predicate of self-movement or state predicates of position. Both may be formed with <om> indexing the single argument, as seen in Figure 6.10, where the Actor macrorole is posited for movement, and Undergoer macrorole for position states. Physical-position roots may also present the single argument as a THEME Undergoer, using the prefix *i-*, as in 37) b. The second form is less formal, and is often used for commands. The PSA linked to the Undergoer macrorole is co-referential with the overt Actor and can not be given expression in the clause (thus the ? in example 37. b).

The *i-...an* (directional) circumfix indexes the SOURCE in 39) and creates a transitive predicate.

- 39) *I-layaw-a(n)=m* \emptyset *mo* *seppat-en = daka*.
 UNDD-run.away < = 2sII 3sIII if beat-UND = 3sII.2sI
 ‘Run away from him if he beats you.’

Conveyance predicates are regularly formed with the *i-* applicative affixed to motion roots, as in 40), but unusual possibilities are very wide-ranging. Example 41) shows how handily the *i-* applicative with a class root can express the situation. An argument that might be conceived as a metaphorical THEME may be available as PSA with *i-*, as in 42).

- 40) *I-ey = mo* *sa* *en* *ama = m*.
 UND-go = 2sII DEM2I OPRM father = 2sII
 ‘Take that to your father.’

- 41) *Owat = ak* *in-loga~logan* *din* *odom* *ay pilak*.
 only = 1sI UNDt.P-INTENS-vehicle RMd other LK money
 ‘I used (lit. vehicled) the rest of the money for my repeated vehicle rides.’

- 42) *I-oga = m* \emptyset *ta ma-kaan* *din* *sakit di* *nemnem = mo*.
 UNDt-cry = 2sII 4III so UNDS-remove RMd hurt/sick BRMi
 thought = 2sII
 ‘Cry them (feelings) out so your painful feelings/thoughts will be gone.’

6.1.4.4.3 Affix-agreement linking with derived ‘pa-’ causative predicates

As noted in Chapter 2, the causative *pa-* prefix adds a causer, an AGENT participant who causes a state of affairs; this AGENT must be assigned the Actor macrorole. Any of the other participants in the logical structure may be assigned to the Undergoer macrorole. This causative prefix combines with other predicative affixes to indicate which argument has been selected as PSA. Chapter 2 has many examples of this construction, so a short presentation here will suffice to illustrate the argument-affixation linking. Examples a-c below the figure demonstrate the possibilities with the root *kan* ‘eat’, which takes a volitional AGENT as CAUSER.

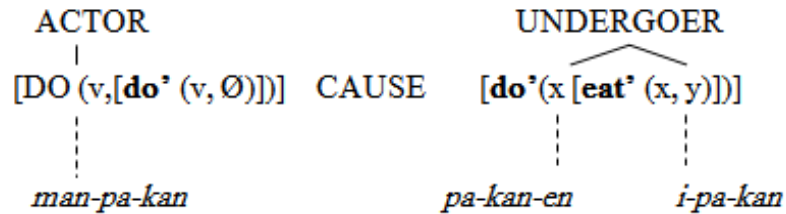


Figure 6.12. Macroroles and affixation
with overt causative prefix

- a. *Man-pa-kan = kami si koniho.*
 ACT-CAUS-eat = 1pI ORMi rabbit
 ‘We feed (i.e. are raising) rabbits.’
- b. *Pa-kan-en = yo din babai agan?o.*
 CAUS-eat-UNDC = 2pII RMd female first
 ‘Feed the female first.’
- c. *Adi = kayo i-pa-kan din nalogit.*
 NEG = 2pII UNDt-CAUS-eat RMd dirty
 ‘Don’t feed (them) the dirty stuff.’

Manpa- is the affix that cross-references the AGENT or a reflexive AGENT-PATIENT, as in 43).

- 43) *Man-pa-ila = ak si doktor.*
 ACT-CAUS-see = 1sI ORMi doctor
 ‘I will have a doctor see me.’

In general, *pa...en* follows Principle B above, indexing the next-to-last argument in the LS, often a possible ACTOR, the Causee, thus the tag UNDC. Unlike an accusative language, which would tend to mark the causee with a dative or a preposition (VanValin 2005:235-6), Kankanaey easily assigns Undergoer macrorole status to the causee by *pa...en* affixation, as in 44).

- 44) *En = ak pa-lobwat-en dakayo ed Baguio.*
 go = 1sI CAUS -depart-UNDC 2pIII LOC Baguio
 ‘I am going to see you off (lit. cause to depart) in Baguio.’

With no other affixation, *pa-* indexes the second argument of **pred'** (x,y), which is usually the most-affected PATIENT participant, as seen in 45).

45) *En=ak pa-ripir din beey=ko.*
 go = 1sI CAUS.UND-repair RMd house = 1sII
 ‘I’m going to have my house repaired.’

The prefix *i-* with *pa-* is often used to index the content of communication or perception events, as in 46) and 47).

46) *I-pa-ila=k din litrato=yo sin pamilya=k.*
 UNDt-CAUS-see = 1sII RMd picture = 2pII ORMd family = 1sII
 ‘I will show your picture to my family.’

47) *Asi=na i-pa-dnge Ø sin soldados=na.*
 then = 3sII UNDt-CAUS-hear 4III ORMd soldiers = 3sII
 ‘Then he told (lit. caused to hear) it to his soldiers.’

With many roots, the THEME indexed by *i-pa-* is a participant that is moved in the process of the event. In 48) the items to be laundered will be taken elsewhere; the affixation for laundering per se is shown in 49). In 50) the root is ‘edge’ and the action of moving the vehicle to the edge is implied by *i-pa-*.

48) *Sokat-a(n)=m san bado=m ta en=ak i-laba Ø.*
 change-UNDI = 2sII DRM clothes = 2sII so.that go = 1s UNDt-laundry 4III
 ‘Change your clothes so I’ll go launder them.’

49) *Ay I<in>aba-a(n)=m din langpin Dollika?*
 Q UNDI.P-laundry < = 2sII RMd diaper Dollika
 ‘Did you launder Dollika’s diapers?’

50) *Dalas-e(n)=k ay i-pa-igid Ø sin danan.*
 do.quickly-UND = 1s LK UNDt-CAUS-edge 4III ORMd road
 ‘I quickly pulled over to the side of the road.’

6.1.4.5 Indexing with valency-reducing derived predicates

Several predicates have derivative affixation that reduces valency, namely recent-past, emotion-causing and reciprocal predicates.

6.1.4.5.1 Recent past clauses

The combination of CVC reduplication with the prefix *ka-* indicates recently-completed activities or changes of state. This predicate is highly irregular in that it does not inflect for aspect (the CVC reduplication is part of the affix), nor does it mark its

single argument with absolutive case. The single argument is an ergative pronoun or RP, as in example 51). If there is a definite second argument, this construction includes the indexing prefix *i-* and the Undergoer is the PSA, as in 52).

51) *Ka-dat~dateng=mi=d labi en da Pedring.*
 RECENT-arrive = 1pII = LOC night OPRM pl Pedring
 ‘We just arrived last night—Pedring and others and I.’

52) *Ka-i-paw~paw?it=ko din solat.*
 RECENT-Th-send = 1sII RMd letter
 ‘I just now sent off the letter.’

6.1.4.5.2 *Emotion-causing predicates*

When the ability to cause emotions or mental states can be attributed to something or someone, such a potential attributive predicate (introduced in §2.3.1.3) is formed with *ka-* followed by CV reduplication of the emotion or mental-state root. Something in the nature (thus any nominal logical structure [...x...]) of the single argument has the potential to cause the mental state in necessarily unspecified EXPERIENCERS. The LS (compare to VVLP 402) shows that only one macrorole assignment is possible, the left-most argument as Actor. The PSA is assigned to that argument, as shown in Figure 6.13 for example 54). The affix does not inflect for perfective marking, but the context determines the interpretation as either actual or potential, as seen in 53) and 54).

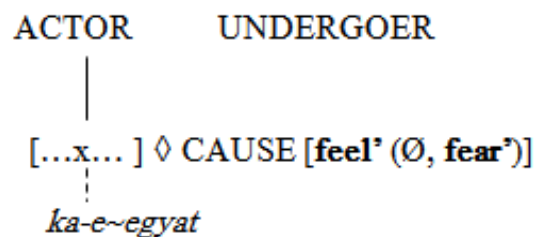


Figure 6.13. Macrorole assignment and *kaCV*-indexing for state-causing predicates

53) *Ka.si~siyek di in-yat=da ay naN-(s)ong~songbat sin questions.*
 CAUS.-amuse RMi UNDt.P-way = 3pII LK ANTI-CVC-answer ORMd questions
 ‘The way they were answering the questions was funny (caused amused feelings).’

6.1.4.6 Indexing with voice alternations that reduce syntactic transitivity

There are four voice alternations in Kankanaey that reduce the syntactic transitivity of a predicate that has two or more arguments in its logical structure. Antipassive voice selects the Actor as PSA in a transitive clause. Passive voice suppresses the Actor of a transitive predicate. Two other Actor-suppressing affixations are used in special situations.

6.1.4.6.1 *Antipassive voice*

As pointed out in Section 6.1.4.2.3, some Kankanaey predicates may have more than one argument position in their logical structure, but due to the unavailability of a second argument for macrorole assignment they are syntactically intransitive. Undergoer voices are not appropriate when the goal or trajectory of the action has low identifiability or affectedness. Cooreman (1994:51) notes that the “degree of difficulty with which an effect stemming from an activity by A on an identifiable O can be recognized” influences the use of the “semantic/pragmatic antipassive.” In such situations, Kankanaey selects the single Actor macrorole as PSA and the non-Actor argument is given oblique status. This modulation may qualify the Actor voice as a semantic/pragmatic antipassive, as has been suggested for Sama (VVL 1997:301), but in this study the macrorole assignment principles outlined in Figure 6.1 provide for the Actor to be given default PSA status for Activity predicates in the *Aktionsart* classification with no marked status as an antipassive.

There are, however, situations where both the Actor and Undergoer macroroles are linked to identifiable and affected arguments in the logical structure, but other factors intervene, forcing the Actor to be selected as PSA. The Undergoer is given oblique argument marking, but maintains its definite and wholly-affected interpretation. This non-default choice of PSA, and the oblique marking of the Undergoer-assigned second argument creates a typical antipassive voice, both PSA-modulation and argument-modulation being evidenced.

Special antipassive affixation specifies semantic details regarding the Actor argument. Situations calling for the antipassive voice include precipitate Actors, abilitative (non-agentive) Actors, and Actors who are lower in inherent lexical content than the Undergoer.

6.1.4.6.1.1 Precipitate Actors

When the Actor is presented as acting with haste, an action root is affixed with *ka-*, an indexing that gives the Actor PSA status. This affix is very important in stories, almost invariably marking at least one action at the peak of the narrative. Intransitive predicates may be formed with *ka-* ‘IMM(ediate)’, as in 59) but *ka-* can also be used for transitive predicates, creating an antipassive-voice predicate. The definite PATIENT argument is given definite but oblique marking, as in 60), with no loss of referentiality or affectedness. If a THEME argument that would normally be indexed with *i-* is the affected argument, that affix is retained to flag its role, but the Actor still takes the PSA assignment, as in 61).

59) *Et doy etay ka-sigbo, en=(n)a pay kano=n ila-(e)n Ø.*

and DEM3V PART IMM-dive go=3sII PART HSY=DISP see.UND 4III

‘And there he just dove right in, he went to see (what had happened).’

60) *Ka-ladkiking=ak sin malita=k yan en=ak mai-abat en daida.*

IMM-pick.up=1sI ORMd suitcase=1sII and go=1sI UNDTs-meet OPRM 3pIII

‘I snatched up my suitcase and went to be taken to meet up with them.’

61) *Ka-i-payag Ø sin sokod=na yan ka-dama Ø sin sana*

IMM-Th-set.down 3sI ORMd staff=3sII and IMM-attack 3sI ORM DEM2V

ay banig Nabulay.

LK ghost Nabulay

‘He just dropped his walking stick and attacked that ghost of Nabulay.’

6.1.4.6.1.2 Abilitative Actors

Sometimes an Actor argument is non-agentive in the sense that the situation is fortuitous rather than due to the intent of the Actor. Sometimes an Actor is presented as simply capable of doing something. Without an argument assigned as the Actor macrorole, the transitive Undergoer voices are not available. The Actor-indexing *maka-* (ACT.ABIL) prefix licenses a non-agentive Actor macrorole, and gives it PSA status.

This PSA may be the single direct argument, as in 62). If another participant is affected and specific, it has Undergoer macrorole status, but is given definite oblique marking to maintain its specificity. If the effect of the action involves a change of location, the THEME role index *i-* co-occurs with *maka-*. Thus, in the second clause of 63), the girl Maligtay is very clearly the Undergoer of the predicate *goyod* ‘pull on,

drag’, but the negative antipassive presents the Actor as unfortuitous or incapable. In 64) the predicate *baga* ‘tell’ would take *i-* in the default Undergoer-voice, but in this instance of expressing inability, an antipassive is required and the content of the ‘telling’ is given definite oblique marking. Discourse pragmatics affects the choice to use this antipassive. Many instances of this construction are used with the negative, telling why something didn’t happen.

62) *Maka-dan = ak si at?atik.*

ACT.ABIL-walk = 1sI ORMi few

‘I’m able to walk a little bit.’ (after surgery)

63) *Man-eset si Maligtay et adi maka?i-goyod si Mrs Aglo.*

ACT-do.well PRM Maligtay and NEG ACT.ABIL.Th-drag PRM Mrs Aglo

‘Maligtay (hung on) tight and Mrs. Aglo could not pull her away.’

64) *Adi = ak maka?i-baga isnan iyaman = ko en dakayo.*

NEG = 1sI ACT.ABIL.Th-tell ODRM thanks = 1sII OPRM 2pIII

‘I cannot express this my gratitude to you all.’

6.1.4.6.1.3 Actors and Undergoers in conflict with the lexical content hierarchy

Silverstein (1976:113) proposed an ‘inherent lexical content’ hierarchy, in which participants or entities are ordered as follows:

1st Person > 2nd > 3rd > human > animate > inanimate

Sometimes there are situations where the trajectory of effect points in the opposite direction from this hierarchy, such that a lower-ranked participant has an effect on a higher-ranked entity. Kankanaey predicates prefer to code this inversion with the affix <*om*>, which creates an Actor-indexed predicate with its single argument the lower-ranked participant no matter what the state of affairs may be. An Undergoer participant with higher lexical content is obligatorily implied but omitted²¹, a different sort of argument-modulation than other antipassive constructions. Depending on the Actor’s place in the hierarchy, the Undergoer may be an unidentified animate entity or the very specific 1st or 2nd person. The affix is tagged ACT because it cross-references the left-most participant in the logical structure of the predicate; the tag (LH) (for the influence

²¹ In Iloko, a different strategy (agent neutralization) is employed in these situations. The higher-agency participant pronoun is omitted in transitive constructions, e.g. “the first person singular ergative enclitic...cannot appear before the second person singular absolutive” (Rubino 2005:334).

of the lexical content hierarchy) identifies this use of *<om>*. As with other antipassive affixes, a THEME-role Undergoer is acknowledged with the *i-* prefix. This is seen in 65) where the action of ‘governing’ is predicated of an inanimate concept toward humans.

- 65) *Mo ?<om>i-turay din aklong si kina-baknang...*
 if ACT(LH)-Th-govern RMd desire ORMi NOM-rich
 ‘When/If the desire for wealth drives a person/people....’

The only possible implied participant in 66) and 67) is first person, as reflected in the English translations. In 68) the dog’s propensity is to bite people; cats or other animates are not in mind.

- 66) *Ay ?<om>ayag = ka?*
 Q ACT(LH)-call = 2sI
 ‘Are you calling me?’

- 67) *Sigolo anggay ay l<om>iw?an si da Dal en Lindi*
 probablyalready LK ACT(LH)-forgetPRMpl Dal OPRMLindi
tan ma-bayag ay adi = da <om>il-ila.
 because UNDs-long.time LK NEG = 3pI ACT(AH)-PROG-see
 ‘Dal and Lindi have probably already forgotten (me/us) because it’s been a long time since they’ve been seeing (me/us).’

- 68) *K<om>at din aso!*
 ACT(LH)=bite RM dog
 ‘(Careful!) The dog bites (people/you)!’

The potential causative state predicates shown in Figure 6.13 may also be expressed with this use of *<om>* when inanimate entities affect animate entities just from their own inherent properties. These predicates differ from the *kaCV-* marked predicates in that the *<om>* marked predicates are generally built from physical-state roots while *kaCV-* marked predicates are generally built from emotion-state roots and are not sensitive to the lexical content hierarchy.

Figure 6.15 illustrates the predicate in 70). This use of *<om>* cannot assert any particular event, but rather a potential effect.

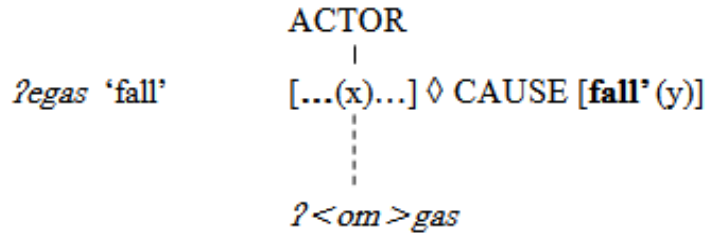


Figure 6.15. Macrorole assignment and affixation related to the Lexical Content Hierarchy

69) ?<om>olaw di samdak.
 ACT(LH)-dizzy R_{Mi} mushroom
 ‘Mushrooms cause dizziness.’

70) ?<om>gas sa!
 ACT(LH)-fall DEM_{2I}
 ‘You’ll fall there!! (It is slippery or steep and will cause you to fall.)’

71) B<om>eteng san San Miguel.
 ACT(LH)-drunk DRM₂ San Miguel
 ‘That San Miguel (beer) is intoxicating/can make one drunk.’

The antipassive <om> can also co-occur with the overt causative *i-pa-*, shown in 72), to index inanimate CAUSERS affecting unspecified animate entities.

72) Lawa di sobra ay kapi, <om>i-pa-ilas Ø.
 bad R_{Mi} too.much LK coffee ACT(LH).Th-CAUS-insomnia 4I
 ‘Too much coffee is bad, it causes insomnia.’

Pragmatic considerations underlie the choice of this affix, for example, as a softening device in hortatory discourse. Thus in 65) above, the construction allows an ambiguous implication for the participants who are unflatteringly accused of being driven by their economic desires. In 73) the speaker’s son has quit school to help her to support the family; she presents his role as helper as more salient than her implied role as the person being helped.

73) ta t<om>olong Ø ay man-anap si pan-biyag = mi
 so.that ACT-help 3sI LK ACT-search OR_{Mi} NOM-life = 1pII
 ‘so that he will help me make our living’

Inversion of the inherent lexical content hierarchy does not necessarily trigger the use of <om>. In 74) the affected participant has a salient semantic role, a directional

locus. In this case, the BENEFICIARY is given explicit reference rather than being implied; it has been assigned as the PSA with the unmarked Undergoer voice rather than with *<om>*. In 75) the blended pronoun *daka* (3sII.2sI) codes the same marked inversion instead of using *<om>*.

74) *I-amag-a(n)=m kod sakʔen si reference=ko.*
 UNDD. make = 2sII please 1sIII ORM reference = 1sII
 ‘Please write (lit. make) (for) me a [character] reference.’

75) *Bangon-en=daka ay masapa.*
 get.up-UND = 3sII.2sI LK early
 ‘It (the rooster) will get you up early.’

6.1.4.6.2 *Passive voice with ma-*

Passive voice in Kankanaey does not change the choice of argument for PSA status; the Undergoer of a two-argument predicate is still chosen. Rather, it shows argument-modulation by blocking any agentive Actor. The passive voice creates an intransitive state predicate by adding the prefix *ma-* (tagged s(state)) to other Undergoer-voice affixation. Passive voice is often used on pragmatic grounds because it reflects marked semantic features—the interest of the speaker is only in the effect upon the Undergoer and the erstwhile Actor is suppressed.

The passive *ma-* co-occurs with the other basic Undergoer-indexing affixes, thus *ma-i*, *ma...an*, and *ma-i...an*. The PATIENT-marking suffix *-en* is deleted with *ma-*, however, creating some ambiguity between simple states and passive states. As with the Undergoer voices described above, any salient non-Actor participant in a state of affairs may be assigned the Undergoer macrorole in passive voice.

The co-occurrence of *ma-* with other Undergoer-voice affixes was introduced in Chapter 2. The examples here may suffice to show the Actor as irrelevant, unknown, or non-specific, as in 76), with the affix *na...an* indexing a static-locus Undergoer and the ‘teacher’ argument the THEME, not the EFFECTOR. In the situation denoted by 77), the passive predicate presents the speaker as the source from which the ‘crying’ event occurred; her role as the Actor is not alluded to, and is much less relevant than her affectedness.

76) *Na-tapi-an = kami = s essay mistala sin Central.*

UNDls-add < = 1pI = ORMi one teacher ORMd Central

‘We’ve had another teacher added to our ranks at Central. (lit. we were added-to with one teacher)’

77) *Ma?i-oga-an = ak yan mansakit din toktok = ko.*

UNDds-cry < = 1sI and hurt RMd head = 1sII

‘I’m all cried out and now I have a headache.’

There is an exception to the strong exclusion of an Actor argument. A natural cause may be indicated as an oblique argument, as in 78) and 79), but no volition can be attributed to it.

78) *Na-sawad = ak sin tolo ay pewek.*

UNDS-block = 1sI ORMd three LK typhoons

‘I was blocked by the three (back-to-back) typhoons.’

79) *Na-baen-an = ka = s gayang.*

UNDls-warn.omen > = 2sI = ORMi crow

‘You were warned by a crow.’

6.1.4.6.3 *ma-* with movement roots

It was noted in §6.1.4.2.2 that most movement predicates are formed with the MOVER as Actor. A small subclass of motion roots arbitrarily take *ma-* to cross-reference the mover as Undergoer (UNDM), as in 80) and 81). This construction uses the prefix normally used on passives, perhaps suggesting reflexive/self-affecting movement, because the single participant of motion predicates is both EFFECTOR and THEME. This small group of roots denies macrorole status to the single participant as Actor, and indexes the (co-referential) Undergoer with passive morphology. This may be structurally analogous to a passive version of the “false reflexives” (VVLP:393-94) on motion verbs observed in some Australian languages²² in which valency reduction by affixation creates an intransitive predicate cross-referencing one or the other of two co-referential arguments.

²² Heath (1979:411) mentions an example that “ involves garugaja- 'to pass by', here in the false Reflexive sense 'to go past'...The infrequent occurrence of the False Reflexive and its tendency to occur with a small set of stems closely fit the pattern set by similar False Reflexives in other Australian languages which I have examined.”

80) ...*mo* <*om*>*ingpis* *ono* *ma-labas* *din* *liboo*.

when CHANGE.thin or UNDM-pass.by RMd cloud

‘...when the cloud dissipates or passes by.’

81) *Kanan*=(*n*)*a kano* =*s di*, *yan* *dowan*=*et* *ma-limos* Ø.

say=3sII HSY DEM3IV and while=PART UNDM-leave.home 3sI

‘He reportedly said that while departing.’

6.1.4.6.4 Impersonal constructions

Another argument-modulating voice construction is formed with the default Undergoer-voice indexing, but the Actor macrorole is suppressed by omission, and interpreted as nonreferential and not salient. The predicate thus retains its dynamic force as expressing an action or event rather than a passive state. This construction is common in procedural and hortatory texts, as in 82), and may play a mitigating role presenting the Actors as self-evident and indirect, as in 83).

82) *Sitsit-an* *din* *danom*.

drain-UNDI RMd water

‘Drain out the water.’ (general instructions regarding fishpond maintenance)

83) *Siyat* *ikgot-an* *di* *i-lagbo-an*.

must store-UNDI RMi UNDD-salary<

‘Earnings should be stored up.’(advice to newlyweds)

6.1.4.7 Indexing with valency-maintaining affixation

6.1.4.7.1 Applicative affixation to license variable Undergoer assignment

The circumfix *i...-an* has been shown in earlier examples as the indexing affix for directional-locus required arguments such as RECIPIENTS. As an applicative *i...-an* can cross-reference other directional-type arguments that are not required, such as the BENEFICIARIES in 84) and 85). The non-specific THEMES are given indefinite oblique marking.

84) *I-anap-an*=*yo* *kod* *din* *i-iyogtan*=*yo* *si* *pan-obla-an*=*da*.

UNDD-search< =2pII please RMd pl-yng.sib=2pII ORMi NOM-work< =3pII

‘Please look on behalf of your younger siblings for a place for them to work.’

85) *I-lako-a(n)=m kod sak?en si arina si bigat.*
 UNDD-buy < =2sII please 1sIII ORMi flour ORMi next-day
 ‘Please buy me some flour tomorrow.’

6.1.4.7.2 Associative affixation

The prefix *maki-* agrees with a single participant who is joining other participants (thus tagged ASSOC). In 86) the Actor is presented as joining or associating with others in the specified activity, often activities typically done as a group. In 87) the speaker and probably others are already planning a trip, so the hearer would be joining them. Usually it is Actors who join in with activities but Undergoers that join other entities may also be indexed with *maki-*, as in 89).

86) *Maki-mis~misa = ak si Domingo.*
 ASSOC-CVC-mass = 1sI ORMi Sunday
 ‘I am going to Mass on Sundays.’

87) *Ay maki-ali = ka?*
 Q ASSOC-come = 2sI
 ‘Are you coming along?’

88) *Di nemnem = na yan maki-lagbo Ø kano.*
 RMI thought = 3sII PART ASSOC-wage 3sI HSY
 ‘His idea, he says he will get a job (lit. join-earn.wage).’

89) *Adi = kayo kamas-an Ø tan maki-gabot din pagey.*
 NEG = 2pI weed.ricefield-UNDI 4III because ASSOC-pull.out RMD rice
 ‘Don’t weed it (i.e. field) because the rice plants will (be) pulled out along with (the weeds).’

Oblique RPs in clauses with *maki-* affixed predicates may refer to the other participants in the shared activity, as in 90), or an Undergoer argument, as in 91) and 92), where the Actor-indexed predicate forms an antipassive-voice construction.

90) *Deda = kayo ay maki-be?~be?ey en am~ama = yo.*
 still = 2pI LK ASSOC-CVC-house OPRM CVC-father = 2pII
 ‘You guys are still living in with your parents.’

91) *Maki-tawid din anak di bag?en sin kinabaknang di among = na.*
 ASSOC-inherit RMD child BRMi slave ORMd NOM-rich BRMi boss = 3sII

‘The slave’s children will join (others) in inheriting his boss’s wealth.’

92) *Est-e(n) = m ay maki-ad~adal sin kali = n Diyos.*
 do.well-UND = 2sII LK ASSOC-CVC-study ORMd word = BPRM God

‘Diligently study (in class) the words of God.’

With a few roots, such as *ngalat* ‘converse’ and *asawa* ‘spouse’, *maki-* does not indicate joining in an already-begun activity, but in a reciprocal activity, thus ‘chat with’ and ‘marry’. Example 93) shows a reciprocal interpretation of an associative cross-reference.

93) *Mo maki-gobat = kayo sin Japon, pesl-en = daka.*
 if ASSOC-war = 2pI ORMd Japanese kill-UND = 3II.2sI

‘If you join in war with Japan, they will kill you.’

6.1.4.7.3 Reflexives

In §6.1.4.4.1 and §6.1.4.6.3 self-affecting movements were seen to form implied reflexive constructions. Other reflexive constructions require an overt RP referring to the Actor’s *awak* ‘body’. In 94) this phrase is indexed by the *i-*, and in 95) it is the oblique Undergoer argument of the antipassive *ka-*affixed predicate.

94) *I-saad = na din awak = na ay pangolo.*
 UNDt-establish = 3sII RMD body = 3sII LK leader

‘He sets himself up as leader.’

95) *Ka-pese Ø abe sin awak = na sin bokod = na ay kampilan.*
 IMMED-kill 3sI PART ORMd body-3sII ORMd own = 3sII LK sword

‘He suddenly killed himself too with his own sword.’

6.2 PSA of other constructions

As noted above, the privileged syntactic argument of a clause may be signalled by various coding properties. Privileged syntactic arguments also exhibit privileged behaviors: a privileged argument may serve as the controller of other constructions such as reflexive antecedence or pivot interpretation. A privileged argument may also serve as a pivot, the missing argument in a construction. The following sections cover controllers and pivots in several constructions in Kankanaey, especially noting the use

of a structural antipassive construction, the nonfinite predicate indexed with the prefix *maN-*.

6.2.1 Control of reflexive antecedence

Examples 96) and 97), repeated from 94) and 95) above with co-reference marked, show that in overt reflexive clauses the possessive pronoun of the reflexive RP is co-referential with the Actor argument. The Actor is a semantic controller, as may be seen in 96), where the Actor is the ergative argument, and in 97) it is the absolutive argument in the clause.

96) *In-saad = na_i din awak = na_i ay pangolo.*

UNDt-establish = 3sII RMd body = 3sII LK leader

‘He set himself up as leader.’

97) *Ka-pese Ø_i abe sin awak = na_i sin bokod = na ay kampilan.*

IMMED-kill 3sI PART ORMd body-3sII ORMd own = 3sII LK sword

‘He suddenly killed himself with his own sword.’

6.2.2 Pivot with left-displaced pronominal arguments

Some modals, adverbs, and conjunctions displace core argument personal pronouns to a pre-nuclear position, as was explained in Chapter 3. The pivot for this displacing construction is syntactic, following an accusative pattern: S and A pronouns are displaced. Table 6.4 below repeats the personal pronouns chart from Table 6.1 with the accusative pattern of displacement shown in the heading. 3sI and 4I are not included, because when 3s is explicit (*sisya*) it is not clitic, and the null forms of 3s and 4 cannot be proven to be clitic.

Table 6.4. Personal pronoun displacement patterns

pronoun class	Displace		Do not displace
	I (S)	II (A)	III (U)
1s	= <i>ak</i>	= <i>ko</i>	<i>sak?en</i>
1p	= <i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	<i>dakami</i>
2s	= <i>ka</i>	= <i>mo</i>	<i>sik?a</i>
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	= <i>yo</i>	<i>dakayo</i>
1 + 2	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ta</i>	<i>PRM + daita</i>
1 + 2p	= <i>tako</i>	= <i>tako</i>	<i>PRM + datako</i>
3p	= <i>da</i>	= <i>da</i>	<i>PRM + daida</i>
3s, 4		= <i>na</i>	
1sII.2sI	= <i>naka</i>		
3s/pII.2sI	= <i>daka</i>		

The blended pronouns also participate in displacement constructions, the only instance of an absolutive Undergoer argument in the pre-nuclear position, as seen in 98).

- 98) *Awni ta asi = naka pa-bela-en abe.*
 wait.a.bit so then = 1sII.2sI CAUS-go.out-UND also
 ‘Wait a bit and then I’ll let you go out too.’

6.2.3 Controller and pivot interpretation in core junctures

Chapter 5 covered core junctures in detail; this section summarizes the evidence for the PSA functions in these constructions. The controller in coordinate core junctures controls the co-reference of the pivot (shared argument missing from the second core). This PSA is semantic as it may be the single argument, the transitive actor, or the transitive undergoer, depending on the matrix predicate. The controller is indicated as the first term in the controller-pivot equations noted after examples 99) to 104).

When the controller of co-reference in a coordinate core juncture is the single argument of an emotional state predicate, the pivot is either the single argument of the next clause or the transitive actor. Examples 99) and 100) demonstrate the possibilities for transitive actors, either as the ergative actor of an Undergoer-voice predicate or as the indexed transitive actor of a structural antipassive predicate, as introduced in chapter 5.

99) *Sa.pay.koma.ta na-ragsak = kayo ay datng-an nan solat = ko. S = A_T*
 hopefully UNDS.P-happy = 2pI LK arrive-UNDI DRM letter = 1sII

‘Hopefully you are happy to receive/come upon (this) my letter.’

100) *Ma-bain = ak ay manodsod (maN-sodsod). S = A_{ANTI}*

UNDS-shame = 1sI LK ANTI-tell.negative

‘I’m embarrassed to give the bad news.’

When the controller is the transitive actor of the matrix core, the pivot is only restricted to being a direct argument of the second core, as seen in the second term in the notation of co-referential equations. (The fuller list of examples is in Chapter 5.) Examples 101) and 102) repeated from chapter 5 are typical.

101) *Laydelaydek ay mangila = d Baguio. A_T = A_{ANTI}*

CVCCV~layad-en = ko maN-ila = ed

INTENS-like-UND = 1sII LK ANTI.see = LOC Baguio

‘I’d just love to see Baguio (City).’

102) *Ni-layad nina ay nakay ay mai-ponpon si kinakristiyano. A_T = S_U*

UND.P-wantDEMIII LK old.man LK UNDTs-bury ORMi Christianity

‘This old man wanted to be buried Christian-style.’

The free variation between the two possible affixations for transitive actor pivots (either the structural antipassive or an Undergoer voice) raises the question of which was the previous syntactic norm. It may be that allowing the Undergoer voice is a newer innovation still in process, an incomplete adoption (or co-opting, in Cooreman’s (1994) term). On the other hand, perhaps the antipassive is the construction growing in favor.

Undergoer-control constructions are those in which the first core is transitive and its Undergoer is the argument that is shared with the second core. Unlike Actor-control constructions, the pivot in Undergoer-control constructions is restricted to the argument indexed on the second predicate, and any transitive Actor pivot is required to be marked by the antipassive *maN-*, as the ungrammaticality of 104) b. attests.

103) *<In>awis = na = s sak?en ay mai-tapi sin obla = da. U_T = S_U*

UND.P-persuade = 3sII = PRM 1sIII LK UNDTs-join ORMd work = 3pII

‘He persuaded me to join (lit. be joined) in their work.’

104) a. *Tolong-a(n) = m sak?en ay en mang-anap sin antokos = ko. U_T = A_{ANTI}*
 help-UNDI = 2sII 1sIII LK go ANTI-search ORMd glasses = 1sII
 ‘Please help me go look for my glasses.’

b. **Tolong-a(n) = m sak?en ay en anap-en din antokos = ko. U_T ≠ A_T*
 help-UNDI = 2sII 1sIII LK go UND-search RMd glasses = 1sII

6.2.4 Pivot in nominalization

6.2.4.1 Absolutive-pivot nominalization

Any predicate can be nominalized by placing it in a reference phrase nucleus, preceded by an RM. The pivot of nominalization is the absolutive argument of the predicate, whether there is indexing affixation or not. This argument is omitted and is the entity to which the construction refers. Examples 105) to 109) show the nominalization (in brackets) of intransitive and transitive predicates. The free translations indicate the semantic role of the pivot as suggested by the affixation on the nominalized predicate.

105) *Man-ayag [da din man-ot~oto] ay mang-(k)an.*
 ACT-invite pl RMd ACT-CVC-cook LK ACT-eat
 ‘The ones (EFFECTORS) cooking called (for people) to eat.’

106) *Mo [din ma-lames] yan ma-sait Ø.*
 as.for RMd ATT-fat PART ATT-tasty 4I
 ‘As for the fat ones (ATTRIBUTANTS), they are tasty.’

107) *Est-en = da [din ma-kan.]*
 do.well-UND = 3pII RMd UNDS-eat
 ‘They take care with the stuff (PATIENT) to be eaten (i.e. the food).’

108) *Nan-otang = ak [si in-dawat = ko sin odom ay man-a~agag.]*
 ACT.P-debt = 1sI ORMi UNDt.P-give = 1sII ORMd other LK ACT-CV-hurry
 ‘I went into debt for some thing (THEME) I gave to the others who were in a hurry.’

109) *Adi in-taoli da Amyan [din in-pa-lako = k en daida.]*
 NEG UNDt.P-give pl Amyan RMd UNDt.P-CAUS-buy = 1sII OPRM 3pIII
 ‘Amyan’s group did not return the thing (THEME) I had asked/given them to sell (e.g. books).’

6.2.4.2 Non-absolute nominalization

A different situation arises when a predicate is nominalized to refer to a participant that is not indexed by the voice affix. Transitive actors are not indexed on the predicate in Undergoer voices, nor are adjunct phrases. Nominalizing a transitive actor requires the structural antipassive affix *maN-*. A time or place is indexed by adding the suffix *-an* to other affixation, creating nominalizing affixation.

6.2.4.2.1 Nominalizing transitive actors

A nominalized predicate uses the affix *maN-* to refer to the actor argument of a transitive predicate in the nucleus of a reference phrase. Example 110) compares the nominalization of the a. Undergoer and b. Actor from a basic clause. 111) and 112) show other nominalized transitive actors. As with antipassive-voice predicates, if the second participant is a THEME, it is also indexed on the predicate with the prefix *i-*, acknowledging its erstwhile macrorole availability. Examples 113) and 114) have this prefix. The free translation of some of these examples uses a relative pronoun in English to avoid excessive awkwardness.

110) *K<in>at di aso din anak=ko.*
 bite-UND.P BRMi dog RMd child=1sII

‘A dog bit my kid.’

a. *din k<in>at di aso*
 RMd bite-UND.P BRMi dog

‘the one (PATIENT) the dog bit’

b. *din nang-(k)at sin anak=ko*
 RMd ANTI-bite ORMd child=1sII

‘the one (EFFECTOR that) bit my kid’

111) *Sisya [din mang-ay~ayoan sin mansakit.]*
 3sIII RMd ANTI-CVC-care.for ORMd sick.one

‘He is the one (EFFECTOR) caring for the sick one.’

112) *<Om>ad?ado koma [di mang-onod sin siged ay danan.]*
 CHANGE-many PART RMi ANTI-follow ORMd good LK path

‘The ones (MOVERS who) follow the good way will hopefully become many.’

113) [*din nang-i-la~lamsit en sak?en*]

RMd ACT-Th-CV-deceive OPRM 1sIII

‘the ones (EFFECTORS who) had deceived me’

114) *Pag=na=n dad?at-en Ø [sin nang-i-baa en sisya]*.

then = 3sII = DISP relate-UND 4I ORMd ANTI-Th-send.on.errand OPRM 3sIII

‘Then he related it to the one (EFFECTOR who) had sent him on the errand.’

Antipassive nominalization in equative clauses (with RP-RP structure) often specifies the role of a particular person. This is a very common construction in prayers and wishes—“Would you please be the one to do such-and-such” rather than the more direct “Please do such-and-such,” as in 115). This construction is also fairly common in plot development as participants are identified to fill particular topical roles. Example 116) shows this antipassive nominalization on the last word. Note that the class III pronoun is in the nucleus of this narrow-focus equative clause.

115) *Sapay.koma.ta si Apo Diyos di mamindisyon sin obla=tako.*

maN-bindisyon

wish PRM Lord God RMI ANTI-bless ORMd work = 1 + 2pII

‘May the Lord God bless (lit. be the one to bless) our work.’

116) “*En=ka i-tining mo na-pas?od-an din teyey di beey=mi,*”

go = 2sI UNdT-peek.at if UNDI-s-take.in < RMd ladder BRMIhouse = 1pII

kana-(e)n=da et si sak?en di en nang-i-tining.

say-UND = 3pII and PRM 1sIII RMI go ANTI-Th-peek.at

““Go peek (and see) whether the ladder to our house has been taken in (i.e. they have left),” they said, and the one who went to peek at it was me.’

6.2.4.2.2 *Nominalizing places and times*

When a predicate is in the nucleus of a reference phrase, it can refer to its time or location or the nature of its activity by means of nominalizing affixation. The affix is usually the suffix *-an* in conjunction with the nominalizing *pan-/nan-* or *paN-/naN-* with perception and action roots (bracketed) in 117) to 119). Note that with perfective aspect this nominalizing prefix is homophonous with the perfective structural antipassive. With state roots, *ma-/na* co-occurs with the suffix *-an*, as in 120). This affixation is analyzed as a circumfix, with (P) marking perfective aspect when applicable; the tag NOM with ‘s’ indicates the state-related nominalizing affix.

117) *Mabalin ay solat-a(n)=m si kadwa=m [sin pan-ob-obla-an=(n)a.]*
 possible LK write-UNDI=2sII PRM spouse=2sII ORMd NOM-CVC-work <=3sII

‘It’s possible for you to write to your husband at his place of working.’

118) *Nan-ko~koyog=da inganas [si nan-soko-an din Japon].*
 ACT-CV-accompany=3pI until ORMi NOM.P-surrender <BRMd Japanese

‘They all stayed together until the (time of) surrender of the Japanese.’

119) *Ed Burnham [di tolag-an ay pan-asi-ila-an=mi].*
 LOC Burnham RMi agree-UNDI LK NOM-RECIP-see <=1pII

‘At Burnham (Park) was where it was agreed that we’d meet each other.’

120) *S<inm>adot Ø [sin na-tey-an tatang=na].*
 CHANGE-sad 3sI ORMd NOMs.P.-die < father=3sII

‘He got depressed when his dad died (time/event of his father’s death).’

6.2.4.2.3 Nominalizing the broad concept

The time/place affixation can index a generalized conception of the predicate as a state or event, as in 121), or as the means of its coming about, as in 122). The widespread use of nominalized forms, especially in written texts, is exemplified in 123).

121) *Ad~ad?ado [di na-abak-a(n)=k] mo [din nang-abak-a(n)=k].*
 CVC-many RMi NOMs.P-defeat <=1sII than RMd NOM.P-defeat <=1sII

‘I had more events of losing than of winning.’ (Note: *abak* as a state indicates losing while *abak* as an activity indicates winning.)

122) *Sa [=y nang-ammo-a(n)=k sin address=yo].*
 DEM2I=RMi NOM.P-know <=1sII ORMd address=2pII

‘That’s how I found out your address.’

123) *Iwed [di ma-dteng-a(n)=k [si nan-kolang-an]*
 NEGEXIS RMi NOMs-arrive <=1sII ORMi NOM.P-lack <

[din nai-olog-an=(n)a]]].

BRMd NOMs.Th-meaning <=4sII

‘I didn’t find any problems with the translation (lit. there was nothing I came across that was a lack of its translation).’

6.2.4.2.4 Nominalization in WH-question formation

WH-questions are NP-NP equative clauses in Kankanaey. The first NP is the interrogative pronoun, the second may have a nominalized predicate with agreement to the questioned NP. Thus the absolutive argument is the pivot in forming questions on arguments of a predicate. Example 124) shows three nominalized predicates with predicating affixation indexing the pivot that is co-referential with the question word.

- 124) *Sino di ma-tey? Sino di i-dawat=na? Sino di man-?oto?*
 who RMI UNDS-die what RMI UNDt-give = 3sII who RMI ACT-cook
 ‘Who will die?’ ‘What will he give?’ ‘Who will cook?’
 lit.: ‘The (one) will die is who?’ ‘The (thing) he will give is what?’ ‘The (one) will cook is who?’

Questioning a transitive actor must use the marked antipassive nominalization, a constraint similar to the PSA-only extraction restriction in Sama question formations (VVLP:332). This is exemplified in 125). Questioning an adjunct also requires that the affixation signal its role with the *-an* nominalizing suffix, as seen in 126) and 127).

- 125) *Sino di mang-i-?oto sin digo?*
 who RMI ANTI-Th-cook ORMd broth
 ‘Who will cook the broth? (lit. the (one) will cook the broth is who?)’

- 126) *Pig?an di <om> ali-an = da?*
 when RMI NOM-come < = 3pII
 ‘When is (the time of) their coming? (lit. their coming/-time is when?)’

- 127) *Into = y <om> ey-an = tako?*
 where = RMI NOM-go < = 1 + 2pII
 ‘Where are we going?(lit. our going/-place is where?)’

6.2.5 Pivot interpretation in relativization

As detailed in §5.6, a relative clause is linked to its nominal head with *ay*, and one referent in the clause is the pivot of the construction. The pivot is the omitted argument indexed by affixation, either predicating or nominalizing affixes including the structural antipassive, as in example 128). In cases when the head nominal is co-referential with a possessor or ergative argument in a nominalized complement, the co-referent is given the impersonal pronoun (4II = *na*) as a minimally-specified resumptive pronoun, as in 129).

128) *din ngad~ngadan di Americano ya Pilipino [ay nang-amag
 RMd CVC-name RMi American and Filipino LK ANTI.P-make
 sin organization].*
 ORMd organization

‘...the names of the Americans and Filipinos who had created the organization.’

129) *Am?amed si sak?en [ay iwed di am~ammo =na]*
 especially PRM 1sIII LK NEGEXIS RMi CVC-know.UND =4II

‘Especially me, who knows nothing.’

6.2.6 Summary of PSA codings and behaviors in Kankanaey

Table 6.5 summarizes what this chapter has explained regarding the properties of the privileged syntactic argument of several grammatical constructions in Kankanaey.

Table 6.5. PSA properties for Kankanaey constructions

PSA	Properties	Form
S or U	flagging in the clause	absolutive case
S or A	ordering in the clause	first argument position
S or U derived-S (A)	indexing on the predicate	voice affix indicating thematic role marked antipassive voice
A	control reflexive antecedence	co-referential with possessor of reflexive word
S or A	pivot in left- displacement	clitic displacement
S / A / U in different constructions	control pivot interpretation in core junctures	depending on matrix predicate
S, A, U, d-S	serve as pivot in core junctures	restrictions depending on controller in matrix clause
S, U, d-S	serve as pivot in nominalization for RPs including WH-question formation	nominalizing affixation required for obliques
S, U, d-S	serve as pivot in relativization	nominalizing affixation required for obliques

Some common constructions that are often addressed in studies of grammatical relations were not addressed specifically in this examination of Kankanaey PSAs for the following reasons:

- a) Quantifiers do not ‘float’ in Kankanaey; they were examined in Chapter 3 as they relate to RPs.
- b) No predicates that could ‘raise’ an argument from a dependent complement clause have been observed in Kankanaey.
- c) Topicalized possessor phrases do not exhibit ‘possessor ascension’, but leave a resumptive pronoun, as Chapter 5 noted when covering topicalization.

6.3 Non-PSA functions

6.3.1 Co-reference across clause boundaries

Many languages employ a strategy of omitting a co-referential nominal across clause boundaries. In Kankanaey, however, as Himmelman (1999) also noted in Tagalog, the transitive actor pronoun is not freely omissible in contexts in which zero anaphora could be expected pragmatically. A topical absolutive argument (PSA), on the other hand, does not always have a pronominal reference in a clause and a pronoun-deletion strategy might be a very useful hypothesis to explain the apparent absence of many PSA RPs in connected and even contiguous clauses. Looking at the entire spectrum of participant tracking strategies, however, has led to a null-pronoun analysis instead of an absent-argument (pivot) interpretation for Kankanaey.

It should be noted that Kankanaey does not depend on voice alternations for participant tracking. Voice alternation serves to indicate the semantic role in relation to each predicate while pronouns track topical referents. The topic is maintained whether it is the possessor (POSS) of an object, the ergative Actor (A_T) of transitive predicates, the absolutive Undergoer (U_T) of a transitive predicate, or the single argument of intransitive predicates (S_A , S_U , S_{ANTI}). Example 130) shows the presence of the co-referential pronoun in every clause when the participant is 3p (subscript j) with argument function as noted.

130) *Ngem adi = da_j ammo di kad?a = k isonga nan-taoli = da_j*
 but NEG = 3pII know RMI place = 1sII therefore ACT-return = 3pI
 A_T S_A

tan maga = y ma-dnge = da_j = s man-kanipas.
 because NEGEXIS = RMI UNDS-hear = 3pII = ORMi ACT-rustle
 A_T

‘But they didn’t know where I was so they went back because they didn’t hear anything rustling (lit. there was nothing they could hear that was rustling).’

The next example, 131), shows a 3s participant (subscript *i*) also tracked pronominally.

131) *T <in> apan-an Poltag_i di tolo = y kenggit, ma-pika = et* Ø_i
 UNDI.P-bait < Poltag RMI three = LK trap UNDM-stand = PART 3sI
 A_T S_U

et e(n) = na_i osdong-an din posong. En = na_i pay ila-(e)n,
 and go = 3sII look.down-UNDI RMD pool go = 3sII PART see-UND
 A_T A_T

na-kgā = et Ø_i *sin ad?ado ay wadingan. Ka-taoli* Ø_i
 UNDS-attract = PART 3sI ORMd many LK w-fish IMM-return 3sI
 S_U S_A

sin kad?an Il?ilit yan kana = na_i, “Tap~tapan-a(n) = m din odom...”
 ORMd place Il-ilit and say = 3sII CVC-bait-UNDI = 2sII RMD other
 A_T

<i>Ka-la~labos</i>	\emptyset_I	<i>ay ka-kaan</i>	\emptyset_i	<i>sin wanes = na_p</i>		
IMM-CV-naked	3sI	LK IMM-remove	3sI	ORMd loincloth = 3sII		
	S_A		S_{ANTI}	POSS		
<i>ka-pidit</i>	\emptyset_I	<i>sin tolo = y</i>	<i>kenggiti yan</i>	<i><om> ey</i>	\emptyset_I	
IMM-pick.up	3sI	ORMd three = LK	trap and	ACTm-go	3sI	
	S_{ANTI}				S_A	
<i>et i-si~sin?eng</i>		<i>Il?ilit</i>	\emptyset_i			
and UNDt-CV-watch		Il-ilit	3sI			
			U_T			

‘Poltag baited three traps, got up and went to look at the pool. Seeing it, he was attracted by the many *wadingan* fish. He went right back to where Il-ilit was and said, “Keep baiting the others...” He stripped naked, removing his loincloth, snatched up the three traps and went and Il-ilit was watching him.’

6.3.2 *Flagging non-PSA arguments in a clause*

6.3.2.1 Non-PSA Actors in transitive clauses

Actor arguments in syntactically transitive clauses are not chosen as the PSA, but they are equally topical with the privileged Undergoer, in the sense of being fully referential, expressing known, accessible information. They are required, even when co-referential between adjoining clauses. These non-PSA Actor arguments are flagged with class II if pronominal, or marked by the bound RM. Because Actors are highly topical, the definiteness operator on the BRM is often implied but not specified. Many previous examples have shown the non-PSA Actor arguments with their unique marking.

In the impersonal Undergoer-voice construction introduced in §6.1.4.6.4 above, it was shown that Actors were omitted in some contexts such as procedural instructions, also as in 132).

132) *Est-en ay pitay-en din makan.*
do.well-UND LK mash-UND RMd food

‘Thoroughly mash the food.’

6.3.2.2 Non-PSA Actors in passive clauses

Agentive ACTORS of passive constructions are completely suppressed as may be seen in the ungrammaticality of example 133). If the EFFECTOR is a natural event such

as an earthquake or landslide, however, it may be specified with the oblique RM, as shown in 134), repeated from 78) above.

133) **Nai-ali* *din* *agas* *sin* *nars*.
 UNDts.come RMd medicine ORMd nurse

* for ‘The medicine was brought by the nurse.’

134) *Na-sawad=ak* *sin* *tolo* *ay* *pewek*.
 UNDs-block = 1sI ORMd three LK typhoons

‘I was blocked by the three (back-to-back) typhoons.’

6.3.2.3 Non-PSA, non-Actor core arguments

The semantic representation of a predicate may include arguments that are not given macrorole status. These are oblique core arguments, whether common RP, name or pronoun. Oblique arguments are definite when they are pronouns or proper names. Common oblique RPs can be marked with indefinite *si* or definite *sin*. Oblique arguments are bracketed in the following examples.

Activity predicates often cannot assign the Undergoer role because the second argument is undifferentiated or only partially affected. Examples 135) and 136) show a predicate with only an Actor macrorole; the second arguments are oblique because they are not fully affected.

135) *Nan-sibo* *din* *anak* [*si* *digo*].
 ACT.P-sip RMd child ORMi broth

‘The child sipped (some) broth.’

136) *Nan-sibo* *din* *anak* [*sin* *digo*].
 ACT.P-sipRMd child ORMd broth

‘The child sipped from/some of the broth.’

When a locative predicate is part of the logical structure, the LOCUS argument may be oblique but specific, and marked for definiteness. For example, Figure 6.9 showed that the predicate ‘teach’ has three core arguments--an EFFECTOR teacher, a RECIPIENT learner, and THEME information that becomes known. In 137) the RECIPIENT was not given macrorole assignment, and is marked with the definite oblique ORMd.

137) *Ini-tdo = n* *Todyak* *din* *danan* [*sin* *pamilya = na*].
 UNDt.P-teach = BPRM Todyak RMd path ORMd family = 3sII

‘Todyak showed/pointed out the path to his family.’

To give more examples, in 138) the oblique argument is nonreferential, especially in light of the imperfective marking suggesting that such a tape has yet to be recorded. In 139) the oblique THEME argument is referential but non-identifiable. In 140) the oblique argument ‘what is in the cup’ is only partially affected, as specified by this use of the affix <om₂> (see §2.2.7.2).

138) *Mo mabalin koma, man-i-paw?it =kayo [si mai-tape ay violin Roby].*
 if possible PARTACT-Th-send=2sI ORMi UNDTs-tape LK violin Roby
 ‘If possible, (please) send what will be taped of Roby’s violin.’

139) *Pag nan-i-baa si Dulay [si en mang-ayag en Lina].*
 then ACT.P-Th-send PRM Dulay ORMi go ANTI-invite OPRM Lina
 ‘Then Dulay sent someone to go call for Lina.’

140) <Om₂> *i-asin =ka [sin wada sin malakong].*
 ACT-Th-salt=2sI ORMd EXIS ORMd bowl
 ‘Use some of what is in the bowl for salting.’

With the antipassive voice, the Undergoer has macrorole status, but is not selected for PSA assignment. In 141), shortened from 61), there are two antipassive-voice predicates with oblique Undergoers. Non-canonical coding for the Undergoers is shown both by THEME-indexing in the first clause, and by the interpretation of the definite oblique core arguments as exhibiting full affectedness.

141) *Ka-i-payag Ø [sin sokod=na] yan ka-dama Ø [sin banig].*
 IMM-Th-set.down 3sI ORMd staff=3sII and IMM-wrestle 3sI ORM ghost
 ‘He dropped/threw down his walking-stick and attacked the ghost.’

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the privileged syntactic argument in various constructions will exhibit certain coding properties and/or behavioral properties. The PSA of the clause is coded by case marking, indexing by the predicate affixes, and word order. Controllers and pivots in core junctures show certain properties depending on the predicates. Reflexives have a semantic Actor controller. Clitic displacement follows an accusative pattern. Nominalization, question formation, and relative clause formation work by a broad range of affixation that indexes the pivot. Topic chains do not show any restricted neutralization of semantic roles or PSA, while a null-form pronoun functions where other languages would use zero anaphora or equi-noun-phrase deletion.

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Chapter 7 Information Structure²³

7.1 Information structure

This chapter explores the interaction of discourse functions and syntactic structures to describe the process of information flow. The discourse function of most utterances is to communicate information in a context of differing states of knowledge between a speaker and a hearer. Information may be classified as identifiable or unidentifiable in terms of the prior knowledge that the speaker assumes that the hearer has. Lambrecht (1994:109) suggests that an unidentifiable reference is totally new, but may be anchored by association with an identifiable entity. Identifiable referents may have been already mentioned in the immediate discourse, predictable from the discourse or accessible from general knowledge. The speaker presupposes some shared knowledge, and asserts information that is presumed to be new.

Information structure studies use the terms ‘focus’ and ‘topic’. Focus is taken to mean “the semantic component...whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht 1994:213). The ‘focus’ of a sentence is that added information or changed

²³ This chapter draws heavily on the research published as Allen 2007 in the Philippine Journal of Linguistics 38.

information that is in contrast to what is already in the hearer's mind, while 'topical' information is presupposed to be shared already by the speaker and hearer.

Within a clause there are two functions, corresponding in Figure 7.1 to Nucleus and Arguments. The function of the nucleus is to predicate (assert, question, command, etc.) while the function of arguments is to refer to entities. Predicates as well as referents can be either new or predictable information.

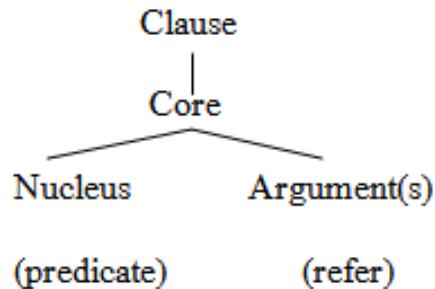


Figure 7.1. Clause structure with basic functions

The syntactic structure of Kankanaey sentences comprises left- and right-detached positions and a central clause component, as seen in chapter 5. The potential domain of new information is defined by the scope of the illocutionary force operator of the central clause (Van Valin 2005:214). The actual focus domain for a particular clause may include the entire clause (the potential focus domain) or only part of it. Phrases and clauses in detached positions are not in a 'daughter' relationship to the central clause, and thus do not fall within the focus domain. Independent coordinate clauses in a sentence each have their own potential focus domain. Thus the highest potential level of focus domain is the independent clause.

7.1.1 *Morphosyntactic variables in marking information*

Kankanaey speakers manipulate several constructions and variables in order to enable the hearer to identify information as new, given, or accessible; to relate it to existing knowledge, and to follow the flow of thought. Although Kankanaey follows the assumption of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) that information is presented in intonational units involving pitch, intensity, and pause, speakers do not use special prosodic intensity to highlight focus elements. Efforts to use this method for contrastive information have met with amusement.²⁴ Some languages, e.g. Huallaga Quechua

²⁴ Wari' (Turner 2006), and Karitiãna (C. Everett 2008) are two languages in Brazil that have also been shown to depend much more on morphosyntax than prosody to highlight a narrow-focus element.

(Weber 1989, discussed in VanValin 2005:74), use evidential clitics or focus particles to indicate the focus of a sentence. Kankanaey has several evidential particles, most notably *kano* ‘hearsay’, but their placement does not correlate with focus or topical information.

A variable that is important for information structure is definiteness. Personal/proper referring markers are always definite, as are personal pronouns. As noted in Chapter 3, a Kankanaey RM (reference-phrase marker) is the defining constituent of an expression whose function is to refer. The RMs (*di* and *si*) may take a suffix *-n* (thus *din* and *sin*) indicating ‘definiteness’. This is probably an unfortunate designation, as there are several parameters that affect the presence of the suffix and they differ between the bound and free forms, but in general the ‘definite’ markers signal that the phrase is referring to an entity that the hearer can expect to identify. The indefinite markers are less constrained.

Another important variable for information structure is voice affixation in nominalization. The affixes that create verbs and adjectives index one semantic role involved in the resulting predicate. Therefore, when an affixed root is preceded by an RM, the resulting reference phrase refers to an entity that fills the role indicated by the affix. This elegant system will be exemplified repeatedly in the following description.

The third variable directly related to information flow is the syntactic structure of sentences. Detached positions and the clause nuclear position are both important, especially with the variability of nuclear components in Kankanaey clauses.

7.1.2 Clauses with no focus domain

In the course of a text such as a narrative, there are recapitulations, summaries, and highly predictable outcomes that do not share any new information. In Kankanaey texts, there are many such clauses, whose function on the discourse level is to indicate boundaries or satisfy predictable expectations, such as arrival after a journey.

In letters, where participants automatically include the writer and speaker, formalities such as inquiring and informing about health frequently have no focus structure. Their pragmatic function is to prepare the way for the new information that is the point of the letter. Kankanaey writers tend to give a short heads-up just before such new information, as seen in the overt expressions bracketed in examples 1) to 4) as well as the general preface of example 5).

- 1) [*Manang, layd-e(n)=k ay ammo-a(n)=m ay osto ay*]...
sister like-UND = 1sII LK know-UNDI = 2sII LK correct LK
'Sister, I want you to really know that ...'
- 2) [*Wada baw di damag-e(n)=k mo] siya ay tet?ewa ...*
EXIS PART Rmi news-UND = 1sII if thus LK true
'Oh yeah, I have something to ask whether it is true that...'
- 3) [*I-pa-damag =ko abe en dakayo ay*] ...
UNDt-CAUS-news = 1sII also OPRM 2pIII LK
'I report also to you that...'
- 4) [*Isonga nan-solat =ak en dakayo] ta <om> ali =kayo ...*
therefore ACT-write = 1sI OPRM 2pIII so.that ACTm-come = 2pII
'So I am writing to you so that you will come...'
- 5) [*Palalo =y gasat =ko ed niman ay timpo.*
excessive = Rmi luck = 1sII LOC nowadays LK time
'I have had a lot of bad luck recently.'

7.2 New information—the focus domain

Most clauses do share new information, however, and of these there are three general types. A predicate may make a totally new assertion about new referents, or predicate a new assertion about a given or accessible referent. VVLP (1997:202), crediting Lambrecht (1994), uses the labels 'sentence-focus' and 'predicate-focus' for these, noting that 'focus' is the part of an sentence "that is unpredictable or unrecoverable from the context." Because the potential focus domain is not the sentence but rather the independent clause, the term 'clause-focus' will be used instead of 'sentence-focus'. §7.2.1 and §7.2.2 will examine clause- and predicate-focus constructions in Kankanaey.

Lambrecht's 'narrow-focus' clause has only one constituent in the actual focus domain. It asserts that an identifiable referent is the same as some other given or accessible referent. In such a clause, the new information is the identification of the first as co-referent with the second. §7.2.3 will explore the contexts in which equative clauses function as narrow-focus constructions in Kankanaey.

Speakers of Kankanaey generally introduce important participants with clause-focus constructions, move narratives forward with predicate focus constructions, and use

narrow focus to identify or contrast individual participants. They use detachment of various entities to change discourse topic or to indicate contrasting subtopics. In all these constructions they manipulate the variables of voice, constituent position, RP markers, and pronouns to reflect the degree to which they believe their hearers can identify and process the information. Exceptions to the rules of general usage can be found, of course, indicating that the correlation of structure to function may be adjusted as a speaker assesses the interest, need, or ability of the hearer to identify each referent.

The potential focus domain (dotted lines), and one possible actual focus domain (triangle) are illustrated in Figure 7.2.

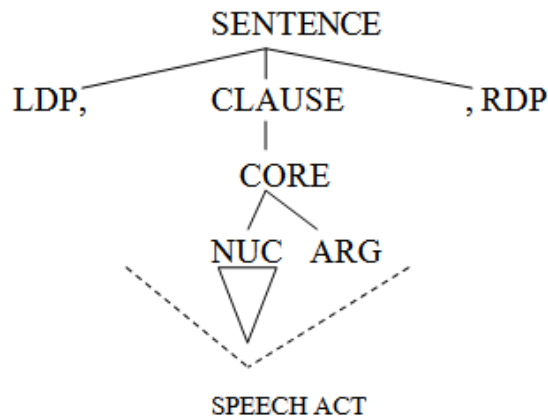


Figure 7.2. Kankanaey sentence with potential and one actual focus domain

7.2.1 Clause focus

Clause focus is commonly used in presentational constructions where new participants or situations are introduced. In Kankanaey this may be expressed by an existential or verbal predicate in the nucleus with its absolutive argument marked as indefinite. Existential predicates often open a narrative or introduce participants, as in 6), using the indefinite RM = *y*. The place-name *Bakun* is assumed to be known to the hearers, who live in the next municipal district. Example 7) follows 6) in the story, and brings in the main entities (gods and people) as indefinite entities using *di* and *si*. Except for the district name and the demonstrative pronoun, all the information in these two examples is new to the hearers.

- 6) *Wada=y na-kayang ay dontog ed Bakun.*
 EXIS=RMi ATT-high LK mountain LOC Bakun
 ‘There is a high mountain in Bakun.’

- 7) *Man-beey kano di kabonyan sidi ay man-pa-kan*
 ACT-house HSY RMi god DEM3IV LK ACT-CAUS-eat
si man-illeng isdi.
 ORMi ACT-rest DEM3IV

‘Gods live there, they say, who feed those who rest there.’

Even when an existential introduces a new participant by name, the indefinite RM precedes the personal marker, as in 8), indicating that the name is new to the hearer. In example 9) this opening sentence of a story plunges into the tale using the indefinite RM *di* for the first mention of these participants. The use of the indefinite RM instructs the hearer to create a ‘slot’ for these participants, whose relevance will become clearer as the story progresses. A more formal story introduction is exemplified in 10), where several indefinite markers are used but translated in English as definite ‘the’.

- 8) *Wada=y si Nabulay ed na-baon ed Abas.*
 EXIS.RMi PRM Nabulay LOC ATT-long.ago LOC Abas

‘There was a certain Nabulay long ago in Abas.’

- 9) *Na-sinop di nankakay ay man-to~tolag mo into di ma-iyat...*
 UNDs-gather RMi elders LK ACT-CV-agree if how RMi UNDs-do

‘Some elders were gathered discussing about how to...’

- 10) *Na-solok si tolonpo ay tawen di <inm>ey ay*
 ATT-more.than ORMi thirty LK year RMi ACTm.P-go LK
b<inom>tak-an di gobat ay kanan=da en World War II.
 NOM.P-burst< RMi war LK say.UND=3pII QT World War II

‘More than thirty years (are what) have gone (since) the outbreak of the war that they call WWII.’

7.2.2 *Predicate Focus*

Lambrecht’s (2000) definition of predicate focus structure as quoted in VanValin (2005:70) applies to clause structures in Kankanaey in which the nucleus of the clause core is an affixed root or a class or attribute root. Such a predicate “expresses new information about [a] topic. The focus domain is the predicate phrase (or part of it).” The unmarked clause structure of Kankanaey is a predicate followed by one or two direct arguments and possibly one or two oblique referring phrases. Predicate focus (the unmarked focus type in Kankanaey) always presents the predicate as new information;

one of the arguments or obliques may also be new. The following discussion subdivides predicate focus according to which part of the clause is new information. Focal constituents are bracketed.

A description of Kankanaey in terms of ‘topic’ and ‘comment’ on the clause level is not attempted here because of the mismatch in Kankanaey of syntax with identifiability. While the single argument of an intransitive predicate patterns with the Actor argument of a transitive predicate as generally the most identifiable, continuous, and important referent (i.e. topic), it patterns with the Undergoer argument of transitive predicates syntactically as to predicate indexing and case marking. Actors are syntactically and phonologically bound to their predicates, and Kankanaey maintains an obligatory VAU word order, making a simple topic-comment division very awkward.

7.2.2.1 Predicate only is new

Predicate-only focus is very common in Kankanaey narratives and letters, as the story line about the participants goes forward, expectations are met or revised, or news about topics of common interest is shared.

Example 11), from a narrative, follows the introductions of the main character and also Nabulay’s ghost and then gives the surprising information that the main character (\emptyset ‘he’) attacked it. In example 12) only the actions of the characters present new information. Note that the verbal affix *ka-* in both examples indicates precipitous action with prominence on the activity rather than its effect.

11) ...yan [ka-dama] \emptyset sin sana ay banig Nabulay.
 ...and IMM-attack 3sI ORMd DEM2IV LK ghost Nabulay
 ‘...and he suddenly attacked that ghost of Nabulay.’

12) [Apayaw-en]=da=s sak?en tan ka-on?ona=ak.
 chase-UND=3pII=PRM 1sIII because IMM-precede=1sI
 ‘They chased after me because I had rushed ahead.’

Class or attribute roots as the non-verbal predicate may hold the new information in a clause. Class-root predicates are not to be confused with RP predicates, covered in §7.2.3. Although in English an indefinite noun phrase can form an equative clause, for example, “John is a good friend,” in Kankanaey such a predicate cannot be an RP, as seen in 13).

- 13) **Di siged ay gayyem si Juan.*
 [*Siged ay gayyem*] *si Juan.*
 Rmi good LK friend PRM Juan
 ‘John is a good friend.’

7.2.2.2 Undergoer is new

In many cases, an unidentifiable undergoer is introduced as an indefinite oblique referent. Cooreman (1983) found that in Chamorro the voice of the verb indicated the relative topicality (givenness) of the affected participants. In Kankanaey, when the actor is known but the undergoer is new information, the verb tends to have actor voice, which allows only the Actor as direct argument, and undergoers must be oblique.

In example 14) the speaker has been invited to go help dig for treasure. Taking a lunch and some tools is not surprising information in the context, but at this first mention, they are given oblique status and the contracted indefinite ORM =s.

- 14) ...*et nan-a=kami*[=s *baon ya laminta*].
 ...and ACT.P-get = 1pI=ORMi lunch and tool
 ‘...and we got a lunch and some tools.’

New participants can enter a narrative as direct Undergoer arguments of a verb if they are ‘accessible’ from the context, as in 15), where the speaker tells of seeing an accident. Vehicles are an accessible part of a shopping trip context. Note the indefinite =y on the Undergoer argument, even though it is the argument indexed on the verb, and more new information occurs as a subordinated predicate in the relative clause.

- 15) *Ed agsapa, en=kami man-markit yan*
 LOC morning go = 1pI ACT-market and
 <in> *ila=mi*[=y *taxi ya jeep ay man-asi-dongpal=da.*]
 UND.P-see = 1pII-.Rmi taxi and jeep LK ACT-RECIP-bump = 3pI
 ‘This morning, we went shopping and we saw a taxi and a jeep that collided.’

7.2.2.3 Predicate and Actor are new

DuBois (1987) noted several universal tendencies regarding the way transitive Actors and Objects function in a discourse. Of interest here is that themes and topics tend to be expressed more as Actors than as Objects, and that new participants tend to be introduced through an Object function much more than as Actors. In Kankanaey, it is not frequent that a new participant is introduced as the Actor of a transitive verb. Actors

are not often expressed with a full RP, but tend to be pronouns, which presupposes anaphoric reference. Even when an Actor is expressed with a common RP, it is generally assumed to be definite and the case marker may not have the overt *-n* marking, as has been mentioned. Violating this constraint can only be done under special circumstances.

When the Actor is a recoverable entity, and his role is not central to the storyline, the Kankanaey speaker may presume upon the hearer's shared knowledge and bring such Actors temporarily on stage as direct RPs without preamble. In 16), the writer is explaining why he did not arrive when planned. Casilo and Minda are known to the reader, and their minor roles in this drama are only mentioned this once. In 17) the specific identity of the new actor argument is irrelevant.

16) [*Kanan kano =n Casilo*]en wada koma =y mai-dawat en sak?en
 say.UND HSY =BPRM Casilo QT EXIS IRR =RMi UNDTs-give OPRM 1sIII
 ay gastos-e(n) =k] ngem [*na-ladaw ay in-pa-ammo =n Minda*] Ø.
 LK spend.UND = 1sII but UND.P-late LK UNDT.P-CAUS-know Minda 4III
 'Casilo had reportedly said that there would be something to be given to me for the fare, but Minda was late in letting (me) know it.'

17) *K <in> at di aso din anak =ko.*
 UND.P-bite BRMi dog RMd child = 1sII
 'A dog bit my child.'

At narrative peaks, new information can be introduced in unconventional ways. In a story of a man who failed to come up after diving into a river, a very new and surprising participant is brought on stage in the Actor role, preceded by surprise particles that alert the listener, as in 18).

18) *Kambaw etay in-pe-peteng-an di dalit Ø!*
 SURP SURP UNDD.P-CV-restrain < BRMi eel 3sIII
 'Imagine! An eel was restraining him!'

7.2.2.4 Emphasis on key pieces of information

This chapter can not cover all the devices used by Kankanaey speakers to manage information flow by marking certain constituents as pivotal or of extra importance. Chapter 4 introduced discourse-level semantic particles, one group of which is used for emphasis. Another emphasizing strategy will be presented here.

The stark clarity of the existentials—either existence or not, either present or totally absent—lends itself to emphatic uses in a discourse²⁵. In 19) the information being presented is that the character Poltag did not come up after his dive. The narrator could have used the core negator *adi* to express this meaning. The construction using the negative existential as the predicating nucleus intensifies the knot in the narrative in this dramatic moment at the center of this underwater-rescue story. Similarly in 20), the child’s failure to cooperate is the turning point for the mother in a cautionary folk tale.

19) *Maga = y t <om > emwa en Poltag.*

NEGEXIS = RMI ACTm-emerge.upwards OPRM Poltag

‘There was no emerging by Poltag! (i.e. Poltag didn’t emerge)’

20) *Maga = y en nan-?oto sin anak = na.*

NEGEXIS = RMI go ACT-cook ORMd child = 3sII

‘There was no going to cook by her child. (i.e. her child didn’t go cook)’

The existential *wada* is sometimes used to emphasize the reality of the assertion, nuances of which may be seen in 21) and 22).

21) *Wada ay ilan = da din galey ay mankeykey.*

EXIS LK see = 3pII RMd blanket LK move

‘They actually saw the (shroud) blanket move.’

22) *Kaman = kayo ngay wada ay domateng.*

like = 2pI PART EXIS LK arrive

‘It’s as if you are truly arriving’ (the particle adds wistfulness to the wishful assertion).

7.2.3 *Narrow focus*

When only one RP constituent of a clause is in the actual focus domain, the focus is narrow. The classic example of narrow focus in many languages is the fronted WH-question in the pre-core slot. Other strategies in English are the various cleft constructions, as well as intonation signals such as pitch and intensity, which indicate a focal constituent *in situ*.

Kankanaey cannot use any of the strategies mentioned above. It is possible for focal corrective contrast on predicates to be flagged by semantic particles of contrast or

²⁵ A similar use of the existential has also been attested in Belait (Clynes 2005:439) and in Karo Batak (Woolams 2005:544).

opposition. Negating the wrong presupposition is also a syntactic option and is often strengthened by an objection particle, as in 23).

23) *I-bag~baga = da en man-pa-ila = ak si doktol*
 UNDt-CVC-say = 3pII QT ACT-CAUS-see = 1sI ORMi doctor
ngem iwed met di pilak = ko.
 but NEGEXIS PART RMi money = 1sII

‘They keep telling me to consult a doctor (for which I would need to pay) but I don’t have any MONEY/don’t HAVE any money.’

The default construction, however, for narrow focus in Kankanaey is the equative clause, which consists of two juxtaposed RPs. This construction was briefly introduced in Chapters 3 and 4. Equative clauses, like all others in Kankanaey, are nucleus-initial; therefore, the first RP is in the nuclear position, and the second RP is its argument, as diagrammed in Figure 7.3. In this construction the first RP is the focus domain.

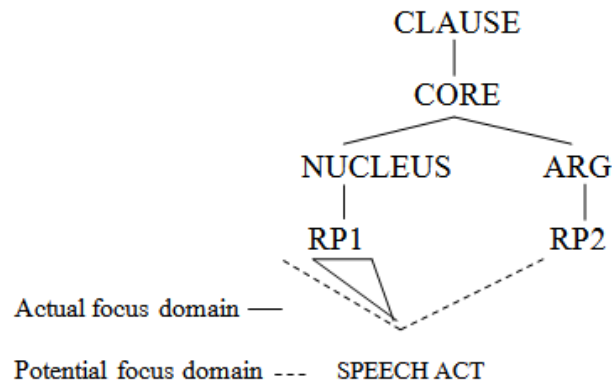


Figure 7.3. Equative clause structure in Kankanaey with focus domains

For Kankanaey it is useful to distinguish between completive and contrastive narrow focus, suggested by Dik’s (1989) four-way contrast cited in Haspelmath (2001:1086) involving completive (question-induced) and contrastive parameters.

In this section, completive narrow-focus constructions are examined, including content questions and answers, and identifying (specificational) statements. Contrastive narrow-focus constructions are also discussed, including corrective statements and statements that emphasize the uniqueness of the co-referential relationship.

7.2.3.1 Content questions and answers

A content question uses one of the interrogative pronouns listed in 24) as the first RP in a completive equative clause.

- 24) *sino* who, what, which
into where
pig?an when

The question ‘how?’ is formed with *into = y iyat* ‘where (is) the way’ and ‘why?’ is formed with *sino = y gapo* ‘what (is) the reason’. Example 25) shows both the interrogative pronoun and the answer pronoun in the initial position of equative clauses. These are narrow-focus clauses in which the existence of “your/my son” is clearly presupposed and the first RP questions or asserts a co-referential relationship.

- 25) *Sino din anak = mo? Sisyay din anak = ko.*
 who RMd child = 2sII 3sIII RMd child = 1sII

‘Q: Who/which is your son? A: He is my son.’ (lit. Your son is which? My son is he.)

In 26) the question ‘when?’ uses a predicate nominalized for time/place.

- 26) *Pig?an di pang-i-dawt-a(n) = m en sisya?*
 when RMi NOM-Th-give < = 2sII OPRM 3sIII

‘When are you going to give it to him? (lit. your time of giving it to him is when?)’

7.2.3.2 Specificational clauses

An RP that has an affixed root in the nucleus refers to the entity that fills the semantic role indicated by the affixation. The second RP of equative clauses often has an indefinite RM and an affixed nucleus, creating an underspecified identity. When an equative clause functions to provide the identity for an underspecified referent, it is a specificational construction, in which one RP is a ‘variable’, and the other RP provides the ‘value’ for that variable (terms from Pavey 2008, citing DeClerck 1988). The Kankanaey construction places the value RP first (in the nucleus), while the variable RP is its argument. The second RP holds information that the speaker assumes the hearer is already aware of, while the first RP adds more information to specify the identity of the second RP. This most closely resembles the English pseudocleft, which has the variable RP in the subject position and the value RP as part of the predicate with the copular verb.²⁶ Example 27) shows a specifying clause and uses the English pseudocleft for the translation.

²⁶ See Pavey 2004 for a full discussion of *it*-clefts and other cleft constructions.

27) *Din opisyalis = mi di nang-i-dalom.*
 RMd officials = 1pII RMi ANTI-Th-file.charges
 ‘The (ones who) filed the charge were our officials.’

28) also shows that the first RP in the specificational clause is the entity that fills the role marked on the second RP. The first RP is definite, the second underspecified and thus indefinite.

28) [*Din address = yo ay wada en da Ben*]_{PRED} [*di <in>osal = ko.*]_{ARG}
 RMd address = 2pII LK EXIS OPRM pl Ben RMi UND.P-use = 1sII
 ‘What I used was your address that was at Ben’s (home). (pseudocleft in English)

Because the referent of the first RP is an easily identifiable participant, the ‘new’ information of the specificational clause is the assertion of co-referentiality, a relatively weak focus force.

When a speaker presents new information, s/he generally builds on the topic at hand, filling in gaps in the addressee’s knowledge. A direct and simple clause is not always the most effective strategy. Kankanaey speakers often use instead this specificational clause, the form of answers to questions that are unasked but assumed to be relevant to the addressee. Example 29) comes in the context of wedding advice mentioning possible difficulties, and the presupposed question might be something like: “What is a good thing to avoid saying in such situations?”

29) *Baken din pag sia~sian di i-bag~baga.*
 neg RM always CVCC.separate RMi UNDt-CVC-say
 ‘It’s not always divorce! divorce! that (one) is to be saying’ (i.e. ‘Don’t continually threaten divorce.’)

In 30) the narrow-focus clause is at the very end. Note that the idea of ‘go peek’ is introduced, and all the participants, especially the narrator herself, are ‘given’ information. In the last clause (bracketed) the pairing of the participant (1s) with her role is an example of completive narrow focus, answering the implied question or interest in who actually performed the ‘peeking’ action. This construction further serves a discourse-level function of taking the action off the main storyline.

30) “*En=ka i-tining mo na-pas?od-an din teyey di beey=mi,*”
 go=2sI UNDt-peek.at if UNDI-take.in< RMD ladder BRMi house=1pII
kanan=da et [si sak?en di en nang-i-tining.]
 say.UND=3pII and PRM 1sIII RMi go ANTI-Th-peek.at
 “Go peek (and see) whether the ladder to our house has been taken in,” they
 said, and the (one who) went to peek at it was me.’

Example 31) identifies a location in terms of the activity that gives its importance; having introduced a prospective customer for a shady deal, the storyteller sets the stage for the adventure (seeing the customer, i.e. meeting him) in the well-known Burnham Park. Note that the nominalizing affixes are on the root ‘see’ rather than ‘agree’ since the park was the place to see someone, not the place where the agreement was made.

31) *Ed Burnham di tolag-an ay pan-asi-ila-an=mi.*

LOC Burnham RMi agree-UNDI LK NOM-RECIP-see<=1pII

‘At Burnham (Park) was where it was agreed that we’d meet (lit. see) each other.’

The discourse context must always be taken into account in order to interpret the pragmatic function of an equative clause that identifies a participant by its role. The purpose seen above is specificational. A second purpose is to contrast a participant with other possible participants, a relatively stronger focus force.

7.2.3.3 Contrastive focus clauses

Equative clauses can contrast new information with possible alternatives. The strongest contrast is most clearly expressed when correcting a presupposition. When the context for an equative clause calls for a corrective, contrastive function, both the RPs are marked as definite, as in 32) B.

32) A: *In-takin=mo si Biktorya.*

UNDt.P-take.with=2s PRM Biktorya

B: *Aga, si Bangilay din nang-a~kadwa en sak?en.*

No PRM Bangilay RMD ANTI.P-CV-be.with OPRM 1sIII

A: ‘You took Biktorya along.’

B: ‘No, the (one who) was with me was BANGILAY.’

Example 33) comes from advice to a newly-married couple; the speaker has just admonished them to stop leaning on their parents for support. His corrective admonition

uses narrow focus on the pronoun *dakayo* ‘2pIII’ to contrast the couple with the parents for the role of provider.

33) *Dakayo di mang-i-ligat si ka-tago-an = yo.*
 2pIII RMi ANTI-Th-difficult ORMi NOM-live < = 2pII

‘The (ones to) struggle (lit. undergo hardship) for your (own) livelihood are YOU.’

7.2.3.4 Emphatic narrow focus

A second function of contrastive narrow focus is to emphasize the exclusive uniqueness of the co-referential relationship. As can be seen from example 33) above, assigning someone to a role often signals responsibility; sometimes the force is that of blame. In 34) the recipient of a scolding letter learns that he has been overextending his parents’ generosity. Both parties know the facts; the equative construction serves to stress his role in this case.

34) *Sik?a di nang-(g)asto~gastos sin pilak = mi.*
 2sIII RMi ANTI.P-CVCCV-spend ORMd money = 1pI

‘The (one who) kept spending all our money is you.’

When the information in both RPs of an equative clause is highly identifiable, as in the case of focal (class III) pronouns and previously-mentioned predicates, the impact of the narrow focus is to emphasize the assertion that the participant in fact fills the role, as in 35), with a corroborating emphatic particle.

35) *Si naey man di <in>ila = k.*
 PRM DEM1III PART RMi UND.P-see = 1sII

‘(I insist) what I saw is really this.’

7.2.3.5 The demonstrative as referent in equative clauses

The class I demonstrative pronoun *sa* ‘that’ (near-hearer) can take the role of a general focal pronoun with anaphoric reference functions, as in example 36). This example comes from a story in which some parents send their child back and forth between them rather than stop their work to peel his sugarcane for him. The narrow focus is used to contrast or uniquely assign the role to one participant, who is identified by a demonstrative pronoun. In the context of repeated refusals to peel the sugarcane, the construction is clearly indicating narrow focus.

36) *I-ey=mo* *Ø* *en* *ina=m* *ta* *sa=y* *mang-(g)el?ad.*
 UND_t-go = 2sII 4III OPNM mother = 2sII so.that DEM2I = RMI ANTI-peel
 ‘Take it to your mother so that the (one who) will peel it is that one (i.e. so THAT ONE (she, not me) will peel it).’

In 37) the immediate antecedent, ‘Aug.22’, controls the reference of the demonstrative that begins the second clause. Brackets indicate the constituent positions.

37) *S<om>aa=ka* *sin* *Aug. 22* *tan*
 ACT_m-go.home = 2sI ORM_d Aug. 22 because
 [*sa*]_{PRED} [=y <om>*ali-an* *da Ben*]_{ARG}
 DEM2I =RMI NOM-come < pl Ben

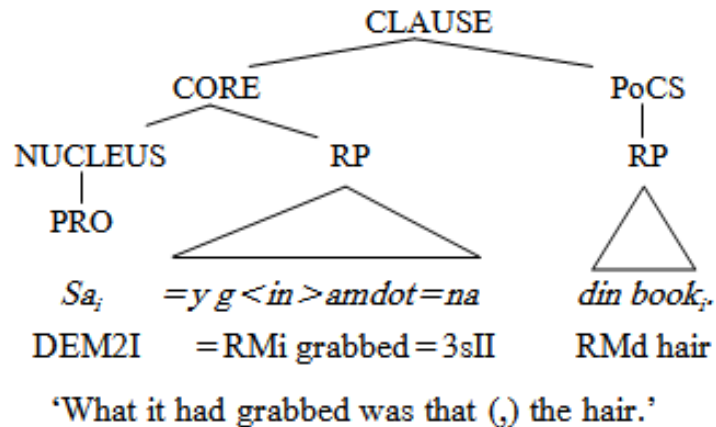
‘Come home on August 22, because the coming-time of Ben and family is that.’

Sometimes the demonstrative *sa* has no anaphoric referent, but rather has cataphoric reference to a definite RP which is placed to the right in the post-core slot. The phrase that is co-referential with the predicate RP follows without intonational pause in the post-core position (unlike the English translation, which must insert a pause). The resulting clause delays the identification of the ‘value’ RP until after the ‘variable’ indexed role has been activated. This is a common construction in Kankanaey, a method of managing the information flow so that the hearer is easily able to follow and comprehend. Example 38) is a wry comment after a description of someone’s independent behaviour. The speaker activates the idea of what might be the reason for the behaviour, and then suggests the answer.

38) [*Sa*]_{PRED} [=y *layden=(n)a*]_{ARG} [*din ang?anggoy=na.*]_{PRED CO-REFERENT}
 DEM2I =RMI like.UND = 3sII RMD alone = 3sII
 ‘What he likes is that, (the) being on his own.’

The clause in Figure 7.4 comes from a similar point in a story of an eel, where the speaker acknowledges the possible question of how it (the eel) could have held down a man, and then gives the answer. The figure shows the post-core slot with the ‘value’ RP as the co-referent of the demonstrative that is in the clause nucleus. This is the only type of clause that uses the post-core position in Kankanaey. Its closest comparable form in English would be a right-dislocated reverse pseudocleft²⁷!

²⁷ Compare to “right-dislocated pseudocleft” (Pavey 2004:56).



**Figure 7.4. Kankanaey clause structure
with focal RP in post-core slot**

The near-hearer demonstrative *sa*, or the general-anaphoric pronoun *siya*, or the two in combination (*siya sa*) may be used in a generalized sense to refer to information that the hearer holds as activated from the immediate context. Equative clauses with the general pronoun *siya* as the first RP do not always identify or stress an entity to fill a role, but may give emphasis to important concepts on a paragraph level, especially as they relate to causal relationships between clauses, giving a general anaphoric sense of ‘thus, like, so’. This use of the pro-form *siya* was noted in Chapter 3.

An equative clause with a general deictic that refers to a large amount of information serves as a summarizing or closing device at the end of some unit at a higher level than the clause. In 39) and 40) the clause is summarizing the preceding paragraph, while 41) closes an entire discourse.

39) *Isonga mo mamingsan yan sa=y adi=mi pan-solat-an.*
 therefore if/when one.time PART DEM2I=RMi NEG = 1pII NOM-write <
 ‘So sometimes, (the reason for) our not writing (to you) is that.’ (i.e. ‘Sometimes that’s why we don’t write (you).’)

40) *Baken siya sa=y pan-balin-a(n)=m si kaag.*
 NEG thus DEM2I=RMi NOM-change < = 2sII ORMi monkey
 ‘(The reason for) becoming a monkey is not that.’ (i.e. ‘That’s no reason to turn into a monkey.’)

- 41) *Siya anggoy sa di i-baga=k en dakayo ay sin-asawa.*
 thus only DEM2I RMi UNDt-say=1s OPNM 2pIII LK UNIT-spouse
 ‘What I will say to you who are a (newlywed) husband-and-wife is only that (the entire preceding discourse).’ (closing sentence)

7.3 Outside the focus domain

Information in a clause that is outside the actual focus domain is topical. Chapter 6 discussed topic continuity by means of pronoun reference across clauses. Other topical information in Kankanaey sentences is expressed by deictics, proper names, and definite RPs in any function of the clause. Both of the RPs in equative clauses hold topical reference; it is the relationship of the first RP to the second RP that is the new information in the actual focus domain.

As noted above in Figure 7.2, the Kankanaey sentence has detached positions preceding and following the central clause. Material in the left-detached position is always topical (VVLP 1997:228), and falls outside the potential focus domain. The detachment is indicated by an intonational pause (shown by a comma) or by one of four particles²⁸—*ket*, *et*, *yan*, or *pay*. These detachment strategies will be illustrated in the examples that follow. Chapter 5 has already covered the types of information presented by full clauses in the LDP. The rest of this chapter will explore topical RPs in the LDP.

7.3.1 Detached RPs with basic clauses

In introductory sentences that open narratives, a detached RP may soften the impact of the barrage of new information by mentioning a new constituent in general (accessible) terms, which then becomes the topic of the ensuing clause, as in 42) and 43). In 44), an activated Undergoer clears the way for the brand new but minor participant, the indefinite ‘dog’ as Actor.

- 42) *Din ili ay Binggo et kitkitooy ay ili Ø*
 RMd town LK Binggo PART small LK town 4I
sin Municipio =n di Dupax del Martes.
 ORMd Municipality BRMi Dupax del Martes
 ‘The town that is Binggo, it is a small town in the municipal district of Dupax del Martes.’

²⁸ These particles are fairly interchangeable, but *pay* is often used to show contrast or temporal relation, and if the RP is rather lengthy, *yan* is the preferred particle.

43) *Din istorya ay nay et na-pasamak Ø sin 1982.*
 RMd story LK DEM1V PART UNDS-happen 4I ORMd 1982

‘This story, it happened in 1982.’

44) *Din esa=y anak=ko abe=d Tabay yan k<in>at di aso Ø.*
 RMd one=LK child=1sII also=LOC Tabay PARTUND.P-bit BRMi dog 3sI

‘My other (lit. one...also) child at Tabay, a dog bit him.’

In a discourse, there are referents that may not be highly accessible to the hearer. They may not have been individuated from a given group, or may have gone unmentioned for long enough that specific re-activation or identification is needed for the hearer to process additional information. This is achieved by left-detachment of the RP, which may also be accompanied by the detaching marker *mo*, glossed as ‘as for’.

Left-detachment is appropriate when a previously introduced participant first begins to function in the discourse, as in 45), or when the narrative reverts back to a previous participant, as in 46). Such a participant may begin to operate as the discourse topic, taking the most identifiable form (pronominal argument). In 45) the background has been set, introducing the family members. The left-detachment sets the mother as the discourse topic and makes her the referent of the pronouns. The story then goes on to detail her misadventures.

45) *Din nay ay esa=y ina, man-gapo di beteng=na,*
 RMd DEM1V LK one=LK mother ACT-reason RMi drunk=3sII

lay~layd-e(n)=na ay en maki-sida.

CVC-enjoy-UND=3sII LK go ASSOC-feast

‘Now this particular mother, because of her drunkenness, she loved to go to feasts.’

Prior to the sentence in 46), the story has been about a child working in the field; it now switches back to the mother at home. Once the left-detached phrase has made the mother the discourse topic, she becomes the Actor and referent of the pronouns.

46) *Mo din si nanang=na, kambaw iyat=na en*
 as.for RMd PRM mother=3sII PART say=3sII QT

man-sakit din toktok=na ngem...

ACT-pain RMd head=3sII but

‘(Meanwhile) as for her mother, well, she said her head ached but...’

A second purpose for left-detachment is to differentiate one entity from others in a set, as contrasting information is given about each. For example, in 47) the discourse is about funding for a project, and this particular referent stands in isolation from the others who were participants in previous clauses. Example 48) was uttered in the context of assigning duties to various members of a set.

47) *ngem din odom ay nan-kari en t<om>olong yan*
 but RMD other LK ACT.P-promise QT ACT-help PART
iwed di sobalit = da.
 NEGEXIS RMI repay = 3pII

‘but the others who had promised to help, there wasn’t any payment from them.’

48) *et mo si sik?a pay, en = ka man-oto.*
 and as-for PRM 2sIII PART go = 2sI ACT-cook

‘...and as for you, you go cook.’

Example 49) further shows the individuation function of detached phrases from a longer section of a text of wedding advice. The detached phrases (in brackets in this example) are not necessarily the explicit topic of their clauses but serve as subtopics of the larger category introduced in the first clause.

49) *Man-lako = kayo abe si sin-asawa ay manok.*
 ACT-buy = 2pI PART ORMi UNIT-spouse LK chicken
 [*Di silbi = n di manok,*] *mo wa = y balang-en di anak*
 RMI purpose BRMi chicken if EXIS = RMI drop-UND BRMchild
si makan ya wa = y mang-omong.
 ORMi food PART EXIS = RMI ANTI-peck
 [*Din kawwitan,*] *man-tan?o Ø sin g<om>abis-a(n) = na.*
 RMD rooster ACT-crow 4I ORMD NOM-dawn < = 4II

‘Also buy a pair of chickens. The purpose of chickens, if there is food that a child drops, there is something to peck it up. The rooster, it will crow at (its) dawn.’

7.3.2 *Detached RPs with equative clauses*

The first RP in an equative clause can be detached to activate or contrast it with other entities in the broader context. The resumptive pronoun must be a free-standing pronoun III in the clause nucleus, as in 50). The speaker has been reporting on her various children, so the detachment serves to set the referent in contrast. The equative

clause can only be interpreted as expressing completive, identificational focus. If the referent had contrastive focus, it could not simultaneously take discourse-level contrast by detachment.

50) *Mo si Delia yan sisya di presidente =n din pupils*
 as.for PRM Delia PART 3sIII RMi president =BRMd pupils
government = da.
 government = 3pII
 ‘As for Delia, the president of their student government is she.’

Prior to the sentence in 51), the narrator has been describing five wartime aircraft, three of which dropped supplies for ground forces. In 50) he contrasts the function or identity of the two remaining aircraft.

51) *Mo din dowa pay, daida di guardia.*
 as.for RM two yet 3pIII RM guard
 ‘As for the other two, the guards were they.’

The second RP in an equative clause, the RP in the argument position, can be left-detached to activate a participant role, which the nuclear RP then identifies, as in 52). The resumptive pronoun is the null (\emptyset) 4I, leaving the clause looking like two RPs separated by a pause. The intonational pause and the indefinite RM on the first RP are the clues that it is a left-detached narrow-focus structure.

52) *Di nabay?an, din esa ay anak ya din si ina =na \emptyset .*
 RMi left.behind RMd one LK child and RMd PRM mother = 3sII 4I
 ‘The (ones who) were left, (they were) the one child and its mother.’ (after death of the man)

When the argument (second) RP of an equative clause has an affixed-root nucleus, any entity in that non-focal RP can be left-detached as a contrastive topic, and a resumptive pronoun will indicate its role. As described above, this detachment indicates contrast within the larger context. Example 53) shows the ergative argument (bracketed) of the affixed nucleus detached to contrast with others in a list.

53) *Mo si Nard, owat pay din man-sin~sinit di am~amag-e(n) [=na].*
 as.for PRM Nard only PART RMd ACT-CVC-offend RMi UND-CVC-do = 3sII
 ‘As for Nard (a toddler), what he’s doing is just bothersome things.’

Recursive preposing is possible, as in Figure 7.5, where contextual participants are activated, and then their funerals (topical in the context of mentioning their simultaneous deaths) detached as topics in an equative clause.

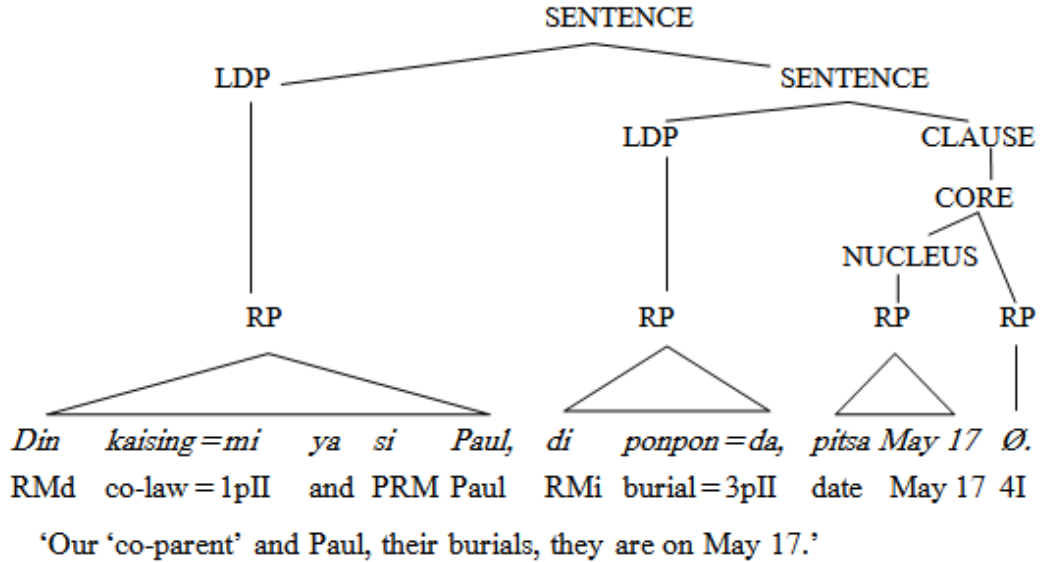


Figure 7.5. Recursive left-dislocation

This chapter has explored the ways in which Kankanaey speakers control information flow to their hearers, introducing new information and acknowledging shared information. The display below traces the interaction of information structure and Kankanaey syntax through the various possible forms of one clause. The examples in the display illustrate the variety of options available to Kankanaey speakers for successful communication.

Comparative configurations of one clause with bracketed constituent positions

Clause focus:

- 54) $[Wada]_{\text{PRED}} [=y \text{ dalit ay nang-(g)amdot sin book Poltag}]_{\text{ARG}}$
 EXIS =RMi eel LK ANTI-grasp ORMd hair Poltag
 ‘There was an eel that grasped Poltag’s hair.’

Predicate focus:

- 55) $[G<in> amdot]_{\text{PRED}} [=na]_{\text{ARG}} [din \text{ book}]_{\text{ARG}}$
 grasp-UND.P = 3sII RMd hair
 ‘He grasped the hair.’

Predicate focus with topical argument :

- 56) $[Din \text{ book}_i \text{ yan}]_{\text{LDP}} [g<in> amdot]_{\text{PRED}} [=na]_{\text{ARG}} [\emptyset]_{\text{ARG}}$
 RMd hair/eel PART grasp-UND.P = 3sII 4III
 ‘The hair_i, he grasped it_i.’

- 57) $[Din \text{ dalit}_i \text{ yan}]_{\text{LDP}} [g<in> amdot]_{\text{PRED}} [=na]_{\text{ARG}} [\emptyset]_{\text{ARG}}$
 RMd eel PART grasp-UND.P = 3sII 4III
 ‘The eel_i, he_i grasped it.’

Predicate focus with topical possessor:

- 58) $[Si \text{ Poltag}_i \text{ pay,}]_{\text{LDP}} [g<in> amdot]_{\text{PRED}} [din \text{ dalit}]_{\text{ARG}} [din \text{ book} = na_r]_{\text{ARG}}$
 PRM Poltag PART grasp-UND.P RMd eel RMd hair = 3sII
 ‘As for Poltag_i, the eel grasped his_i hair.’

Completive narrow-focus:

- 59) $[Din \text{ book}]_{\text{PRED}} [di \text{ g}<in> amdot = na]_{\text{ARG}}$
 RMd hair RMI grasp-UND.P = 3SII
 ‘The hair was what he grasped.’ (e.g. answers ‘What did he grasp?’)

Contrastive narrow-focus:

- 60) $[Din \text{ book}]_{\text{PRED}} [din \text{ g}<in> amdot = na]_{\text{ARG}}$
 RMd hair RMd grasp-UND.P = 3sII
 ‘What he grasped was the hair.’ (e.g. corrects ‘He grasped the shirt’)

Completive narrow-focus with topicalized argument RP:

- 61) $[Di \ g <in> \cdot =na,]_{LDP} [din \ book]_{PRED} [\emptyset]_{ARG}$
RMI grasp-UND.P = 3sII RMd hair 4I

‘What he grasped, it was the hair.’

Left-detached predicate RP in completive narrow-focus clause:

- 62) $[Din \ book,]_{LDP} [sa]_{PRED} [=y \ g <in> \cdot =na]_{ARG}$
RMd hair DEM2I RMI grasp-UND.P = 3sII

‘The hair, that was what he grasped.’

Completive narrow-focus clause with co-referential RP in post-core slot:

- 63) $[Sa]_{PRED} [=y \ g <in> \cdot =na]_{ARG} [din \ book]_{POST-CORE}$
DEM2I RMI grasp-UND.P = 3sII RMd hair

‘That was what he grasped (,) the hair.’

Conclusion

This dissertation has taken an in-depth look at the Kankanaey language. It began with its morphology, went through the basic clause and reference phrase structures, and then looked at more complex structures. It finished by analyzing information flow, noting how the structures at every level contribute to clear communication in Kankanaey.

The model that provided the framework for this analysis was Role and Reference Grammar. RRG has an inventory of structural positions that served this study very well. Especially helpful was the idea of a layered structure for both clauses and reference phrases with its concept of ‘core’ as a separate level. This concept provided insight for the analysis of core-level modification and core-level juncture, especially when considering complex clause constructions. A second very helpful part of the model was the interface between semantics and syntax as conceived in RRG. This was especially informative in understanding the Kankanaey predicate affixation system.

Two areas for further Kankanaey studies come to mind. The syntax-semantics interface could be explored further, providing detailed algorithms for both simple and complex constructions. The topic of discourse analysis, suggested by the study of information structure, is another area of further research that awaits description.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Reference phrase markers

	Single	Trans. Actor	Trans. Undergoer	Oblique
common nominals (definite)	<i>din/=n</i>	<i>(=n) din</i>	<i>din/=n</i>	<i>sin</i> <i>ed</i> (LOC)
Tag:	RMd	BRMd	RMd	ORMd
common nominals (indefinite)	<i>di/=y</i>	<i>(=n) di</i>	<i>di/=y</i>	<i>si/=s</i>
Tag:	RMi	BRMi	RMi	ORMi
personal names, kin (sing.)	<i>si/=s</i>	<i>(=n) Ø</i>	<i>si/=s</i>	<i>en</i>
Tag:	PRM	BPRM	PRM	OPRM
personal names, kin (plur.)	<i>da</i>	<i>(=n) da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>en da</i>
Tag:	PRM.pl	BPRM.pl	PRM.pl	OPRM pl
DEM-related RM	<i>nan</i> (1) <i>san</i> (2)			<i>sinan/isnan</i> (1) <i>issan</i> (2)
Tag:	DRM			ODRM

Appendix 2 Demonstrative pronouns

	Single/trans. Undergoer	Trans. Actor and possessor	Focal (may take PRM)	Oblique	Attributive
TAG:	I	II	III	IV	V
1	<i>na</i>	<i>nina</i>	<i>naey</i>	<i>sina/isna/=s na</i>	<i>nay</i>
2	<i>sa</i>	<i>nisa</i>	<i>sana</i>	<i>issa/=s sa</i>	<i>sana</i>
3	<i>di</i>	<i>nidi</i>	<i>dooy</i>	<i>sidi/isdi/=s di</i>	<i>doy</i>

Appendix 3 Personal pronouns

pronoun class	I	II	III	OPRM + III
	Single	Trans.Actor and possessor	Focal and trans. Undergoer	Oblique
Tripartite split:				<i>en III</i>
1s	= <i>ak</i>	= <i>ko</i>	(PRM +) <i>sak?en</i>	
2s	= <i>ka</i>	= <i>mo</i>	(PRM +) <i>sik?a</i>	
1p	= <i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	PRM + <i>dakami</i>	
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	= <i>yo</i>	PRM + <i>dakayo</i>	
Accusative split:				
3p	= <i>da</i>	= <i>da</i>	PRM + <i>daida</i>	
1 + 2	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ta</i>	PRM + <i>daita</i>	
1 + 2p	= <i>tako</i>	= <i>tako</i>	PRM + <i>datako</i>	
Ergative split:				
3s	Ø/ <i>sisya</i>	= <i>na</i>	Ø / (PRM +) <i>sisya</i>	
4(impersonal)	Ø	= <i>na</i>	Ø	(use DEM)
Blended: 1sII.2sI	= <i>naka</i>		---	
Blended: 3sII.2sI	= <i>daka</i>			

Appendix 4 Predicating affixes

Voice	imperfective form	perfective form
Actor-referencing	<i>man-</i>	<i>nan-</i>
	<i>maN-</i>	<i>naN-</i>
	<i>maka-</i>	<i>naka-</i>
	<i>maki-</i>	<i>naki-</i>
	<i>ka-</i>	--
	< <i>om</i> >	< <i>in(o)m</i> >
Undergoer-referencing	<i>ma-</i>	<i>na-</i>
	<i>i-</i>	<i>in-</i>
	<i>-en</i>	< <i>in</i> >
	<i>-an</i>	< <i>in</i> > ...- <i>an</i>
	<i>i-...-an</i>	<i>in-...-an</i> (<i>ni-</i> before <i>l</i>)

Appendix 5 Nominalizing affixes

Affix	Root or predicate type	Semantic denotation	Examples
<i>akin-</i>	nominal	refers to the possessor	<i>akin?aso</i> ‘dog’s owner’
<i>ka-</i>	activity or state	refers to a companion	<i>katolong</i> ‘helper’ <i>katokdo</i> ‘seat-mate’ <i>kaising</i> ‘co-in-law’
	attribute	refers to an attribute something has or to a related time span	<i>kabalom</i> ‘your youth’ <i>kapigsa</i> ‘strength’
<i>ka-CVC</i>	state	refers to time span	<i>katagtago</i> ‘lifetime’
<i>ka-ma-</i>	state	refers to time of the state	<i>kamatago</i> ‘lifetime’
<i>ka-...-an</i>	activity	refers to the activity itself as an event	<i>kapolagan di bato</i> ‘falling of rocks’ <i>kaiologan</i> ‘translation’
	state or attribute	refers to time, place, other related concepts or entities	<i>kaekan</i> ‘what one sleeps on’ <i>kaad?adoan</i> ‘majority, most’ <i>kabigatan</i> ‘next day’ <i>kasapolan</i> ‘what is needed’
<i>kina-</i>	attribute	refers to the attribute itself	<i>kinatet?ewa</i> ‘truth’
<i>maN-</i> , <i>mangi-</i>	activity	refers to the Actor argument of transitive roots	<i>nangelay sin lokto</i> ‘one who peeled the yams’ <i>mangibaga</i> ‘one who tells something’

Appendix 5 continued

<i>-an</i>	< <i>om</i> > and <i>ma</i> -affixed predicates	refers to the time or place of the state or activity	<i>emeyan</i> ‘time/place of going’ <i>gomabisana</i> ‘time of becoming dawn’ <i>naitapian</i> ‘what something was added/joined to’
<i>p-...-an</i> (substitute <i>p-</i> for <i>m-</i> , <i>n-</i> is perfective)	predicates with <i>man-</i> , <i>maN-</i> or <i>maki-</i>	refers to the activity itself or the associated time or place of the activity	<i>panliplipilan</i> ‘repair shop’ <i>nakiasawaanmi</i> ‘time we wed’ <i>panobtobtoban</i> ‘act of adding something to something’ <i>nangananmi</i> ‘place we ate’
<i>pangi-...-an</i> (<i>nangi-...-an</i> is perfective)	predicates with <i>i-</i>	refers to the location where the activity is directed	<i>pangidawtan</i> ‘who to give it to’ <i>pangitangadan</i> ‘who to look up to’ <i>nangipay-an da</i> ‘where they put it’
<i>pan—...-an</i>	nominal	refers to something used to bring about the nominal	<i>pan-gapoan</i> ‘used for reason/excuse’ <i>panpolian</i> ‘for purposes of breeding/descendants’
<i>ipaN-</i>	activity root	refers to something nonspecific used for the activity	<i>ipangan</i> ‘food to eat with rice’
<i>paN-, pan-</i>	any	instrument used	<i>panlogan</i> ‘use for riding a vehicle’

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