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THEME, RESULT, AND CONTRAST:  
A STUDY IN EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE IN  
UPPER TANUDAN KALINGA

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## PREFACE

This study of expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga is the result of a practical need that I had while I was living in the village of Lubo between July 1982 and August 1985. During that time, I found myself attending various social gatherings at which I was expected to give a talk on some topic. From my experience at similar gatherings, I knew the type of talk I needed to give was a short expository discourse, but at that time I was far from having mastered either the general discourse type or the actual grammatical constructions that make up expository discourse. Eventually I reached the point where I felt that I could not go on giving bad speeches so I set about studying expository discourse in Linurubu, which is what the Lubo people call their language. As I began my analysis, what I initially wanted to know was how I should begin a speech, how I should keep going, and how I should stop. The present study is the result of my attempt to answer those questions.

It should be noted that others have also written about what I call expository discourse but, because expository discourse is a surface form that serves a variety of communicative purposes, it is not always labelled according to its surface structure. Some writers have discussed expository discourse as mitigated hortatory discourse, labelling it according to its underlying communicative purpose. The reader should then be aware that, in Philippine linguistics at least, expository discourse and mitigated hortatory discourse can be the same thing.

Most of the language examples contained in this study are taken from six texts that are included in a collection of 16 texts titled *Upper Tanudan Kalinga Texts* (Brainard 1985) or from another text not in the collection. This text, titled *What is Marriage?* by Alfredo Tombali, is a companion piece to the text titled *What is a Child?* by the same speaker (which is in the text collection). *What is Marriage?* is reproduced in full in Appendix A at the end of this study. It contains a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and a free English translation.

The following is a list of the expository texts that are contained in this study, their authors and their reference numbers. Dalen Do-ayan and Lungayat Manao are women; the other authors are men. Masculine pronouns are used as inclusive of both genders throughout the study when hearers and non-specific speakers are referred to, to avoid what would be too frequent use of combination pronouns.

8	<i>How a Person Lives a Righteous Life</i>	Alfredo Tombali
9	<i>The Way People Became Leaders in the Old Days</i>	Alfredo Tombali
10	<i>What is a Child?</i>	Alfredo Tombali
11	<i>Supernatural Illnesses</i>	Dalen Do-ayan
12	<i>Marriage</i>	Victor Dalanao
13	<i>The First Thunder and the First Flooding of the River</i>	Lungayat Manao
17	<i>What is Marriage?</i>	Alfredo Tombali

An explanation should be made concerning the numbering system used for the language examples. The numbers coordinate with the numbering system used in the previously mentioned text collection,

the extra text being numbered 17 to follow on from those. The first number is the text number, and the second is the sentence number. For example, 12.14 means text 12 and sentence number 14 of that text. Language examples taken from other sources are identified by a letter in parentheses, for example (a).

In most cases, the analysis of the language examples follows the approach used in the text collection. The few differences that occur between the analysis in this study and that found in the text collection are discussed next.

Those readers who refer to the text collection will notice an occasional difference between a linguistic gloss given for a language example in the text collection and the gloss given for the same example in this study. It should be noted that for the examples presented in this study I have given only the lexical meaning of the verbs and have omitted information about focus and tense or aspect. This information is available in the text collection. There are a few examples, however, in which the focus or aspectual orientation of the verb is important to the discussion. In these cases, the necessary information has been supplied.

The focus system can be explained briefly as follows. In Philippine languages, one noun phrase in a clause is marked as more central to the predication than the other noun phrases that also occur in that clause. This noun phrase is signalled by a nominal marker that introduces the noun phrase and indicates that the phrase is the focused element of the clause. The nominal marker system is cross-referenced in the verb morphology (Walton 1986:14). Each verb takes a set of affixes that also signal which noun phrase in the clause is the focused element.

In Philippine linguistics, there is some variation in the labels that are given to the different verbal affixes. In the text collection, I chose to label certain affixes as SF for subject focus, indicating that the noun phrase that functions as a subject is the focused element of the clause, and OF for object focus, indicating that the noun phrase that functions as a direct object is the focused element. In the present study, these labels have been changed. The label SF is replaced in this study by AF, indicating that the noun phrase that functions as an actor is the focused element, and the label OF is replaced by GF for goal focus, signalling that the noun phrase that functions as a goal is the focused element. The new labels refer to exactly the same affixes as the old labels in the text collection and are a direct substitution.

Another area of variation in Philippine linguistics concerns tense and aspect. Verbal affixes have been described both in terms of tense, such as past tense and non-past tense, and aspect, such as perfective and imperfective. (Perfective refers to completed action, and imperfective refers to action that has not yet been completed.) In the text collection verbal affixes are labelled in terms of tense – past and non-past tense. For this study, however, I have chosen to interpret this function of the verbal affixes as aspect – perfective and imperfective – rather than tense. In regard to abbreviations then, P for past tense in the text collection has been changed to P for perfect in this study, and NP for non-past tense has been changed to IMP for imperfect.

There are also some differences in sentence breaks. In a very few cases, sentences in the text collection have been split into two sentences or joined into one sentence in this study. The presentation of the sentences in this study should be considered the more accurate interpretation of sentence boundaries. In the case of a sentence split, the two parts of the sentence have the same sentence number and are designated a and b. For example, in text 8 sentence 35 has been split. The two resulting sentences are numbered 8.35a and 8.35b. If several sentences have been joined into one, then the sentence is labelled with the number that goes with the first sentence in the joined string.

For example, in text 8 sentences 30, 31, and 32 have been joined to form one sentence. The new sentence is numbered 8.30.

A note needs to be made about the English translation that accompanies each language example. It is always hard to find a satisfactory way of translating language examples. A literal translation, while helpful for examining the form and structure of the language example, often results in awkward English. On the other hand, a good idiomatic English translation sometimes obscures important syntactic features in the language example. In this study, I have tried to give a fairly literal English translation for the sake of the reader who wants to study the language example. Where the literal translation threatens to become unintelligible, I have given both a literal translation, if possible (some idiomatic expressions defy any kind of word-for-word translation), and a more natural English translation that better conveys the meaning of the language example. In this way I hope to make both the meaning and the syntactic structure of the language example accessible to the reader.

It should be pointed out that the punctuation system for the language examples differs from English. Certain grammatical features occurring in Upper Tanudan Kalinga clearly indicate relationships signalled by English punctuation; this renders some English punctuation unnecessary. On the other hand, punctuation is sometimes added to language examples to indicate groupings signalled by pauses in speech or to mark relationships and groupings not indicated by grammatical features or pauses.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This monograph is not an isolated endeavour. It owes much to colleagues who guided and encouraged me throughout the analysis and writing of this study. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the contribution of the following:

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Kippy Forfia, who out of friendship performed the tedious task of proofreading the final draft of the manuscript.

The people of Lubo, who graciously allowed me to be part of their lives and taught me all that I know about their language and their way of life.

There are many others, too, who have helped to bring this study to completion. I take full responsibility, however, for the conclusions and interpretations that are contained in it, and for any errors of analysis or citation that have inadvertently been included.



## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ADV	adversative	1	first person
CERT	certainty	2	second person
D1	deictic, near speaker	3	third person
D2	deictic, near hearer		
D3	deictic, far from speaker and hearer	I	nominative enclitic pronoun, focused actor
DL	dual	II	genitive enclitic pronoun, non-focused actor, or possessor
EMPH	emphatic		
EXC	exclusive; refers to first person pronouns that exclude hearer, 'we, but not you'	III	full form, free-standing pronoun; replaces focused noun phrase; unmarked set
G	genitive		
HAB	habitual	IV	full form, free-standing pronoun; replaces focused noun phrase; marked set
HORT	hortatorical		
INC	inclusive; refers to first person pronouns that include hearer, 'we all'		
		blank space	word boundary
INT	interrogative	:	morpheme boundary in word-by-word gloss; indeterminate
L	location		
left-dis	left-dislocated		morpheme boundary in morpheme-by-morpheme gloss
LK	link		
MOD	modal	,	semantic/grammatical components
N	nominative		
O	oblique	/	alternative related meanings
OPT	optative	.	compound gloss or compound word in vernacular
PL	plural		
RS	reported speech	( )	zero allomorph
SG	singular	??	undetermined meaning
SM	substitute marker	[ ]	implied information (in translations)
T	topic		
TI	time	-	lenis glottal stop



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 PURPOSE OF EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

Expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga<sup>1</sup> is a discourse type that is used to carry out two basic speaker purposes: to explain and to prove. It can also be used to carry out a third purpose: to persuade. If the communicative purpose of an expository text is mainly to explain or to prove, then the surface structure is a fairly straightforward reflection of the underlying purpose. Because there is little skewing between the underlying purpose and the surface structure, explanation and proof are considered to be the basic purposes of expository discourse. If the main intent of the text, however, is to persuade, then there can be considerable skewing between the expository surface structure and the underlying hortatory purpose. For this reason, persuasion is not considered to be a basic purpose of expository discourse. This kind of skewing usually takes place when the speaker wants to advise or exhort the hearer but lacks the appropriate qualifications to present what he wants to say as a direct exhortation. By reframing what he wants to say in the form of an expository speech, he gains a hearing he would otherwise be denied. Even though the exhortation is given in a mitigated or more indirect form, the hearer clearly understands the speaker's underlying intent. In this study, because expository discourse employs a kind of surface structure that is used for different communication purposes, texts are identified as expository discourses according to their surface structure.

In order to accommodate the different speaker purposes, expository discourse incorporates a basic expository surface structure upon which an optional overlay of persuasive strategies can be placed. The basic structure allows a speaker the means by which he can explain and prove what he wants to say. The overlay of persuasive strategies permits him to influence the hearer's beliefs or actions in some way, if that is his intent.

It is important to note that proof in expository discourse is informal. While the speaker uses grammatical forms that are associated with logical proof, the argument itself does not have to be equivalent to a formal proof. Consequently, statements introduced by 'because' or 'so that' are not always true reasons or results. On the other hand, since the statements are expressed in surface forms used to state logical relationships, the hearer accepts the argument as proof or explanation, provided that the speaker does not stray too far from what the hearer considers reasonable.

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<sup>1</sup>Upper Tanudan Kalinga belongs to the Central Cordilleran subgroup of Northern Philippine languages. It is spoken by about 3,000 people who live at the southern end of Tanudan Valley, Tanudan, Kalinga-Apayao, Luzon, Philippines. The analysis is based on 40 pages of expository text which were selected from data gathered between 1982 and 1985 in the village of Lubo in Tanudan Valley, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The study was begun under the direction of Dr Joseph E. Grimes during a linguistic workshop held at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila, Philippines, between 1 October and 14 December of 1984. It was continued and completed under the direction of Dr Austin Hale between October 1986 and August 1987.

A point should also be made concerning the distinction between proof and persuasion in expository discourse. It is not always easy to draw a line between them. The relationship between the two is better understood as a continuum, with proof at one end and persuasion at the other. In general, proof is often characterised by reasons and results that have a more cognitive basis. Persuasion, on the other hand, is often expressed by reasons and results that have an affective basis. Even this distinction, however, does not always hold true. Perhaps a better way to distinguish between proof and persuasion is by looking at speaker intent. If the main intent of the speaker is to explain something, reasons and results generally function as proof. The speaker presents reasons and results in order to validate what he is talking about. He has little or no interest in influencing the hearer's beliefs or actions. On the other hand, if the main intent of the speaker is to influence how the hearer thinks or acts, then the reasons and results are presented as a means of increasing the persuasive force of what he is talking about. The speaker uses his arguments to bring about the desired change in the hearer.

## 1.2 KEY ELEMENTS

Not all information in expository discourse is equally important. Some information is more important than other information in terms of carrying out the speaker's purpose to explain and prove something. The question then is: what kind of information is essential to this discourse type? There are three kinds that are key elements: theme, result and contrast.<sup>2</sup> These three elements are reflected in all the major features found in the surface structure.

Theme is presented as a proposition that states what the text is about. Themes centre around abstract concepts, such as marriage, leadership and righteous living. Participants are closely related to themes; they function as concrete illustrations of the abstract concepts that are contained in the themes so that the hearer can more easily understand what the speaker is talking about. For example, in a text that discusses righteous living, the global theme is presented in the first sentence: 'Here is the story of how a person can live righteously.' The theme is amplified slightly in the second sentence: 'Here are the three standards of righteousness for those living: *paniyaw*, *ngilin*, and *biin*'. (*Paniyaw* and *ngilin* are types of taboos, and *biin* is 'respect' or 'shame'.) The theme centres around the abstract concept of righteous living. The primary participant, 'a person', is the concrete representation that is used to talk about the theme.

From the standpoint of achieving the speaker's purpose to explain and prove, results are the most important pieces of new information that are associated with each theme. While contrast can be reduced to a bare minimum in a text, or even deleted altogether (as in the case of a text that is purely explanation with no persuasive intent), results can never be deleted entirely from an expository text.

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<sup>2</sup>It should be noted that, although reasons are also important support information in expository discourse, they are not considered one of the key elements, unlike results. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, while paragraph peaks are often formed by sentences that contain only results, there are very few peaks in which the sentence contains only a reason. (Occasionally reasons co-occur with results in sentences that expound paragraph peaks. When this happens, the result expounds the nuclear clause, and the reason expounds the postnuclear clause. Since the result expounds the nuclear clause, it is regarded as the crucial information for forming the peak.) Secondly, reasons are never eligible to be expressed in the nuclear clause of an expository sentence (see sections 3.2 and 3.3). The expository sentence is the most common means of stating a paragraph peak. Thirdly, while results are often associated with persuasive climaxes, reasons never are.

It should also be pointed out that this preference for results over reasons appears to be somewhat language-specific. Joanne Shetler (pers. comm.) reports that in Balangao, another Central Cordilleran language, reasons are equally as important as results in expository discourse. In Balangao, the preferred organisation of content in a paragraph in expository discourse is a theme statement followed by reason, contrast, and result statements. In Balangao, then, reasons would be a fourth key element.

To remove all the results is to reduce the text to a mere collection of sentences that don't explain, prove or persuade. Explanations without results are just descriptions of situations and conditions. Paragraph peaks and persuasive climaxes without results cease to exist at all, since results constitute the key information found in nearly all the sentences that form paragraph peaks and persuasive climaxes. In the text about righteous living, a result is presented that relates to the global theme: 'That is how a person will live righteously, because whoever lives by these three standards his whole life, namely, if he has *paniyaw*, if he has *ngilin*, if he has *biin*, he will live righteously his whole life and will be respected by his fellowmen'. Living righteously and being respected by others are the results of living in accordance with the three standards mentioned by the speaker.

Contrast is the most common means of proving something in expository discourse. It could almost be said that something has not been proven until it has been placed in contrast with some other information. Contrast is expressed in many forms, such as pairs of positive-negative sentences. It can also be expressed using pairs of lexical items which are placed in opposition to each other, such as man and woman, child and parents, the old days and current times. Contrast is also stated in the form of adversative information, such as a statement of counter-expectation or a presentation of a complete counter-argument. In the text about righteous living, a sentence containing adversative information follows the global theme: 'For here is how a person lives: if he has no *ngilin*, then he has no *biin*, there is no *paniyaw* taboo that he observes'. The sentence stands in contrast to the theme proposition which states that a person who lives righteously ought to have *ngilin* and *biin* and observe the *paniyaw* taboos.

## CHAPTER 2

### RHETORICAL STRUCTURE

To understand expository discourse, it is necessary to identify the various kinds of information that are found in the genre. This information consists of themes and subordinate statements that support those themes, some of which are more important than others. The rhetorical structure underlying expository discourse determines the kinds of information that occur in the genre and how they are connected. The information is expressed in rhetorical propositions. Grimes (1975:207) defines rhetorical propositions:

Propositions whose arguments are not related to their predicates via semantic roles are called RHETORICAL propositions. The predicates in them are called rhetorical predicates. Their main function could be thought of as that of organizing the content of discourse. They join lexical propositions together, and they join other rhetorical propositions together.

Expository discourse centres around a global theme and its lower-level themes all of which are stated in rhetorical propositions, which are joined together by either coordination or subordination. Lower-level theme propositions are subordinate to global theme propositions. On the other hand, lower-level theme propositions may be strung together on a given level by coordination. Associated with each theme proposition are various kinds of information. This information is subordinate to the theme propositions and functions as support and collateral for the theme. Support information provides detail, explanation and proof. Of all the different kinds of support information, reasons, but more especially results, are the most important in terms of achieving the speaker's communication purpose since only sentences containing reasons and results form paragraph and discourse peaks in expository discourse. In such sentences, results occur more often than reasons as the crucial kind of support information for forming the peak. Collateral information tells what is not an explanation. In doing so, it draws attention to what the speaker asserts is a valid explanation for the theme. All collateral information functions as contrast which is crucial for proving what the speaker wants to say.

The following sections provide an inventory of the different kinds of information that are subordinate to the theme propositions. (Theme propositions are discussed under a separate heading in section 3.5.) The kinds of information are grouped according to two general categories: support information (section 2.1) and collateral information (section 2.2). Each section discusses the functions of a particular kind of information and also describes the syntactic constructions that manifest that kind of information.

## 2.1 SUPPORT INFORMATION

In expository discourse, there are five types of support information: explanation, specific information, repetition, constituency and evaluative information. Explanation states reasons and results that support a theme proposition. Specific information amplifies and illustrates a theme. Repetition repeats information that has already been mentioned. Constituency identifies members of a group of participants. Evaluative information expresses an opinion that the speaker wants to assert.

### 2.1.1 EXPLANATION

Explanation depends heavily upon reasons and results for its explanatory or persuasive force. Again reasons, but more particularly results, are the most important kinds of support information. As mentioned earlier, reasons and results, and the propositions which they support, are highlighted relationships in expository discourse. The importance of reasons and results is seen in paragraph peaks. Nearly every paragraph has one peak. The peak consists of a sentence that contains the first mention of a reason or a result that supports the lower-level theme of that paragraph. Other reasons and results can occur in a paragraph as well, but they are secondary to the one that occurs in the paragraph peak. (Paragraph peaks are discussed in more detail in section 3.6.)

Reasons and results are stated as separate sentences following the propositions that they explain or as dependent clauses in a sentence. Independent sentences giving reasons are expressed as equational reason sentences. Independent sentences giving results can begin with *oni kad* 'later on', in which case the result is usually a long-range development. Within a sentence, relationships of reason are signalled by the conjunction *te* 'because' or 'for', while relationships of result are signalled by *ta* or *ta oni pay* 'so that' and occasionally by *wot* 'so then'.

Sentences 11.20 and 9.54 are independent sentences. Sentence 11.20 is an equational reason sentence which states the reason why people suffer illnesses caused by the *aggasang* spirits.

#### 11.20

pronoun	nominal 1		nominal 2
<i>Siya</i>	<i>upanta</i>	<i>matipakan de</i>	<i>makuug-uggudtatta</i>
III,3,S	HAB:II,1,DL	afflict	N,S talk:I,1,DL:O,PL

*maaggasangan ya iwadoyta da napurdusan.*  
 made.ill.by.spirit and push.through.vegetation N,PL knotted.vegetation

The reason why we are afflicted with spirit illnesses is that we talk with people who have *aggasang* spirits in them and we push through vegetation that has been rightfully claimed by another person.

Sentence 9.54 comes from a text about how a man became a leader in the old days. The speaker points out that some people claim to be leaders, but they only do things that benefit their own family rather than things that benefit the whole community. In 9.54 the speaker begins with the phrase *oni kad* 'later on'. In the nuclear clause, he states the long-range consequence of such behaviour: people will not listen to that kind of leader. The implication is that a leader who is not listened to is not a leader at all.

9.54

prenuclear.clause nuclear.clause

*Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dingngor*  
 later:LK D3 not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

postnuclear.clause

*te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*  
 because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader

Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

In the next two sentences, a reason and a result are expressed in dependent postnuclear clauses. In 9.13 the speaker gives a reason why a man's peers respect him: they respect him because he works for the good of everyone. The reason is stated in a postnuclear clause introduced by *te* 'because'.

9.13

nuclear.clause

*Mabiinda de sadi ye ossaan ka duwatta sindumogwat*  
 respect:II,3,PL N,S D3 LK one and two:O,PL age.group

postnuclear.clause

*te abus ak koko-ona de sa urnusda pagay*  
 because only SM habitual.action N,S T,S unity:II,3,PL EMPH

*ya sa ambaruwanda.*

and T,S common.good:II,3,PL

They respect those one or two in the peer group because the main thing he does is settle their affairs and do things for their common good.

In 17.11 the speaker addresses the hearers, telling them that they should know the real meaning of marriage. He states the result of this knowledge – their love for each other will be long-lasting – in a postnuclear clause introduced by *oni pay* 'so that'.

17.11

nuclear.clause

*Igammuwonyu we matagu de anne kapooyan ni asawa*  
 know:II,2,PL LK live N,S D1:LK meaning G,S spouse/marriage

postnuclear.clause

*oni.pay matagakayu kad andonoy pagay de layadyu*  
 so.that live:I,2,PL when last.long EMPH N,S love:II,2,PL

*te ibilangyu pay ak bungruyu gos de*  
 because count:II,2,PL EMPH SM body:II,2,PL also N,S

*bungrun ni asawayu.*

body:LK G,S spouse/marriage:II,2,PL

You who are living know this meaning of marriage so as you live your love will last forever because you consider your wife's body as your own body.

Conditional sentences also express results. As Grimes (1975:226) points out, 'because...therefore' is only a more formal statement of 'since...then' which in turn expresses the



same relationship as 'if...then'. In conditional sentences, the result is always stated in the nuclear clause. Sentence 8.16 occurs in the text about righteous living. It is a conditional sentence in which the condition is presented in the prenuclear clause and introduced by *nu* 'if'. The result of the condition is given in the nuclear clause.

8.16

prenuclear.clause

*Nu sa tagu we mangikatagutte mataguanatta*  
if T,S person LK live.by.means.of:O,S lifetime:II,3,S:O,PL

nuclear.clause

*sadi ye niibaga, manggodonge matagu.*

D3 LK tell straight:LK live

If a person lives by these standards throughout his whole life, he will live righteously.

[Literally: If a person lives his whole life according to those things that were said earlier, he will live righteously.]

Although logical conjunctions are usually present when reasons and results are stated, they are not obligatory. Occasionally statements of reason or result simply follow the proposition that they support. The logical relationship is implicit.

This implicit relationship can be seen in 12.7 and 12.8, from the text in which the speaker explains why young people should not marry outsiders. In 12.7 he argues that if a young man marries a woman from another village he will end up living in her village (since it is the custom for a man to live with his wife and her parents). Since he will not be living in his own village, he will find it very difficult to fulfill his obligations to his own family, such as being present at his parents' funerals in order to perform his duties as a son. Sentence 12.8 states the inevitable result of this state of affairs: the man will be like the *kunata*, those people who are not relatives who come to pay their respects to the bereaved family after the funeral. The implication is that the young man will no longer be a son, but an outsider.

12.7

*Matoy kos da inata ka amata,*  
die when:also N,PL mother:II,1,DL and father:II,1,DL

*ippunta in te annat atta udume ili*  
none:MOD:I,1,DL CERT because D2 O,PL other:LK place

*ya umoy dita kad in guwaban ta makanuta,*  
and go IV,1,DL when CERT call.for.emergency and be.delayed:I,1,DL

*iggada in de natoy.*

put:II,3,PL CERT N,S die

When our mothers and fathers die, we will not be there because we will be in other places and when they call us to attend the funeral and we are delayed in coming, they will bury the dead.

12.8

*Sa kunata kammos pagay*  
T,S custom.of.visiting.relative.of.dead EMPH EMPH

*de igawta.*

N,S place:II,1,DL

We will be visitors [rather than sons or daughters].

### 2.1.2 SPECIFIC INFORMATION

Specific information performs two functions: amplification and illustration. Specific information amplifies a general statement by adding content that is semantically less inclusive. The general statement is usually a theme proposition although it can also be a paragraph peak or even some other specific information.

Sentence 9.20 is the first sentence of a paragraph and presents a lower-level theme proposition: a leader exhibits physical bravery. Sentence 9.21 amplifies the theme of bravery by describing how the leader goes into battle.

9.20

*Sa awi ye dummatngan ni anne barbaruknite pinnatoy,*  
T,S long.ago LK time.of.arrival G,S D1:LK battles:LK killing

*sadi kanande isubuna de long-agnatte saraknib ni ili.*  
D3 say:II,3,PL:LK offer:II,3,S N,S body:II,3,S:O,S protection G,S place

Long ago when there came these battles for killing, they said he would offer his body for the protection of the community.

9.21

*Lumnok kad atte baruknit, ibilangna pagaye matoy*  
enter whenever O,S battle count:II,3,S EMPH:LK die

*tenna ine siya de kamak mangipangapangat.*  
because:D1 CERT:LK III,3,S N,S EMPH lead

Whenever he enters a battle, he considers himself dead because he will surely lead the others.

Sentence 12.3 forms the peak of a paragraph and states the result of a young person marrying outside his village: he will have no one to confide in. Sentence 12.4 expands on this predicament.

12.3

*Yakon awad kad idangdangkasta, angkuwata*  
but there.is whenever have.misfortune:II,1,DL own:II,1,DL

*pagay lawinge angos te ippun katukutukunta.*  
EMPH bad:LK breath/feeling because none:MOD confidant:II,1,DL

But if we have problems, we will have bad feelings because we will have no one to confide in.

12.4

*Bukbukudanta pagay rigat ya oni.kad in*  
carry.burden:II,1,DL EMPH difficulty and later CERT

*ta umdas de tuttudu ta asita andadauli; naradaw*  
and find N,S advice and will:I,1,DL repent late

*in te dipun makwe mipuuli orgo miluus.*

CERT because not:MOD possible:LK return able finish

We will be all alone in bearing our difficulties and then the advice will be found to be true and then we will be sorry; it will be too late because we cannot possibly undo what has been done.

Sentence 8.33 is the first sentence of a paragraph and states a theme proposition: a person should live by the three standards of righteous living. Sentence 8.34 adds information that validates the theme proposition. Sentence 8.35a gives more information about the three standards of righteous living: the *paniyaw* taboo, the *ngilin* taboo and *biin* 'respect' or 'shame'. It should be noted that 8.35a performs a dual function in that it acts as a collateral statement as well as a statement of amplification. It functions as collateral for the theme by describing a person who does not live by the three standards of righteous living.

8.33

*Wot nu mataguka, masapur otyan pagay ye ikatagum*

so.then when live:I,2,S need OPT EMPH LK live.by.means.of:II,2,S

*atte mataguwam denne turu.*

O,S lifetime:II,2,S N,S:D1:LK three

So then as you live, it is necessary that you live by these three [standards].

8.34

*Sadi kanan da natagutte awi.*

D3 say G,PL live:O,S long.ago

That is what was said by those who lived long ago.

8.35a

*Nu miid paniyaw ni tagu, ippun ngilinna,*

if none taboo G,S person none:MOD taboo:II,3,S

*ippun biinna.*

none:MOD respect:II,3,S

If a person does not observe *paniyaw* taboos [which is punishable by death], then he does not observe *ngilin* taboos [which is punishable by misfortune], he shows no respect for others.

[Literally: If a person has no *paniyaw*, then he has no *ngilin*, he has no *biin*.]

When specific information functions as an illustration, it takes the form of a concrete example that supports a general statement about a theme proposition or a paragraph peak. Examples supporting general statements occur most often as verbal declarative sentences. They occur more rarely as equational sentences (three in eighteen occurrences). One to three examples can follow a general statement.

Examples can be hypothetical illustrations of a general statement. These are like mini-narratives situated in time and space with identifiable participants, and they occur as verbal declarative sentences. The participants in these examples are either the generic personages who are the main participants of the discourse or the hearer to whom the speaker is talking.

In 9.25 the speaker gives a lower-level theme proposition: a leader practises hospitality by feeding visitors. Sentence 9.26 illustrates the theme proposition by quoting words similar to those that a

leader might actually say when he invites the visitors to eat. The example uses the main generic personage 'a leader' as a vehicle for the illustration.

## 9.25

*Sa ose mangor-anos atte kinapangatna, ammagili*  
T,S one:LK get:II,3,S:also O,S leadership:II,3,S have.visitors

*kad atta mangilin ela da udum, awag gad*  
whenever O,PL visitor:LK HORT G,PL other there.is whenever

*mabalinnak iyas onnu manukna, ayagana de*  
possible:II,3,S:SM piglet or chicken:II,3,S call:II,3,S N,S

*mangili te ibiinna de ili.*  
visitor because respect:II,3,S N,S place

As for another way of gaining his leadership, whenever he receives the visitors of others, whenever he has the means such as a piglet or a chicken, he calls the visitor [to eat] because he wants to show respect on behalf of the community.

## 9.26

*Sorsagana kad da mangili, kanane "Na,*  
invite.to.eat when N,PL visitor say:II,3,S:LK hey

*awwayyu ta inkayu mangan atte boroyni".*  
come.here:II,2,PL so.that go:I,2,PL eat O,S house:II,1,PL,EXC

When he invites the visitors to eat, he says, "Hey, come and eat at our house".

In another paragraph in the same text, the speaker compares the leaders of the past with today's elected officials. In 9.52 the speaker notes that some elected officials claim to be leaders of the community, but they are not recognised as real leaders because they only do what is good for their families. This sentence presents specific information that supports the theme. Sentence 9.53 gives a specific illustration of the self-interest exercised by the elected officials: they get government money for a community project and pocket it for their own use.

## 9.52

*Adida pun milasin ya angwa kad da sane*  
not:I,3,PL MOD recognise and do/make when N,PL D1:LK

*mabusan, kanande "Dikani pangat" yakon*  
be.elected say:II,3,PL:LK III,1,PL,EXC leader but

*abus ak ipapuutda boryanda.*  
only SM diligent:II,3,PL family:II,3,PL

They [the elected officials] are not recognised [as leaders] and as for what the elected officials do, they say, "We are leaders", but they are only devoted to their families.

## 9.53

*Awak kos da koonde bumaruan*  
there.is whenever:also N,PL do/make:II,3,PL:LK benefit

*ni ili, ad-aduwandos ak angaratta pilak ya*  
G,S place do.first:II,3,PL:also SM get:O,PL money and

*sadi kanande 'igab'.*

D3 say:II,3,PL:LK corruption.

Whenever they have a project for the benefit of the community, they are the first to do something in order to get the money and that's what they call 'corruption'.

In addition to being mini-narratives, examples can also list specific behaviour or attributes that are associated with an abstract category. In this case, they can occur as verbal declarative sentences or as equational sentences.

In the text about righteous living, the speaker presents a lower-level theme proposition in which he says there are many things that are prohibited by the *paniyaw* taboo. Sentences 8.8 - 8.10 follow the theme proposition in the text and are illustrations of specific actions that are forbidden by the *paniyaw* taboo. All three sentences share a similar syntactic structure in that the nuclear position is expounded by an equational clause which is followed by a dependent reason clause. In each example, the first half of the equational clause is filled by the noun *paniyaw* and the second half is filled by a nominalised verbal clause.

8.8

nuclear.position

nominal 1 nominal 2

*"Paniyaw de akawonta de pagoy*

taboo N,S steal:II,1,DL N,S unhusked.rice

postnuclear.position

*te bumtak atte buwang."*

because burst O,S stomach

"It is forbidden for us to steal unhusked rice because it will burst the stomach."

8.9

nuclear.position

postnuclear.position

nominal 1 nominal 2

*"Paniyaw akawonta barat te andagson."*

taboo steal:II,1,DL banana because heavy

"It is forbidden for us to steal a banana because it is heavy [and we will become ill and our bodies will feel heavy]."

8.10

nuclear.position

nominal 1 nominal 2

*"Paniyaw ela aranta de daddat da*

taboo HORT get:II,1,DL N,S large.flat.stone G,PL

postnuclear.position

*payaw da kasintaguta te mandagson."*

rice.field G,PL fellow.man:II,1,DL because heavy

"It is forbidden for us to get the stones from the rice fields of our fellow man because they are heavy [and we will become ill and our bodies will feel heavy]."

## 2.1.3 REPETITION

Repetition is a restatement of information that has been presented previously in a discourse. There are four kinds of repeated information in expository discourse, which can occur (1) in an expanded form with new information; (2) as a condensed statement of a previous statement; (3) as a cleft sentence which is signalled by the presence of an anaphoric reference pronoun (which points back to what has already been mentioned); and (4) as an affirmative response to a negative statement.

(1) An expanded repetition repeats information that is already available to the hearer and adds a piece of new information. It supports a theme proposition or a paragraph peak by adding details. The repeated information is usually information that occurs originally in a theme proposition or in a paragraph peak as a reason or a result, but there is one example of an expanded repetition that repeats information first mentioned as specific information (11.8 below).

Sentences 13.2 and 13.5 occur in the initial paragraph of a text. The speaker states a theme proposition in 13.2, pointing out that the *tur-uk* thunder marks the dividing point between the old year and the new year. Sentence 13.5 is an example of expanded repetition. It repeats the main argument of the theme proposition, the *tur-uk* thunder, and adds the new information that the *tur-uk* thunder is the very first thunder of the new year.

13.2

*Sana bordak ni tawon de sane tur-uk.*

D1 boundary G,S year N,S D1:LK first.thunder

The thing that is the dividing point of the year is this *tur-uk* thunder.

13.5

*Ab-abus ni kidure ngannonni tur-uk.*

first G,S thunder:LK name:II,1,PL,EXC *tur-uk*.thunder

It is the very first thunder which we call the *tur-uk* thunder.

Sentence 11.8 is the only example of an expanded repetition that repeats information originally presented in a sentence giving specific information. The speaker describes the illness caused by the *kukku* spirit, which is one kind of *aggasang* spirit. In 11.7, she presents specific information about the symptoms of the illness caused by the *kukku* spirit: the whole body itches. In 11.8, the speaker repeats the fact that the body itches and adds further new information: the whole body is covered with hives.

11.7

*Nu mangnakatte kukku, sa long-agnu, losan gumator.*

if afflict:I,2,S:O,S spirit.type T,S body:II,2,S all itch

If a *kukku* spirit afflicts you with an illness, your whole body, it becomes itchy.

11.8

*Mamin bumalog de long-ag ya amod de gatoma.*

all covered.with.hives N,S body and too.much N,S itchiness:II,3,S

The whole body is covered with hives and it is very itchy.

(2) A condensed repetition contains only information that has already been stated. This information is either a theme proposition or a result given in a paragraph peak. Condensed repetition can perform a number of functions. When it repeats a theme proposition, it can begin a new

paragraph. This occurs when the speaker wants to add more information to a statement made in an immediately preceding paragraph. When the condensed repetition restates a result given in a paragraph peak, it can repeat the information as a result or recast it as a reason. In each case, the condensed repetition acts to slow down the flow of information.

In 17.6 the speaker makes the statement that a woman joins together with her husband and they become one body. The first sentence of the immediately succeeding paragraph (17.8) repeats the information that a married couple becomes one body and presents it as the theme proposition of the new paragraph.

17.6

*Tenana de inana kan amana ya*  
leave:II,3,S N,S mother:II,3,S and father:II,3,S and

*niitipun atte asawane laraki ya nambalindak*  
join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK man and become:I,3,PL:SM

*os-ossaane bungru, os-ossaane long-ag.*  
one:LK body one:LK body

She leaves her mother and father and she lives together with her husband and they become one body.

17.8

*Sa sane asawa, da duwe tagu, nambalindak ossaan.*  
T,S D1:LK spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person become:I,3,PL:SM one

In this marriage, the two people, they become one.

In text 9 the speaker asserts that one of the important roles of a leader is to help settle disputes. The speaker notes that a leader has his own unique ability in deciding disputes. He also comments that even when it is a heavy work season, a leader will stay home to help settle a case. In 9.40 the speaker repeats and condenses these three ideas into one sentence.

9.40

*Ibanduna gay de kuwade siput ya linintogana*  
disregard:II,3,S EMPH N,S own:II,3,PL:LK work and mediate:II,3,S

*da sadi ye makasusan tenna ampay de igammuna*  
N,PL D3 LK have.a.case because:D1 EMPH N,S know:II,3,S

*ka orogna paye mallintog atte kuwane somsomok.*  
and able:II,3,S EMPH:LK mediate O,S own:II,3,S:LK thought

He will disregard his own work and he will mediate for those who have a case to be settled because he is indeed knowledgeable and capable of being a mediator by his own thinking.

(3) Repetition that functions as a cleft sentence for a paragraph occurs with the anaphoric reference pronoun *sadi* 'that – previously mentioned' or *sana* 'this – previously mentioned'. The anaphoric reference pronoun acts as an independent nominal expounding the first half of the sentence. It refers back to what has been said in the immediately preceding paragraph or in the whole discourse. The second half of the cleft sentence repeats the theme proposition of the paragraph or the whole discourse. Although the theme proposition can be repeated in full, usually only a fragment of the proposition is given as a summary. On rare occasions the second half of the cleft sentence is

expounded by a clause stating that the speaker has finished talking. In this case, the cleft sentence concludes the whole discourse.

Sentence 10.8 is a cleft sentence in which the anaphoric reference pronoun *sana* 'this' expounds the first half of the sentence. A partial statement of a global theme proposition expounds the second half of the sentence. (The full global theme proposition for the text is: a child is the fruit of married love.)

10.8

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sana de kapooyan os ni ugude 'anak'.*

D1 N,S meaning also G,S talk:LK child

This is the meaning of the word 'child'.

Sentence 8.39 is another cleft sentence. Again the anaphoric reference pronoun *sana* expounds the first half of the sentence. The second half of the sentence is manifested by a full global theme proposition.

8.39

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sana de in-inon da manggodonge matagu de*

D1 N,S way G,PL straight:LK live N,S

*ikataguda pay atte biyagda de sane turu.*

live.by.means.of:II,3,PL EMPH O,S life:II,3,PL N,S D1:LK three

This is how the righteous live: they live by these three [standards].

Sentence 17.13 is an example of a cleft sentence that announces the conclusion of a discourse. The first half of the sentence is expounded by the anaphoric reference pronoun *sadi* 'that'. The second half of the sentence states the speaker's intention to end his talk.

17.13

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sadi miibagak kan dikayu.*

D3 tell:II,1,S O III,2,PL

That is what I have to say to you.

When a paragraph contains a cleft sentence, that sentence is usually the last in the paragraph (ten occurrences out of thirteen). If the cleft sentence is not the last sentence, it can be followed by one or two other sentences. These sentences repeat information such as a result, give a negative statement as collateral information, restate a negative statement in the affirmative, or give a result introduced by *oni kad* 'later on'.

Sentences, 9.27 - 9.29, occur at the end of a non-final paragraph. The lower-level theme of the paragraph states that one way a man gains a position of leadership is by feeding visitors. Sentence 9.27 is a cleft sentence that repeats part of the theme proposition. Sentence 9.28 is a collateral statement. Sentence 9.29 begins with the phrase *oni kad* 'later on' and gives a result for the theme proposition. It concludes the paragraph.



9.27

*Sadi kamak osa te adina pun ampay iyapos.*

D3 EMPH one because not:II,3,S MOD EMPH jealous

That is one [way in which a man gains a leadership position] because he does not begrudge [feeding the visitors].

9.28

*Ippun agumnatte mataguwana.*

none:MOD self.interest:II,3,S:O,S lifetime:II,3,S

He is not self-seeking during his life.

9.29

*Oni.kade sadi ta miigammu, anna da mangiliyona,*

later:LK D3 and know D1 N,PL host:II,3,S

*anna pay da pupana pakanan atte boroyna.*

D1 EMPH N,PL HAB:II,3,S feed O,S house:II,3,S

Later on when he is known, he will have visitors, he will feed them at his house.

(4) Finally, repetition also occurs as an affirmative response to a negative statement. The repeated information normally comes from the paragraph in which the repetition occurs; however, if the negative statement refers to information that relates to a global theme, the repeated information can come from preceding paragraphs. (The relationship between a negative statement and its affirmative response is discussed under negations in section 2.2.1.)

In 9.46 the speaker makes the assertion that a man cannot possibly be a leader if he does things that only benefit his family. The assertion is given in a negative statement and refers to subordinate information that supports the lower-level theme of the paragraph. Sentence 9.47 follows and is an affirmative response to the negative assertion: leaders in the past did things that benefited the whole community. It repeats the information that a man leads in order to benefit others. Whom he chooses to benefit makes the difference between a real leader and a man who merely acts on behalf of his own family.

9.46

*Maapuwan kad, asida kane "A, pangat" tenne*

be.a.grandparent when will:II,3,PL say:LK ah leader because:D1:LK

*miigammum pagay da tagu de in-inone mangipangat*

know:LK EMPH G,PL person N,S way:LK lead

*atta losane mipangatan ni bumaruan ni ili te adipun*

O,PL all:LK lead G,S benefit G,S place because not:MOD

*makwe mampangat nu abus ak pangatana boryanna.*

possible:LK lead if only SM lead:II,3,S family:II,3,S

When he has grandchildren, they will say, "Ah, he's a leader", because the people will know how he leads in all the things that require leading for the good of the community because he cannot possibly be a leader if he only leads his family.

9.47

*Siya umpay ipangatanatte dandani da tagu.*

III,3,S EMPH lead:II,3,S,O,S old.days N,PL person

The ones on whose behalf he led in the past were the people.

Sentences 11.21 and 11.22 occur in the final paragraph of the text. In 11.21 the speaker makes the negative statement that someone who has been made ill by an *aggasang* spirit cannot be cured by just anyone. Sentence 11.22 provides the affirmative response: they are the only ones ('they' refers to people who are indwelt by *aggasang* spirits). Sentence 11.22 repeats the information that there are people who are qualified to cure spirit illnesses. This information does not actually occur in the same paragraph as 11.22. It is mentioned in two earlier paragraphs in the text. In this case, the repeated information is directly related to the global theme of the text. The global theme states that the *aggasang* spirits cause people to get sick. The repeated information supports the global theme by asserting that there are people who can cure a person suffering from a spirit illness.

11.21

*Adipun makwe sap-uyan ka lugaman da udume tagu.*

not:MOD possible:LK blow and weed G,PL other:LK person

It is not possible for other people to blow [on the sick person] and to place herbs on him.

11.22

*Dida pagay!*

III,3,PL EMPH

They are the only ones!

#### 2.1.4 CONSTITUENCY

Constituency information identifies a member of a previously named group of participants. It can also identify a second participant and associate that participant with a previously named one so that the two are seen as belonging to one group. In all cases, the participants are either the generic personages who are the main participants of a discourse or the hearers whom the speaker is addressing.

Constituency information occurs infrequently (four occurrences) and is usually located near the end of a paragraph. In three of the four occurrences, the constituency statement is followed by a cleft sentence which concludes the paragraph.

In the first set of sentences (17.4, 17.5) the members of the group are *laraki* 'a man' and *bobai* 'a woman' who represent any married couple. They are generic personages, the main participants in the text about the meaning of marriage, and are named in 17.4. Sentence 17.5, which acts as constituency information, restates the second member of the married couple, *bobai* 'a woman'.

17.4

*Sadi umpay de tenan ay ni laraki de inana kan*

D3 EMPH N,S leave EMPH G,S man N,S mother:II,3,S and

*amana ya niitipun atte asawane bobai.*

father:II,3,S and join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK woman

That [marriage] is when the man leaves his mother and father and lives together with his wife.

17.5

*Kama gos atte bobai.*

same also O,S woman

It is the same for a woman.

In the second set of sentences (17.11, 17.12) the members of the group are those to whom the speaker is talking. In 17.11 the hearers are addressed as a group: 'you who are living'. Sentence 17.12, which acts as constituency information, names one of the members of the group, *bobai* 'a woman'.

17.11

*Igammuwonyu we matagu de anne kapooyan ni asawa*

know:II,2,PL LK live N,S D1:LK meaning G,S spouse/marriage

*oni.pay matagakayu kad andonoy pagay de layadyu*

so.that live:I,2,PL when last.long EMPH N,S love:II,2,PL

*te ibilangyu pay ak bungruyu gos de*

because count:II,2,PL EMPH SM body:II,2,PL also N,S

*bungrun ni asawayu.*

body:LK G,S spouse/marriage:II,2,PL

You who are living know this meaning of marriage so as you live your love will last forever because you consider your wife's body as your own body.

17.12

*Kamos atte bobai.*

same:also O,S woman

It is the same, too, for the woman.

Sentences 10.5 - 10.7 form a third example of constituency information. The theme of the text is that a child is the fruit of married love. In 10.5 the speaker points out that if a child is raised with love, they will all be happy ('they' refers to the generic personages who act as the main participants of the text). Sentence 10.6 names one of the members of the group, *anak* 'a child'. Sentence 10.7 names another member of the group, *da nangiyanak* 'parents'. The difference between 10.6 and 10.7 is that although 10.6 names a member of the group, it functions primarily as a validation of the result given in 10.5. On the other hand, 10.7 functions primarily as constituency information.

10.5

*Sa kamat anangkonanda, matagu kad denne anake*

T,S EMPH care.for:II,3,PL live when N,S:D1:LK child:LK

*bungan di layad, sillelelayadda.*

fruit:LK G,S love happy:I,3,PL

As for the reason why they [the parents] should care for [their child], if this child who is the fruit of love turns out well, they will all be happy.

## 10.6

*Nu tangkonam de anak attenne layad, dumakor kap*  
 if care.for:II,2,S N,S child O,S:D1:LK love grow.up when

*pagay de anak, mikagasmokna kane "Bungaak pun*  
 EMPH N,S child remember:II,3,S say:LK fruit:I,1,S since

*atte layad, allelayadak ose matagu".*

O,S love happy:I,1,S also:LK live

If you raise a child with this particular kind of love, when the child grows up, he will remember it and say, "Since I am the fruit of love, I will live happily".

## 10.7

*Allelayad pay os da nangiyanak atte sadi ye anak.*

happy EMPH also N,PL parent O,S D3 LK child

The parents will also be happy with that child.

It should be pointed out that constituency information can also perform a dual function as repetition and contrast. Constituency information functioning as repetition can be seen in 17.4 and 17.5, 17.11 and 17.12, and 10.5 - 10.7. Looking at the two pairs of sentences, 17.5 repeats information from 17.4, and 17.12 repeats information from 17.11. In 17.5 and 17.12, the word *kama* 'it is the same' acts as a nominal substitution for the repeated information. In the final set 10.6 and 10.7 repeat the result stated in 10.5: people will be happy. By mentioning the different people who will be happy in both 10.6 and 10.7, the speaker repeats the result twice.

Constituency information can also function as a kind of semantic contrast. In the first two sets of sentences above, men and women are set in opposition to each other. In the last set, a child and his parents are presented as a pair of semantic opposites. (The function of contrast is discussed further in section 8.1.)

### 2.1.5 EVALUATIVE INFORMATION

Evaluative information expresses the speaker's opinion and tells the hearer how the speaker feels about what he is saying. The opinions expressed can be those of the speaker himself or those of people who are considered knowledgeable or authorities in the culture. These authoritative opinion sources are usually a rather amorphous group. In the texts, they are identified as *da dadakkor* 'the old people', *da tagu* 'the people', *da natagu* 'those who lived' or as the unspecified 'they' that occurs with the quotation formula *kanan* 'to say', as in *kananda* 'they say'. Although these non-speaker participants are a vaguely identified group, they are the preferred opinion sources in expository discourse. When a speaker presents an opinion held by a higher authority than himself, it is invariably an opinion that he also shares and wants the hearer to share, too. The speaker attributes the opinion to a higher authority in order to give it greater weight and increase its influence on the hearer. Opinions expressed in this way are presented as direct or indirect quotes. In ten evaluative statements, seven are attributed to non-speaker sources. Only three evaluative statements are expressed as the speaker's own opinion.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Any speaker can express an opinion, but whether he states it overtly as his own or covertly as one held by higher authorities than himself depends upon who he is. In a society that values age and social standing, a young person or a person of lower social standing is less likely to express his opinion overtly since he does not carry much influence

Sentence 8.35b is an example of an evaluative statement in which the opinion is attributed to the non-speaker source 'they' in the quotation formula *kananda* 'they say'.

8.35b

*Sa kananda "Dakompun oppet tagu naoy".*

T,S say:II,3,PL not:MOD HORT:SM person D1

What they say is, "He is not a person".

When a speaker openly expresses an opinion as his own, he states it as a declarative sentence, a rhetorical question or an analogy. If the opinion is presented as a rhetorical question<sup>4</sup>, no response follows the question. (In these cases a rhetorical question is actually an assertion which is framed as a question in order to call attention to the evaluation (Beekman & Callow 1974:229). It is one of the strongest ways a speaker can present a negative evaluation.)<sup>5</sup>

In 9.56 the speaker states a positive evaluation in a declarative sentence: he is really a leader. The speaker presents the opinion as his own. As a recognised leader in the community, the speaker has both the age and the social standing that qualifies him to express his opinions directly.

9.56

*Madagdaggup kade sadi, pangat kammos pagay.*

gather when:LK D3 leader EMPH EMPH

When it is all taken together, he is really a leader.

In 9.54 the speaker gives his opinion about elected officials who only do what is good for their families, not what is good for the whole community. Again he presents the opinion as his own, but this time he states it in a rhetorical question which expounds the postnuclear clause of the sentence.

9.54

prenuclear.clause nuclear.clause

*Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dinggor*

later:LK D3 not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

postnuclear.clause

*te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*

because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader

Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

Analogies also act as evaluative information although they are quite rare (only two instances occur in the texts). They can be signalled grammatically by the word *isunan* 'it is like', as in 9.51. The

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himself. An older person, particularly if he has grandchildren, wields more authority as does a person of higher social standing. Consequently, they are more likely to express their opinions as their own. It is interesting to note, though, that even people who command sufficient authority and standing to give their opinions overtly still often choose to express those opinions indirectly by attributing them to authorities greater than themselves.

<sup>4</sup>It should be noted that rhetorical questions have other functions in Upper Tanudan Kalinga, depending on the type of genre in which they occur. In addition to stating evaluative information, they can begin paragraphs by presenting theme propositions. When a rhetorical question begins a paragraph, it is immediately followed by a response. This second function has been found only in procedural texts to date; however, more data may show that it occurs in other genre types as well.

<sup>5</sup>At this point, it is worth noting what Gloria Baguingan says about quotes and rhetorical questions in *Ma ukayong: a case study in affective meaning*. In her study, Baguingan (1985:173-74) states that one of the functions of quotes is to establish credibility. This observation suggests that when a speaker quotes an opinion, he gives the opinion greater credibility. Baguingan (1985:228) also points out that rhetorical questions are almost always evaluative information in the texts that she analyses in her study. (Madukayang is another Kalinga dialect. In the literature, the name of the dialect is spelled two different ways: Madukayong and Madukayang.)

speaker notes that today's leaders are just elected to their positions; they are not real leaders. In 9.51 the analogy begins with *isunan* 'it is like' and expresses the speaker's opinion that when elected officials act as though they are leaders it is only a pretence, because they have not earned their positions.

9.51

*Isunan in-inope poyaaw.*

same:II,3,S dream:LK breeze

It is like a dream in the air.

Analogies can also be expressed in sentences which have no grammatical form to signal a comparison. In these sentences, the analogy is only expressed semantically. For example, in the text advising young people not to marry outsiders, the speaker points out that if they have married away from the village, the young people might not be able to return home in time for the funerals when their parents die. Consequently, they will fail in fulfilling their obligations to their parents. The speaker presents his evaluation of this situation as an analogy, seen in 12.8. The speaker states that the young people will be *kunata*, visitors who pay their respects to the bereaved family only after all the relatives have performed their duties.

12.8

*Sa kunata kammos pagay de igawta.*

T,S custom.of.visiting.relative.of.dead EMPH EMPH N,S place:II,1,DL

We will be visitors [rather than sons or daughters].

The scope of evaluative information, or the range of what it evaluates, can be global or local. In the fourteen occurrences noted, half refer to a global theme proposition, and the other half refer to lower-level theme propositions. It is interesting to note that, of the seven local evaluations, four express results or reasons, and of these four, three form paragraph peaks. In expository discourse, then, what people will think about something – the opinion they will form about it – can be presented as a valid reason or result.<sup>6</sup>

Sentences 12.8 and 9.54 above are examples of evaluations that are stated as results and reasons. The evaluation expressed in 12.8 gives a result stating what will happen if a young person marries an outsider. In a sense, he too becomes an outsider because he is unable to perform his obligations to his family. In a small kinship society, to be cut off from one's family is tantamount to being cut off from life itself and is a severe consequence. It should also be noted that the scope of the evaluation in 12.8 is local; it refers to the lower-level theme of the paragraph in which it occurs.

Sentence 9.54 expresses an opinion in a rhetorical question. The rhetorical question functions as a reason for the result stated in the nuclear clause of the sentence. In this sentence, the scope of the evaluation is also local since it refers to the lower-level theme of the paragraph in which it occurs.

Sentence 9.57 presents an evaluation that has global scope. The global theme of the text is how a man became a leader in the old days. The speaker notes that if a man does all the things that the

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<sup>6</sup>The opinions of other people can probably act as reasons for and results of various ideas and ways of behaving in many cultures; however, the opinions of others probably carry more influence in face-to-face cultures such as that found in Lubo. A Lubo leader once remarked that a man feared being talked about behind his back by others more than an actual physical attack by an enemy. This comment reflects the degree of social control that can be exerted by group opinion in a small tightly knit society.

speaker has been talking about, then the man will become a recognised leader. The evaluation is stated in the nuclear clause of the sentence.

9.57

prenuclear.clause	left-dis.noun.phrase	nuclear.clause
<i>Matoy</i>	<i>kad, losan pay ni tagu, kanane</i>	<i>“Siya sanat</i>
die	when all EMPH G,S person say:LK III,3,S D2	

*pay ose pangat”.*

EMPH also:LK leader

When he dies, all the people, they will say, “That one, he was really one of the leaders”.

As previously shown, evaluative information can act as a result or a reason at the same time as it expresses an opinion. Evaluative information can also perform another dual function when it verifies collateral information by quoting a negative evaluation. In this case, evaluative information functions as validation as well as evaluation.

Sentence 8.35a presents a statement of collateral information; 8.35b validates the collateral information by quoting a negative evaluation. It should be noted that the collateral information stated in 8.35a is actually an opinion. Consequently, 8.35b validates both the collateral information and the evaluative information presented in 8.35a.

8.35a

*Nu miid paniyaw ni tagu, ippun ngilinna, ippun biinna.*

if none taboo G,S person none:MOD taboo:II,3,S none:MOD respect:II,3,S

If a person does not observe *paniyaw* taboos, then he does not observe *ngilin* taboos, he shows no respect for others.

[Literally: If a person has no *paniyaw*, then he has no *ngilin*, he has no *biin*.]

8.35b

*Sa kananda “Dakompun oppet tagu naoy”.*

T,S say:II,3,PL not:MOD HORT:SM person D1

What they say is, “He is not a person”.

## 2.2 COLLATERAL INFORMATION

Collateral information as it occurs in expository discourse differs slightly from collateral information as it occurs in narrative discourse. In narrative discourse, collateral information<sup>7</sup> describes events that might happen, but which in fact do not. By noting what does not happen, the speaker sets off what actually does happen. When the idea of collateral information is applied to expository discourse, it is no longer concerned with events, since events are not the backbone of expository discourse, but with theme propositions and the explanations that support those themes. It tells what is not an explanation for a theme proposition. This in turn highlights what the speaker

<sup>7</sup>The term ‘collateral information’ has been borrowed from Grimes’s (1971:70-71, 1975:64-70) discussion of kinds of information in narrative discourse. In narrative discourse, events make up the backbone of a discourse. Collateral information is classified as non-event information and therefore off the backbone. In expository discourse, however, collateral information functions as contrast, which is one of the key elements of this kind of discourse. While collateral information can be deleted from narrative discourse without a drastic change in the effectiveness of the discourse, the same cannot be said for expository discourse. If collateral information is removed from an expository text, the effectiveness of the speaker’s explanation is seriously weakened since contrast is the primary means by which a speaker proves his point.

asserts is the actual explanation for a theme. The most important function of collateral information is to provide contrast so that the speaker can prove what he is talking about. By saying what something is not, the speaker verifies what it is.

In expository discourse, collateral information takes the form of negations, and adversatives that are marked by conjunctions such as *yakon* 'but'. Depending on the form in which collateral information is expressed, an affirmative response can follow it. In the response, the speaker asserts once again the theme proposition or the explanation that he wants the hearer to accept.

### 2.2.1 NEGATIONS

Negations are the most common form of collateral information. They act as collateral for theme propositions, paragraph peaks and specific or repeated information that supports theme propositions. A negation is usually (seven occurrences out of ten) followed by an affirmative response that reasserts the proposition or explanation that the speaker wants to put forth.

It should be noted that the affirmative response is not just an identical restatement of the negative statement in its affirmative form as in: 'A leader is not lazy. He is hardworking'. Instead the affirmative response underlines the contrastive relationship between the negative statement and its affirmative response by presenting a second semantic contrast. This second contrast can be achieved in different ways. The speaker can single out a piece of information, such as a participant or an event in the preceding negative statement (when the contrast is local) or in preceding paragraphs (when the contrast is global), and restate it in the affirmative. In this kind of contrast, the two pieces of information are equally weighted. The speaker can also establish a second contrast between the pair of sentences by expressing them as generic-specific statements. If the negative statement is a specific statement, then the affirmative response can be expressed as a generic restatement of the first sentence. The reverse is also possible: a generic negative statement can be followed by a more specific affirmative response.

Sentences 9.46 and 9.47 are an example of a negative statement and its affirmative response. In 9.46, the speaker makes the claim that a man who acts only on behalf of his family is not a real leader. This negative statement is followed by an affirmative response: the speaker points out that in the past leaders acted on behalf of all the people. The contrast between the negative and affirmative statements is supported by a second semantic contrast between the two participant groups: the leader's family and all the people of the community.

9.46

*Maapuwan kad, asida kane "A, pangat' tenne*  
be.a.grandparent when will:II,3,PL say:LK ah leader because:D1:LK

*miigammum pagay da tagu de in-inone mangipangat*  
know:LK EMPH G,PL person N,S way:LK lead

*atta losane mipangatan ni bumaruan ni ili te adipun*  
O,PL all:LK lead G,S benefit G,S place because not:MOD



*makwe mampangat nu abus ak pangatana boryanna.*

possible:LK lead if only SM lead:II,3,S family:II,3,S

When he has grandchildren, they will say, “Ah, he's a leader”, because the people will know how he leads in all the things that require leading for the good of the community because he cannot possibly be a leader if he only leads his family.

9.47

*Siya umpay ipanganatte dandani da tagu.*

III,3,S EMPH lead:II,3,S:O,S old.days N,PL person

The ones on whose behalf he led in the past were the people.

Sentences 9.28 and 9.29 are another example of a negative statement and its affirmative response. In 9.28 the speaker makes the generic statement that a leader is not self-seeking. He follows this with a more specific affirmative response in 9.29, saying that when a leader has visitors, he feeds them. In this pair of sentences, the negative-affirmative contrast is highlighted by the generic-specific opposition expressed in the statements.

9.28

*Ippun agumnatte mataguwana.*

none:MOD self.interest:II,3,S:O,S lifetime:II,3,S

He is not self-seeking during his life.

9.29

*Oni.kade sadi ta miigammu, anna da mangiliyona,*

later:LK D3 and know D1 N,PL host:II,3,S

*anna pay da pupana pakanan atte boroyna.*

D1 EMPH N,PL HAB:II,3,S feed O,S house:II,3,S

Later on when he is known, he will have visitors, he will feed them at his house.

Sentences 9.5 - 9.8 provide another illustration of negative and affirmative statements. In 9.5 the speaker states that a leader exhibits the three qualities that mark a good person and has good relations with his peers. In 9.6 and 9.7 he gives two specific illustrations of actions that a leader does not engage in towards others. The two negative statements are followed by 9.8, which functions as an affirmative response. The response is a generic statement in which the speaker once again describes how a leader acts towards his peers.

9.5

*Kanan da matagu we awad de paniyawna, anna ngilinna,*

say G,PL live LK there.is N,S taboo:II,3,S D1 taboo:II,3,S

*anna biinna ya ambaru de kopyanatta kadogwatana.*

D1 respect:II,3,S and good N,S action:II,3,S:O,PL age.group:II,3,S

Those who live said he has *paniyaw*, he has *ngilin*, he has *biin* and he has good relations with his peers.

## 9.6

*Adina pun babaragon atta kasintataguna.*

not:II,3,S MOD careless O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S

He does not show disregard for his fellow man [in either word or deed].

## 9.7

*Adina pun dida upan subosubogon.*

not:II,3,S MOD III,3,PL HAB argue

He does not constantly get into heated arguments with them.

## 9.8

*Siya pay koone mangipapuut atte ambaruwan da kadogwatana.*

III,3,S EMPH do/make:LK diligent O,S common.good G,PL age.group:II,3,S

He continues to work with dedication for the good of his peers.

As indicated earlier, in the data there are three negative statements that lack affirmative responses. In one of these occurrences, the speaker's assertion is reaffirmed indirectly: the negative statement is the last sentence of a paragraph, but the first sentence of the following paragraph is an affirmative restatement of it. The restatement is the theme proposition for the new paragraph. In the second occurrence, the negative statement is also the last sentence of a paragraph. In the third occurrence, the negative statement is followed by a cleft sentence which ends the paragraph; however, the cleft sentence does not function as an affirmative response.

Sentences 17.6 - 17.8 illustrate a negative statement which is reaffirmed indirectly in a succeeding paragraph. In 17.6 the speaker states that when a man and a woman marry they become one body. In 17.7, which is the last sentence of the paragraph, he asserts a negative statement: they are no longer two separate people. Sentence 17.8 is the first sentence of the following paragraph. It presents an affirmative response to 17.7: the two people become one body. The affirmative response is the theme proposition for the new paragraph.

## 17.6

*Tenana de inana kan amana ya*

leave:II,3,S N,S mother:II,3,S and father:II,3,S and

*niitipun atte asawane laraki ya nambalindak*

join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK man and become:I,3,PL:SM

*os-ossaane bungru, os-ossaane long-ag.*

one:LK body one:LK body

She leaves her mother and father and she lives together with her husband and they become one body.

## 17.7

*Dakonda puk orgon duwa.*

not:I,3,PL MOD:SM able two

They are no longer two.

17.8

*Sa sane asawa, da duwe tagu, nambalindak ossaan.*  
 T,S D1:LK spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person become:I,3,PL:SM one  
 In this marriage, the two people, they become one.

The discussion so far has described a negative statement and its affirmative response as being two separate sentences. It should be noted that a negative statement and its response can also be expressed in two clauses in a single sentence. Sentence 9.42 occurs in a paragraph in which the speaker discusses the point that a leader donates personal time to help settle disputes. In the first nuclear clause of the sentence, the speaker makes the negative statement that a leader does not return to his personal affairs. In the second nuclear clause, the speaker gives an affirmative response, saying that a leader devotes his time and energy to settling the dispute.

9.42

nuclear.clause 1

*Adina pun pay tawiliyon de boryanna ya*  
 not:II,3,S MOD EMPH look.back N,S family:II,3,S and

nuclear.clause 2

*siya pay koone umoy mangipapuut atte malintogan ni duwe ili.*  
 III,3,S EMPH do/make:LK go diligent O,S mediate G,S two:LK place  
 He does not look back to his family affairs and he will continue devoting himself to the settling of the case between the two communities.

### 2.2.2 ADVERSATIVE INFORMATION

Adversative information expresses opposition of some kind. It can take different forms, the most common of which is a sentence introduced by *te* 'for' or 'because'. When *te* acts as a sentence introducer, it signals a relationship of antithesis between what has already been stated in a paragraph and what is about to be said. Its scope can extend over several succeeding sentences. The adversative information usually refers to a theme proposition, but it can also refer to specific information. Although affirmative responses can follow adversative statements introduced by *te*, such responses occur infrequently. It should be noted that *te* is the same conjunction that connects clauses within a sentence. It has been glossed as 'because' in the language examples; however, when *te* functions as a sentence introducer, 'for' is probably a better gloss.

The sentence introducer *te* can be followed by several kinds of adversative information. One kind is counter-expectancy: the speaker assumes that the hearer expects an action to take place which in fact does not happen. Counter-expectancy applies to reasons as well as to actions: the speaker assumes that the hearer attributes a reason to an action which is not the actual reason for the action.

Sentence 9.39 is an example of a counter-expectation introduced by *te*. The speaker notes that a real leader puts aside personal considerations in order to help settle disputes. In 9.39 he emphasises that a leader will stay home to help mediate a case even during peak work seasons. The unspoken expectation is that a man would normally take care of his own field work before doing anything else during a heavy work period. Sentence 9.40 gives a detailed affirmative response to the adversative stated in 9.39.

9.39

*Te takon kay nu insissiput attenna da*  
because even.if EMPH LK time.of.work O,S:D1 N,PL

*malintogan, igagayamna.*

mediate stay.home:II,3,S

Because even if there are cases to be settled during working periods, he will stay home from work.

9.40

*Ibanduna gay de kuwade siput ya linintogana*  
disregard:II,3,S EMPH N,S own:II,3,PL:LK work and mediate:II,3,S

*da sadi ye makasusan tenna ampay de igammuna*  
N,PL D3 LK have.a.case because:D1 EMPH N,S know:II,3,S

*ka orogna paye mallintog atte kuwane somsomok.*  
and able:II,3,S EMPH:LK mediate O,S own:II,3,S:LK thought

He will disregard his own work and he will mediate for those who have a case to be settled because he is indeed knowledgeable and capable of being a mediator by his own thinking.

Sentence 12.14 is another example of a counter-expectation introduced by *te*. It states a reason. The speaker is discussing the problems that arise when a man marries a woman from another village. He points out that the woman may inadvertently offend her husband's relatives because she will not know the customs of his people. For example, if the husband's relatives come to visit and the woman asks them when they plan to leave, the relatives will go back home and complain about how badly they were treated. Sentence 12.14 explains that the relatives will take offence even if the reason why the wife asks about their departure is so that she can give them a going-away present.

12.14

*Te takon kay nu siya angimusana de sa awad*  
because even.if EMPH LK III,3,S ask:II,3,S N,S T,S there.is

*kad in ela akit ak mipurut ta ittonak*  
when CERT HORT few SM squeeze and give:II,3,S:SM

*bilis ela nu siya awad in otyan kammiin*  
dried.fish HORT if III,3,S there.is CERT OPT EMPH

*attona pay ak iyod-odasda.*  
give:II,3,S EMPH SM find:II,3,PL

Even if the reason why she asks is so that when a little money is set aside she can get some dried fish so there will be something that she can give as a gift [for them to take home].

Another kind of adversative introduced by *te* is an extended argument that serves as a rebuttal to an anticipated counter-argument. In this situation, the speaker assumes that the hearer has another explanation for a proposition that he is asserting, but one which the speaker does not consider valid. The speaker's extended argument refutes the anticipated counter-argument. Sentences 12.21 - 12.23 form the only example of this kind of extended argument in the data. It should be noted that the example is actually a hortatory discourse that is embedded in an expository text. In an expository discourse it is more usual for such an argument to be stated in the manner of 12.2 and 12.3 (below),

which exhibit the mitigated pronominal form of address for the hearer (-*ta* 'we two') which indicates that the speech is really an exhortation disguised as an expository discourse. In an overt exhortation, the hearer is addressed directly using the 'you' pronominal forms.

In 12.21 - 12.23 the extended argument begins with the conjunction *te* which signals that the following sentences contain adversative information. The speaker anticipates an objection on the part of the young people whom he is advising about the selection of a marriage partner. He expects the young people to say that they want to marry someone because the young woman is attractive, like the beautiful Laggunawa in one of their folktales, or because the young man is handsome. The speaker refutes their argument by pointing out that physical attractiveness will not feed them and that eventually good looks fade.

## 12.21

*Te iillanni kad dikayu we kaddadakkor, dam-onyu*  
because see:II,1,PL,EXC when III,2,PL LK adult sometimes:II,2,PL

*gela kane "Iyyak ii-iila te isunak Laggunawa".*  
EMPH:HORT say:LK go:I,1,S see because same:II,3,S:N,S Laggunawa

For we see that you who are just now adults, sometimes you say, "I will go show off [my wife] because she is like Laggunawa".

## 12.22

*Yakon piyanu kanom de kinosdor – kinaporkas!*  
but not eat:II,2,S N,S handsomeness beauty  
But you can't eat handsomeness – beauty!

## 12.23

*Maduras de binaru.*  
fade N,S beauty  
Beauty fades.

*Te* 'because' or 'for' can also introduce adversative information that is stated in negated constructions or that contains lexical items that express negative concepts. In both of the available examples, the adversative occurs in the first paragraph of a discourse and acts as collateral information for a global theme proposition.

Sentences 8.2 - 8.4 compose the first example of this kind of adversative information and occur in the initial paragraph of the text. Sentence 8.2 presents an expanded statement of the global theme. The sentence introducer *te* begins 8.3 (*tennaya* is a contracted form of *te* 'because' and *annaya* 'here is'). *Te* marks 8.3 and 8.4 as adversative information which contrasts with the theme proposition given in 8.2. The adversative information in 8.3 and 8.4 is presented in negated equational constructions.

## 8.2

*Annaya de turun kumangaane anggonggongngan da matagu*  
here.is N,S three:LK standard:LK straight G,PL live

*sa paniyaw, sa ngilin, sa biin.*  
T,S taboo T,S taboo T,S respect

Here are the three standards of righteousness for those living: *paniyaw*, *ngilin* and *biin*.

## 8.3

*Tennaya de in-inon ni tagu we matagu nu miid ngilin*  
 because:here.is N,S way G,S person LK live if none taboo

*ni tagu, ippun biinna, ippun paniyawona.*  
 G,S person none:MOD respect:II,3,S none:MOD taboo:II,3,S

For here is how a person lives: if he has no *ngilin*, then he has no *biin*, there is no *paniyaw* taboo that he observes.

## 8.4

*Sa kananda kan siya "Dakomput tagu".*  
 T,S say:II,3,PL O III,3,S not:MOD:SM person  
 What they say about him is, "He is not a person".

Sentences 12.1 - 12.3 are found in the first paragraph of the text and form the second example of adversative information which is introduced by *te*. Sentence 12.1 presents a global theme proposition. Sentence 12.2 begins with *te* which signals that 12.2 and 12.3 are adversative statements. The statements act as collateral information for the theme proposition in 12.1. In 12.2 and 12.3 the adversative function of the sentences is expressed by lexical items rather than by negated constructions. In 12.2 *buwat* 'inappropriate' is the lexical item that conveys the sense of adversity; in 12.3 it is the phrase *lawinge angos* 'bad feelings'.

## 12.1

*Sa awi kan da dadakkore antuttudu we "Adita pun*  
 T,S long.ago say G,PL elder:LK advise LK not:I,1,DL MOD

*mam pagay anagin-ili te buwatna".*  
 CERT EMPH marry.outsider because inappropriate:II,3,S

Long ago the old folk gave advice saying, "We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate".

## 12.2

*Te siya buwatana silayun ay atte*  
 because III,3,S inappropriate:II,3,S all.right EMPH O,S

*ambaru mataguwanta te ippun kanana.*  
 good lifetime:II,1,DL because none:MOD say:II,3,S

The reason why it is not right is that things will be fine when everything goes well and there is nothing to say about the situation.

## 12.3

*Yakon awad kad idangdangkasta, angkuwata*  
 but there.is whenever have.misfortune:II,1,DL own:II,1,DL

*pagay lawinge angos te ippun katukutukunta.*  
 EMPH bad:LK breath/feeling because none:MOD confidant:II,1,DL

But if we have problems, we will have bad feelings because we will have no one to confide in.

Adversatives can also be expressed by the conjunction *yakon* 'but'. Although *yakon* can begin a sentence (see 12.3 above), indicating that there is an adversative relationship between two sentences,

it more commonly joins two clauses within a sentence. This is illustrated in 9.52, where *yakon* joins two clauses in which the second contains adversative information that contrasts with the first.

9.52

(*Adida pun milasin ya angwa kad da sane*  
not:I,3,PL MOD recognise and do/make when N,PL D1:LK

clause 1

*mabutusan,) kanande “Dikani pangat” yakon*  
be.elected say:II,3,PL:LK III,1,PL,EXC leader but

clause 2

*abus ak ipapuutda boryanda.*  
only SM diligent:II,3,PL family:II,3,PL

(They [the elected officials] are not recognised [as leaders] and as for what the elected officials do,) they say, “We are leaders”, but they are only devoted to their families.

### 2.2.3 LITOTES

A note should be made about litotes in expository discourse. Litotes is a stylistic device in which the speaker negates information that is contrary to what he wants to assert. In expository discourse, litotes function not as collateral information but as a hidden positive statement. In the three available occurrences of litotes, all have a corresponding response which affirms the hidden positive statement.

The underlying meaning of 9.2 is that it takes a lifetime to acquire a position of leadership. Sentence 9.3 presents an affirmative response to the litotes, stating that a man must show leadership qualities starting from his childhood.

9.2

*Sa pangat atte dandani, dakompune asi gela miikogway*  
T,S leader O,S old.days not:MOD:LK only EMPH be.surprised

*onnu asina aran atte dumakor.*  
or only:II,3,S get O,S grow.up

The leader of long ago, he would not be made instantly nor could he acquire his leadership when he grew up.

9.3

*Sa mampangate tagu, mikabban-og.*

T,S lead:LK person childhood

The person who would be a leader, he will be a leader from childhood.

The most interesting occurrence of litotes is an entire paragraph, 9.16 - 9.19, that is an extended litotes. The theme proposition of the paragraph states that a leader behaves generously towards his neighbours, especially in respect to sharing food. Sentence 9.18 is the only affirmative statement in the paragraph.

9.16

*Angasawa kad de sadi ye tagu we ambaru somsomokna ya siya*  
spouse/marriage when N,S D3 LK person LK good thought:II,3,S and III,3,S

*inasawana isuna, bumoroyda kade sadi, adida*  
 spouse/marriage:II,3,S same:II,3,S dwell:I,3,PL when:LK D3 not:I,3,PL

*pun maapose angipakan ka mangatod atta kiiliyanda.*

MOD jealous:LK feed and give O,PL fellow.villager:II,3,PL

When that person who has good thoughts marries and he marries one like himself, when they live together as a married couple, they do not begrudge feeding or giving to their fellow villagers.

9.17

*Nu aligna, awak kad da kabkabiin, da anne*  
 if example:II,3,S there.is when N,PL child.betrothal T,PL D1:LK

*makwe andunuwan ni tagu ta matoy, adipun maapos.*  
 possible:LK butcher.animal G,S person because die not:MOD jealous

For example, when there is a celebration of the betrothal of two children or an occasion at which an animal is butchered because someone has died, he does not begrudge helping.

9.18

*Ngan.kad pay ni anna kan siya, ipat-ugna*  
 whatever EMPH G,S D1 O III,3,S butcher.pig,dog,chicken:II,3,S

*paye ipat-ugna onnu koona nu*  
 EMPH:LK butcher.pig,dog,chicken:II,3,S or do/make:II,3,S if

*awad luwangnatte madunuwan.*

there.is water.buffalo:II,3,S:O,S butcher.animal

Whatever he has, he will surely butcher a small animal or he will butcher a water buffalo if he has one to be butchered.

9.19

*Adipun ampay maapos atta kasintataguna ya da kiiliyana.*

not:MOD EMPH jealous O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S and PL fellow.villager:II,3,S

He indeed does not act begrudgingly towards his fellow man and his fellow villagers.



## CHAPTER 3

### THEMATIC ORGANISATION

The rhetorical structure determines what kind of content occurs in a discourse, such as reasons and results supporting theme propositions, and how it is organised. Theme, which is a semantic element, takes that general organisation of content and presents it from a particular perspective (Grimes 1975:113). Since discourse structure is linear with one sentence following another, the content must be ordered into a linear sequence. Theme as much as the rhetorical structure decides how content is ordered and what content will be dominant, subordinate and coordinate. In organising content, theme operates on many levels. In section 3.1, expository discourse is discussed in terms of theme and how theme organises content into paragraphs. These paragraphs have beginnings, endings and peaks which are organised in a way that reflects a particular point of view.

#### 3.1 EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

The following description presents the basic structure of expository discourse. Each of the main features of the structure is discussed in detail under separate headings. Each expository text follows a general pattern. An expository discourse begins with a paragraph that presents a global theme which is stated as a proposition in a sentence. This global proposition must be general enough to include all the propositions stated as lower-level themes in the discourse as well as the statements that support those themes. Following van Dijk's definition of macro-structure (1972:5,6), the global theme unifies all the sentences of a discourse so that the discourse is interpreted as one coherent structure.

Once the global theme is presented it is followed by subsidiary propositions that develop the global theme and that have equal ranking with each other. Each of these propositions is a lower-level theme, and each such theme is presented and developed in a separate paragraph. The result is a string of paragraphs, each of which is built around one lower-level theme proposition. In some texts, a final summary paragraph can also occur in which the global theme proposition is restated.

Each non-initial paragraph also follows a general pattern.<sup>8</sup> A non-initial paragraph consists of one or more sentences that relate a theme and its support. The lower-level theme is presented as a proposition in the first sentence of the paragraph. It is followed by specific statements that function as support information and collateral information.

Paragraph 9.30 - 9.34 illustrates this pattern. Sentence 9.30 presents the lower-level theme proposition of the paragraph: a leader is hardworking. Sentences 9.31 and 9.32 are negative statements that act as collateral information for the theme; 9.33 is an affirmative response to 9.31 and

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<sup>8</sup>Initial and non-initial paragraphs are structured in slightly different manners. They are discussed in section 3.5.

9.32. The last sentence, 9.34, is the peak of the paragraph (see the discussion following this example).

9.30

*Duknag kos atte kinapawot, mampawot o.*  
 arrive when:also O,S industriousness industrious also  
 When it comes to hard work, he [the leader] is really industrious.

9.31

*Dakompose upan ela anggaggagayam.*  
 not:MOD:also:LK HAB HORT stay.home  
 He also does not tend to stay home from work.

9.32

*Dakompuk baduure tagu.*  
 not:MOD:SM lazy:LK person  
 He is not a lazy person.

9.33

*Siyos de pupan angipappangat atta ambarutte kinapawotna.*  
 III,3,S:also N,S HAB lead O,PL good:O,S industriousness:II,3,S  
 He also leads others [in doing what is] for the good of all by his industriousness.

9.34

nuclear.clause		postnuclear.clause
<i>Tur-ayanos</i>	<i>de pawot</i>	<i>te ngos ni</i>
excel:II,3,S:also	N,S industriousness	because INT:also G,S

*ipakannatta mangiliyona nu adina tur-ayan de pawot?*  
 feed:II,3,S:O,PL have.visitors:II,3,S if not:II,3,S excel N,S industriousness  
 He excels in industriousness because what will he feed his visitors if he does not excel in hard work?

Once a theme and its statements of specific information have been presented, a paragraph peak usually occurs. (Of twenty-eight non-initial paragraphs, only two lacked a peak.) A paragraph peak is a sentence that states for the first time a reason or a result that supports the theme proposition of the paragraph. It usually also restates the theme proposition.

In the paragraph example above, 9.34 is the paragraph peak. It restates the lower-level theme proposition in the nuclear clause: a leader works hard. A reason that supports the theme is presented for the first time in the postnuclear clause: a leader needs to produce food to feed his guests.

Sentence 8.17 is an example of a result acting as a paragraph peak. The lower-level theme of the paragraph asserts that observing *paniyaw* taboos benefits a person in many ways. Sentence 8.17 partially restates the lower-level theme in the fronted noun phrase. The sentence presents the result of observing *paniyaw* taboos in the nuclear clause: a person will live an honourable life, and his fellow men will praise him.



*ikataguyu mam pagay atte biyagyu de sane turu.*

live.by.means.of:II,2,PL CERT EMPH O,S life:II,2,PL N,S D1:LK three

If we are going to live [righteously], what those who lived in the past said is you must live your life by these three [standards].

It should be noted that in non-initial paragraphs, a theme proposition and its corresponding peak can be stated in the same sentence (nine out of twenty-eight occurrences). When this happens, the sentence is always the first in the paragraph. An example of this can be seen in 12.9. The lower-level theme proposition is presented in the prenuclear clause: a married couple needs to be financially solvent. If the couple fails to take into account their financial needs and cannot meet their financial obligations, the result, which is stated in the nuclear clause, is that people will despise them. The result forms the peak of the paragraph.

### 12.9

prenuclear.clause

*(Ya) miid kos maborbalinta e man-asawa ta*  
and none when:also have.valuables:II,1,DL LK spouse/marriage and

nuclear.clause

*miid koonta, samkuyta gos.*

none do/make:II,1,DL despise:II,1,DL also

(And) if we who are a married couple have no money and if we do not do what is required of us, we will be despised as well.

In some texts, there is one paragraph peak that not only forms the peak of the paragraph in which it is found, but also acts as a peak for the whole discourse. (Six of the seven texts have discourse peaks.) Discourse peaks are distinguished from paragraph peaks by the theme proposition to which they refer. A discourse peak restates all or part of a global theme proposition, and its result or reason relates to the global theme. A paragraph peak, however, restates the lower-level theme proposition of the paragraph in which it occurs, and its reason or result relates only to the lower-level theme. Discourse peaks usually occur in a paragraph located toward the end of a text.

The next two sentences are examples of discourse peaks. Sentence 11.20 presents the reason why people are made sick by the *aggasang* spirits. The reason supports the global theme and functions as the peak of the whole discourse.

### 11.20

*Siya upanta matipakan de makuug-uggudtatta*

III,3,S HAB:II,1,DL afflict N,S talk:I,1,DL:O,PL

*maaggasangan ya iwadoyta da napurdusan.*

made.ill.by.spirit and push.through.vegetation N,PL motted.vegetation

The reason why we are afflicted with spirit illnesses is that we talk with people who have *aggasang* spirits in them and we push through vegetation that has been rightfully claimed by another person.

Sentence 12.26 is the last sentence in text 12. The speaker states that if a person persists in marrying an outsider he may find himself cut off from the help of his family and unable to provide for his children. If a couple cannot provide for their children, their marriage will be a failure, and then, as the speaker points out in the nuclear clause of the sentence, only the drying rack over the fire will

keep the couple apart when they fight. In this sentence, the global theme is referred to, albeit rather obliquely, in the prenuclear clause which comments about raising children. Faint though the reference is, it is sufficient to provide the necessary thematic cohesion for presenting the result in the nuclear clause which functions as the peak of the discourse.

12.26

prenuclear.clause

(Ya) *pasigta kad in ang-amuwong ak*  
and always:I,1,DL when CERT not.know.what.to.do SM

nuclear.clause

*itor-unta, duknag piin de ambordakta sugan.*  
raise.children:II,1,DL arrive ADV N,S boundary:II,1,DL drying.rack

(And) when we are always at a loss as to how to provide for our children's needs, it will come to the day when the drying rack over the fire will be the only thing that keeps us apart when we fight.

Once a peak is stated, it can be followed by the same kind of support information and collateral information that follow a theme proposition. This can be seen in the paragraph beginning with 9.12, which states a lower-level theme proposition and its result and functions as both the theme proposition and the paragraph peak. Sentence 9.13 is a condensed repetition of the information presented in 9.12. Sentence 9.14 expresses an opinion and functions as evaluative information. The last sentence in the paragraph, 9.15, is a negative statement that acts as collateral information for 9.14.

9.12

*Angwa kad da anne dogwatna, te ippun*  
do/make when N,PL D1:LK age.group:II,3,S because none:MOD

*koonak lawing, tenna ampay de paniyawna,*  
do/make:II,3,S:SM bad because:D1 EMPH N,S taboo:II,3,S

*anna ngilinna, anna biinna, mabiinandas siya.*  
D1 taboo:II,3,S D1 respect:II,3,S respect:II,3,PL:N,S III,3,S

So what his peer group does, because he does not make trouble, because he indeed has *paniyaw*, he has *ngilin*, he has *biin*, they respect him.

9.13

*Mabiinda de sadi ye ossaan ka duwatta sindumogwat te*  
respect:II,3,PL N,S D3 LK one and two:O,PL age.group because

*abus ak koko-ona de sa urnusda pagay ya sa ambaruwanda.*  
only SM habitual.action N,S T,S unity:II,3,PL EMPH and T,S common.good:II,3,PL  
They respect those one or two in the peer group because the main thing he does is settle their affairs and do things for their common good.

9.14

*Da tagu kade angila, da sin-anak, da tagu we udum, kananda*  
T,PL person when:LK see T,PL parent T,PL person LK other say:II,3,PL

“*Siya pos in dendi te siya pagay ipangpangatna de ambaru*”.  
 III,3,S HORT CERT N,S:D3 because III,3,S EMPH lead:II,3,S N,S good  
 Then the people who watch, parents, the rest of the people, they say, “He really does it well because he indeed leads for the good [of the community]”.

9.15

“*Dakompuk ipangatna de lawing*”.  
 not:MOD:SM lead:II,3,S N,S bad  
 “He does not lead [the community in doing] wrong.”

Paragraphs end with different kinds of information. The most common way of ending a non-initial paragraph is with either a summary (nine occurrences) or a result (seven occurrences). Together these two types of information end more than half of the non-initial paragraphs in the texts (sixteen out of twenty-eight occurrences).

Sentence 9.49 is an example of a summary that ends a non-initial paragraph. The first half of the sentence is expounded by the anaphoric reference pronoun *sadi* ‘that – previously mentioned’. A noun phrase expounds the second half of the sentence and partially restates the global theme of the text.

9.49

nominal 1    nominal 2  
*Sadi kamat manggodongan da pangat atte dandani.*  
 D3 EMPH straight    G,PL leader O,S old.days  
 That was the way leaders were upright in the past.

Sentence 11.19 is an example of a result that ends a non-initial paragraph. The lower-level theme of the paragraph states that the *talligan* spirit is another kind of *aggasang* spirit that can cause a fatal illness. The nuclear clause of 11.19 presents the consequences of the illness not being treated in the correct way: the person will die. This result forms the peak of the paragraph.

11.19

prenuclear.clause    nuclear.clause  
*Nu adi ditos    lugaman atta singkuwatte sane talligan, matoyta.*  
 if not IV,1,DL:also weed O,PL owner:O,S D1:LK spirit.type die:I,1,DL  
 If the owner of this *talligan* spirit does not place an herb on us, we will die.

The conclusion of a paragraph is indicated by the introduction of a new theme proposition. The statement of a new theme proposition signals the beginning of another paragraph.

It should be pointed out that while this paragraph pattern is typical of paragraphs in expository texts, it is not a rigid pattern. A paragraph in an expository text always has a theme proposition, and it nearly always has a peak. Sentences containing other support information and collateral information are optional and do not have order constraints among themselves, although they must follow the theme proposition since the theme proposition always occurs paragraph initially.<sup>9</sup> This paragraph structure is repeated for each lower-level theme proposition in the discourse. Initial

<sup>9</sup>Although sentences that contain support information and collateral information do not have strict order constraints, it should be noted that cleft sentences containing anaphoric reference pronouns usually occur toward the end of a paragraph. Also, when negations or adversatives occur with corresponding affirmative responses, the responses follow the negations and adversatives as described under collateral information (section 2.2).

paragraphs that present global theme propositions have a similar paragraph structure, although there are several significant differences which will be discussed later.

Finally, while non-final paragraphs end with different kinds of information, a final paragraph often ends with a terminating sentence that signals the conclusion of the text (four out of seven texts). The terminating sentence is a cleft sentence that occurs with an anaphoric reference pronoun. It can signal the conclusion of a discourse in two ways: by restating the global theme in part or in full, or by simply stating that the speaker has finished talking.

Sentences 10.8 and 17.13 are examples of terminating sentences. Sentence 10.8 is a cleft sentence in which the first half of the sentence is manifested by the anaphoric pronoun *sana* 'this'. The second half of the sentence is expounded by a noun phrase that gives a partial restatement of the global theme.

10.8

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sana de kapooyan os ni ugude 'anak'.*

Dl N,S meaning also G,S talk:LK child

This is the meaning of the word 'child'.

Sentence 17.13 is another cleft sentence which terminates a text. Again the first half of the sentence is manifested by the anaphoric pronoun *sadi* 'that'. The second half of the sentence is manifested by a nominalised verbal clause that declares that the speaker has ended his speech.

17.13

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sadi miibagak kan dikayu.*

D3 tell:II,1,S O III,2,PL

That is what I have to say to you.

This pattern of sentences characterises the basic structure of expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga.

### 3.2 THE EXPOSITORY SENTENCE

In expository discourse, a distinctive sentence type occurs regularly. This expository sentence consists of three propositions that are related to each other. The first proposition is a condition or an indefinite time setting for a typical situation. The second proposition is a result of or a response to the condition or situation. The third proposition is a reason or an explanation for the result. The first two propositions, the condition or typical situation and the result or response, are obligatory. The third proposition, the reason, is optional.

An example of an expository sentence is seen in 9.21. The first proposition is stated in the prenuclear clause position and presents an indefinite time setting for a typical situation: when a man enters a battle. The second proposition is presented in the nuclear clause position and gives a response to the typical situation: he will regard himself as already dead. The third proposition occurs in the postnuclear clause position and presents a reason that supports the response given in the nuclear position: he will be at the front of the group (the most dangerous place).

## 9.21

                                prenuclear.position                                nuclear.position  
*Lumnok kad           atte baruknit,           ibilangna     pagaye*  
enter    whenever O,S   planned.battle count:II,3,S   EMPH:LK

                                postnuclear.position  
*matoy tenna       ine           siya     de   kamak mangipangapangat.*  
die   because:D1   CERT:LK   III,3,S   N,S   EMPH lead

Whenever he enters a battle, he counts himself as dead because he will surely lead the others.

In a non-initial paragraph, the expository sentence type has the syntax characteristic of (1) the sentence in which the theme proposition of the paragraph is stated, and (2) the sentence in which the paragraph peak is presented. While the theme proposition of a paragraph and its peak are not always presented using the expository sentence syntax, the expository sentence expounds these more often than any other sentence type. It also states other kinds of information, such as justifications or support information. Consequently, the expository sentence stands out as a sentence type that is distinctive to expository discourse. This is particularly true of paragraph peaks, where expository sentences form nineteen peaks, and occur as embedded constituents in two more, out of twenty-eight peaks in the data. The expository sentence also forms fourteen, and occurs as an embedded constituent in another, of the twenty-eight sentences that begin non-initial paragraphs. Of these, seven are simultaneously paragraph peaks. It should be noted that while an expository sentence can form the peak of a discourse-initial paragraph, it never states the global theme proposition when the theme proposition occurs in a discourse-initial paragraph. (There is one example in which an expository sentence states a global theme, but the sentence occurs in the second not initial, paragraph of the text.)

It is of interest that the expository sentence occurs not just in Upper Tanudan Kalinga, but appears to be a distinctive sentence type in expository discourse in other Philippine languages. In the introduction to a collection of papers on the discourse structure of several Northern Philippine languages, Walrod (1983:2) comments upon the occurrence in expository discourse of a complex sentence that relates three propositions. For Ga'dang expository discourse, Walrod defines the structure as "...a complex sentence with an initial conditional clause, followed by a clause expressing a result of or response to a condition, followed by a clause expressing a reason or explanation". What is important for this discussion is that Walrod found that this type of sentence is not unique to Ga'dang expository discourse, but occurs regularly in the other three Northern Philippine languages represented in the volume.

### 3.3 ORDER IN THE EXPOSITORY SENTENCE

The clauses in the expository sentence have an order of content. This order corresponds to their discourse functions in expository discourse. In an expository sentence, it is the relationship between the prenuclear clause (a condition or a typical situation), the nuclear clause (a result or a response), and the postnuclear clause (a reason), that gives a text its identity as an expository discourse. This is essentially the hypothesis presented by Hale and Gieser (1977) concerning clause positions in Guinaang Kalinga expository discourse and their correlation with discourse functions. In the quoted remarks below, Hale and Gieser (1977:138) note three clause positions in expository discourse: prenuclear, nuclear and postnuclear. Each clause position has specific functions.



As for the functions performed by each of the three positions, the prenuclear position may be characterized as highlighting the central group of participants, the nuclear position may be characterized as stating the main points, and the postnuclear position may be characterized as supporting theme points, explaining them, and making them plausible in the light of a fuller account of the times. Furthermore, it is the relationship between clauses of the nuclear position and the postnuclear position that is crucial for the status of this text as an example of explanatory discourse.

Upper Tanudan Kalinga differs from this description of Guinaang Kalinga in several ways. Firstly, while participants can be introduced and reintroduced in the prenuclear clause (as well as other positions), the prenuclear clause is also the primary position for maintaining thematic cohesion. Secondly, the nuclear clause states a result or a consequence rather than what Hale and Gieser call a main point. Thirdly, it is the relationship between the three major constituents – prenuclear, nuclear and postnuclear, or condition, result, reason – that characterises Upper Tanudan Kalinga expository discourse. Of these three constituents, the condition or typical situation and its result or response are the core propositions, while the reason is an optional element.

The following discussion is a general description of the order of clauses in the expository sentence and the content of those clauses. Variation in the order of non-nuclear clauses is also discussed. The skewing of the clause content which occurs when an expository sentence forms a paragraph peak is discussed in section 3.6. Preposed noun phrases<sup>10</sup> that contain information concerning theme and participants, and which also occur in expository sentences, are discussed in Chapter 4, since they are common to other sentence types besides expository sentences.

Figure 1 shows the clause positions in an expository sentence and the grammatical relators that mark them.

	Prenuclear		Nuclear	Postnuclear
Positions:	1	2	3	4
	<i>kad / nu</i>		// nuclear clause //	<i>te</i>

FIGURE 1: CLAUSE POSITIONS IN THE EXPOSITORY SENTENCE

As indicated, there are two prenuclear positions. Position 1 is expounded by dependent clauses that are marked by the indefinite relator *kad* ‘when’ or ‘whenever’. These clauses present indefinite time settings that are typical situations in which the action of the nuclear clause takes place. Occasionally they also present conditions. The dependent clauses can be either verbal or existential clauses. Up to two *kad* clauses can occur in the prenuclear position.<sup>11</sup>

*Kad* clauses acting as settings for typical situations and *kad* clauses acting as conditions have no surface feature that sets them apart from each other. The difference in function is distinguishable only on the basis of semantics. Those *kad* dependent clauses that state actual conditions upon which the outcome of the nuclear clause depends function as conditional dependent clauses. All other *kad*

<sup>10</sup>‘Preposed noun phrase’ is a cover term for two types of noun phrases that occur before nuclear clauses. One type is a fronted noun phrase which may or may not be a clause constituent of the sentence. A fronted noun phrase usually contains thematic information. The second type is a left-dislocated noun phrase which is a constituent of a clause in the sentence. It identifies participants. The two types are described in sections 4.1 and 4.2.

<sup>11</sup>The relator *kad* ‘when’ or ‘whenever’ occurs only in prenuclear dependent clauses. In verbal dependent clauses, the relator *kad* immediately follows the verb which always occurs clause initially. In non-verbal dependent clauses, *kad* immediately follows the first nominal, such as a noun, a noun phrase, a free-standing focus pronoun or an existential. In the case of a noun phrase, the relator *kad* immediately follows the head.

dependent clauses function as indefinite time settings. Since there is never any distinction made in the surface morphology between actual conditions and time settings, it is likely that this distinction is not a crucial one in the language.

In distinguishing between the different functions of the *kad* clauses, the hearer determines which statements are actual conditions and which are settings for typical situations by his understanding of what kinds of events are likely to take place on a regular basis. Events that are likely to happen regularly are natural phenomena, such as thunder or rain, agricultural activities that are performed on a yearly cycle, social customs that are regularly observed, and common human actions or states, such as talking or being a parent. Events that take place on a regular basis are interpreted as settings for typical situations. Those events that do not occur regularly are regarded as conditions.

Sentence 12.12 contains a prenuclear clause with the relator *kad* functioning as a condition for the result stated in the nuclear clause. Since most people do not marry outsiders, the *kad* clause is not describing a typical situation.

## 12.12

prenuclear.clause

*Bumoroyta kad os atta ili ya asi gos nan inasawata*  
 dwell:I,1,DL whenever also O,PL place and will also N,S:D1 spouse/marriage:II,1,DL

*agag pulingot onnu agag malii atta mangili,*  
 partial easily.offended or partial give.angry.look O,PL visitor

nuclear.clause

postnuclear.clause

*(ummoytos nangor-ak muugudanta te ammammangilitaku*  
 go:II,1,DL:also get:SM talked.about:II,1,DL because have.visitors:I,1,PL,INC

*pun, adi kad guminga allanggak atta mangili, nallowingan os*  
 when not when speak sociable O,PL visitor offended also

*da susunudta kan dita).*

G,PL sibling:II,1,DL O III,1,DL

When we go and live in other villages and our wife is easily offended or gives angry looks at the visitors, (those acts might be the things that cause us to be talked about because when we have visitors and she is not sociable with them, our relatives [who are the visitors] will take offence at us).

Sentence 9.25 contains two prenuclear clauses marked by the relator *kad*. Both *kad* clauses describe a setting for a typical situation. People in Lubo often entertain visitors. As part of their hospitality, they usually butcher a chicken or a pig in order to feed their visitors. Hospitality is a highly valued social custom. (Note that in the second prenuclear clause *awad kad* has undergone certain morphophonemic alternations to become *awag gad*.)

## 9.25

*(Sa ose mangor-anos atte kinapangatna.)*

T,S one:LK get:II,3,S:also O,S leadership:II,3,S

prenuclear.clause 1

*ammangili kad atta mangilin ela da udum,*  
 have.visitors whenever O,PL visitor:LK HORT G,PL other

prenuclear.clause 2

*awag gad mabalinnak iyas onnu manukna,*  
there.is whenever possible:II,3,S:SM piglet or chicken:II,3,S

nuclear.clause postnuclear.clause

*ayagana de mangili te ibiinna de ili.*  
call:II,3,S N,S visitor because respect:II,3,S N,S place

(As for another way of gaining his leadership,) whenever he receives the visitors of others, whenever he has the means such as a piglet or a chicken, he calls the visitor [to eat] because he wants to show respect on behalf of the community.

Position 2, the second prenuclear position, is expounded by dependent clauses which are introduced by the relator *nu* 'if'. The clauses are either verbal or non-verbal clauses. While *nu* dependent clauses usually occur in the prenuclear position, they can also occur in the postnuclear position. Two *nu* dependent clauses can be present in the prenuclear position; only one *nu* clause, however, can occur in the postnuclear position. *Nu* clauses can occur in both prenuclear and postnuclear positions in the same sentence. When both a *nu* clause and a *te* reason clause occur in postnuclear positions, the *nu* clause comes immediately after the nuclear clause and the reason clause follows the *nu* clause.

Like clauses marked by *kad*, *nu* dependent clauses present either conditions upon which the nuclear clause is based or typical situations in which the nuclear clause takes place. Sentence 13.3 exemplifies the use of *nu* clauses, all of which are indefinite time settings, in prenuclear and postnuclear positions.

### 13.3

prenuclear.clause 1

*Nu da intaku tumotorbatta uma,*  
if T,PL go:I,1,PL,INC make.border.for.garden:O,PL garden

prenuclear.clause 2

*nu angumataku,* nuclear.clause  
if make.garden:I,1,PL,INC not:II,1,PL,INC forbid

postnuclear.clause 1

*nu awad kasin tur-ukna* postnuclear.clause 2  
if there.is again first.thunder:II,3,S because finish

During the times when we go to mark out the borders for mountainside gardens, when we make a garden, we do not forbid work when there is another thunder because it [the year] is finished.

The first *nu* clause in 13.3 is a rare nominalised verbal clause (*nu* followed by a nominalised verbal clause occurs only three times in the data): *nu da intaku tumotorbatta uma* 'during the times when we go to mark out the borders for the mountainside gardens'. This is a yearly agricultural activity which is almost sure to take place, so this makes the clause a setting for a typical situation rather than a condition. The second *nu* clause is a verbal clause: *nu angumataku* 'when we make a mountainside garden'. This is a generic statement which refers to the same agricultural activity mentioned in the first *nu* clause. The third *nu* clause is an existential clause: *nu awad kasin tur-ukna* 'when there is another thunder'. The *tur-uk* thunder marks the end of the winter rains, when there is very little thunder, and the beginning of the summer rains, when there is considerable thunder. With

the advent of the summer rains, it is certain to thunder again; therefore, this last *nu* clause also gives a setting for a typical situation rather than a condition.

An example of a *nu* clause functioning as a condition is seen in prenuclear clause 2 in 8.17.

## 8.17

fronted.noun.phrase      prenuclear.clause 1  
*Sa anne paniyaw, te kopyan ni mataguta,*  
 T,S D1:LK taboo      because action:LK G,S live:II,1,DL

prenuclear.clause 2                  prenuclear.clause 3  
*nu ikatagum,                  tuttuwe mataguka kap pagay,*  
 if live.by.means.of:II,2,S true:LK live:I,2,S when EMPH

nuclear.clause  
*ambaruka ya idayaw dikatta kasintatagum.*  
 good:I,2,S and praise IV,2,S:O,PL fellow.man:II,2,S

This *paniyaw*, during the stages of our lives, if you live according to it [the *paniyaw* taboo], if you really live according to it, you will be honourable and your fellow man will praise you.

The theme of the paragraph in which 8.17 occurs is that observing *paniyaw* taboos is one of the ways a person lives a righteous life. The *nu* clause states a condition: *nu ikatagum [de paniyaw]* ‘if you live according to [the *paniyaw* taboo]’. If this condition is fulfilled, then the person will live a good life. In this case, the *nu* clause is a condition because it is not taken for granted that a person automatically observes the *paniyaw* taboos, since it is a moral issue and depends upon the character of the individual. Furthermore, if the individual fails to obey the taboos, then he cannot possibly be an honourable person.

Note should also be taken of the prenuclear clause introduced by *te*: *te kopyan ni mataguta* ‘during the stages of our lives’. Sentence 8.17 is the only sentence in the data in which the marker *te* introduces a clause acting as a setting. It is an example of the skewing between form and content that can occur in expository discourse. In expository discourse *te* ‘because’ or ‘for’ is a common conjunction that usually introduces a reason when it connects clauses in a sentence. In this case, however, *te* introduces a noun phrase that gives a setting.

Besides their permutational ability, aspect is the only other surface feature that distinguishes the dependent clauses marked by *kad* from those that are marked by *nu*. *Nu* dependent clauses occur in either the perfective or imperfective aspect. *Kad* dependent clauses occur only in the imperfective aspect. (The perfective aspect is associated with completed action, and the imperfective aspect is associated with action that has not yet been completed.) When clauses that are marked by *nu* or *kad* function as settings for typical situations, both clause types occur only in the imperfective aspect. Consequently, it is not clear whether there is any real distinction between these two clause types when they function as settings in expository discourse. This lack of distinction between the two clause types is further supported by their ability to reverse clause positions with each other when they occur together as prenuclear clauses. Although *kad* clauses usually precede *nu* clauses, there is one example in which the *nu* clause occurs before the *kad* clause.

In 9.38 the first prenuclear clause is expounded by a *kad* dependent clause (*kad* occurs as *gad*, an alternate morphological form). The second prenuclear clause is expounded by a *nu* dependent clause.

## 9.38

prenuclear.clause 1                          prenuclear.clause 2  
*Awag gad da kasus, nu makasusan de ose*  
 there.is whenever N,PL case if have.a.case N,S one:LK

   nuclear.clause  
*boryan, ose tagu, igagayamna (ya*  
 family one:LK person stay.home:II,3,S and

*ilintogna kad de guru kan da kasus, kanande*  
 mediate:II,3,S whenever N,S trouble and PL case say:II,3,PL:LK

“A, *gappiya kan anuka ta ininggaw ta linintogana*”.  
 ah thank.heavens O what's.his.name LK stay and mediate:II,3,S

When there are cases, if a family or a person is involved in a case, he will stay home from work (and when he settles the trouble and the cases, they will say, “Ah, thank heavens what's-his-name was here so that he could settle the case”).

Position 3 is expounded by a nuclear independent clause which presents a result of or a response to the condition or typical situation stated in the non-nuclear clauses. Although the nuclear position can be expounded by any clause type, it is usually expounded by a verbal clause, as seen in 12.3. In 9.22 the nuclear clause is expounded by an equational clause.

## 12.3

   prenuclear.clause                          nuclear.clause  
*(Yakon) awad kad idangdangkasta, angkuwata*  
 but there.is whenever have.misfortune:II,1,DL own:II,1,DL

   postnuclear.clause  
*pagay lawinge angos te ippun katukutukunta.*  
 EMPH bad:LK breath/feeling because none:MOD confidant:II,1,DL  
 (But) if we have problems, we will have bad feelings because we will have no one to confide in.

## 9.22

prenuclear.clause 1                          prenuclear.clause 2  
*Aniwat kad ya anorna, nu gasatne matagu,*  
 behead whenever and first.to.shoot if lucky:II,3,S:LK live

nuclear.clause  
*sadi ose midayawana (yakon asina de katti ye*  
 D3 one:LK be.praised:II,3,S but only:II,3,S N,S like.this LK

*sokarna iggatte saraknib ni ili.*  
 bravery:II,3,S put:O,S protection G,S place

When he takes a head or is the first one to hit someone, if he is lucky enough to live, that is one of the instances in which he will be praised (but he will show his bravery only in protecting the community).

Position 4 is manifested by dependent clauses introduced by *te* ‘because’ that present reasons that support the result or response given in the nuclear clause. Both verbal and non-verbal clauses can

expound *te* reason clauses. Although *te* reason clauses usually occur in the postnuclear position, there are two examples in which *te* clauses are found in the prenuclear position.

Sentence 12.3 above is an example of a sentence in which the *te* reason clause (expounded by an existential clause) occurs in the postnuclear position. In 9.12, however, both dependent reason clauses occur in prenuclear positions (*tenna*, which introduces the second prenuclear clause, is a contracted form of *te + anna*). The first dependent reason clause is an existential clause; the second one is a complex construction, consisting of three equational clauses.

## 9.12

prenuclear.clause 1		prenuclear.clause 2
<i>Angwa kad da</i>	<i>anne dogwatna,</i>	<i>te ippun</i>
do/make when N,PL	D1:LK age.group:II,3,S	because none:MOD

	prenuclear.clause 3
<i>koonak lawing, tenna</i>	<i>ampay de paniyawna,</i>
do/make:II,3,S:SM bad	because:D1 EMPH N,S taboo:II,3,S

	nuclear.clause
<i>anna ngilinna, anna biinna,</i>	<i>mabiiandas siya.</i>
D1 taboo:II,3,S D1	respect:II,3,S respect:II,3,PL:N,S III,3,S

So what his peer group does, because he does not make trouble, because he indeed has *paniyaw*, he has *ngilin*, he has *biin*, they respect him.

It should be noted that when two *te* clauses occur in one sentence, the two clauses form an inseparable pair and expound either a prenuclear or a postnuclear position. In these cases, the *te* clauses are not conjoined reason clauses that are equally related to the nuclear clause. Rather they are two clauses that are related to each other by subordination. The first *te* clause is the dominant clause that relates to the nuclear clause as a reason; the second is a subordinate clause that relates to the first *te* clause as support information or collateral information. In the three available examples, the second *te* clause is a collateral statement, an affirmative response to a collateral statement, or an illustration for a generic statement.

Looking back to 9.12, the *te* reason clause in prenuclear clause 2 functions as collateral information that supports the result stated in the nuclear clause. Prenuclear clause 3 contains an affirmative response to the collateral information given in prenuclear clause 2.

In 9.46 two reason *te* clauses occur in the postnuclear position. Again the first presents a reason that supports the result presented in the nuclear clause (*tenne* is a contraction of *te + anna + we*), and the second acts as collateral information for the statement given in the first. Both *te* clauses are manifested by verbal clauses.

## 9.46

prenuclear.clause	nuclear.clause
<i>Maapuwan kad,</i>	<i>asida kane "Ah, pangat"</i>
be.a.grandparent when	will:II,3,PL say:LK ah leader

postnuclear.clause 1
<i>tenne miigammum pagay da tagu de in-inone</i>
because:D1:LK know:LK EMPH G,PL person N,S way:LK

*mangipangat atta losane mipangatan ni bumaruan ni ili*  
 lead O,PL all:LK lead G,S benefit G,S place

postnuclear.clause 2

*te adipun makwe mampangat nu abus ak pangatana boryanna.*  
 because not:MOD possible:LK lead if only SM lead:II,3,S family:II,3,S  
 When he has grandchildren, they will say, "Ah, he's a leader", because people will know how he leads in all the things that require leading for the good of the community because he cannot possibly be a leader if he only leads his family.

### 3.4 PROMINENCE POSITIONS IN A SENTENCE

There are two prominence positions in sentences that occur in expository discourse: the sentence-initial position and the sentence-final position. These positions are common to every type of sentence that occurs in expository discourse; each carries certain kinds of information.

#### 3.4.1 SENTENCE-INITIAL POSITION

The sentence-initial position is a prominence position for global and lower-level themes, settings and participants. When a theme is restated, it occurs as a fronted noun phrase in the initial position of a sentence and is introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. The fronted noun phrase usually restates an argument associated with the theme proposition. An argument can be an abstraction such as 'the *paniyaw* taboo' or 'the way of gaining leadership' or 'marriage'. It can also be a participant such as 'a child' or 'a leader' if the participant is the main argument of the theme proposition. The following sentences are introduced by fronted noun phrases that restate partial theme propositions.

In 8.19 the fronted noun phrase *sa ngilin* 'the *ngilin* taboo' is an abstraction which occurs in the theme proposition. In 10.2 the fronted noun phrase *sa anak* 'a child' is a primary participant and the main argument of the theme proposition.

8.19

fronted.noun.phrase prenuclear.clause  
*Sa ngilin, awag gotyan de adin ni paniyaw*  
 T,S taboo there.is whenever:OPT N,S not:LK G,S taboo

nuclear.clause postnuclear.clause  
*pakwa, ngilinom te kanande mangilin.*  
 do/make taboo:II,2,S because say:II,3,PL:LK forbidden

The *ngilin*, whenever there is anything that the *paniyaw* taboo prohibits you from doing, you refrain from doing it because they say it is forbidden [as a *ngilin* taboo].

10.2

fronted.noun.phrase nuclear.clause  
*Sa anak, sana de mantipunan ni layad da duwe man-asawa.*  
 T,S child D1 N,S join G,S love G,PL two:LK spouse/marriage  
 A child, this is the union of the love of the two who are married.

Occasionally a fronted noun phrase restates the predicate of the theme proposition rather than an argument of the proposition. When this happens, the predicate occurs in a nominalised form. For example, in 9.35 the fronted noun phrase briefly restates the predicate of the global theme proposition of the text about how a man became a leader in the old days.

## 9.35

fronted.noun.phrase            nuclear.clause

*Sa ose mangor-ana, sa anne kinaturod ni somsomokna.*

T,S one:LK get:II,3,S    T,S D1:LK courage G,S thought:II,3,S

Another way of getting it [his leadership], it is by the courageousness of his [the leader's] thinking.

The fronted noun phrase in 10.5 also restates the predicate of the lower-level theme of one of the paragraphs in the text: parents should raise their children with love.

## 10.5

fronted.noun.phrase            prenuclear.clause

*Sa kamat anangkonanda, matagu kad denne anake*

T,S EMPH care.for:II,3,PL live    when N,S:D1:LK child:LK

nuclear.clause

*bungan di layad, sillelelayadda.*

fruit:LK G,S love happy:I,3,PL

As for the reason why they [the parents] should care for [their child], if this child who is the fruit of love turns out well, they will all be happy.

A fronted noun phrase can also occur in the first sentence of a text in which a partial theme proposition is presented. In this case, the fronted noun phrase announces the speaker's intention to talk about something, and the nuclear clause states the partial theme proposition. Examples of this are seen in 11.1 and 10.1. In both sentences, the fronted noun phrase declares that the speaker intends to talk about something. The nuclear clause in each sentence presents a partial statement of the global theme.

## 11.1

fronted.noun.phrase            nuclear.clause

*Sa anne ugudok, sa aggasang.*

T,S D1:LK talk:II,1,S    T,S spirit.type

What I am going to talk about, it is the *aggasang* spirit.

## 10.1

fronted.noun.phrase            nuclear.clause

*Sa anna gose miibagak, mipuun atte anak.*

T,S D1 also:LK tell:II,1,S concerned O,S child

This which I am going to talk about, it concerns the child.

Settings also occur as fronted noun phrases introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. In these cases, the settings are general time periods, such as 'long ago' or 'today', or general locations, such as 'in the age groups'. These general settings contrast with the more specific conditions and typical situations given in prenuclear clauses.



The next two sentences contain fronted noun phrases that present settings. In 9.20 the fronted noun phrase describes a general time period, while in 9.4 it presents a general location.

9.20

fronted.noun.phrase

*Sa awi ye dummatngan ni anne barbaruknite pinnatoy,*  
T,S long.ago LK time.of.arrival G,S D1:LK battles:LK killing

nuclear.clause

*sadi kanande isubuna de long-agnatte saraknib ni ili.*

D3 say:II,3,PL:LK offer:II,3,S N,S body:II,3,S:O,S protection G,S place

Long ago when there came these battles for killing, they said he would offer his body for the protection of the community.

9.4

fronted.noun.phrase nuclear.clause

*Da sindumogwat, awad de ossaane ikabban-ogna*  
T,PL age.group there.is N,S one:LK childhood:II,3,S

*igammuwon de sadi ye kanak.*

know N,S D3 LK say:II,1,S

In the age groups, there is one who from his childhood lives according to what I said earlier.

Participants are also identified in noun phrases that are preposed to the sentence-initial position. These noun phrases are left-dislocated noun phrases which are also introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. In left-dislocated noun phrases, the participants are cross-referenced pronominally in the clause in which they originally occurred. When both a theme and a participant are presented in preposed noun phrases, the theme noun phrase occurs first followed by the participant noun phrase.

Sentence 9.37 is introduced by a left-dislocated noun phrase that identifies a group of participants: *da mallintog atte dandani* 'the mediators of the past'. The noun phrase is cross-referenced by the enclitic possessive pronoun *-da* 'their', found in the word *tangdanda* 'their payment' in the nuclear clause.

9.37

left-dis.noun.phrase nuclear.clause

*Da mallintog atte dandani, niippon tangdanda.*

T,PL mediate O,S old.days none:MOD payment:II,3,PL

The mediators of the past, they were not paid.

[Literally: The mediators of the past, they had no pay.]

Sentence 17.3 contains two preposed noun phrases. The first one is a fronted noun phrase which presents the main argument of the global theme proposition. The second is a left-dislocated noun phrase which identifies the two main participants of the text: a man and a woman who are married to each other.

17.3

fronted.noun.phrase left-dis.noun.phrase

*Sa asawa, da duwe tagu we antokone laraki ya bobai,*

T,S spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person LK different:LK man and woman

prenuclear.clause	ya	nuclear.clause	
<i>antipunda kad</i>		<i>sadi kanande</i>	'asawa'.
join:I,3,PL	whenever and join:I,3,PL	D3	say:II,3,PL:LK spouse/marriage

In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman, when they live together, that is what they call 'marriage'.

### 3.4.2 SENTENCE-FINAL POSITION

Sentence-final position is a prominence position for reasons and results, irrespective of whether the sentence ends with a nuclear clause or a postnuclear dependent clause. (The normal position for dependent reason clauses is postnuclear.) One sentence type that illustrates the prominence function of the sentence-final position is the expository sentence, which by definition contains a result and an optional reason. These results and reasons are the crucial pieces of information that often form paragraph peaks. Consequently, one would expect such information to occur in a prominence position within the sentence, and this is just what one finds. When a reason clause occurs in an expository sentence, it normally occurs in the sentence-final position. When there is no reason clause, or when the reason clause has been preposed to the prenuclear position, then the result stated in the nuclear clause occurs in the sentence-final position.

Sentence 12.3 is an expository sentence that forms the peak of the paragraph in which it is found. The result stated in the nuclear clause is supported by the reason that is presented in the postnuclear clause. The sentence-final position gives prominence to the reason.

#### 12.3

prenuclear.clause	nuclear.clause
<i>(Yakon) awad kad idangdangkasta,</i>	<i>angkuwata</i>
but there.is whenever have.misfortune:II,1,DL	own:II,1,DL
postnuclear.clause	
<i>pagay lawinge angos te ippun katukutukunta.</i>	
EMPH bad:LK breath/feeling	because none:MOD confidant:II,1,DL

(But) if we have problems, we will have bad feelings because we will have no one to confide in.

Another sentence type that illustrates the prominence function of the sentence-final position is one in which the nuclear position is expounded by a string of conjoined independent clauses. (This sentence type also forms paragraph peaks.) Conjoined clauses share the same participant referent, which is identified either in a prenuclear clause of the sentence or in the sentence immediately preceding. The referent can be a focused or non-focused element; there are no focus constraints. When the nuclear position of a sentence occurs sentence finally and is expounded by a string of conjoined clauses, then the last clause in the string has the greatest prominence. If a dependent reason clause is also given in the sentence, it occurs in the prenuclear position.

A string of conjoined clauses in the nuclear position of a sentence demonstrates the prominence function of the sentence-final position in three ways: (1) it orders the content of the final clause so that a result is placed in the sentence-final position; (2) it orders new and old information so that new information is placed in the sentence-final position; and (3) if the clauses contain more than one result, then the clauses are ordered so that the result with the most serious consequences is placed in the sentence-final position. These points are expanded in the following paragraphs.

(1) Conjoined clauses expounding a nuclear position present results. Since postnuclear clauses are usually preposed in such a case, this places the results contained in the string in the sentence-final position. The results are ordered in a sequence with each succeeding result being a further and usually longer-range development of the condition or situation under discussion. The grammatical conjunction *ya* 'and' which connects the clauses usually joins elements that are equally related; however, at times there is a covert relationship of dependence between the conjoined result clauses. Since a succeeding clause is usually a later result or an additional result of the immediately preceding result, the two clauses are loosely related as cause and effect. The first result acts as a cause for the second one. The only exception to this ordering is when the first clause in the conjoined string presents information that acts as the basis for the result stated in the succeeding clause. In this case, the first clause does not contain a result (see 17.6 below).

The relationship between conjoined clauses is most easily seen in event-oriented results, examples of which are presented in 11.3 and 17.6. In 11.3 the nuclear position of the sentence is expounded by two clauses connected by the conjunction *ya* 'and'. The first clause tells how a person can drive away a *luum* snake that has found its way into a house by placing oil on the snake's body. The second clause states the effect of applying oil to the snake's body: the snake will leave the house.

## 11.3

prenuclear.clause

*Nu umali uroge luum atte boroyda ya*  
if come snake:LK snake.type O,S house:II,3,PL and

*ilande sa kuwade aggasang,*  
see:II,3,PL:LK T,S own:II,3,PL:LK spirit.that.causes.sickness

nuclear.clause 1

nuclear.clause 2

*lanaonda de long-agna ya ummayaw de sadi ye urog.*  
oil:II,3,PL N,S body:II,3,S and leave N,S D3 LK snake

If a *luum* snake comes into their house and they [the people to whom the *aggasang* belongs] see that it is their *aggasang*, they will oil its body and the snake will leave.

In 17.6 the nuclear position is manifested by a string of three conjoined clauses which are connected by *ya* 'and'. The second and third clauses are results of the clauses that immediately precede them. In the first conjoined clause the speaker notes that in marriage a woman must first leave her parents. The consequence of this action, which is stated in the second clause, is that she can then join together with her husband. The third clause presents the result of her union with her husband: the married couple becomes one flesh.

## 17.6

nuclear.clause 1

*Tenana de inana kan amana ya*  
leave:II,3,S N,S mother:II,3,S and father:II,3,S and

nuclear.clause 2

nuclear.clause 3

*niitipun atte asawane laraki ya nambalindak*  
join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK man and become:I,3,PL:SM

*os-ossaane bungru, os-ossaane long-ag.*

one:LK body one:LK body

She leaves her mother and father and lives together with her husband and they become one body.

This same cause-effect principle orders conjoined clauses that are non-events. This can be seen in 8.28, where the nuclear position is also expounded by three conjoined clauses. The first clause is a verbal clause; the second and third clauses are existential clauses. The first clause states the results of living by the standards advocated by the speaker: a person will live a righteous life. The second clause presents another effect of living by these standards: the person will not be talked about behind his back. The third clause states still another consequence: the person will not be despised by others. He will not be despised because he is following the standards and not doing those things that will cause him to be talked about.

8.28

(*Sana de in-inon ni turun kumangaane ibarun da matagu*  
D1 N,S way G,S three:LK standard:LK improve:LK G,PL live

nuclear.clause 1

*te nu sa tagu we angikataguttena,) manggogodonge*  
because if T,S person LK live.by.means.of:O,S:D1 straight:LK

nuclear.clause 2

*matagu ya niippun muugudanatta kasintataguna ya*  
live and none:MOD talk:II,3,S,O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S and

nuclear.clause 3

*niippun masamkuyana.*

none:MOD despise:II,3,S

(This is how the three standards will improve the lives of people, because if a person lives this [way],) he will live righteously and he will never be talked about by his fellow man and he will never be despised.

(2) Conjoined clauses are also ordered in terms of old and new information. If the clauses contain both old information and new information, then the clause containing new information occurs in the sentence-final position.

Returning to the previous examples, the conjoined clauses in 11.3 both contain new information; consequently, no distinction can be made between new and old information. In 17.6, however, the first two clauses in the conjoined string contain old information, but the third clause contains new information. It should be noted that the new information occurs in the sentence-final position, and this gives it prominence within the sentence. The conjoined clauses in 8.28 all contain old information, and so again no distinction can be made between old and new information.

(3) At times a third principle also affects the order of conjoined clauses. If one of the results has more serious implications than the others, then that result occurs in the sentence-final position. In 8.28 the conjoined clauses in the nuclear position present three results. Of the three, the one with the most serious consequences is the last: a person will be despised by others. Generally speaking, in expository discourse negative consequences carry more persuasive force than positive consequences, and negative consequences that are tied to emotive cultural values are more powerful than those that are not associated with such values. A hearer who might not be moved to follow the standards advocated by the speaker in order to live an honourable life, might find himself following them in

order to avoid being talked about. Even more serious than being talked about, however, is the consequence of being despised, because being despised is connected with the highly emotive cultural values of shame and honour.

In 8.5 the nuclear position is manifested by two conjoined clauses which both state positive results: if a person lives by the standards advocated, then he will live righteously and he will be respected by others. In this example, what others think about one probably carries more persuasive weight than a personal desire for an honourable life, especially in a small face-to-face society like Lubo where neighbours and kin can exert considerable pressure on an individual by censuring his behaviour.

8.5

*(Sadi in-inon ni tagu we anggodonge matagu ta*  
 D3 way G,S person LK straight:LK live so.that  
*nu ngai tagu we ikatagunatte mataguwana*  
 if INT person LK live.by.means.of:II,3,S:O,S lifetime:II,3,S  
*denne turun kakumangaane sa awad pay paniyawna,*  
 N,S:D1:LK three:LK standard:LK T,S there.is EMPH taboo:II,3,S

nuclear.clause 1

*anna ngilinna, anna biinna,) mangogdonge matagutte*  
 D1 taboo:II,3,S D1 respect:II,3,S straight:LK live:O,S

nuclear.clause 2

*mataguwana ya mabiinan da kasintataguna.*  
 lifetime:II,3,S and respected G,PL fellow.man:II,3,S

(That is how a person will live a righteous life because whoever lives by these three standards his whole life, namely, if he has *paniyaw*, if he has *ngilin*, if he has *biin*,) he will live righteously his whole life and will be respected by his fellow man.

This principle of the most persuasive result occurring in the sentence-final position also operates when the conjoined constituents are sentences, rather than clauses. Sentence 12.5 is composed of two sentences joined by *ya* 'and'. The nuclear clauses of both sentences contain results. In the first sentence, the result is that a young couple might be a financial burden to their parents. In the second, the result is that the young couple might cause their parents to be shamed in the eyes of the community. Young married couples have probably been a financial burden to their parents since the beginning of time and so, while the result is meant to be a warning, it is not all that serious. On the other hand, to cause one's parents to be publicly humiliated and dishonoured by a foolish act is a very serious consequence and one to be avoided at all costs. This last consequence is placed in the sentence-final position for greater prominence.

12.5

sentence 1

prenuclear.clause 1a

*Inta kos ilan da amata ka inata*  
 go:II,1,DL whenever:also see N,PL father:II,1,DL and mother:II,1,DL

pre-nuclear.clause 1b  
*onnu umanakta kad ya ummalitatte ilita*  
 or have.children:I,1,DL whenever and come:I,1,DL:O,S place:II,1,DL

nuclear.clause 1  
*umoy an-angoy, ummoytos insopsop dida ya*  
 go visit go:II,1,DL:also be.financial.burden III,3,PL and

sentence 2

pre-nuclear.clause 2 nuclear.clause 2  
*miid kad in pugikonda kan dita, nampabiinan*  
 none whenever CERT crush.in.hand:II,3,PL O III,1,DL shame

*os da ama.*  
 also G,PL father

When we go to see our mothers and fathers or when we have children and we come to our village to visit [our parents], we will become a financial burden to them and if they have nothing to butcher for us, they [the parents of the married couple] will be put to shame.

Finally, it should be noted that the sentence-final position in any sentence can be expounded by clauses that have other features indicating prominence. For example, a clause in a sentence-final position can be expounded by a rhetorical question or a marked non-actor-focus construction (discussed in Appendix D section 10). Both of these constructions exert a rhetorical force of their own that operates independently of the prominence function associated with the sentence-final position. The repetitive structure of a string of conjoined clauses is also a prominence feature. When prominence features cluster together, they highlight a sentence and single it out as more important than other sentences in the paragraph. Then, within that sentence, these features single out one or two pieces of information as more important than the rest of the information contained in the sentence. Clusters of prominence features such as these occur most frequently in peaks of paragraphs. This is not surprising since peaks are prominent grammatical and semantic features.

Clusters of prominence features can be seen in 8.28 above, the first sentence in a non-initial paragraph. It presents both the lower-level theme proposition of the paragraph and its result, which forms the peak of the paragraph; consequently, it is the most important sentence in the paragraph. Its importance is highlighted by the momentum built up by the presentation of three results, each more persuasive than the last, in the conjoined clauses that expound the sentence-final position. Within the sentence, the results are the most important pieces of information, and among the results the most persuasive one of all is placed in the sentence-final position.

Sentence 9.34 is the last sentence in the paragraph that states that a leader is hardworking. It presents a reason in the post-nuclear clause. The reason supports the theme of the paragraph which is restated in the nuclear clause. The importance of the sentence as a paragraph peak is highlighted by the fact that the reason is expressed in a rhetorical question which occurs in the sentence-final position.

9.34

nuclear.clause post-nuclear.clause  
*Tur-ayanos de pawot te ngos ni*  
 excel:II,3,S:also N,S industriousness because INT:also G,S

*ipakannatta mangiliyona nu adina tur-ayan de pawot?*  
 feed:II,3,S:O,PL have.visitors:II,3,S if not:II,3,S excel N,S industriousness  
 He excels in industriousness because what will he feed his visitors if he does not excel in hard work?

### 3.5 WAYS OF BEGINNING PARAGRAPHS

Paragraphs begin in different ways depending on whether they are initial or non-initial paragraphs of a discourse. In general, any sentence type that begins a discourse-initial paragraph can also begin a non-initial paragraph; however, non-initial paragraphs begin with a wider variety of sentence types than those paragraphs that open a discourse. Also, sentences that state partial theme propositions, and sentences that justify the speech event, occur only in the discourse-initial paragraph.

The first or second sentence of a discourse-initial paragraph usually gives a partial or full statement of the global theme proposition. If the global theme proposition does not come first, the first sentence must be a lead-in sentence in which the speaker justifies the speech event. If the theme is presented in the first sentence, then a justification statement can come immediately after it or at the end of the paragraph. Statements that justify the speech event are optional.

There are several kinds of justifications which a speaker gives for a speech event. A speaker can justify a speech event on the basis of real-world events, past or non-past. For example, in the text that explains the meaning of the *tur-uk* thunder, the speaker starts the discourse by saying 'There was a *tur-uk* thunder yesterday'. The event justifies the speaker explaining to an outsider about the *tur-uk* thunder, and sets the stage for the theme which is stated in the next sentence.

When the speaker decides that someone does not adequately understand an issue or acts inappropriately, he takes the other person's apparent lack of understanding or misbehaviour as justification for a speech event. In one text, the speaker starts by saying that he is going to talk about the meaning of marriage. In the second sentence, he points out that most people do not know anything about Christian marriage. He uses this lack of understanding on the part of others to justify his speech. These statements are shown in 17.1 and 17.2.

17.1

*Sa anne ugudok, miipuum atte asawa.*  
 T,S D1:LK talk:II,1,S concern O,S marriage  
 This which I will discuss, it concerns marriage.

17.2

*Da kaaduwane tagu, ippun igammuda nu ngi*  
 T,PL majority:LK person none:MOD know:II,3,PL LK INT:G,S  
*nakristiyanuwane asawa.*  
 Christian:LK spouse/marriage  
 The majority of people, they do not know anything about Christian marriage.

If the speaker believes that what he has to say will benefit the hearer, then he uses that motivation as the justification for the speech event. For example, in 8.6 the speaker says he is explaining about the qualities of righteous living because if those listening live in accordance with the three qualities, their lives will be the better for it.

## 8.6

*Sa angur-ullitak attenna de awag gad angngor,*  
 T,S tell.story:II,1,S O,S:D1 N,S there.is whenever hear

*ibaruna otyatte mataguwana ta.oni.pay manggodonge matagu.*  
 improve:II,3,S OPT:O,S lifetime:II,3,S so.that straight:LK live

The reason I am telling you this is so that whoever listens will be able to improve his life by these standards so that he will live righteously.

These statements of justification are examples of one of Grice's conversational maxims: be relevant. Brown and Yule (1983) quote Grice's suggestion, in his theory of conversational implicatures, that speech events are governed by a general conversational principle which he calls 'the cooperative principle'. Grice (Brown & Yule 1983:31) defines the cooperative principle:

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

Brown and Yule (pp.31-32) quote Grice's four maxims<sup>12</sup> that support this principle, one of which is the relation maxim, which states that a speaker should be relevant. A justification statement is one way in which a speaker indicates the relevance of what he is saying.

The initial paragraph of a discourse usually presents the global theme proposition as (1) a partial statement; (2) a full statement; or (3) as both a partial and a full statement. Of the seven texts, two present only partial global theme statements, two present only full global theme statements, and three present both partial and full global theme statements.

(1) In each discourse-initial paragraph that contains a partial statement of the global theme, the partial statement is given in the nuclear clause of the first sentence. It consists only of the main argument of the global theme proposition. In 11.1 the partial statement of the global theme proposition, the *aggasang* spirits, is presented. As noted earlier, an *aggasang* spirit is a spirit that can make a person ill. The illness is fatal unless a certain ritual is performed to cure the person. What follows the partial global theme statement is a series of paragraphs, each of which discusses a particular type of *aggasang* spirit, noting the symptoms of the physical illness that it causes and the prescribed cure. The text then is basically a list of spirit types. If a full global theme proposition had been given, one might expect a statement like 'There are many kinds of *aggasang* spirits' or 'An illness caused by an *aggasang* spirit can kill a person'.

## 11.1

fronted.noun.phrase    nuclear.clause  
*Sa anne ugudok, sa aggasang.*  
 T,S D1:LK talk:II,1,S T,S spirit.type

This which I am going to talk about, it is the *aggasang* spirit.

In 9.1 the partial global theme of the discourse is stated as 'Here is how people who lived long ago recognised their leader'. The theme statement is slightly misleading in that what follows in the text is

<sup>12</sup>Grice presents four maxims that support the cooperative principle: quantity, quality, relation and manner (Brown & Yule 1983:31-32). The quantity maxim states that a speaker should make his contribution as informative as required, saying neither more nor less than is necessary for the hearer to understand what the speaker is talking about. The quality maxim states that a speaker should say only what is true and should avoid making statements for which he lacks evidence. The relation maxim states that a speaker should be relevant. The manner maxim states that a speaker should make his statements in a clear, brief and orderly manner.



actually a list of the ways in which a man became a leader in the old days. So the global theme is not really concerned with the ways in which people recognised a man with leadership abilities. Instead it is concerned with the things a man did to gain recognition as a leader. Again if a full global theme proposition had been given, the theme statement might have said 'In the old days, there were a number of ways a man earned a position of leadership'.

## 9.1

*Annaya in-inon da tagutte awi ye anginap atte pangatda.*  
 here.is way G,PL person:O,S long.ago LK look.for O,S leader:II,3,PL  
 Here is how people who lived long ago recognised their leader.

In the preceding two examples, it seems that the mere mention of the *aggasang* spirit, and the oblique reference to leadership in the old days, are sufficient as theme statements to give the texts a sense of being coherent whole discourses, despite the absence of full global theme propositions. This could be explained as an example of Grice's principle of cooperation. The hearer knows that texts usually state full global theme propositions. He also knows what a full theme proposition would sound like if it did occur. For these texts then, the hearer simply reconstructs the missing global theme proposition as the speaker talks.

(2) When a discourse-initial paragraph contains a full statement of the global theme, the full statement is given in the first or second sentence of the paragraph. It consists of the whole theme proposition: the predicate and its arguments. These theme propositions are presented in 13.2 and 12.1.

## 13.2

*Sana bordak ni tawon de sane tur-uk.*  
 D1 boundary G,S year N,S D1:LK first.thunder  
 The thing that is the dividing point of the year is this *tur-uk* thunder.

## 12.1

*Sa awi kan da dadakkore antuttudu we "Adita pun mam pagay anagin-ili te buwatna".*  
 T,S long.ago say G,PL elder:LK advise LK not:I,1,DL MOD  
 CERT EMPH marry.outsider because inappropriate:II,3,S  
 Long ago the old folk gave advice saying, "We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate".

(3) When a discourse-initial paragraph contains both a partial statement and a full statement of the global theme, the partial theme is given first and the full theme is given second, as a kind of amplification of the partial statement. Examples of these are shown in 8.1 - 8.2, and 10.1 - 10.2.

## 8.1

*Annaya de kuur-ullitan ni in-inon ni tagu we manggodonge matagu.*  
 here.is N,S story G,S way G,S person LK straight:LK live  
 Here is the story of how a person can live righteously.

## 8.2

*Annaya de turun kumangaane anggonggongngan da matagu*  
 here.is N,S three:LK standard:LK straight G,PL live

*sa paniyaw, sa ngilin, sa biin.*  
 T,S taboo T,S taboo T,S respect

Here are the three standards of righteousness for those living: *paniyaw*, *ngilin* and *biin*.

## 10.1

*Sa anna gose miibagak, mipuun atte anak.*

T,S D1 also:LK tell:II,1,S concerned O,S child

This which I am going to talk about, it concerns the child.

## 10.2

*Sa anak, sana de mantipunan ni layad da duwe man-asawa.*

T,S child D1 N,S join G,S love G,PL two:LK spouse/marriage

A child, this is the union of the love of the two who are married.

Before discussing the kinds of sentences that present theme propositions, a comment should be made concerning the classification of those sentence types. Unfortunately, the sentence types that present theme propositions do not fall into a clear-cut system of classification. In looking at the different sentences that present theme propositions, one notices that many of the sentences occur with preposed noun phrases. These preposed noun phrases are usually fronted noun phrases, but occasionally they are also left-dislocated noun phrases. On the other hand, while preposed noun phrases occur with many sentence types, not every sentence type is eligible for presenting a theme proposition. Furthermore, some sentence types that present theme propositions rarely occur with preposed noun phrases. The question then is: what are the features that distinguish the kinds of sentences that present theme propositions?

For this discussion of sentences that present global and lower-level theme propositions, the sentences have been grouped into four basic types. Three of the sentence types are cleft sentences, pseudo-cleft sentences, and equational sentences that are introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. Although cleft sentences and pseudo-cleft sentences can occur with fronted noun phrases, they rarely do so in the texts. The other sentence type is a more general designation. It includes sentences that occur with preposed noun phrases, particularly fronted noun phrases. The nuclei of these sentences are expounded by a fairly wide range of sentence and clause types. They include a non-verbal sentence that consists of a single constituent, a verbal clause, an existential sentence and an expository sentence. In the paragraphs that follow, these sentence types are described in terms of the kinds of theme propositions, global or lower-level, that they present.

Figure 2 shows each of the sentence types and the theme propositions that they present. Partial global theme propositions are stated in cleft sentences and sentences with preposed noun phrases. Full global theme propositions are stated in cleft sentences, sentences with preposed noun phrases, and pseudo-cleft sentences. Lower-level theme propositions are presented only as full propositions. They are stated in all four sentence types: cleft sentences, sentences with preposed noun phrases, pseudo-cleft sentences, and equational sentences introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*.

Sentence Type	Theme Proposition		
	Global		Lower-level
	partial	full	full
cleft sentence	+	+	+
sentence with preposed noun phrase	+	+	+
pseudo-cleft sentence	-	+	+
equational sentence introduced by <i>sa</i>	-	-	+

FIGURE 2: SENTENCE TYPES THAT PRESENT THEME PROPOSITIONS

For discussion purposes, global themes are grouped into two categories: those that present partial propositions, and those that present full propositions. At this time, there is not enough data to determine whether there are any restrictions on each kind; while one sentence type may present only a partial theme or a full theme, other sentence types present both.

Partial global theme propositions can be presented in two ways. They can be stated in a cleft sentence or in a sentence with a preposed noun phrase introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. This preposed noun phrase is usually a fronted noun phrase, but there is one example in which the preposed noun phrase is a left-dislocated noun phrase, (see the discussion of 10.2 below).

When a partial global theme proposition is stated in a cleft sentence, the sentence begins with the cataphoric reference pronoun *annaya* 'here is'. The cataphoric pronoun points forward to what the speaker is going to say about the theme. The pronoun acts as an independent nominal and is followed by another nominal that states the partial global theme.<sup>13</sup> Sentences 8.1 and 9.1 are cleft

<sup>13</sup> In this kind of cleft construction, the sentence begins with the cataphoric pronoun *annaya* 'here is' which acts as an independent nominal. It is followed by a nominalised verbal clause, or a nominative noun phrase which includes a genitive noun phrase. Either of these constructions can be introduced by the optional focus marker *de*. Sentences 8.18 and 8.2 illustrate the cleft construction. Both sentences begin with the cataphoric pronoun *annaya* 'here is'. In 8.18 the second nominal is expounded by a nominalised verbal clause introduced by the marker *de*. In 8.2 the second nominal is manifested by a nominative noun phrase, which includes a genitive noun phrase, and is also introduced by the marker *de*.

8.18

nominal 1    nominal 2  
*Annayos de itton ni anne ngilin.*  
 here.is:also N,S give G,S D1:LK taboo  
 Here is what this taboo does for you.  
 [Literally: Here is what this taboo gives.]

sentences that present partial global themes. Each sentence begins with the cataphoric reference pronoun *annaya* 'here is'. The second half of each sentence is expounded by a nominal that states the partial theme.

## 8.1

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Annaya de kuur-ullitan ni in-inon ni tagu we manggodonge matagu.*  
 here.is N,S story G,S way G,S person LK straight.LK live  
 Here is the story of how a person can live righteously.

## 9.1

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Annaya in-inon da tagutte awi ye anginap atte pangatda.*  
 here.is way G,PL person:O,S long.ago LK look.for O,S leader:II,3,PL  
 Here is how people who lived long ago recognised their leader.

When a partial global theme proposition is presented in the first sentence of a text, and that sentence begins with a preposed noun phrase introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*, the preposed noun phrase is always a fronted noun phrase. In the fronted noun phrase, the speaker states that he intends to talk about something. In the nuclear clause which follows, the speaker states what he intends to talk about. The topic stated in the nuclear clause is the partial global theme proposition.<sup>14</sup> Sentences 17.1 and 11.1 both begin with a fronted noun phrase. The nuclear clause of 17.1 is expounded by a verbal clause. The nuclear clause of 11.1 is expounded by a single constituent that acts as a free-standing nominal.

## 17.1

fronted.noun.phrase nuclear.clause  
*Sa anne ugudok, miipunun atte asawa.*  
 T,S D1:LK talk:II,1,S concern O,S marriage  
 This which I will discuss, it concerns marriage.

## 11.1

fronted.noun.phrase nuclear.clause  
*Sa anne ugudok, sa aggasang.*  
 T,S D1:LK talk:II,1,S T,S aggasang.spirit  
 This which I will discuss, it is the aggasang spirit.

It is interesting to note that when a committee of Lubo men edited seven expository texts for good style and accurate content, a sentence with a fronted noun phrase introduced by *sa* and a nuclear

## 8.2

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Annaya de turun kumangaane anggongongngan da matagu*  
 here.is N,S three:LK standard:LK straight G,PL live  
*sa paniyaw, sa ngilin, sa biin.*  
 T,S taboo T,S taboo T,S respect

Here are the three standards of righteousness for those living: *paniyaw*, *ngilin* and *biin*.

<sup>14</sup>A sentence with a fronted noun phrase introduced by the topic proclitic *sa* is not uncommon in expository discourse. When, however, this type of sentence states a partial global theme proposition, the fronted noun phrase always states that the speaker intends to discuss something. No other type of information occurs in the fronted noun phrase. In such a sentence if the nuclear clause is expounded by a non-verbal clause that consists of a single nominal, the nominal is also introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*.

clause stating a partial global theme was added to the three texts that lacked global theme statements at the beginning of the texts.

Full global theme propositions can be presented in three ways: (1) in a cleft sentence, (2) in a sentence with preposed noun phrases, and (3) in a pseudo-cleft sentence.

(1) Full global themes, like partial global themes, can be stated in cleft sentences with the cataphoric reference pronoun *annaya* 'here is'. Again the reference pronoun acts as an independent nominal and is followed by another nominal that states the full global theme proposition. Sentence 8.2 illustrates this; the first half is expounded by the cataphoric pronoun *annaya* 'here is' and the second half is expounded by a noun phrase that states the full global theme, which could be freely translated as 'the three standards of righteous living which are *paniyaw*, *ngilin* and *biin*'.

## 8.2

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Annaya de turun kumangaane anggonggongan da matagu*  
 here.is N,S three:LK standard:LK straight G,PL live

*sa paniyaw, sa ngilin, sa biin.*

T,S taboo T,S taboo T,S respect

Here are the three standards of righteousness for those living: *paniyaw*, *ngilin* and *biin*.

Sentence 10.1 presents a partial theme proposition which introduces the main argument of the proposition: *anak* 'a child'. The full theme proposition is presented in 10.2. Here the main argument of the proposition, *anak*, occurs as a left-dislocated noun phrase. The nuclear clause is filled by a cleft sentence. The anaphoric pronoun *sana* 'this', which expounds the first half of the sentence, replaces the dislocated noun phrase. A nominative noun phrase (which includes a genitive noun phrase) introduced by the marker *de* expounds the second half of the sentence. It states the predicate of the global theme in a nominalised form: 'the union of the love of two people who are married'. The full global theme proposition then is: a child is the union of the love of two who are married. Normally a left-dislocated noun phrase identifies a participant rather than a theme argument. In this text, however, the main participant and the main argument of the theme proposition are one and the same, and so the theme is eligible for introduction and identification as a participant.

## 10.1

*Sa anna gose miibagak, mipuun atte anak.*

T,S D1 also:LK tell:II,1,S concerned O,S child

This which I am going to talk about, it concerns the child.

## 10.2

left-dis.noun.phrase nuclear.clause

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sa anak, sana de mantipunan ni layad da duwe man-asawa.*

T,S child D1 N,S join G,S love G,PL two:LK spouse/marriage

A child, this is the union of the love of the two who are married.

(2) Full global themes, like partial themes, can also be stated in sentences that occur with preposed noun phrases. Sentence 12.1 occurs with a fronted noun phrase introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. The noun phrase *sa awi* 'long ago' gives a general time setting. The nuclear clause is expounded by a

verbal quote. The quote itself presents the full global theme proposition: ‘We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate’.

## 12.1

fronted.noun.phrase nuclear.clause

*Sa awi kan da dadakkore antuttudu we “Adita pun*  
T,S long.ago say G,PL elder:LK advise LK not:I,1,DL MOD

*mam pagay anagin-ili te buwatna”.*

CERT EMPH marry.outsider because inappropriate:II,3,S

Long ago the old folk gave advice saying, “We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate”.

Sentence 17.3 is an expository sentence that occurs with two preposed noun phrases. It is actually the first sentence of the second paragraph in the text and begins with a fronted noun phrase introduced by *sa*.<sup>15</sup> The noun phrase restates the partial theme ‘marriage’ which is mentioned in the first sentence of the text. It is followed by a left-dislocated noun phrase which is introduced by *da* (the plural of the topic proclitic *sa*) which identifies the main participants: ‘two people who are different who are a man and a woman’. The expository sentence expounds the nuclear position of the sentence. It presents the full global theme proposition: marriage is when two people who are different who are a man and a woman live together.

## 17.3

fronted.noun.phrase left-dis.noun.phrase

*Sa asawa, da duwe tagu we antokone laraki*  
T,S spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person LK different:LK man

nuclear.position

prenuclear.clause

nuclear.clause

*ya bobai antipunda kad ya nang-amungda, sadi kanande ‘asawa’.*

and woman join:I,3,PL when and join:I,3,PL D3 say:II,3,PL spouse/marriage

In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman when they live together, that is what they call ‘marriage’.

(3) Full global themes can also be presented in pseudo-cleft sentences. A pseudo-cleft sentence (described in section 4.4) is an equational sentence that consists of two nominals. In 13.2 the first half of the sentence is expounded by a nominal that is introduced by an anaphoric reference pronoun, *sana* ‘this’. The second half of the sentence is expounded by another nominal introduced by the nominal focus marker *de*. In the texts a full global theme is presented in a pseudo-cleft sentence only if a partial global theme has already been stated: the first half presents new information, the second half restates information given earlier in the text. For example, the second half of 13.2 mentions the *tur-uk* thunder which has already been presented in a verbal form, *nanur-uk* ‘it thundered’, in a preceding sentence. Together the information in the two halves of the sentence forms a full theme proposition.

<sup>15</sup>This sentence is noteworthy since there are no examples of an expository sentence presenting a global theme proposition in a discourse-initial paragraph. It may be that expository sentences cannot occur at all in the initial paragraph of a text, although they occur frequently in non-initial paragraphs and can even present a global theme proposition if that theme is stated in the second paragraph of the text.

## 13.2

pronoun nominal 1                          nominal 2  
*Sana bordak ni tawon de sane tur-uk.*  
 D1        boundary G,S year    N,S D1:LK first.thunder  
 The thing that is the dividing point of the year is this *tur-uk* thunder.

Lower-level theme propositions are presented in a slightly wider variety of sentence types than are global theme propositions. They can be presented in the same sentence types that are used to present global themes (cleft sentences, sentences that have preposed noun phrases and pseudo-cleft sentences) and also in equational sentences that are introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. Since a justification statement occurs only in the initial paragraph of a discourse, the lower-level theme proposition is always presented in the first sentence of a non-initial paragraph. Lower-level themes are always stated as full propositions. Partial theme statements are given only for global theme propositions.

A few points should be made concerning differences in those sentence types that state both global and lower-level theme propositions. When a lower-level theme proposition is presented in a cleft sentence, the sentence can begin with the anaphoric pronouns *sana* 'this' and *sadi* 'that' as well as with the cataphoric pronoun *annaya* 'here is'. Cleft sentences with anaphoric pronouns occur most often in non-initial paragraphs that summarise global theme propositions. The anaphoric pronoun refers to all that has been said previously about the theme as in 'That is another way in which a man gains his leadership', meaning 'That which I have just explained is another way in which a man gains his leadership', or as in 'That is the making of the peace pact', meaning 'That – everything I have spoken about – explains the making of the peace pact'.

Sentence 9.55 is a cleft sentence that states the lower-level theme of the last paragraph of the text. It begins with the anaphoric pronoun *sana* 'this' which acts as a free-standing nominal and is followed by a second nominal that states the lower-level theme proposition in full.

## 9.55

nominal 1    nominal 2  
*Sana        de in-inon da    nampangat atte dandani de*  
 D1         N,S way        G,PL lead            O,S old.days N,S  
*ikataguda                          ampay de    sadi ye    turu: biin,    paniyaw, kan ngilin.*  
 live.by.means.of:II,3,PL EMPH N,S D3 LK three respect taboo        and taboo  
 This is how they became leaders in the past – by living in accordance with the three [standards]:  
*biin, paniyaw and ngilin.*

When a lower-level theme is presented in a sentence that has a preposed noun phrase, the nucleus of the sentence is filled by a greater number of sentence and clause types than occur in such sentences that present global themes. When the preposed-noun-phrase sentence presents a global theme proposition, the nucleus of the sentence is expounded by a single constituent acting as a free-standing nominal, a verbal clause or an expository sentence. When this sentence type presents a lower-level theme, the nucleus of the sentence can be expounded by an existential sentence in addition to the other constructions.

In general, an existential sentence begins with the verb *awad* 'to exist', freely translated as 'there is'. This verb can be followed by any nominal. An existential sentence is used in expository discourse mainly to identify participants and is quite rare (two occurrences only). In 9.4 the preposed

noun phrase is a fronted noun phrase that states a general location. The existential sentence states the lower-level theme which describes the character of a leader. It is appropriate that this theme is presented in an existential sentence since it is a sentence type that normally identifies and describes participants.

## 9.4

fronted.noun.phrase    nuclear.clause  
     nominal 1    nominal 2  
*Da sindumogwat, awad    de ossaane ikabban-ogna*  
 T,PL age.group        there.is    N,S one:LK childhood:II,3,S

*igammuwon de sadi ye kanak.*  
 know            N,S D3    LK say:II,1,S

In the age groups, there is one who from his childhood lives according to what I said earlier.

It should also be noted that in sentences with preposed noun phrases, a fronted noun phrase introduced by the topic proclitic *sa* can be replaced by the dependent clause *dukrag kad* ‘when it comes to’. This is a rare occurrence (one example). The dependent clause *dukrag kad* is a member of a limited set of prenuclear constituents marked by *kad* that can signal a change in lower-level themes. Although these dependent clauses share the same structure as indefinite time clauses, which are also marked by *kad*, they do not perform the same function. Indefinite time clauses act as settings for typical situations; however, the restricted set of dependent clauses, which include *dukrag kad*, introduces new lower-level themes or presents results. The clause *dukrag kad* indicates a change in theme propositions; consequently, it can replace those fronted noun phrases that introduce new themes. (See section 7.1.2 for a discussion of the restricted set of dependent clauses.)

Sentence 9.30 begins a paragraph with the dependent clause *dukrag kad* ‘when it comes to’. The dependent clause marked by *kad* introduces a new lower-level theme: *kinapawot* ‘industriousness’. (*Kad* occurs in the sentence as *kos* which is a contracted form of *kad + os*.) The *kad* clause signals the beginning of a new paragraph. The theme proposition, ‘he was really industrious’, is expressed by a single adjective, *mampawot*, which expounds the nuclear clause of the sentence. It is of interest that although the sentence is not an expository sentence in that the prenuclear clause does not give a condition or typical situation and the nuclear clause does not give a result, it does employ the syntactic structure of an expository sentence, in that it is composed of a prenuclear clause marked by the relator *kad* followed by a nuclear clause.

## 9.30

pre-nuclear.clause                                    nuclear.clause  
*Dukrag kos        atte kinapawot,        mampawot o.*  
 arrive when:also O,S    industriousness    industrious    also  
 When it comes to hard work, he [the leader] is really industrious.

Pseudo-cleft sentences that present lower-level theme propositions are different from those that present global propositions. Though both are equational sentences in which each half of the sentence is expounded by a nominal, those that present lower-level theme propositions have the first half of the sentence introduced by the topic proclitic *sa* instead of a free-standing pronoun, as illustrated in 8.25.

Sentence 8.25 opens a new paragraph and presents a lower-level theme proposition about *biin* ‘shame’ or ‘respect’. It begins with a fronted noun phrase introduced by *sa*. The nuclear clause is expounded by a pseudo-cleft sentence in which the first half of the sentence begins with a





As noted elsewhere, in some texts there is one paragraph peak that forms not only the peak of its paragraph but the peak of the entire text (six out of seven texts). The difference between the two kinds of peaks is that a discourse peak states a result that supports the global theme as well as the lower-level theme, while a paragraph peak states a result that supports only the lower-level theme. Any sentence type that can present a paragraph peak can also present a discourse peak.

Sentence 9.34 is a paragraph peak. The lower-level theme of the paragraph states that a leader must work hard, and this theme is repeated in the nuclear clause of 9.34. A reason that supports the lower-level theme is given in the postnuclear clause.

9.34

nuclear.clause		postnuclear.clause
<i>Tur-ayanos de pawot</i>		<i>te ngos ni</i>
excel:II,3,S:also N,S	industriousness	because INT:also G,S
<i>ipakannatta mangiliyona nu adina tur-ayan de pawot?</i>		
feed:II,3,S:O,PL	have.visitors:II,3,S	if not:II,3,S excel N,S
He excels in industriousness because what will he feed his visitors if he does not excel in hard work?		

Sentence 9.46 is the discourse peak of the same text. The global theme states that here is how a man became a leader in the old days. The lower-level theme of the paragraph in which 9.46 occurs states that when a leader reaches the age when he has grandchildren, he will advise people about how to live well. The lower-level theme is alluded to in the prenuclear clause. The result given in the nuclear clause and the reasons given in the postnuclear clauses relate not only to the lower-level theme of the paragraph, but also to the global theme of leadership. The man is now a recognised leader because he has proven his leadership ability over the years.

9.54

<i>Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dingngor</i>
later:LK DB not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear
<i>te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?</i>
because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader
Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

The second exception occurs in the last paragraph of a disguised hortatory text in which the underlying purpose is exhortation, but the surface form is expository. The paragraph opens with an expository sentence, 8.33, which begins with a prenuclear clause introduced by *nu* 'if' and is followed by a nuclear clause. Normally the prenuclear clause would contain a condition or typical situation, and the nuclear clause would contain a result or consequence of the condition or situation. In 8.33 the prenuclear clause presents a rather general setting: 'as you live'. The nuclear clause presents a prescription: 'it is necessary that you live by these three [standards]'. The prescription and the use of 'you' pronouns in addressing the hearer signal that the sentence is a persuasive climax. A sentence that looks like it ought to be a peak, given its surface structure, turns out not to be a peak, but a persuasive climax. Nor are there any other sentences in the paragraph that contain reasons or results that support the theme of the paragraph. So then, given the definition of a peak, the paragraph does not have one. What it has instead is a persuasive climax framed in an expository sentence which is a type of sentence that is often associated with peaks in expository texts. The sentence gives the appearance of being a paragraph peak when in fact it is a strong persuasive statement that is usually found in exhortations. This is another example of the skewing that results when the expository discourse structure is used to mitigate an exhortation.

8.33

	prenuclear.clause	nuclear.clause
	<i>(Wot) nu mataguka, masapur otyan pagay ye ikatagum</i>	
	so.then when live:I,2,S	need OPT EMPH LK live.by.means.of:II,2,S
	<i>atte mataguwam denne turu.</i>	
	O,S lifetime:II,2,S	N,S:D1:LK three
	(So then) as you live, it is necessary that you live by these three [standards].	

<sup>17</sup>The first paragraph of a discourse is the one most likely to lack a peak. This paragraph usually includes the global theme proposition and then sentences that provide a setting for the development of the theme. Consequently, it is not surprising that it occasionally lacks a peak since settings do not require reasons or results, which are the essential elements in peaks.

9.46

prenuclear.clause          nuclear.clause  
*Maapuwan          kad, asida          kane          “A, pangat”*  
 be.a.grandparent   when will:II,3,PL   say:LK   ah   leader

postnuclear.clause 1  
*tenne          miigammum pagay da   tagu de in-inone*  
 because:D1:LK   know:LK   EMPH G,PL   person N,S   way:LK  
*mangipangat atta   losane mipangatan ni   bumaruwan ni   ili*  
 lead          O,PL all:LK   lead          G,S   benefit          G,S   place

postnuclear.clause 2  
*te          adipun   makwe          mampangat nu abus ak   pangatana boryanna.*  
 because not:MOD   possible:LK   lead          if   only SM   lead:II,3,S   family:II,3,S  
 When he has grandchildren, they will say, “Ah, he’s a leader”, because people will know how he leads in all the things that require leading for the good of the community because he cannot possibly be a leader if he only leads his family.

There are five ways of presenting peaks in expository discourse. A peak can be stated as an expository sentence, a pseudo-cleft sentence, a string of conjoined verbal clauses, an equational reason sentence or as a complex sentence in which a dependent reason or result clause occurs in a postnuclear position. In this last type of peak, the nucleus of the sentence is expounded by a limited number of sentence and clause types. It is similar to an expository sentence except that this sentence type does not have a prenuclear clause acting as a condition or a typical situation which is typical of the expository sentence.

Expository sentences are the most common way of presenting paragraph peaks – nineteen out of the twenty-nine paragraph peaks in the data. As noted before, expository sentences perform two functions. They begin non-initial paragraphs by presenting a theme proposition, and they form peaks by presenting for the first time a result or a reason for the theme proposition of the paragraph or the text. In some non-initial paragraphs, an expository sentence performs both functions simultaneously. In these cases, the expository sentence is always the first sentence of the paragraph.

Expository sentences have been characterised as complex sentences that relate two or more propositions. The obligatory propositions are a condition or a typical situation, and a result or a response to that condition or situation. A reason clause is an optional third proposition. (See section 3.2 for a full discussion of the expository sentence.)

When an expository sentence forms a peak, there can be a skewing of the content of the clauses in the sentence. If an expository sentence occurs paragraph initially and presents only the theme, the prenuclear clause and the nuclear clause together form the theme proposition. If an expository sentence forms only the peak, however, the theme statement can be moved to a non-nuclear clause. When this happens, the theme is usually partially restated or alluded to in a prenuclear clause as a condition or a typical situation. Occasionally it is expressed as a dependent reason clause. A new piece of information is now presented in the nucleus of the expository sentence. It relates to the theme as a result. If an expository sentence performs a dual function and states both the theme and the peak, then the content of the clause is also skewed. When this happens, the theme is stated in the prenuclear clause, and a result related to that theme is stated in the nuclear clause. This skewing of the content places the result, which is the crucial information in a peak, sentence finally. As

mentioned elsewhere, the sentence-final position is a prominence position for results and reasons. The only exception to this is when a reason dependent clause occurs in the postnuclear position in an expository sentence. In this case, the reason in the postnuclear clause, rather than the result in the nuclear clause, occurs in the sentence-final position. Examples of expository sentences performing these various functions follow in this section.

Sentence 9.45 is an expository sentence that begins a paragraph and presents only the lower-level theme of the paragraph. (Another sentence in the paragraph forms the peak.) The prenuclear clauses present typical situations that act as settings; when the leader becomes an adult and when he is old enough to have grandchildren. The nuclear clause presents a response to the typical situations: then the leader will advise people how to live well. The prenuclear clauses and the nuclear clause together form the lower-level theme: when a leader reaches mature adulthood, he will advise people about life.

## 9.45

pre-nuclear clause 1	pre-nuclear clause 2
<i>Sana kad da madagdaggup, nu dumakore sadi ya naapuwan,</i>	
D1 when N,PL gather	if grow.up:LK D3 and become.grandparent

nuclear clause

*siyos koone upan antudtudu atte in-inon pagay da matagu.*

III,3,S:also do/make:LK HAB advise O,S way EMPH G,PL live

When this is all taken together, if he grows up in that way and has grandchildren, he will give advice about how to live.

Sentence 9.22 is another expository sentence that forms only the paragraph peak. The theme of the paragraph (stated in another sentence) is that a man who would be a leader must be brave. In 9.22 the theme of bravery is alluded to in the prenuclear clauses which mention actions performed in battle. The nuclear clause presents a result of the situation: when a man is brave in battle, that will be one of the times when he receives praise. In this sentence, the thematic information has been moved to the prenuclear clauses so that the result can be presented in the nuclear clause.

## 9.22

pre-nuclear clause 1	pre-nuclear clause 2
<i>Aniwat kad ya anorna, nu gasatne matagu,</i>	
behead whenever and first.to.shoot	if lucky:II,3,S:LK live

nuclear clause

*sadi ose midayawana (yakon asina de katti ye*

D3 one:LK be.praised:II,3,S but only:II,3,S N,S like.this LK

*sokarna iggatte saraknib ni ili).*

bravery:II,3,S put:O,S protection G,S place

When he takes a head or is the first one to hit someone, if he is lucky enough to live, that is one of the instances in which he will be praised (but he will show his bravery only in protecting the community).

Sentence 12.9 is an expository sentence that begins a paragraph. It states both the lower-level theme and the peak of the paragraph. The lower-level theme is given in the prenuclear clause, and the result that forms the peak is given in the nuclear clause.

## 12.9

prenuclear.clause  
*(Ya) miid kos maborbalinta e man-asawa ta*  
 and none when:also have.valuables:II,1,DL LK spouse/marriage and  
 nuclear.clause  
*miid koonta, samkuyta gos.*  
 none do/make:II,1,DL despite:II,1,DL also  
 (And) if we who are a married couple have no money and if we do not do what is required of us,  
 we will be despised as well.

Dependent reason clauses can occur in any expository sentence and can be either new or old information. A reason clause usually contains new information when the expository sentence is the first sentence of the paragraph. If the sentence does not occur paragraph initially, the reason clause is more likely to contain old information. It should be noted that when an expository sentence forms a peak, the result stated in the nucleus of the sentence is always new information even if the reason given in the dependent clause is old information.

Sentence 9.25 is a paragraph-initial sentence that presents a lower-level theme proposition for the paragraph and forms the peak. It states a reason which occurs in the postnuclear clause; the reason contains new information.

## 9.25

fronted.noun.phrase  
*Sa ose mangor-anos atte kinapangatna,*  
 T,S one:LK get:II,3,S:also O,S leadership:II,3,S  
 prenuclear.clause 1  
*ammangili kad atta mangilin ela da udum,*  
 have.visitors whenever O,PL visitor:LK HORT G,PL other  
 prenuclear.clause 2  
*awag gad mabalinnak iyas onnu manukna,*  
 there.is whenever possible:II,3,S:SM piglet or chicken:II,3,S  
 nuclear.clause postnuclear.clause  
*ayagana de mangili te ibiinna de ili.*  
 call:II,3,S N,S visitor because respect:II,3,S N,S place  
 As for another way of gaining his leadership, whenever he receives the visitors of others,  
 whenever he has the means such as a piglet or a chicken, he calls the visitor [to eat] because he  
 wants to show respect on behalf of the community.

Occasionally a conjoined expository sentence forms a paragraph peak. In this case, the sentence consists of two expository sentences joined by the conjunction *ya* 'and'. The prenuclear and nuclear clauses of the first sentence present a theme proposition. The prenuclear clause of the second sentence restates the theme, and the nuclear clause of the second sentence presents a result for that theme. Although *ya* is a coordinate conjunction, the second sentence in the conjoined construction is subordinate to the first sentence because the result given in the second sentence is always dependent upon what is stated in the first sentence.

In a conjoined expository sentence, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish whether the response or result stated in the nuclear clause of the first expository sentence forms part of the theme or the peak. In any case, the result stated in the second expository sentence is always a more serious consequence than the one stated in the first sentence, and so clearly forms the peak. The only debatable point is whether the peak is formed by one or two results in the conjoined construction. It is not a crucial distinction, however, since only one result is necessary for forming a peak. Sentences 12.5 and 9.38 are examples of conjoined expository sentences that form paragraph peaks.

Sentence 12.5 is a paragraph-initial sentence that presents the lower-level theme proposition of the paragraph and forms the paragraph peak. The prenuclear and nuclear clauses in sentence 1 form the theme proposition: the parents of the young couple will be financially burdened by the couple's unannounced visit. The prenuclear clause of sentence 2 restates the theme as a condition, and the nuclear clause presents a result for the theme: the young couple's parents will be shamed.

## 12.5

sentence 1

prenuclear.clause 1a

*Inta kos ilan da amata ka inata*  
 go:II,1,DL whenever:also see N,PL father:II,1,DL and mother:II,1,DL

prenuclear.clause 1b

*onnu umanakta kad ya ummalitatte ilita*  
 or have.children:I,1,DL whenever and come:I,1,DL:O,S place:II,1,DL

nuclear.clause 1

*umoy an-angoy, ummoytos insopsop dida ya*  
 go visit go:II,1,DL:also be.financial.burden III,3,PL and

sentence 2

prenuclear.clause 2

*miid kad in pugikonda kan dita, nampabiinan*  
 none whenever CERT crush.in.hand:II,3,PL O III,1,DL shame

nuclear.clause 2

*os da ama.*  
 also G,PL father

When we go to see our mothers and fathers or when we have children and we come to our village to visit [our parents], we will become a financial burden to them and if they have nothing to butcher for us, they [the parents of the married couple] will be put to shame.

Sentence 9.38 forms the peak of its paragraph (another sentence presents the lower-level theme). The prenuclear and nuclear clauses of sentence 1 restate the theme of the paragraph: a leader mediates disputes. The prenuclear clause of sentence 2 states the theme again, and the nuclear clause presents a result for the theme: people will praise him.

## 9.38

sentence 1

prenuclear.clause 1a

*Awag gad da kasus, nu makasusan de ose*  
 there.is whenever N,PL case if have.a.case N,S one:LK

prenuclear.clause 1b

nuclear.clause 1  
*boryan, ose tagu, igagayamna ya*  
 family one:LK person stay.home:II,3,S and  
 sentence 2

prenuclear.clause 2 nuclear.clause 2  
*ilintogna kad de guru kan da kasus, kanande*  
 mediate:II,3,S whenever N,S trouble and PL case say:II,3,PL:LK

“A, *gappiya kan anuka ta ininggaw ta linintogana*”.  
 ah thank.heavens O what's.his.name LK stay and mediate:II,3,S

When there are cases, if a family or a person is involved in a case, he will stay home from work and when he settles the trouble and the cases, they will say, “Ah, thank heavens what's-his-name was here so that he could settle the case”.

It should be noted that if an expository sentence begins a paragraph and states the lower-level theme, but does not form the peak of the paragraph, then the peak of the paragraph is formed by another expository sentence. The second expository sentence gives a result for the theme presented in the first expository sentence. Sentences 9.45 and 9.46 illustrate this point.

Sentence 9.45 is the first sentence of a paragraph. It is an expository sentence and presents the lower-level theme of the paragraph. Sentence 9.46 is also an expository sentence. It contains both a result and a reason that support the theme proposition and forms the peak of the paragraph.

## 9.45

prenuclear.clause 1 prenuclear.clause 2  
*Sana kad da madagdagup, nu dumakore sadi ya naapuwan,*  
 DI when N,PL gather if grow.up:LK D3 and become.grandparent

nuclear.clause  
*siyos koone upan antudtudu atte in-inon pagay da matagu.*  
 III,3,S:also do/make:LK HAB advise O,S way EMPH G,PL live

When this is all taken together, if he grows up in that way and has grandchildren, he will give advice about how to live.

## 9.46

prenuclear.clause nuclear.clause  
*Maapuwan kad, asida kane “A, pangat”*  
 be.a.grandparent when will:II,3,PL say:LK ah leader

postnuclear.clause 1  
*tenne miigammum pagay da tagu de in-inone mangipangat*  
 because:D1:LK know:LK EMPH G,PL person N,S way:LK lead

postnuclear.clause 2  
*atta losane mipangatan ni bumaruwan ni ili te adipun*  
 O,PL all:LK lead G,S benefit G,S place because not:MOD

*makwe mampangat nu abus ak pangatana boryanna.*

possible:LK lead if only SM lead:II,3,S family:II,3,S

When he has grandchildren, they will say, "Ah, he's a leader", because the people will know how he leads in all the things that require leading for the good of the community because he cannot possibly be a leader if he only leads his family.

A second way of presenting a peak is in a type of pseudo-cleft sentence that contrasts two actions or indicates the exclusiveness of an action. The only occurrence of this is in 9.12. The structure is somewhat unusual in that strictly speaking it is not a true pseudo-cleft construction; however, because the frozen construction *angwa kad* 'what happened then was' performs the same function that a true pseudo-cleft construction does, it is classified as a type of pseudo-cleft sentence (discussed further in section 4.4). A result for the theme is given in the nuclear clause.

### 9.12

prenuclear.clause 1 <i>Angwa kad da anne dogwatna,</i> do/make when N,PL D1:LK age.group:II,3,S	prenuclear.clause 2 <i>te ippun</i> because none:MOD
---	--

prenuclear.clause 3	
<i>koonak lawing, tenna ampay de paniyawna,</i> do/make:II,3,S:SM bad because:D1 EMPH N,S taboo:II,3,S	

nuclear.clause	
<i>anna ngilinna, anna biinna,</i> D1 taboo:II,3,S D1	<i>mabiinandas siya.</i> respect:II,3,S respect:II,3,PL:N,S III,3,S

So what his peer group does, because he does not make trouble, because he indeed has *paniyaw*, he has *ngilin*, he has *biin*, they respect him.

A third way of presenting a peak is in a sentence in which the nuclear position is expounded by a string of conjoined verbal clauses linked by the conjunction *ya* 'and'. There is one example of this, in 17.6, and the conjoined independent clauses are identical to the conjoined clauses that expound the nuclear position of an expository sentence. Sentence 17.6, however, is not an expository sentence because it lacks the prenuclear clauses found in an expository sentence. The subordinate relationship between the conjoined clauses, the distribution of old and new information in the clauses, and the prominence position of the final clause are described in section 3.4. The results presented in the second and third clauses of 17.6 form the peak of the paragraph.

### 17.6

nuclear.clause 1	
<i>Tenana de inana</i> leave:II,3,S N,S	<i>kan amana ya</i> mother:II,3,S and father:II,3,S and

nuclear.clause 2 <i>niitipun atte asawane</i> join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK	nuclear.clause 3 <i>laraki ya nambalindak</i> man and become:I,3,PL:SM
--	--

*os-ossaane bungru, os-ossaane long-ag.*  
one:LK body one:LK body

She leaves her mother and father and she lives together with her husband and they become one body.



A fourth way of presenting a peak is in an equational reason sentence. The first half of the sentence is expounded by a nominal (such as a noun, a noun phrase or a nominalised verbal clause) which restates part of a theme proposition. The second half of the sentence is expounded by any nominalised clause and states a reason for the theme proposition. A free-standing focus pronoun that introduces the sentence refers to the reason that is presented in the second half of the sentence. For example, in text 11 the speaker begins the last paragraph explaining why people keep being afflicted with spirit illnesses.

## 11.20

pronoun nominal 1		nominal 2
<i>Siya upanta</i>	<i>matipakan de</i>	<i>makuug-uggudtatta</i>
III,3,S HAB:II,1,DL	afflict	N,S talk:I,1,DL:O,PL
<i>maaggasangan ya iwadoyta</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>napurdusan.</i>
made.ill.by.spirit and	push.through.vegetation	N,PL knotted.vegetation

The reason why we are afflicted with spirit illnesses is that we talk with people who have *aggasang* spirits in them and we push through vegetation that has been rightfully claimed by another person.

In 11.20 the phrase 'the reason why' is represented by the pronoun *siya*. The clause *upanta matipakan* 'we are afflicted with spirit illnesses' is a nominalised verbal clause that refers to the global theme proposition of the text. The remainder of the sentence is a nominalised clause that states the reasons for the theme proposition: we talk with people who have an *aggasang* spirit in them, and we push through vegetation that has been rightfully claimed by another person. In this particular example, the equational reason sentence gives a reason related to a global theme proposition; however, equational reason sentences also state reasons for lower-level theme propositions.

A fifth way of presenting a peak is in a complex sentence with a dependent reason or result clause in a postnuclear position. The nucleus of the complex sentence is expounded by a limited set of sentence and clause types: cleft sentences with anaphoric reference pronouns, verbal clauses introduced by *oni kad* 'later on', and verbal clauses with no prenuclear clauses. Each sentence nucleus is followed by a postnuclear clause introduced by *te* 'because', or *ta, oni pay*, or *ta oni pay*, which mean 'so that'. The postnuclear clause gives a reason or a result for the proposition stated in the nucleus. The construction that expounds the postnuclear clause is either an expository sentence (three out of five examples) or a rhetorical question (two out of five). In all but one of the five examples, the theme proposition is presented in the nucleus of the complex sentence. In the exception, 9.54, a result is presented in the nuclear clause, and the theme proposition is restated as a reason in the postnuclear clause.

Sentence 8.28 begins a summary paragraph in the text and forms a paragraph peak. The nuclear position of the sentence is expounded by a cleft sentence that begins with an anaphoric pronoun *sana* 'this'. The cleft sentence presents a brief statement of the global theme. A reason that supports the theme is given in the postnuclear position. The reason is expounded by an expository sentence.

## 8.28

nuclear.position				
<i>Sana de in-inon ni turun</i>	<i>kumangaane ibarun</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>matagu</i>	
DI N,S way	G,S three:LK	standard:LK	improve:LK	G,PL live

postnuclear.position

*te nu sa tagu we angikataguttena, manggogoddonge*  
 because if T,S person LK live.by.means.of:O,S:D1 straight:LK

*matagu ya niipunn muugudanatta kasintataguna ya niipunn masamkuyana.*  
 live and none:MOD talk:II,3,S:O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S and none:MOD despise:II,3,S  
 This is how the three standards will improve the lives of people, because if a person lives this [way], he will live righteously and he will never be talked about by his fellow man and he will never be despised.

Sentence 9.54 is the last sentence of a paragraph and it forms the peak. The nuclear position is expounded by a verbal clause that is introduced by the phrase *onikad* 'later on' and states a result that relates to the lower-level theme of the paragraph. The postnuclear position is expounded by a rhetorical question that acts as a reason.

9.54

prenuclear.position nuclear.position

*Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dingngor*  
 later:LK D3 not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

postnuclear.position

*te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*  
 because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader

Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

Sentence 9.34 is a paragraph-final sentence in which the nuclear position is expounded by a verbal clause that restates the lower-level theme proposition of the sentence. It is followed by a reason that is expounded by a rhetorical question and that supports the theme.

9.34

nuclear.position

*Tur-ayanos de pawot te ngos ni*  
 excel:II,3,S:also N,S industriousness because INT:also G,S

postnuclear.position

*ipakannatta mangiliyona nu adina tur-ayan de pawot?*  
 feed:II,3,S:O,PL have.visitors:II,3,S if not:II,3,S excel N,S industriousness  
 He excels in industriousness because what will he feed his visitors if he does not excel in hard work?

In 17.11 the nuclear position again restates the lower-level theme and is manifested by a verbal clause. The postnuclear position is manifested by an expository sentence that contains a result.

17.11

nuclear.position

*Igamuwonyu we matagu de anne kapooyan ni asawa*  
 know:II,2,PL LK live N,S D1:LK meaning G,S spouse/marriage

postnuclear.position

*oni.pay matagukayu kad andonoy pagay de layadyu*  
 so.that live:I,2,PL when last.long EMPH N,S love:II,2,PL

*te ibilangyu pay ak bungruyu gos de*  
 because count:II,2,PL EMPH SM body:II,2,PL also N,S

*bungrun ni asawayu.*

body:LK G,S spouse/marriage:II,2,PL

You who are living know this meaning of marriage so as you live your love will last forever because you consider your wife's body as your own body.

It should be noted that four of the five examples of this kind of complex sentence perform a double function. In all five examples, the complex sentence relates a theme proposition and its result or reason, and in this way forms the peak. In three examples, however, the complex sentence is the last sentence of a paragraph and signals the conclusion of the paragraph as well. Sentences 9.54 and 9.34 (above) are illustrations of complex sentences that signal both the peak of a paragraph and the conclusion of the paragraph. In a fourth example, 8.28 above, the complex sentence is the first sentence of a summary paragraph that signals the impending conclusion of the text. The sentence functions as a paragraph peak and signals the conclusion of the text.

It is interesting to note that a rare marked non-actor-focus clause construction (see Appendix D section 10) sometimes occurs in peaks. This construction is usually found in a *nu* or *kad* dependent clause that states a condition for the result given in a nuclear clause (four out of five examples). (There are no examples of this marked construction occurring in peaks that state reasons.) The construction is also found in nuclear or postnuclear clauses that contain a result. In 11.19 a marked non-actor-focus clause construction occurs in the prenuclear clause of an expository sentence.

11.19

prenuclear.clause

nuclear.clause

*Nu adi ditos lugaman atta singkuwatte sane talligan, matoyta.*

if not IV,1,DL:also weed O,PL owner:O,S D1:LK spirit.type die:I,1,DL

If the owner of this *talligan* spirit does not put an herb on us, we will die.

The verb *lugaman* 'to weed' in 11.19 has a referent-focus affix *-an* which indicates that the referent is the focused element in the clause. The referent is *ditos*, which is a contracted form of *dita* 'we two' and *gos* 'also'. The actor is *singkuwa* 'owner' and is introduced by the oblique marker *atta* (the plural of *atte*). The speaker is explaining that if a person is made ill by a spirit, only another person who is indwelt by that same kind of spirit can cure him. The marked construction presents a condition in the prenuclear clause: the sick person must have a poultice of herbs placed on him by someone who has a *talligan* spirit residing in his body. (The *talligan* spirit is a type of *aggasang* spirit.) The nuclear clause states what the result will be if the sick person fails to fulfill this condition: he will surely die.

### 3.7 WAYS OF TERMINATING PARAGRAPHS

Since almost any kind of information can occur in the last sentence of a paragraph, paragraphs end in a variety of sentence types. Discourse-final paragraphs, however, are more limited than non-final paragraphs in the kinds of final sentences that can occur. In general, nearly any sentence type that concludes a discourse-final paragraph can also conclude a non-final paragraph.

The kinds of sentences that terminate discourse-final paragraphs are (1) cleft sentences, (2) equational sentences, (3) expository sentences, (4) verbal sentences with no prenuclear clauses, and (5) non-verbal sentences with only one constituent.

(1) In four of the seven texts, the final paragraph ends with a cleft sentence in which the anaphoric reference pronoun *sana* ‘this’ acts as an independent nominal and expounds the first half of the sentence. The second half of the sentence is expounded by a nominal that restates the global theme proposition or indicates that the speaker has finished talking. Sentences 10.8 and 8.39 repeat the global themes of their texts and start with the anaphoric pronoun *sana* ‘this’. In 10.8 the second nominal is expounded by a genitive noun phrase. In 8.39 the second nominal is expounded by an equational clause.

10.8

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sana de kapooyan os ni ugude ‘anak’.*

D1 N,S meaning also G,S talk:LK child

This is the meaning of the word ‘child’.

8.39

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sana de in-inon da manggodonge matagu de*

D1 N,S way G,PL straight:LK live N,S

*ikataguda pay atte biyagda de sane turu.*

live.by.means.of:II,3,PL EMPH O,S life:II,3,PL N,S D1:LK three

This is how the righteous live: they live by these three [standards].

Sentence 17.13 is also a cleft sentence, but the second half is expounded by a nominalised verbal clause that indicates that the speaker has finished talking. This sentence is actually the second-to-last sentence in a final paragraph. Although there is only one example of a text ending in this way – with the speaker saying he has finished talking – it is frequently heard in oral speeches as the speaker’s closing remark. It only occurs as the last or second-to-last sentence of the final paragraph of a discourse.

17.13

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sadi miibagak kan dikayu.*

D3 tell:II,1,S O III,2,PL

That is what I have to say to you.

(2) Sentence 17.13 is followed by an equational sentence which ends the text. The first half of 17.14 is expounded by the noun *abus* ‘end’, and the second half of the sentence contains a nominalised clause that refers anaphorically to what the speaker was talking about. With this sentence, the speaker concludes his talk by simply saying, “That is the end of what I have to say”. This type of sentence only ends discourse-final paragraphs.

17.14

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Abus de sadik ugudok.*

finish N,S D3:SM talk:II,1,S

That is the end of what I have to say.

(3) Text 12 ends with an expository sentence which is also the peak of the discourse-final paragraph in which it occurs. Sentence 12.26 is typical of other expository sentences that form peaks; it begins with a prenuclear clause marked by *kad* 'when' that presents a condition and is followed by a nuclear clause that gives a result for the condition.

12.26

prenuclear.clause

*(Ya) pasigta kad in ang-amuwong ak*

and always:I,1,DL when CERT not.know.what.to.do SM

nuclear.clause

*itor-unta, duknag piin de ambordakta suugan.*

raise.children:II,1,DL arrive ADV N,S boundary:II,1,DL drying.rack

(And) when we are always at a loss as to how to provide for our children's needs, it will come to the day when the drying rack over the fire will be the only thing that keeps us apart when we fight.

(4) Text 13 ends with a verbal sentence with no prenuclear clauses. The verbal sentence is a quote. Quotes stated in verbal sentences contrast with quotes stated in pseudo-cleft sentences. In 13.8 the verbal sentence is an expanded repetition of a lower-level theme proposition.

13.8

nuclear.clause

*Kanni ye "Aditaku umoy sumagamsam*

say:II,1,PL,EXC LK not:I,1,PL,INC go weed.rice.plants

*te ab-abus de udane taragnab".*

because only N,S rain:LK first.time.that.river.floods

We say, "Let's not go weed the rice plants because it is the first time for the river to flood".

(5) Text 11 ends with a non-verbal sentence which has only one constituent; the nuclear clause is expounded by a free-standing focus pronoun that acts as an independent nominal. The speaker sums up the talk in the last paragraph by pointing out that only certain people can cure an illness caused by a spirit. *Dida* 'they' is a free-standing pronoun and *pagay* is an emphatic adjunct. This type of sentence concludes only discourse-final paragraphs.

11.22

nuclear.clause

*Dida pagay!*

III,3,PL EMPH

They are the only ones!

The kinds of sentences that terminate non-final paragraphs include most of those sentence types that terminate discourse-final paragraphs: (1) cleft sentences, (2) equational sentences, (3) expository sentences, and (4) verbal sentences with no prenuclear clauses. In addition, the following kinds of

sentences also terminate non-final paragraphs: (5) sentences introduced by *oni kad* ‘later on’, (6) existential sentences, and (7) pseudo-cleft sentences.

(1) When a cleft sentence ends a non-final paragraph, the sentence is identical to those cleft sentences that terminate discourse-final paragraphs. An anaphoric reference pronoun expounds the first half of the sentence, and another nominal expounds the second half of the sentence. A cleft sentence connects the lower-level theme of the paragraph to the global theme of the text. The anaphoric reference pronoun refers back to all that has been said about the lower-level theme in the immediate paragraph, while the second half of the cleft sentence restates part of the global theme. This is illustrated by 9.24 and 11.4.

## 9.24

nominal 1    nominal 2

*Sadi kamak ose mangor-anatte kinapangatna.*

D3 EMPH also:LK get:II,3,S:O,S leadership:II,3,S

That is one instance in which he [the leader] will gain his leadership.

## 11.4

nominal 1    nominal 2

*Sana da aggasang da udume tagus sinaoy.*

D1    N,PL spirit.that.causes.illness G,PL other:LK person:L D1

This is the *aggasang* of some people here.

(2) Two types of equational sentences may also end non-final paragraphs. These are an equational sentence that consists of two nominals, and an equational reason sentence. Sentence 12.8 is an equational sentence in which both halves of the sentence are expounded by noun phrases, the first introduced by *sa*.

## 12.8

nominal 1

*Sa kunata*

nominal 2

*kammos pagay de igawta.*

T,S custom.of.visiting.relatives.of.dead EMPH EMPH N,S place:II,1,DL

We will be visitors [rather than sons or daughters].

Sentence 8.24 is another equational sentence that consists of two nominals and terminates a non-final paragraph. Here the first half of the sentence is expounded by the adjective *adu* ‘many’, which acts as a free-standing nominal and the second half is expounded by a noun phrase.

## 8.24

nominal 1    nominal 2

*Adu da anne itton ni ngilin atte mataguwante matagu.*

many    N,PL D1:LK give G,S taboo O,S lifetime:II,1,DL:LK live

There are many things that *ngilin* gives during our lifetime.

Sentence 12.14 is an equational reason sentence. It is similar to other sentences of its kind, except that it is introduced by the counter-expectation phrase *te takon kay* ‘for even if’ which relates it to the immediately preceding sentence as an adversative statement. This is followed by the non-referring pronoun *siya*. Two nominalised clauses expound the two halves of the sentence.

## 12.14

pronoun nominal 1 nominal 2  
*Te takon kay nu siya angimusana de sa awad*  
 because even.if EMPH LK III,3,S ask:II,3,S N,S T,S there is

*kad in ela akit ak mipurut ta ittonak*  
 when CERT HORT few SM squeeze and give:II,3,S:SM

*bilis ela nu siya awad in otyan kammiin*  
 dried.fish HORT if III,3,S there.is CERT OPT EMPH

*attona pay ak iyod-odasda.*  
 give:II,3,S EMPH SM find:II,3,PL

Even if the reason why she asks is so that when a little money is set aside she can get some dried fish so there will be something that she can give as a gift [for them to take home].

(3) Expository sentences may also end non-final paragraphs. The expository sentence can be a paragraph peak or a support statement and is typical of other sentences of its kind. Sentence 11.19 acts as the peak of the paragraph. It begins with a prenuclear clause introduced by *nu* 'if' which gives a condition. The nuclear clause states a result of the condition.

## 11.19

prenuclear.clause nuclear.clause  
*Nu adi ditos lugaman atta singkuwatte sane talligan, matoyta.*  
 if not IV,1,DL:also weed O,PL owner:O,S D1:LK spirit.type die:I,1,DL  
 If the owner of this *talligan* spirit does not place an herb on us, we will die.

(4) Verbal sentences with no prenuclear clauses may also end non-final paragraphs. Verbal sentences can include dependent reason clauses that occur in the postnuclear position. It should be noted that verbal sentences with dependent reason clauses are considered a separate sentence type from expository sentences because the verbal sentences lack the prenuclear clauses that act as conditions or typical situations. Sentence 12.11 consists only of a nuclear clause that is expounded by a verbal quote.

## 12.11

nuclear.clause  
*Dam-onda pos kane 'Te nanagin-ili pos*  
 sometimes:II,3,PL HORT say:LK because marry.outsider HORT  
*da tagutte awi yakon indatongda binaknangdas sina'.*  
 N,PL person:O,S long.ago but bring:II,3,PL riches:II,3,PL:L D1  
 Sometimes they say, "Well, people married outside the village in the past, but they brought their wealth here".

Sentence 9.34 is a verbal sentence in which the nuclear clause is followed by a dependent reason clause.

## 9.34

nuclear.clause		postnuclear.clause
<i>Tur-ayanos de pawot</i>		<i>te ngos ni</i>
excel:II,3,S:also N,S	industriousness	because INT:also G,S

*ipakannatta mangiliyona nu adina tur-ayan de pawot?*  
 feed:II,3,S:O,PL have.visitors:II,3,S if not:II,3,S excel N,S industriousness  
 He excels in industriousness because what will he feed his visitors if he does not excel in hard work?

There is one interesting variation of the verbal sentence with no prenuclear clauses. In 12.6 the notable feature is that the verbal clause expounding the nuclear position has been nominalised. (The function of the nominaliser *-an* is explained in section 6.3.) The clause in the nuclear position is *lummawingan os ni angosta* ‘our feelings will be hurt’ (literally: ‘it is the hurting of our feelings’). The verb *lummawing* ‘to become bad/hurt’ has been nominalised by the addition of the suffix *-an*. The nuclear clause is followed by a dependent reason clause introduced by *te* ‘because’.

## 12.6

nuclear.clause		postnuclear.clause
<i>Lummawingan os ni angosta</i>		<i>te ibagada</i>
bad also G,S	feeling/breath:II,1,DL	because tell:II,3,PL

*kad in ingis-il kane “Awad kad in wot pinggikda*  
 when CERT joke say:LK there.is when CERT ADV crush.in.hand:II,3,PL

*kan dikayu?” nangdasanta ot atte lawinge somsomok.*

O III,2,PL find:II,1,DL ADV O,S bad:LK thought

Our feelings will be hurt because when they make a joke, saying “Did they really have something to butcher for you?”, we will end up having hurt feelings.

[Literally: Our feelings will be hurt because when they make a joke, saying “Did they really have something to butcher for you?”, there will be our (act of) finding (ourselves) with bad feelings.]

Another kind of verbal sentence that ends a non-final paragraph is one in which a stative clause expounds the nucleus of the sentence. There are no examples of stative sentences occurring with dependent reason clauses; consequently, stative sentences are presented as a subtype of verbal sentences. Should more texts show that stative sentences do occur with dependent reason clauses, then there would be no distinction between verbal sentences with active verbs and those with stative verbs.

Sentences 9.3 and 9.19 are both illustrations of sentences in which the nuclear clauses are expounded by stative clauses. In 9.3 the stative verb is *mikabban-og* (*mi-* + *kabban-og*) ‘to be from childhood’. In 9.19 the stative verb is *maapos* (*ma-* + *apos*) ‘to be jealous’.

## 9.3

fronted.noun.phrase	nuclear.clause
<i>Sa mampangate tagu,</i>	<i>mikabban-og.</i>
T,S lead:LK person	childhood

The person who would be a leader, he will be a leader from childhood.



9.19

nuclear.clause

*Adipun ampay maapos atta kasintataguna ya da kiiliyana.*

not:MOD EMPH jealous O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S and PL fellow.villager:II,3,S

He does not act begrudgingly towards his fellow man and his fellow villagers.

(5) Sentences introduced by *oni kad* 'later on' may end non-final paragraphs. The nuclear clause of the sentence can be a non-verbal or a verbal clause. It gives a result for the theme proposition of the paragraph. The nuclear clause can be followed by an optional dependent reason clause. It should be noted that the result stated in this kind of sentence does not usually form a peak. Often another result has already been stated in the paragraph. It is this first result, rather than the one stated in the *oni kad* sentence, that forms the peak of the paragraph. When no other result or reason occurs in the paragraph prior to the result given in the sentence introduced by *oni kad*, then the *oni kad* sentence forms the peak of the paragraph.

The following sentences, both introduced by *oni kad* 'later on', conclude non-final paragraphs. Sentence 9.29 states a result but does not form the peak of the paragraph. Sentence 9.54, on the other hand, does form the peak of its paragraph since there is no previous statement of a reason or a result in the paragraph.

9.29

prenuclear.clause

nuclear.clause

*Oni.kade sadi ta miigammu, anna da mangiliyona,*

later:LK D3 and know D1 N,PL host:II,3,S

*anna pay da pupana pakanan atte boroyna.*

D1 EMPH N,PL HAB:II,3,S feed O,S house:II,3,S

Later on when he is known, he will have visitors, he will feed them at his house.

9.54

prenuclear.clause nuclear.clause

*Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dingngor*

later:LK D3 not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

postnuclear.clause

*te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*

because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader

Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

It should be noted that a verbal sentence with no prenuclear clauses and an *oni kad* sentence can be joined together to form a conjoined sentence. Sentence 12.4 is the one example of such a conjoined sentence, and it ends the initial paragraph of the text. Sentence 1 is connected to sentence 2 by the conjunction *ya* 'and'. The second sentence is introduced by *oni kad* 'later on' and gives a non-peak result for the global theme proposition.

12.4

sentence 1

sentence 2

*Bukbukudanta pagay rigat ya oni.kad in*

carry.burden:II,1,DL EMPH difficulty and later CERT

*ta umdas de tuttudu ta asita andadauli; naradaw*  
 and find N,S advice and will:I,1,DL repent late

*in te dipun makwe mipuuli orgo miluus.*

CERT because not:MOD possible:LK return able finish

We will be all alone in bearing our difficulties and then the advice will be found to be true and then we will be sorry; it will be too late because we cannot possibly undo what has been done.

(6) Existential sentences may end non-final paragraphs. Sentence 17.2 is an existential sentence that terminates a discourse-initial paragraph. *Ippun* 'none' is the negative counterpart of the existential *awad* 'there is'.

### 17.2

left-dis.noun.phrase

nuclear.clause

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Da kaaduwane tagu, ippun igammuda nu ngi*

T,PL majority:LK person none:MOD know:II,3,PL LK INT:G,S

*nakristiyanuwane asawa.*

Christian:LK spouse/marriage

The majority of people, they do not know anything about Christian marriage.

(7) Pseudo-cleft sentences may also end non-final paragraphs. In 9.15 *dakon* 'not' is a negative word that replaces the non-referring pronoun *siya* in a declarative pseudo-cleft construction (discussed in section 4.4).

### 9.15

*Dakompuk ipangatna de lawing.*

not:MOD:SM lead:II,3,S N,S bad

He does not lead [the community in doing] wrong.

[Literally: The things that he does not lead in are the bad things.]

In this discussion of ways of ending paragraphs, note should be made of the function of rhetorical questions. There are three examples of sentences ending with dependent reason clauses that are expounded by rhetorical questions. Two of the sentences conclude paragraphs. The third sentence occurs in the middle of a paragraph and concludes a series of specific illustrations. In all of these examples, the rhetorical question ends the sequence of sentences with a rather dramatic effect, closing the paragraph or series of illustrations with such finality as to defy further comment.

In the discussion of evaluative information in Chapter 2, it was noted that rhetorical questions are a means of stating a negative evaluation. When rhetorical questions function as dependent reason clauses, they are a means of asserting a negative statement as a reason. In both cases, the question form is used to draw attention to the information it conveys. For instance in 9.34, the last sentence of a paragraph, the speaker makes the point that a leader should be industrious. He presents the reason in the form of a rhetorical question saying a leader should be industrious because how can he feed his visitors if he does not work hard. The assertion behind the rhetorical question is the statement that a leader will not have anything to feed his visitors if he does not work hard.

9.34

*Tur-ayanos de pawot te ngos ni*  
 excel:II,3,S:also N,S industriousness because INT:also G,S

*ipakannatta mangiliyona nu adina tur-ayan de pawot?*  
 feed:II,3,S:O,PL have.visitors:II,3,S if not:II,3,S excel N,S industriousness  
 He excels in industriousness because what will he feed his visitors if he does not excel in hard work?

Sentence 9.54 is also a paragraph-final sentence that ends with a rhetorical question. The theme of the paragraph is that today's elected leaders only do what is best for their own families. They do not work for the good of the community as a whole. In 9.54 the speaker says that later on people will not obey the elected leader because why should a person listen to that kind of a leader. The underlying assertion of the rhetorical question is that no one listens to a bad leader.

9.54

*Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dingngor*  
 later:LK D3 not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

*te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*  
 because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader  
 Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

### 3.8 PARAGRAPH BOUNDARIES

A paragraph boundary is indicated by a change in theme propositions which is accompanied by a cluster of surface features. Since each paragraph in an expository discourse has one theme proposition, the introduction of a new theme proposition requires a new paragraph. A change in theme propositions is surrounded by sentence types and grammatical features that signal the conclusion of the current theme and the beginning of a new one. The sentence types that indicate the conclusion of a theme and the paragraph in which they occur are discussed under ways of terminating paragraphs (section 3.7). Sentence types that conclude paragraphs mainly contain information that gives a summary (fourteen out of thirty-five sentences) or a result (eight out of thirty-five sentences) for a theme.

Sentence types that present new theme propositions and start new paragraphs are described under ways of beginning paragraphs (section 3.5). There are two distinctive grammatical features that frequently occur in sentences that present new theme propositions. These features are preposed noun phrases and prenuclear dependent clauses. Normally preposed noun phrases contain a partial theme proposition or participant identification, while prenuclear clauses usually provide a condition, or a hypothetical situation that acts as a setting for the theme proposition. There are examples, though, of preposed noun phrases that contain setting information and prenuclear clauses that state partial theme propositions. Of the thirty-five sentences that begin paragraphs, preposed noun phrases occur in fourteen and prenuclear clauses occur in fifteen. (Some sentences have both preposed noun phrases and prenuclear clauses.) Preposed noun phrases are discussed under topicalisation (Chapter 4). Prenuclear clauses are discussed in the sections on the expository sentence (3.2) and ways of beginning paragraphs (3.5).

The three paragraphs discussed next all contain clusters of surface features that mark paragraph boundaries, indicating the conclusion of one theme and the beginning of a new one. They occur consecutively.

The first paragraph consists of 9.16 - 9.19. Sentence 9.16 is an expository sentence presenting the lower-level theme of the paragraph, and it has two prenuclear clauses marked by *kad*. The paragraph ends with 9.19, which is a negative statement that functions as a litotes and succinctly summarises the theme of the paragraph.

9.16

prenuclear.clause 1

*Angasawa kad de sadi ye tagu we ambaru somsomokna*  
 spouse/marriage when N,S D3 LK person LK good thought:II,3,S

prenuclear.clause 2

*ya siya inasawana isuna, bumoroyda*  
 and III,3,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S same:II,3,S dwell:I,3,PL

nuclear.clause

*kade sadi, adida pun maapose angipakan ka mangatod*  
 when:LK D3 not:I,3,PL MOD jealous:LK feed and give

*atta kiliyanda.*

O,PL fellow.villager:II,3,PL

When that person who has good thoughts marries and he marries one like himself, when they live together as a married couple, they do not begrudge feeding or giving to their fellow villagers.

9.17

*Nu aligna, awak kad da kabkabiin, da*  
 if example:II,3,S there.is when N,PL child.betrothal T,PL

*anne makwe andunuwan ni tagu ta matoy, adipun maapos.*  
 D1:LK possible:LK butcher.animal G,S person because die not:MOD jealous

For example, when there is a celebration of the betrothal of two children or an occasion at which an animal is butchered because someone has died, he does not begrudge helping.

9.18

*Ngan.kad pay ni anna kan siya, ipat-ugna*  
 whatever EMPH G,S D1 O III,3,S butcher.pig,dog,chicken:II,3,S

*paye ipat-ugna onnu koona nu*  
 EMPH:LK butcher.pig,dog,chicken:II,3,S or do/make:II,3,S if

*awad luwangnatte madunuwan.*

there.is water.buffalo:II,3,S:O,S butcher.animal

Whatever he has, he will surely butcher a small animal or he will butcher a water buffalo if he has one to be butchered.

9.19

nuclear.clause

*Adipun ampay maapos atta kasintataguna ya da kiiliyana.*

not:MOD EMPH jealous O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S and PL fellow.villager:II,3,S

He indeed does not act begrudgingly towards his fellow man and his fellow villagers.

The second paragraph in the sequence is composed of 9.20 - 9.24. Sentence 9.20 states a new lower-level theme proposition and is introduced by a fronted noun phrase marked by the topic proclitic *sa*. The noun phrase presents a general time setting for the new theme stated. Sentence 9.24, which concludes the paragraph, is a cleft sentence with the anaphoric reference pronoun *sadi* 'that'. It summarises the paragraph by referring anaphorically to what has been said about the lower-level theme of the paragraph and by connecting it with the global theme of the text.

9.20

fronted.noun.phrase

*Sa awi ye dummatngan ni anne barbaruknite pinnatoy,*

T,S long.ago LK time.of.arrival G,S D1:LK battles:LK killing

nuclear.clause

*sadi kanande isubuna de long-agnatte saraknib ni ili.*

D3 say:II,3,PL:LK offer:II,3,S N,S body:II,3,S:O,S protection G,S place

Long ago when there came these battles for killing, they said he would offer his body for the protection of the community.

9.21

*Lumnok kad atte baruknit, ibilangna pagaye matoy*

enter whenever O,S battle count:II,3,S EMPH:LK die

*tenna ine siya de kamak mangipangapangat.*

because:D1 CERT:LK III,3,S N,S EMPH lead

Whenever he enters a battle, he considers himself dead because he will surely lead the others.

9.22

*Aniwat kad ya anorna, nu gasatne matagu,*

behead whenever and first.to.shoot if lucky:II,3,S:LK live

*sadi ose midayawana yakon asina de katti ye*

D3 one:LK be.praised:II,3,S but only:II,3,S N,S like.this LK

*sokarna iggatte saraknib ni ili.*

bravery:II,3,S put:O,S protection G,S place

When he takes a head or is the first one to hit someone, if he is lucky enough to live, that is one of the instances in which he will be praised but he will show his bravery only in protecting the community.

9.23

*Dakompuk sokarne ossaan.*

not:MOD:SM brave:II,3,S:LK one

His bravery is not just for himself alone.

## 9.24

*Sadi kamak ose mangor-anatte kinapangatna.*  
 D3 EMPH also:LK get:II,3,S:O,S leadership:II,3,S  
 That is one instance in which he will gain his leadership.

The third paragraph consists of 9.25 - 9.29. Sentence 9.25 is an expository sentence introduced by a fronted noun phrase marked by *sa* that gives a partial statement of the global theme proposition. It also includes two prenuclear clauses marked by *kad* 'when'. Sentence 9.25 states a new lower-level theme proposition. The paragraph is terminated by 9.29 which is introduced by *oni kad* 'later on'. It gives a non-peak result for the lower-level theme.

## 9.25

fronted.noun.phrase  
 Sa ose mangor-anos atte kinapangatna, ammangili  
 T,S one:LK get:II,3,S:also O,S leadership:II,3,S have.visitors

pre-nuclear.clause 2  
*kad atta mangilin ela da udum, awag gad*  
 whenever O,PL visitor:LK HORT G,PL other there.is whenever

nuclear.clause  
*mabalinnak iyas onnu manukna, ayagana de*  
 possible:II,3,S:SM piglet or chicken:II,3,S call:II,3,S N,S

postnuclear.clause  
*mangili te ibiinna de ili.*  
 visitor because respect:II,3,S N,S place

As for another way of gaining his leadership, whenever he receives the visitors of others, whenever he has the means such as a piglet or a chicken, he calls the visitor [to eat] because he wants to show respect on behalf of the community.

## 9.26

*Sorsagana kad da mangili, kanane* "Na,  
 invite.to.eat when N,PL visitor say:II,3,S:LK hey

*awwayyu ta inkayu mangan atte boroyni*".  
 come.here:II,2,PL so.that go:I,2,PL eat O,S house:II,1,PL,EXC

When he invites the visitors to eat, he says, "Hey, come and eat at our house".

## 9.27

*Sadi kamak osa te adina pun ampay iyapos.*  
 D3 EMPH one because not:II,3,S MOD EMPH jealous

That is one [way in which a man gains a leadership position] because he does not begrudge [feeding the visitors].

## 9.28

*Ippun agumnatte mataguwana.*  
 none:MOD self.interest:II,3,S:O,S lifetime:II,3,S

He is not self-seeking during his life.

9.29

prenuclear.clause

nuclear.clause

*Oni.kade sadi ta miigammu, anna da mangiliyona,*

later:LK D3 and know D1 N,PL host:II,3,S

*anna pay da pupana pakanan atte boroyna.*

D1 EMPH N,PL HAB:II,3,S feed O,S house:II,3,S

Later on when he is known, he will have visitors, he will feed them at his house.

## CHAPTER 4

### TOPICALISATION

Following Grimes's (1975:324) distinction, theme is defined as a semantic choice, and topic is defined as the surface manifestation of that semantic choice. Topic, then, is a grammatical construction that indicates what the speaker is talking about. Topicalisation performs a thematic function by selecting and marking certain information as more significant than other information in developing a theme.

This discussion is concerned with four topicalisation devices found in Upper Tanudan Kalinga expository discourse. They are fronted noun phrases, left-dislocated noun phrases, topic-marked equational clauses and nominals, and pseudo-cleft constructions. Fronted noun phrases, left-dislocated noun phrases, and topic-marked equational clauses and nominals are all introduced by the topic proclitic *sa* (plural *da*). These four topicalisation devices perform several functions that are related to theme propositions and participants. Fronted noun phrases and topic-marked equational clauses and nominals draw attention to theme propositions and the reasons and results that support those propositions. Left-dislocated noun phrases identify participants. Pseudo-cleft constructions signal local contrast and also indicate the exclusiveness of certain information.

#### 4.1 FRONTED NOUN PHRASES

A fronted noun phrase is a preposed noun phrase that occurs in the sentence-initial position. It is always introduced by the topic proclitic *sa* and can be expounded by almost any nominal. It can be a constituent of a prenuclear or nuclear clause in a sentence (that is subsequently preposed to a sentence-initial position), or it can be a constituent that occurs independently of any clause in a given sentence. When a fronted noun phrase is a constituent of one of the clauses in a sentence, nothing is left after the verb in the clause to mark its original position.

Fronted noun phrases usually present thematic information. Often a fronted noun phrase is the main argument of the predicate of a theme proposition. Sometimes it is the nominalised predicate of the theme proposition. When it is either an argument or the predicate of the theme proposition, then the fronted noun phrase acts as a partial theme proposition. When it occurs in a sentence with a theme proposition, it grammatically signals the beginning of a new paragraph. While a fronted noun phrase usually contains thematic information, it can also present a time or location that acts as a setting for a theme proposition, and it can indicate that a sentence contains a reason. Fronted noun phrases that provide settings or that indicate reasons are rare. (There are only two occurrences that present settings, and one that indicates a reason.)



Each of the next three examples contains a fronted noun phrase introduced by the topic proclitic *sa* and begins a new paragraph. In 10.1 the fronted noun phrase, which states that the speaker intends to talk about something, is not a constituent of the nuclear clause.

## 10.1

fronted.noun.phrase                      nuclear.clause  
*Sa anna gose miibagak, mipuun atte anak.*  
 T,S D1 also:LK tell:II,1,S concerned O,S child  
 This which I am going to talk about, it concerns the child.

In 8.25 the fronted noun phrase names one argument, *biin* ‘shame’ or ‘respect’, of the global theme proposition: the three standards of righteous living (stated in an earlier paragraph in the text). This argument is a partial statement of the lower-level theme proposition of the new paragraph: *biin* is one standard of righteous living.

## 8.25

fronted.noun.phrase nuclear.clause  
*Sa anne biin, sa kanandatte dandani*  
 T,S D1:LK respect T,S say:II,3,PL:O,S old.days  
 “*Taguka pun, mabiinka*”.  
 person:I,2,S since respect:I,2,S  
 This respect, what they said in the past is, “Since you are a person, you have respect for others”.

In 9.35 the fronted noun phrase restates part of the global theme as the predicate of the global theme proposition; it occurs in a nominalised form. The nuclear clause presents the lower-level theme proposition of the new paragraph. The fronted noun phrase gives thematic cohesion to the paragraph, tying the lower-level theme of the paragraph to the global theme of the text.

## 9.35

fronted.noun.phrase                      nuclear.clause  
*Sa ose mangor-ana, sa anne kinaturod ni somsomokna.*  
 T,S one:LK get:II,3,S T,S D1:LK courage G,S thought:II,3,S  
 Another way of getting it [his leadership], is by the courageousness of his [the leader's] thinking.

A fronted noun phrase can also be a peripheral constituent of a clause, such as a time or location phrase that is preposed to a sentence-initial position. Time and location phrases, however, are rare in expository discourse since expository themes centre around abstract concepts rather than events that take place at specific times and in specific places. When times and locations do occur as fronted noun phrases, they are generic expressions such as *sa awi* ‘long ago’ or *sa sana* ‘now’. When fronted time and location phrases marked by *sa* occur with a change in a theme proposition, they also signal the start of a new paragraph.

Sentence 12.1 is the opening sentence of a text. It starts with a time phrase marked by the topic proclitic *sa*. The time phrase is a peripheral constituent of the nuclear clause that has been moved to a sentence-initial position.

## 12.1

fronted.noun.phrase nuclear.clause

*Sa awi kan da dadakkore antuttudu we "Adita*

T,S long.ago say G,PL elder:LK advise LK not:I,1,DL

*pun mam pagay anagin-ili te buwatna".*

MOD CERT EMPH marry.outsider because inappropriate:II,3,S

Long ago the old folk gave advice saying, "We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate".

Sentence 9.4 begins a non-initial paragraph and is introduced by a noun phrase marked by *sa* which acts as a kind of location. The phrase *da sindumogwat* 'in the age groups' is not a true location (in the sense of a geographical site). Instead it is more a designation of a group to which the primary participant 'the leader' belongs. On the other hand, preposed noun phrases that function as true participant identification phrases are left-dislocated phrases that leave a trace pronoun in the clause in which they originally occurred. In 9.4 the preposed noun phrase is a peripheral clause constituent that has been preposed to the beginning of the sentence; no trace pronoun remains behind in the nuclear clause to mark its original position. Consequently, the construction is regarded as a fronted noun phrase acting as a general location for the nuclear clause.

## 9.4

fronted.noun.phrase nuclear.clause

*Da sindumogwat, awad de ossaane ikabban-ogna*

T,PL age.group there.is N,S one:LK childhood:II,3,S

*igammuwon de sadi ye kanak.*

know N,S D3 LK say:II,1,S

In the age groups, there is one who from his childhood lives according to what I said earlier.

A fronted noun phrase can also state that a sentence contains a reason. Reason clauses usually occur as postnuclear dependent clauses, but when a fronted noun phrase signals that the sentence contains a reason, the reason is contained in the nuclear clause that presents a result. Sentence 10.5 illustrates this seemingly contradictory statement. It is an expository sentence which begins with a fronted noun phrase announcing that the sentence contains a reason. The phrase is marked by the topic proclitic *sa*. The nuclear clause states a result which provides the reason why parents should raise their children with love. The sentence forms the peak of the paragraph in which it is found.

## 10.5

fronted.noun.phrase prenuclear.clause

*Sa kamat anangkonanda, matagu kad denne anake*

T,S EMPH care.for:II,3,PL live when N,S:D1:LK child:LK

nuclear.clause

*bungan di layad, sillelelayadda.*

fruit:LK G,S love happy:I,3,PL

As for the reason why they [the parents] should care for [their child], if this child who is the fruit of love turns out well, they will all be happy.

A fronted noun phrase can also be the focused element of either a prenuclear or nuclear clause. There are three such examples in the data. In two, the fronted noun phrase is the focused element of

the prenuclear clause and in the third, the fronted noun phrase is the focused element of the nuclear clause. These examples present theme propositions or form paragraph peaks; two are seen in 8.17 and 10.4.

Sentence 8.17, the first sentence in a non-initial paragraph, begins with a fronted noun phrase introduced by the proclitic *sa*: *sa anne paniyaw* ‘this *paniyaw* taboo’. ‘*Paniyaw* taboo’ is the missing focused element of prenuclear clause 2: *nu ikatagum* ‘if you live by it’ (‘it’ refers to the *paniyaw* taboo).

## 8.17

fronted.noun.phrase      prenuclear.clause 1

*Sa anne paniyaw, te kopyan ni mataguta,*  
T,S D1:LK taboo      because action:LK G,S live:II,1,DL

prenuclear.clause 2

prenuclear.clause 3

*nu ikatagum, tuttuwe mataguka kap pagay,*  
if live.by.means.of:II,2,S true:LK live:I,2,S when EMPH

nuclear.clause

*ambaruka ya idayaw dikatta kasintatagum.*  
good:I,2,S and praise IV,2,S:O,PL fellow.man:II,2,S

This *paniyaw*, during the stages of our lives, if you live according to it [the *paniyaw* taboo], if you really live according to it, you will be honourable and your fellow man will praise you.

Sentence 10.4 also starts a new paragraph. The fronted noun phrase presents an argument of the global theme proposition: *anak* ‘a child’. ‘Child’ is the missing focused element of the nuclear clause: ‘it is necessary that they raise him with love his whole life’ (‘him’ refers to *anak*).

## 10.4

fronted.noun.phrase

nuclear.clause

*Sa anne anak da man-asawa, masapur pagay ye*  
T,S D1:LK child G,PL spouse/marriage need EMPH LK

*tangkonanda gos atte layad atte mataguwanda.*

care.for:II,3,PL also O,S love O,S lifetime:II,3,PL

This child of the married couple, it is necessary that they raise him with love his whole life.

## 4.2 LEFT-DISLOCATED NOUN PHRASES

A second topicalisation device is left-dislocation. In left-dislocation, a noun phrase constituent of a prenuclear or nuclear clause is preposed to a clause-initial position and marked by the topic proclitic *sa*. In verbal clauses, a clitic pronoun is substituted for the preposed noun phrase in the unmarked position following the verb. In equational and existential clauses, the left-dislocated constituent is usually the noun phrase that occurs in the second part of the clause (four out of the five occurrences). A free-standing pronoun is left in the unmarked position in the second part of the clause in place of the left-dislocated noun phrase.

Left-dislocated noun phrases always identify participants, which are actors, experiencers or possessors. (Possessors occur in non-verbal clauses that signal possession.) In 8.7b below the left-dislocated noun phrase is a personified theme that functions like an actor, making it a type of

participant. A left-dislocated phrase can be either a focused or a non-focused element of the clause in which it originally occurred; it introduces a participant or reidentifies a previously named participant. The participants are usually those found within the linguistic boundaries of the text although they can be the hearers who are extralinguistic participants, as in the case of justification statements.

In 9.2 a left-dislocated noun phrase introduces a sentence nucleus that is composed of two verbal clauses joined by *onnu* 'or'. The left-dislocated noun phrase identifies the primary participant of the text, 'a leader'. In nuclear clause 1, the leader is an experiencer and the focused element of the clause. In nuclear clause 2, the leader is an actor and is not the focused element. Since the first nuclear clause signals that the experiencer is the focused element and since the experiencer occurs in the third person singular form, no pronoun is left behind in the nuclear clause to mark its usual position because focused actors and experiencers that occur in the third person singular have no clitic pronominal form. In the second nuclear clause, the clitic pronoun *-na* 'he' is attached to the word *asi* 'only' and marks the usual position of the dislocated noun phrase.

## 9.2

left-dis.noun.phrase            nuclear.clause 1  
*Sa pangat atte dandani, dakompune asi gela miikogway*  
 T,S leader O,S old.days not:MOD:LK only EMPH be.surprised

nuclear.clause 2

*onnu asina aran atte dumakor.*  
 or only:II,3,S get O,S grow.up

The leader of long ago, he would not be made instantly nor could he acquire it [his leadership] when he grew up.

In 9.37 the left-dislocated noun phrase identifies a group of participants; 'the mediators of the past' are past leaders about whom the speaker has been talking. The nuclear clause is expounded by an existential clause in which the participants function as possessors. The possessive clitic pronoun *-da* 'their' which follows the word *tangdan* 'payment' in the second half of the clause marks the original position of the preposed noun phrase.

## 9.37

left-dis.noun.phrase            nuclear.clause  
*Da mallintog atte dandani, niipun tangdanda.*  
 T,PL mediate O,S old.days none:MOD payment:II,3,PL

The mediators of the past, they were not paid.

[Literally: The mediators of the past, they had no pay.]

In 10.2 the left-dislocated noun phrase identifies the main participant of the text, *anak* 'a child'. The nuclear clause is expounded by an equational clause in which an anaphoric pronoun *sana* 'this' in the first half of the sentence marks the original position of the left-dislocated noun phrase. Sentence 10.2 is the one occurrence in the texts in which the left-dislocated noun phrase identifies a participant who is originally mentioned in the first half of an equational clause.



found in clause 1 because the focused actor is third person singular. Nuclear clause 2 is expounded by an existential clause. The original position of the left-dislocated noun phrase is marked in clause 2 by the third person pronoun *-na* which is attached to the word *muugudan*. Nuclear clause 3 is expounded by an existential clause. Again the original position of the left-dislocated noun phrase in clause 3 is marked by the pronoun *-na* which occurs on the end of the word *masamkuyan*.

## 8.28

(*Sana de in-inon ni turun kumangaane ibarun da matagu*  
 D1 N,S way G,S three:LK standard:LK improve:LK G,PL live

prenuclear.clause

nuclear.clause 1

*te) nu sa tagu we angikataguttena, manggogoddonge*  
 because if T,S person LK live.by.means.of:O,S:D1 straight:LK

nuclear.clause 2

*matagu ya niippon muugudanatta kasintataguna ya*  
 live and none:MOD talk:II,3,S:O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S and

nuclear.clause 3

*niippon masamkuyana.*  
 none:MOD despise:II,3,S

(This is how the three standards will improve the lives of people, because) if a person lives this [way], he will live righteously and he will never be talked about by his fellow man and he will never be despised.

When both a fronted noun phrase and a left-dislocated noun phrase occur in the same sentence, the fronted noun phrase occurs in the sentence-initial position and is followed by the left-dislocated noun phrase which occurs in the clause-initial position. Here again the fronted noun phrase presents a partial theme and the left-dislocated noun phrase identifies a primary participant. This sentence order reflects the fact that a fronted noun phrase relates to the sentence as a whole and is tied more closely to the theme proposition of the paragraph or text than to any clause within the sentence itself. On the other hand, a left-dislocated noun phrase is more closely connected to the clause to which it is attached. It should be noted, however, that although a left-dislocated noun phrase is closely tied to the clause which it precedes, the thematic considerations at the paragraph and discourse level are what determine whether or not a participant is presented as a left-dislocated noun phrase. Finally, the fact that fronted noun phrases which are associated with themes occur before left-dislocated noun phrases which are associated with participants gives further support to the argument that abstract themes rank higher than participants in expository discourse. Given a choice between the two, a partial theme proposition rather than a participant is placed in the sentence-initial position.

Sentence 17.8 contains both noun phrases. The fronted noun phrase occurs first and is introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. It presents a partial theme statement: in this marriage. The left-dislocated noun phrase follows introduced by *da*, the plural of *sa*. It identifies the two primary participants of the text: the two people (who are married to each other). In the nuclear clause, the clitic pronoun *-da* 'they' which is attached to the verb *nambalin* 'to become' marks the original position of the left-dislocated noun phrase.

17.8

fronted.noun.phrase            left-dis.noun.phrase    nuclear.clause  
*Sa sane asawa, da duwe tagu, nambalindak ossaan.*  
 T,S D1:LK spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person become:I,3,PL:SM one  
 In this marriage, the two people, they become one.

#### 4.3 *sa* TOPIC-MARKED CONSTRUCTIONS

A third topicalisation device is the use of the topic proclitic *sa* to mark non-verbal clauses and nominals within a sentence. In these cases, the topic-marked constructions occur in their usual positions and are not preposed. This device is quite versatile and performs three general functions. Firstly, a construction can be marked by *sa* when it simply restates the main argument in a theme proposition. It can also mark a subordinate concept in a theme proposition that the speaker wants to foreground briefly as he develops the theme. Secondly, *sa* can mark specific members of a general category that is presented in a theme proposition. Thirdly, it can mark support information that functions as contrast.

The next two examples illustrate the function of *sa* in which *sa* marks a key argument in a theme proposition (11.3), and subordinate concepts that are part of a theme proposition (9.13). In 11.3 the *sa* construction occurs in the prenuclear clause: *sa kuwade aggasang* 'it is their *aggasang* spirit'. The noun phrase repeats the main argument of the text.

11.3

prenuclear.clause  
*Nu umali uroge luum atte boroyda ya*  
 if come snake:LK snake.type O,S house:II,3,PL and  
*ilande sa kuwade aggasang,*  
 see:II,3,PL:LK T,S own:II,3,PL:LK spirit.that.causes.sickness  
 nuclear.clause  
*lanaonda de long-agna ya ummayaw de sadi ye urog.*  
 oil:II,3,PL N,S body:II,3,S and leave N,S D3 LK snake  
 If a *luum* snake comes into their house and they [the people to whom the *aggasang* belongs] see that it is their *aggasang*, they will oil its body and the snake will leave.

In 9.13 the *sa* construction occurs in the postnuclear reason clause: *sa urnusda* 'their unity' and *sa ambaruwanda* 'their common good'. The lower-level theme of the paragraph in which 9.13 occurs is: a leader lives an honourable life by following the three standards – the *paniyaw* taboo, the *ngilin* taboo and *biin* 'respect' or 'shame'. In following these standards, a leader will find himself working for the unity and the common good of his peers. In this way, he will gain the respect of his peers. Unity and common good, then, are subordinate but important concepts in the development of the speaker's theme about how a man gains a position of leadership.

9.13

nuclear.clause  
*Mabiinda de sadi ye ossaan ka duwatta sindumogwat*  
 respect:II,3,PL N,S D3 LK one and two:O,PL age.group

postnuclear.clause

*te abus ak koko-ona de sa urnusda pagay*  
because only SM habitual.action N,S T,S unity:II,3,PL EMPH

*ya sa ambaruwanda.*

and T,S common.good:II,3,PL

They respect those one or two in the peer group because the main thing he does is settle their affairs and do things for their common good.

The second function of the topic proclitic *sa* is to mark specific concepts that are members of a general category stated in a theme proposition. When a theme proposition is presented using a generic noun, it can be followed by a list of the specific members that belong to the category indicated by that noun. If the list consists of nominals, the topic proclitic *sa* marks the first member in the list. The other members listed are optionally marked by *sa*. If the list is composed of non-verbal clauses, only the first non-verbal clause in the list is marked by *sa*.

Sentence 8.2 presents the global theme proposition for the text – that there are three standards of righteous living – which it then enumerates. The generic term is *kumangaan* ‘standard’. The specific standards are *paniyaw*, *ngilin* and *biin*. Each of the specific standards is marked by the topic proclitic *sa*.

8.2

*Annaya de turun kumangaane anggonggongngan da matagu*  
here.is N,S three:LK standard:LK straight G,PL live

*sa paniyaw, sa ngilin, sa biin.*

T,S taboo T,S taboo T,S respect

Here are the three standards of righteousness for those living: *paniyaw*, *ngilin* and *biin*.

In 8.5 the generic and the specific terms occur in the prenuclear clause of an embedded expository sentence. In the prenuclear clause, the speaker mentions the generic term *kakumangaan* ‘standard’ and then lists what the specific standards are. This time, however, he presents the specific standards in non-verbal clauses: *sa awad pay paniyawna, anna ngilinna, anna biinna* ‘he has *paniyaw*, he has *ngilin*, he has *biin*’. It should be noted that only the first non-verbal clause in the list is marked by *sa*.

8.5

*(Sadi in-inon ni tagu we anggodonge matagu ta)*

D3 way G,S person LK straight:LK live so.that

prenuclear.clause

*nu ngai tagu we ikatagunatte mataguwana*  
if INT person LK live.by.means.of:II,3,S:O,S lifetime:II,3,S

*denne turun kakumangaane sa awad pay paniyawna,*  
N,S:D1:LK three:LK standard:LK T,S there.is EMPH taboo:II,3,S

nuclear.clause

*anna ngilinna, anna biinna, (mangogodonge matagutte)*  
D1 taboo:II,3,S D1 respect:II,3,S straight:LK live:O,S



*mataguwana ya mabiinan da kasintataguna).*

lifetime:II,3,S and respected G,PL fellow.man:II,3,S

(That is how a person will live a righteous life, because) whoever lives by these three standards his whole life, namely, if he has *paniyaw*, if he has *ngilin*, if he has *biin*, (he will live righteously his whole life and will be respected by his fellow man).

This kind of generic-specific relationship can also be expressed in terms of a global theme proposition and its more specific lower-level theme propositions. In text 11 the speaker begins the discourse by stating a rather general global theme proposition.

11.1

*Sa anne ugudok, sa aggasang.*

T,S D1:LK talk:II,1,S T,S spirit.type

What I am going to talk about, it is the *aggasang* spirit.

*Aggasang* spirits form a general category that is composed of different kinds of spirits, all of which cause illnesses. The body of the text consists of a series of paragraphs, each of which names a different kind of *aggasang* spirit and describes the symptoms and the cure for the kind of illness that it causes. The lower-level theme propositions for each of these paragraphs are given in 11.6, 11.13 and 11.17. These theme propositions are presented as equational sentences composed of two nominals, the first of which is introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*. In effect the lower-level theme propositions form a list of the specific types of spirits that belong to the general category which is first presented in the global theme proposition.

11.6

nominal 1

nominal 2

*Sa kukku gos de ose masap-uyal Lubo.*

T,S spirit.type also N,S other:LK spirit.removed.by.smoke:L Lubo

The *kukku* is another kind of spirit [that is] driven away by [blowing] smoke [on it] in Lubo.

11.13

nominal 1

nominal 2

*Sa imagorong o de ose aggasang.*

T,S spirit.type also N,S other:LK spirit.that.causes.illness

The *imagorong* is another spirit that causes illnesses.

11.17

nominal 1

nominal 2

*Sa talligan de os-ose marugamas sina.*

T,S spirit.type N,S other:LK spirit.cured.by.herbs:L D1

The *talligan* is another kind of spirit [that is] cured by [placing] herbs [on the sick person] here.

The third function of the topic proclitic *sa* is to mark support information that provides contrast. These contrastive statements function as reasons or results and are associated with theme propositions.

Sentence 12.8 is a paragraph-final, non-verbal sentence which presents an evaluation of a result given in the paragraph in which it occurs. In the paragraph, the speaker asserts that a married child has obligations to his parents. If he marries away from his village, he might not be present when his

parents need him, and he will fail in fulfilling those obligations; then he will be like a visitor or an outsider. The role presented in 12.8 contrasts with the role that the married child should be fulfilling. The first half of the sentence is introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*, signalling that the sentence functions as contrast. In this case, the contrast is semantic only; there is no other grammatical feature that indicates contrast.

## 12.8

nominal 1	nominal 2
<i>Sa kunata</i>	<i>kammos pagay de igawta.</i>
T,S custom.of.visiting.relative.of.dead	EMPH EMPH N,S place:II,1,DL
We will be visitors [rather than sons or daughters].	

Sentence 12.14 is a paragraph-final sentence where contrast is signalled grammatically by both the marker *sa* and the phrase *te takon kay nu* 'for even if' which indicates counter-expectation. The sentence contains an equational reason clause, and the *sa* construction occurs in the second half of the equational reason sentence. In the paragraph in which 12.14 occurs, the speaker notes that a wife who comes from another village might accidentally offend the man's relatives when they come to visit by asking the relatives when they plan to leave. The speaker warns that the relatives will take offence even if the wife only asked so that she might have a going-away gift ready for them. The *sa*-marked reason statement contrasts with the reason that the relatives are going to attribute to her question.

## 12.14

	pronoun	nominal 1	nominal 2	
<i>Te takon kay nu siya angimusana de sa awad</i>				
because even.if	EMPH LK	III,3,S	ask:II,3,S	N,S T,S there.is
<i>kad in ela akit ak mipurut ta ittonak bilis ela</i>				
when CERT	HORT	few	SM squeeze and give:II,3,S:SM	dried.fish HORT
<i>nu siya awad in otyan kammiin attona pay ak iyod-odasda.</i>				
if	III,3,S	there.is	CERT OPT	EMPH give:II,3,S EMPH SM find:II,3,PL
Even if the reason why she asks is so that when a little money is set aside she can get some dried fish so there will be something that she can give as a gift [for them to take home].				

## 4.4 PSEUDO-CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS

The fourth topicalisation device is a pseudo-cleft construction. Grimes (1975:338) characterises pseudo-cleft constructions as the partitioning of information into an equational construction in which the two parts are related to each other as a question and its answer. Pseudo-cleft constructions perform two functions. Firstly, they indicate contrast (L. Hohulin & Hale 1977:244-245; Givón 1983:20; Jones 1977:192-195). Secondly, they highlight the exclusive property of some information (Grimes 1975:341). Of the two functions, contrast is the more common one (eight occurrences in thirteen). A pseudo-cleft sentence can contrast two nominals that are equally weighted or it can contrast one member of a class with all the other members of that class. It can also contrast two events.

There are three types of pseudo-cleft sentences. The first type is composed of an equational sentence in which each half of the sentence is expounded by a nominal.<sup>18</sup> The nominal can be a noun phrase or a nominalised clause. The first half of this equational sentence is introduced by a free-standing pronoun. The pronoun can be either the non-referring *siya* 'it' or one of the anaphoric reference pronouns, *sana* 'this' or *sadi* 'that'. When the nominal that follows the introductory pronoun is a nominalised clause, the focused element of the clause is missing. In this case, the introductory pronoun is a dummy pronoun that represents the missing focused element. The missing element itself is stated in the second half of the pseudo-cleft sentence as a noun phrase introduced by the nominal marker *de*.

In the text about leadership the speaker stresses the idea that in the past a good leader led on behalf of all the people. He presents this idea in the form of a pseudo-cleft sentence, 9.47. This statement contrasts with earlier remarks in the paragraph that the speaker has made about current leaders only leading for their own personal gain. The first half of the sentence is introduced by the non-referring pronoun *siya* 'it'. It is followed by a nominalised clause: *ipangatanatte dandani* 'he led on behalf of [someone] in the past'. The verbal affix *i--an* indicates that the referent as beneficiary of the action is the focused element. The focused element of the nominalised clause is absent. The second half of the sentence names the missing focused element which tells on whose behalf a leader led in the past: *da tagu* 'the people'. The focused element is a noun introduced by the nominal marker *da* (the plural of *de*).

9.47

pronoun	nominal 1	nominal 2
<i>Siya umpay ipangatanatte dandani da tagu.</i>		
III,3,S EMPH	lead:II,3,S:O,S	old.days N,PL person

The ones on whose behalf he led in the past were the people.

When the nominal that follows the introductory pronoun is a noun phrase (rather than a nominalised clause), it is the second half of an embedded equational clause in which the first half of the embedded clause is missing. In this case, the introductory pronoun replaces the missing nominal which is expounded by a noun phrase. Again the missing constituent is stated in the second half of the pseudo-cleft sentence and is introduced by the nominal marker *de*.

This type of pseudo-cleft sentence is seen in 13.2, which is introduced by the anaphoric reference pronoun *sana* 'this'. A referring pronoun rather than a non-referring pronoun is used to show that the missing constituent, the *tur-uk* thunder, has already been mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence. Following the introductory pronoun is the noun phrase *bordak ni tawon* 'the dividing point of the year' which could be thought of as the second half of an embedded equational clause. Assuming this is so, the pronoun *sana* can be interpreted as a substitute for the missing constituent, a noun phrase which is presented in the second half of the pseudo-cleft sentence and introduced by the nominal marker *de*: *de sane tur-uk* 'this first thunder'. Sentence 13.2 states a global theme proposition. The function of the pseudo-cleft structure is to indicate the exclusiveness of the fact that it is the *tur-uk* thunder, and only the *tur-uk* thunder, that signals the end of the old year and the beginning of a new year.

<sup>18</sup>It should be noted that the equational reason sentence mentioned in Chapter 2 is a variation of this type of pseudo-cleft sentence.

## 13.2

pronoun nominal 1                      nominal 2  
*Sana bordak ni tawon de sane tur-uk.*  
 D1        boundary G,S year N,S D1:LK first.thunder

The thing that is the dividing point of the year is this *tur-uk* thunder.

The second type of pseudo-cleft sentence is also an equational sentence. The first half of the sentence is a nominalised clause introduced by the topic proclitic *sa* in which the focused element of the nominalised clause is missing. The second half of the sentence is expounded by a noun, a noun phrase or a nominalised verb which states the missing focused element. This type of pseudo-cleft sentence is shown in sentence (a). The prenuclear dependent clause gives an indefinite time setting that gives a typical situation. The nuclear clause is manifested by a pseudo-cleft sentence. The first half of the sentence is introduced by *sa* and followed by a nominalised clause: *sa kanonda* 'they eat [something]'. The verbal affix *-on* signals that the direct object as goal is the focused element. The focused element of the nominalised clause – the item that is eaten – is missing. The second half of the sentence is a nominalised verb introduced by the optional nominal marker *de: de mama-ata* 'to be fresh or raw'. The nominalised verb names the item that is eaten, 'raw food', or more exactly 'raw meat'. The food is the missing focused element in the first half of the pseudo-cleft sentence. In this example, the pseudo-cleft sentence functions as contrast in the sense of counter-expectancy. The speaker assumes that the hearer expects the meat to be cooked before it is eaten. The pseudo-cleft construction indicates that the information contained in it is likely to be counter to what the hearer expects.

(a)

prenuclear.clause  
*(Awad kap pos pagay nigaydak ugadiw onnu anupanda.)*  
 there.is whenever HORT EMPH catch:II,3,PL:SM fish or game:II,3,PL

nuclear.clause  
 nominal 1            nominal 2  
*sa kanonda de mama-ata.*  
 T,S eat:II,3,PL N,S raw.food

(Whenever they have any fish or game that they have caught,) they eat it raw.

[Literally: Whenever they have any fish or game that they have caught, what they eat is raw food.]

It should be noted that the second item in the contrastive pair, the cooked food, is never actually mentioned by the speaker. Apparently it is not necessary to state the second item of a contrastive pair as long as it is something that the speaker is fairly sure is already in the minds of his hearers. As a good orator, the speaker anticipates the ideas and questions his talk might raise in the minds of the hearers and capitalises on those unspoken thoughts. How successful he is in doing so depends on how well he knows what his hearers are likely to be thinking.

It should be noted that the content in each half of this type of pseudo-cleft sentence can be reversed. In sentence (a) the clause with a missing focused element occurs in the first half of the sentence and the missing element is supplied in the second half. (When the clause with the missing element occurs first, it is always introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*.) In the following two sentences, however, this order is reversed. The first half of the sentence contains the element which is missing from the clause in the second half of the sentence.

Sentence (b) begins with a condition that sets the stage for what follows in the nuclear clause. The nuclear clause is expounded by a pseudo-cleft sentence in which the first half of the sentence is manifested by a noun introduced by the topic proclitic *sa*: *sa ongorda* ‘their noses’. The second half of the sentence is expounded by the nominalised clause *gogodonda* ‘they slice [something]’. The verbal affix is *-on* and indicates that the direct object as goal is the focused element. The optional nominal marker *de* which sometimes introduces the second half of a sentence is absent. The focused element which is missing from the nominalised clause is the noun given in the first half of the pseudo-cleft sentence. Once again the pseudo-cleft construction signals local contrast. In the paragraph in which sentence (b) occurs, the speaker has been explaining how the Eskimos eat by biting into a chunk of meat and, while holding it in their teeth, proceed to slice off a piece with a knife. The speaker draws attention to the precarious nature of this activity by contrasting the two things that the eater can end up slicing: the meat if his hand is steady, or his nose if his hand should slip.

(b)

prenuclear.clause

(*Adida kap pagay alistuwan ta mitagiwaw de*  
not:II,3,PL whenever EMPH skilled and slip N,S

nuclear.clause

nominal 1 nominal 2

*imada,) sa ongorda gogodonda.*  
hand:II,3,PL T,S nose:II,3,PL slice:II,3,PL

(When they are not skillful and their hand slips,) it is their nose that they will slice.

The third pseudo-cleft sentence is not a true pseudo-cleft construction although it also partitions information into a question and its answer. This construction is marked by an introductory clause *angwa kad* ‘what happened then was’ which is a frozen construction.<sup>19</sup> The introductory clause *angwa kad* is followed by a verbal clause which expounds the nuclear position of the sentence. The verbal clause supplies the answer to the question raised by the introductory clause and tells what happened. This construction has been noted in two other Kalinga dialects: Lower Tanudan Kalinga and Madukayang Kalinga. Elkins and Hale (1980:11) also comment on a related construction in narrative discourse in Western Bukidnon Manobo. In expository discourse, this pseudo-cleft construction indicates contrast between two events or the exclusiveness of a particular action. Two examples of this type of pseudo-cleft construction follow.

Sentence 9.12 begins with the introductory clause *angwa kad* ‘what happens then is’ in the first prenuclear clause. The nuclear clause gives the answer: the leader’s peers will respect him. In this sentence, the pseudo-cleft construction highlights the exclusiveness of the action stated in the nuclear clause. The action itself is a result that forms the peak of the paragraph.

<sup>19</sup>The frozen form *angwa kad* ‘what happened then was’ is an example of an element that is undergoing grammaticalisation. Lehmann (1982:11) defines grammaticalisation as a process in which a lexical item can change into a grammatical item, or a less grammatical item can change to a more grammatical status. In this case, the dependent verbal clause *angwa kad* ‘whenever it happens’ or ‘whenever he does it’ has become a frozen form. When the clause is a frozen form, the verb *angwa* cannot occur in the perfective aspect (*nangwa*), and the actor of the clause can only be expressed as a third-person singular entity. The frozen form *angwa kad* carries a fixed meaning, ‘what happened then was’, and functions as the introductory clause for this type of pseudo-cleft construction.



## CHAPTER 5

### EXPOSITORY PARTICIPANTS AND ABSTRACT THEMES

In expository discourse, there are two types of person orientation. The first type concerns the participants within the text itself. They are the participants that the speaker uses to present, explain and prove the theme proposition that he wants to develop. The second type of person orientation concerns those participants who are involved in the speech situation: the speaker and the hearer.

#### 5.1 GENERIC PERSONAGES AND PERSONIFIED THEMES

Within a text, a speaker has three basic approaches for presenting, explaining, and proving what he wants to talk about. Firstly, he can discuss his theme using generic personages. Secondly, he can discuss his theme using personified abstractions. Thirdly, he can discuss his theme using first person plural pronouns. Of these three approaches, the most common ways of discussing a theme are the generic personage approach and the first person plural pronoun approach. While generic personages or first person plural pronouns can develop an entire text, there are no examples in which a personified abstraction develops a whole text. Instead personified abstractions occur in combination with the other two approaches. Most texts, especially longer ones, employ more than one approach for developing a theme. There is one text in the data in which all three approaches are used.

When a speaker discusses his theme proposition using generic personages, he creates a set of generic, non-referring personages that are typical representatives of groups of people found in the real world.<sup>20</sup> They do not represent specific real people in the actual world. In a sense a personage is a sort of 'John Doe' or 'Everyman' which the speaker uses to explain and prove what he wants to say. This set of personages consists of one, two or three primary personages who interact with a small cast of minor personages.

In expository discourse, theme propositions centre around abstract concepts such as leadership, marriage, righteous living and spirit illness. In order to help the hearer understand what he wants to say about an abstract concept, the speaker presents a generic personage whom he discusses in specific, concrete terms. The personage moves about in conditional or hypothetical situations created by the speaker. He performs actions that are typical of those that have been performed by actual

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<sup>20</sup>In his discussion of expository discourse in Central Bontoc, another Central Cordilleran language, Benn (1983:249) also notes the generic nature of the participants found in an expository text that explains how a set of rituals called the Innana are performed:

In narrative discourse participants typically play a prominent role in the orientation and development of the story line. It is usually quite important for the reader to be able to visualise exactly who does what, and why. The Innana text participant orientation sharply contrasts with this. It is as if the author is saying: 'Look, it doesn't matter who does this. It is the ritual that is important, not the participant'. It is as though the author is setting up frames for each of the rituals, the participant slots of which could be filled by a range of individuals.

people in similar situations. He utters words typical of those that have actually been said by real world people. Through the actions and words of the generic personage, the speaker presents, supports and proves his theme proposition. The generic personage, then, acts as a sort of dummy edifice around which the speaker erects a scaffolding of statements about the theme proposition. Once the speaker has introduced the generic personage and established a relationship between the personage and the theme proposition, he foregrounds or backgrounds the generic personage or the theme proposition, depending on whether he wants to discuss the concrete or abstract aspects of his theme.

It should be noted that in some texts a primary personage is almost synonymous with the global theme proposition. For example, in the text about leadership the speaker creates a generic personage who is *pangat* 'a leader', a type representing all leaders, and the speaker discusses what he wants to say about leadership in terms of this typical leader. The theme and the generic personage are so closely identified with each other that the leader almost becomes a personification of the abstract concept of leadership. In another text, the speaker presents a global theme stating that a child is the fruit of married love. *Anak* 'a child' is the primary personage which the speaker uses to develop the theme. In this text the child is introduced and referred to in the same ways that the main argument of a theme proposition would be. In other words, the generic person is treated grammatically as though it were an abstract concept. This is seen in the two examples below.

Sentence 10.1 opens the text by giving a partial statement of the global theme in the nuclear clause. The statement presents *anak* 'a child' as the main argument of the theme proposition, as a non-focused element. This is a typical way of presenting a theme proposition. Sentence 10.2 gives a full theme proposition. The sentence is introduced by a fronted noun phrase which again presents *anak* as the main argument of the theme proposition. The nuclear clause presents a full statement of the theme proposition.

## 10.1

fronted.noun.phrase                      nuclear.clause  
*Sa anna gose miibagak, mipuun atte anak.*  
 T,S DI    also:LK    tell:II,1,S    concerned O,S child  
 This which I am going to talk about, it concerns the child.

## 10.2

fronted.noun.phrase    nuclear.clause  
*Sa anak, sana de mantipunan ni layad da duwe man-asawa.*  
 T,S child                      DI    N,S join                      G,S love    G,PL two:LK spouse/marriage  
 A child, this is the union of the love of the two who are married.

This close association between a theme and the generic personage that represents the theme is also reflected in personified abstractions. Just as a person can be treated as a theme so too can a theme be treated as a person. Abstract concepts can be personified by handling them grammatically as though they were the agents or initiators of actions in verbal clauses. The personification of an abstract concept gives a concreteness to the concept that adds vividness and force to what is being asserted. In the data, personified abstractions occur in statements of theme propositions. These statements can be initial presentations of a theme, restatements of a theme or summaries of a theme.



In 10.3 *layad* 'love' is one of the arguments of the global theme which states that a child is the fruit of married love. In the prenuclear clause of the sentence, the speaker talks about *layad* 'love' bearing fruit as though it were a tree or a plant rather than an abstraction.

## 10.3

prenuclear.clause

*Amunga kad de layad da laraki kan bobai ye nantipun,*  
bear.fruit whenever N,S love G,PL man and woman LK join

nuclear.clause

postnuclear.clause

*sa bungan ni layadda anak wot sa anak bungan*  
T,S fruit:LK G,S love:II,3,PL child so.then T,S child fruit:LK

*ni layad di asawa.*

G,S love G,S spouse/marriage

Whenever the love of a man and woman who have joined together bears fruit, the fruit of their love is a child so then a child is the fruit of married love.

Sentence 8.7a states a lower-level theme proposition for a non-initial paragraph. Sentence 8.7b restates the theme. Sentence 8.14 which occurs towards the end of the same paragraph also restates the theme in a kind of summary. The lower-level theme of the paragraph is that the *paniyaw* taboo, which is one of the three standards of righteous living, benefits a person in many ways. In the postnuclear clause of 8.7a the speaker talks about the *paniyaw* taboo as though it were an actor who could willingly bestow benefits upon a person. In the nuclear clause of 8.7b the speaker continues to refer to the concept of *paniyaw* as though it were a person. The statement made in 8.7b is repeated in the nuclear clause of 8.14. In all three sentences, the abstraction *paniyaw* functions as the actor of the clause in which it occurs.

## 8.7a

fronted.noun.phrase

prenuclear.clause

*Sa anne mapaniyaw, nu ikatagun ni tagu,*  
T,S D1:LK taboo if live.by.means.of:LK G,S person

nuclear.clause

postnuclear.clause

*manggogdonge matagu te adu denne itton ni paniyaw*  
straight:LK live because many N,S:D1:LK give G,S taboo

*atta bumaruwan ni tagu we matagu tennaya aligna.*

O,PL benefit G,S person LK live because:here.is example:II,3,S

This *paniyaw* taboo, if a person lives by it, he will live righteously because there are many things that the *paniyaw* taboo gives for the improvement of a person's life because here is an example.

## 8.7b

fronted.noun.phrase

nuclear.clause

postnuclear.clause

*Sa anne paniyaw, adu de ipalitna te sa kananda*  
T,S D1:LK taboo many N,S prohibit:II,3,S because T,S say:II,3,PL

“*Paniyaw de akawonta manuk te antangad de uminum*”.

taboo N,S steal:II,1,DL chicken because upright N,S drink

This *paniyaw* taboo, there are many things that it prohibits because what they say is, “It is *paniyaw* for us to steal a chicken because it drinks with its head held upright”.

8.14

nuclear.clause

postnuclear.clause

*Adu da anne ipalit da paniyaw te paniyaw os de*  
many N,PL D1:LK prohibit G,PL taboo because taboo also N,S

*upanta gela an-uguugud atta kiissaw te ngan kanu ta*  
HAB:I,1,DL HORT talk O,PL dirt because INT RS LK

*upam os ela ugudon de morpuwam.*

HAB:II,2,S also HORT talk N,S come.from:II,2,S

There are many things that the *paniyaw* taboo prohibits because it is *paniyaw* for us to keep on talking about dirty things [sex] because why should you keep on talking about where you came from?

## 5.2 INTRODUCTION AND IDENTIFICATION OF PARTICIPANTS

As mentioned earlier, generic personages consist of a few primary personages, usually no more than three, and a small number of minor personages. Primary and minor personages differ in the way in which they are introduced, identified and referred to pronominally. There are several ways in which a primary personage can be introduced. If they are introduced in a verbal clause, they must first be presented in a non-focused noun phrase. Once they have been introduced in this way, they are eligible for a focused position.

As noted elsewhere, *anak* ‘a child’ is one of the primary personages of the text about the meaning of the word ‘child’. In 10.1 *anak* is first introduced in the nuclear clause in a noun phrase preceded by the oblique marker *atte*. *Atte* indicates that *anak* is not the focused element of the clause.

It should be noted that in this text *anak* is introduced in the same way as an abstract concept that is the main argument of a theme proposition. This grammatical treatment of a primary personage as an abstraction underscores the close association between a theme and the generic personage that represents that theme.

10.1

fronted.noun.phrase

nuclear.clause

*Sa anna gose miibagak, mipuun atte anak.*

T,S D1 also:LK tell:II,1,S concerned O,S child

This which I am going to talk about, it concerns the child.

The primary personage of text 9 is *pangat* ‘a leader’, first introduced in the second half of 9.1. Here again the noun phrase is introduced by the oblique marker *atte* which signals that the noun phrase is not the focused element of the clause.

## 9.1

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Annaya in-inon da tagutte awi ye anginap atte pangatda.*  
 here.is way G,PL person:O,S long.ago LK look.for O,S leader:II,3,PL  
 Here is how people who lived long ago recognised their leader.

If a primary personage is introduced in an existential clause, it occurs in the second half of the clause. The snake is one of the primary personages of text 11 and snake is first mentioned in 11.2, which is an existential clause. It is introduced in a relative clause in the second half of the existential clause. The relative clause itself is expounded by an equational clause, and the snake is presented in the second half of that clause.

## 11.2

nominal 1 nominal 2  
*Awad da udum al Lubo we aggasangda urog.*  
 there.is N,PL other L Lubo LK spirit.type:II,3,PL snake  
 There are others in Lubo for whom the snake is their *aggasang* spirit.

If the primary personage is introduced in a genitive noun phrase, it occurs as the possessor of the head noun. In text 8 *tagu* 'a person' (in particular a person who lives righteously) is the primary personage, introduced in the first sentence of the text. Sentence 8.1 is a cleft sentence that is expounded by two nominals. The second nominal is expounded by a genitive noun phrase in which the primary personage *tagu* acts as the possessor of the head noun *in-inon* 'way'.

## 8.1

nominal 1 nominal 2

head possessor  
*Annaya de kuur-ullitan ni in-inon ni tagu we manggodonge matagu.*  
 here.is N,S story G,S way G,S person LK straight:LK live  
 Here is the story of how a person can live righteously.

If a primary personage is introduced in an equational clause marked by the topic proclitic *sa*, it occurs in the first half of the clause. For example, in the text about the *aggasang* spirits the *kukku* spirit is another primary personage and is introduced in 11.6, which is an equational clause composed of two nominals. The *kukku* spirit is presented in the first nominal, which is marked by the topic proclitic *sa*.

## 11.6

nominal 1 nominal 2  
*Sa kukku gos de ose masap-uyal Lubo.*  
 T,S spirit.type also N,S other:LK spirit.removed.by.smoke:L Lubo  
 The *kukku* is another kind of spirit [that is] driven away by [blowing] smoke [on it] in Lubo.

A primary personage can also be introduced as a single nominal expounding the nuclear clause of a sentence. In this case, the nominal is also marked by the topic proclitic *sa*. An example of this is found in the opening sentence of the text about the *aggasang* spirits, which are primary personages. They are introduced as a single nominal in the nuclear clause of 11.1; the nominal is marked by the topic proclitic *sa*.

## 11.1

fronted.noun.phrase      nuclear.clause

*Sa anne ugudok, sa aggasang.*

T,S D1:LK talk:II,1,S T,S spirit.type

This which I am going to talk about, it is the *aggasang* spirit.

Since the Lubo regard the *aggasang* spirit as an animate being with a will of its own, it is included here as a generic personage. It should be noted, however, that the boundary between the *aggasang* spirit as a generic personage and the *aggasang* spirit as an abstract thematic concept is fuzzy. The *aggasang* spirit could be regarded as either. This ambiguity is underlined by the fact that the *aggasang* spirit is introduced in the same way that an abstract concept in a theme proposition is introduced.

Finally, primary personages can also be introduced in left-dislocated noun phrases marked by the topic proclitic *sa*. A clitic pronoun is left in place of the noun phrase in the unmarked position in the clause in which it originally occurred. Left-dislocated noun phrases occur with both verbal and non-verbal clauses. If a primary personage is introduced in a left-dislocated noun phrase, it is automatically eligible for a focused position.

Sentence 11.18 begins with a left-dislocated noun phrase marked by *da* (the plural of the topic proclitic *sa*) and introduces a group of generic personages: *da matalligan* ‘those who are afflicted by the *talligan* spirit’. In the nuclear clause, the unmarked position of the left-dislocated noun phrase is indicated by the clitic pronoun *-da* ‘they’ which occurs following both of the verbs that expound the nuclear clause.

## 11.18

left-dis.noun.phrase      nuclear.clause

*Da matalligan, manduradurasda ya mang-it-ittada.*

T,PL be.afflicted.by.talligan.spirit writhe.in.pain:I,3,PL and gasp.for.breath:I,3,PL

Those who are made sick by the *talligan* spirit, they writhe in pain and gasp for breath.

Sentence 9.37 begins with a left-dislocated noun phrase that introduces *da mallintog* ‘the mediators’, who are the leaders in the community and the primary generic personages in the text. The unmarked position of the left-dislocated noun phrase occurs in the nuclear clause and is indicated by the clitic pronoun *-da* ‘their’ which is attached to *tangdan* ‘payment’.

## 9.37

left-dis.noun.phrase      nuclear.clause

*Da mallintog atte dandani, niippun tangdanda.*

T,PL mediate O,S old.days none:MOD payment:II,3,PL

The mediators of the past, they were not paid.

Sentence 17.3 begins with a fronted noun phrase that states a partial theme. It is followed by a left-dislocated noun phrase marked by *da* (the plural of *sa*) which introduces the primary generic personages of the text: ‘the two people who are different who are a man and a woman’. The speaker is referring to a married couple. The unmarked position of the dislocated noun phrase occurs in the prenuclear clause and is indicated by the clitic pronoun *-da* ‘they’ which follows the two verbs that expound the clause.

## 17.3

fronted.noun.phrase left-dis.noun.phrase  
*Sa asawa, da duwe tagu we antokone laraki*  
 T,S spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person LK different:LK man

prenuclear.clause  
*ya bobai, antipunda kad ya nang-amungda,*  
 and woman join:I,3,PL whenever and join:I,3,PL

nuclear.clause  
*sadi kanande 'asawa'.*  
 D3 say:II,3,PL:LK spouse/marriage

In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman, when they live together, that is what they call 'marriage'.

Minor personages do not require introduction. They are simply identified by a nominal and are eligible for either non-focused or focused positions upon first mention. For example, *tagu* 'a person' is a minor personage in the text about the *aggasang* spirits. *Tagu* is mentioned for the first time in the prenuclear clause of 11.14 and is preceded by the oblique marker *atte* which indicates that *tagu* is not a focused element.

## 11.14

prenuclear.clause  
*Nu makaug-uggudkatte tagu ya pion dika gelatte*  
 if talk:I,2,S:O,S person and want IV,2,S EMPH:O,S

nuclear.clause  
*aggasang tipakon, maaggasanganka.*  
 spirit.type afflict afflicted.by.an.aggasang.spirit:I,2,S  
 If you are afflicted by an *aggasang* spirit, you will get an *aggasang* illness.

In the text about righteous living, *ina* 'mother' and *katuganga* 'parent-in-law' are minor personages who are mentioned for the first time in 8.12. The personages are marked by the nominal marker *da* (the plural of *de*) which indicates that the personages are the focused elements of the clause.

## 8.12

nuclear.clause  
*Adita pun ela da inata malliwliw-an onnu*  
 not:II,1,DL MOD HORT N,PL mother:II,1,DL trouble or

postnuclear.clause  
*katugangata upan subogon te mabiin.*  
 parent.in.law:II,1,DL HAB argue because respect  
 We should not cause our mothers trouble or constantly argue with our in-laws because it is shameful.

In 12.3 the speaker introduces *katukutukun* 'a confidant' as a minor personage. The personage is presented in a postnuclear clause that is expounded by an existential clause. *Katukutukun* 'a confidant' occurs in the second half of the existential clause.

## 12.3

	prenuclear.clause			nuclear.clause	
(Yakon)	<i>awad kad</i>	<i>idangdangkasta,</i>		<i>angkuwata</i>	
but	there.is	whenever	have.misfortune:II,1,DL	own:II,1,DL	
			postnuclear.clause		
	<i>pagay lawinge angos</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ippun</i>	<i>katukutukunta.</i>	
	EMPH bad:LK	breath/feeling	because	none:MOD	confidant:II,1,DL
	(But) if we have problems, we will have bad feelings because we will have no one to confide in.				

Since personages in expository discourse are typical representatives of people in the real world rather than unique individuals, they do not require identification by description. Normally personages are sufficiently identified by simply naming them. There are times, though, when a primary personage is identified by a description as well as a nominal. In these cases, the primary personage occurs as a noun and is qualified by a relative clause that contains thematic information. If the thematic information is new information, it helps develop the theme proposition. If it is old information, it serves to maintain thematic cohesion. Consequently, the function of the relative clause is less to describe the primary participant than to promote the theme. Relative clauses occur with primary personages when primary personages are presented in left-dislocated noun phrases, in noun phrases in prenuclear clauses or in noun phrases expounding the second half of an equational clause. In each of these constructions, the primary personage is the head of the noun phrase.

In 17.3 the primary personages, a married couple, are first presented in a left-dislocated noun phrase and are introduced as *da duwe tagu* ‘two people’. The noun phrase is followed by two relative clauses that further describe the personages as two people who are different, who are a man and a woman. The information contained in the relative clause is new information that sets the stage for the main idea in the theme that in marriage two separate and distinct people join together to become one flesh.

## 17.3

	fronted.noun.phrase		left-dis.noun.phrase		
	<i>Sa asawa,</i>	<i>da duwe tagu</i>	<i>we antokone</i>	<i>laraki</i>	
	T,S spouse/marriage	T,PL two:LK	person LK	different:LK	man
		prenuclear.clause			
	<i>ya bobai,</i>	<i>antipunda kad</i>	<i>ya nang-amungda,</i>		
	and woman	join:I,3,PL	whenever	and	join:I,3,PL
	nuclear.clause				
	<i>sadi kanande</i>	‘asawa’.			
	D3	say:II,3,PL:LK	spouse/marriage		
	In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman, when they live together, that is what they call ‘marriage’.				

In 10.3 the speaker introduces the generic personages *laraki* ‘a man’ and *bobai* ‘a woman’ in the prenuclear clause. The noun phrase that names the man and woman is followed by a relative clause that further identifies them as a man and a woman who join together.

## 10.3

prenuclear.clause

*Amunga kad de layad da laraki kan bobai ye nantipun,*  
 bear.fruit whenever N,S love G,PL man and woman LK join

nuclear.clause

postnuclear.clause

*sa bungan ni layadda anak wot sa anak bungan*  
 T,S fruit:LK G,S love:II,3,PL child so.then T,S child fruit:LK

*ni layad di asawa.*

G,S love G,S spouse/marriage

Whenever the love of a man and woman who have joined together bears fruit, the fruit of their love is a child so then a child is the fruit of married love.

In 8.36 the generic personage is presented in a noun phrase in the second half of the sentence, which is an equational clause. The noun phrase naming the personage is followed by two relative clauses that describe the person: one who is like that, who has no *ngilin* or *biin* or *paniyaw*.

## 8.36

nominal 1

nominal 2

*Dinos ela tagu we katnate ippos ela gudas*  
 INT:also HORT person LK like.that:LK none:MOD:also HORT any

*ngilinna kan da biinna kan da paniyawna?*

taboo:II,3,S and PL respect:II,3,S and PL taboo:II,3,S

Where can you find a person like that who has no *ngilin* and no *biin* and no *paniyaw*?

The names of primary and minor personages are usually repeated in new paragraphs even when they have already been stated in an immediately preceding paragraph. The repetition of the name of a known personage in a new paragraph serves primarily to maintain theme cohesion. In repeating the name of a personage, the speaker also eliminates potential ambiguity by keeping participant reference clear.

In 17.3 the primary personages *da duwe tagu* 'two people' are introduced for the first time, in a left-dislocated noun phrase. Sentence 17.8 is the first sentence of the next paragraph and in it the speaker repeats the name of the generic personages in another left-dislocated noun phrase, identifying them again as *da duwe tagu* 'two people'. The repetition of the name helps to maintain thematic cohesion.

## 17.3

fronted.noun.phrase left-dis.noun.phrase

*Sa asawa, da duwe tagu we antokone laraki*  
 T,S spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person LK different:LK man

prenuclear.clause

*ya bobai, antipunda kad ya nang-amungda,*  
 and woman join:I,3,PL whenever and join:I,3,PL

nuclear.clause

*sadi kanande* 'asawa'.

D3 say:II,3,PL:LK spouse/marriage

In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman, when they live together, that is what they call 'marriage'.

17.8

fronted.noun.phrase

left-dis.noun.phrase

nuclear.clause

*Sa sane asawa, da duwe tagu, nambalindak ossaan.*

T,S D1:LK spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person become:I,3,PL:SM one

In this marriage, the two people, they become one.

This same pattern of reidentification is seen in text 12. In 12.5, which begins a paragraph, the speaker introduces the generic personages *ama* 'father' and *ina* 'mother' for the first time in the initial prenuclear clause of the sentence. Sentence 12.7 begins the next paragraph and there the speaker reidentifies the personages in prenuclear clause 1. Once again the reidentification helps maintain thematic cohesion.

12.5

prenuclear.clause 1a

*Inta kos ilan da amata ka inata onnu*

go:II,1,DL whenever:also see N,PL father:II,1,DL and mother:II,1,DL or

prenuclear.clause 1b

*umanakta kad ya ummalitatte ilita umoy an-angoy,*

have.children:I,1,DL whenever and come:I,1,DL:O,S place:II,1,DL go visit

nuclear.clause 1

prenuclear.clause 2

*ummoytos insopsop dida ya miid kad in*

go:II,1,DL:also be.financial.burden III,3,PL and none whenever CERT

nuclear.clause 2

*pugikonda kan dita, nampabiinan os da ama.*

crush.in.hand:II,3,PL O III,1,DL shame also G,PL father

When we go to see our mothers and fathers or when we have children and we come to our village to visit [our parents], we will become a financial burden to them and if they have nothing to butcher for us, they [the parents of the married couple] will be put to shame.

12.7

prenuclear.clause 1

nuclear.clause 1

*Matoy kos da inata ka amata, ippunta in*

die when:also N,PL mother:II,1,DL and father:II,1,DL none:MOD:I,1,DL CERT

postnuclear.clause 1

prenuclear.clause 2

*te annat atta udume ili ya umoy dita kad in*

because D2 O,PL other:LK place and go IV,1,DL when CERT



nuclear.clause 2

*guwaban ta makanuta, iggada in de natoy.*  
 call.for.emergency and be.delayed:I,1,DL put:II,3,PL CERT N,S die

When our mothers and fathers die, we will not be there because we will be in other places and when they call us to attend the funeral and we are delayed in coming, they will bury the dead.

Since personages are closely tied to theme propositions, a change in personages usually indicates a change in theme propositions. Changes in theme propositions are signalled by new paragraphs, and different personages associated with the new theme are presented in the new paragraph according to whether they are primary or minor personages and whether they are new or previously introduced personages.

An example of this is found in text 12. Sentence 12.12 begins a non-initial paragraph in the text. The lower-level theme of the paragraph centres around the wife who is from another village. The young woman is the primary personage that is associated with the new lower-level theme presented in the paragraph. She is introduced in the prenuclear clause of 12.12 as *inasawata* 'the one whom we have married'. The nominal *inasawata* is the focused element of the prenuclear clause.

Up to this paragraph, the primary personages in the text have only been referred to as 'we two'; however, the content of the text makes it clear that the primary personages are young married adults or young adults contemplating marriage. In 12.12 the young married woman is specifically identified because she is the generic personage that is central to the development of the new lower-level theme. *Mangili* 'a visitor' is a new minor personage in the same paragraph, also introduced for the first time in the prenuclear clause of 12.12 and marked by *atta* (the plural of the oblique marker *atte*). This is a typical way of introducing a new minor personage.

### 12.12

prenuclear.clause  
*Bumoroyta kad os atta ili ya asi gos nan inasawata*  
 dwell:I,1,DL whenever also O,PL place and will also N,S:D1 spouse/marriage:II,1,DL

*agag pulingot onnu agag malii atta mangili,*  
 partial easily.offended or partial give.angry.looks O,PL visitor

nuclear.clause postnuclear.clause  
*ummoytos nangor-ak muugudanta te ammammangilitaku*  
 go:II,1,DL:also get:SM talked.about:II,1,DL because have.visitors:I,1,PL,INC

*pun adi kad guminga allanggak atta mangili nallawingan*  
 when not when speak sociable O,PL visitor offended

*os da susunudta kan dita.*  
 also G,PL sibling:II,1,DL O III,1,DL

When we go and live in other villages and our wife is easily offended or gives angry looks at the visitors, those acts might be the things that cause us to be talked about because when we have visitors and she is not sociable with them, our relatives [who are the visitors] will take offence at us.

## 5.3 PRONOMINAL REFERENCE

There are two kinds of personages that can be referred to pronominally. Firstly, there are personages who are introduced by nominals and then referred to by pronouns. Secondly, there are those personages who do not require introduction as nominals, but who are normally referred to only by pronouns. Once primary or minor personages have been introduced by a nominal, they can be referred to by a pronoun. In terms of pronominal reference, primary and minor personages differ only in the scope covered by the pronouns that refer to them. Pronominal reference for primary personages extends over a greater number of sentences than does pronominal reference for minor personages. Once they have been named, they can be referred to by pronouns within the same sentence in which they have been introduced, across sentence boundaries or across paragraph boundaries. In fact, if it is sufficiently clear that the speaker is still talking about the same primary personage, the pronominal reference can extend across several paragraphs even if other personages are introduced within those paragraphs.

Illustrations of pronominal reference are contained in the paragraph consisting of 9.35 - 9.44 where the primary personage is 'a leader'. Since the leader is the primary generic personage and has already been introduced in preceding paragraphs, the speaker does not reidentify him in this paragraph, but simply refers to him pronominally. This is seen in the first sentence of the paragraph, 9.35, in which the speaker refers to the leader in the prenuclear clause in the word *mangor-ana* 'his getting' and in the nuclear clause in the word *somsomokna* 'his thinking'. The possessive clitic pronoun *-na* 'his' which follows both *mangor-an* and *somsomok* refers to the leader. In 9.36 the leader is again referred to pronominally by the possessive clitic pronoun *-na* 'his' which follows the words *laing* 'intelligence' and *kinasomsomok* 'thought'.

A new personage is introduced in 9.37: *da mallintog* 'the mediators'. As pointed out elsewhere, *da mallintog* is actually another name for the leaders of the community since only leaders have sufficient authority and power to settle disputes. Because the leader's role as mediator is central to the theme of the paragraph, the leaders are introduced specifically as mediators in a left-dislocated noun phrase.

In 9.38 other minor personages are introduced in prenuclear clause 1b: *ose boryan* 'a family' and *ose tagu* 'a person'. Even though other personages have been introduced, the leader is still referred to pronominally in nuclear clause 1 by the clitic pronoun *-na* 'he' which is attached to the verb *igagayam* 'to stay home'. The pronominal reference for the leader continues and can be seen in prenuclear clause 2 and in the postnuclear clause of the sentence. In both clauses, the pronoun *-na* 'he' which attaches to the verb expounding the predicate of the clause refers to the leader. (The leader is referred to pronominally in all the remaining sentences in the paragraph.)

## 9.35

fronted.noun.phrase

nuclear.clause

*Sa ose mangor-ana, sa anne kinaturod ni somsomokna.*

T,S one:LK get:II,3,S T,S D1:LK courage G,S thought:II,3,S

Another way of getting it [his leadership], it is by the courageousness of his [the leader's] thinking.

9.36

*Anna de kamak laingna onnu kinasomsomokne mallintog.*  
 D1 N,S EMPH intelligence:II,3,S or thought:II,3,S:LK mediate  
 He has intelligence or his own way of giving justice.

9.37

left-dis.noun.phrase nuclear.clause  
*Da mallintog atte dandani, niipun tangdanda.*  
 T,PL mediate O,S old.days none:MOD payment:II,3,PL  
 The mediators of the past, they were not paid.

9.38

prenuclear.clause 1a prenuclear.clause 1b  
*Awag gad da kasus, nu makasusan de ose boryan, ose tagu,*  
 there.is whenever N,PL case if have.a.case N,S one:LK family one:LK person

nuclear.clause 1 prenuclear.clause 2  
*igagayamna ya ilintogna kad de guru kan da kasus,*  
 stay.home:II,3,S and mediate:II,3,S whenever N,S trouble and PL case

nuclear.clause 2  
*kanande "A, gappiya kan anuka ta iningaw*  
 say:II,3,PL:LK ah thank.heavens O what's.his.name LK stay

postnuclear.clause  
*ta linintogana".*  
 and mediate:II,3,S

When there are cases, if a family or a person is involved in a case, he will stay home from work and when he settles the trouble and the cases, they will say, "Ah, thank heavens what's-his-name was here so that he could settle the case".

9.39

*Te takon kay nu insissiput attenna da malintogan, igagayamna.*  
 because even.if EMPH LK time.of.work O,S:D1 N,PL mediate stay.home:II,3,S  
 Because even if there are cases to be settled during working periods, he will stay home from work.

9.40

*Ibanduna gay de kuwade siput ya linintogana*  
 disregard:II,3,S EMPH N,S own:II,3,PL:LK work and mediate:II,3,S

*da sadi ye makasusan tenna ampay de igammuna*  
 N,PL D3 LK have.a.case because:D1 EMPH N,S know:II,3,S

*ka orogna paye mallintog atte kuwane somsomok.*  
 and able:II,3,S EMPH:LK mediate O,S own:II,3,S:LK thought

He will disregard his own work and he will mediate for those who have a case to be settled because he is indeed knowledgeable and capable of being a mediator by his own thinking.

9.41

*Duknag gad atte linnintogan ni ili ya kinabagaang,*  
arrive when O,S mediation G,S place and relations.between.villages

*ittona pay de long-agna ka amine orgawne*  
give:II,3,S EMPH N,S body:II,3,S and all:LK day:II,3,S:LK

*mataktak ta pione malintogan.*

delay because like/want:II,3,S:LK mediate

When it comes to settling disputes in the village or when there is trouble between villages, he will offer himself and his time because he wants the case to be settled.

9.42

*Adina pun pay tawiliyon de boryanna ya siya*  
not:II,3,S MOD EMPH look.back N,S family:II,3,S and III,3,S

*pay koone umoy mangipapuut atte malintogan ni duwe ili.*  
EMPH do/make:LK go diligent O,S mediate G,S two:LK place

He does not look back to his family affairs and he will continue devoting himself to the settling of the case between the two communities.

9.43

*Sadi ose mangor-ana gos atte kinapangatna te niippon*  
D3 other:LK get:II,3,S also O,S leadership:II,3,S because none:MOD

*ampay aposna.*

EMPH jealous:II,3,S

That is another way in which he gains his leadership because he does not show any partiality for his own interests.

9.44

*Siya pay koone mangipapuut atte malintogan ya bumaruan da matagu.*  
III,3,S EMPH do/make:LK diligent O,S mediate and benefit G,PL live

He works for the settlement of cases and for the benefit of the living.

The extended scope of the pronominal reference for a primary personage is seen in the last two paragraphs in text 11. The first paragraph includes 11.17 - 11.19; the second includes 11.20 - 11.22.

The sentence of interest is 11.22, the last sentence of the text. It contains the pronoun *dida* 'they'. The question arises: to whom is *dida* 'they' referring? In this sentence it refers to the people who are indwelt by an *aggasang* spirit. They are the only people who can effectively cure an illness caused by an *aggasang* spirit. The referential antecedent for the pronoun *dida* does not occur in the same paragraph with 11.22. It is found, instead, in the preceding paragraph in 11.19, which asserts that if a sick person does not have a poultice of herbs placed on him by someone who is indwelt by a *talligan* spirit, then he will die of the sickness caused by the *talligan* spirit. That statement is expanded and made more inclusive in the last paragraph.

11.17

*Sa talligan de os-ose marugamas sina.*

T,S spirit.type N,S other:LK spirit.cured.by.herbs:L D1

The *talligan* is another kind of spirit [that is] cured by [placing] herbs [on the sick person] here.

11.18

*Da matalligan, manduradurasda ya mang-it-ittada.*

T,PL be.afflicted.by.talligan.spirit writhe.in.pain:I,3,PL and gasp.for.breath:I,3,PL

Those who are made sick by the *talligan* spirit, they writhe in pain and gasp for breath.

11.19

*Nu adi ditos lugaman atta singkuwatte sane talligan, matoyta.*

if not IV,1,DL:also weed O,PL owner:O,S D1:LK spirit.type die:I,1,DL

If the owner of this *talligan* spirit does not place an herb on us, we will die.

11.20

*Siya upanta matipakan de makuug-uggudtatta*

III,3,S HAB:II,1,DL afflict N,S talk:I,1,DL:O,PL

*maaggasangan ya iwadoyta da napurdusan.*

made.ill.by.spirit and push.through.vegetation N,PL knotted.vegetation

The reason why we are afflicted with spirit illnesses is that we talk with people who have *aggasang* spirits in them and we push through vegetation that has been rightfully claimed by another person.

11.21

*Adipun makwe sap-uyan ka lugaman da udume tagu.*

not:MOD possible:LK blow and weed G,PL other:LK person

It is not possible for other people to blow [on the sick person] and to place herbs on him.

11.22

*Dida pagay!*

III,3,PL EMPH

They are the only ones!

Once a minor personage has been named, it can be referred to pronominally within the sentence in which it is introduced and across sentence boundaries within the same paragraph in which it is first mentioned. Pronominal reference for minor personages does not extend across paragraph boundaries, unlike pronominal reference for primary personages. If the same minor personage occurs in another paragraph, it must be reidentified using a nominal for clarity.

Sentence 12.5 shows the use of pronominal reference for a minor personage within the same sentence in which the personage is introduced. The minor personages, *ama* 'father' and *ina* 'mother', are introduced by a nominal in prenuclear clause 1a. The minor personages are referred to pronominally in nuclear clause 1 as *dida* 'them' and again in prenuclear clause 2 as the clitic pronoun *-da* 'they' which follows the verb *pugikon* 'to crush in the hand'.

## 12.5

prenuclear.clause 1a

*Inta kos ilan da amata ka inata onnu*  
 go:II,1,DL whenever:also see N,PL father:II,1,DL and mother:II,1,DL or

prenuclear.clause 1b

*umanakta kad ya ummalitatte ilita umoy an-angoy,*  
 have.children:I,1,DL whenever and come:I,1,DL:O,S place:II,1,DL go visit

nuclear.clause 1

*ummoytos insopsop dida ya miid kad in*  
 go:II,1,DL:also be.financial.burden III,3,PL and none whenever CERT

nuclear.clause 2

*pugikonda kan dita, nampabiinan os da ama.*  
 crush.in.hand:II,3,PL O III,1,DL shame also G,PL father

When we go to see our mothers and fathers or when we have children and we come to our village to visit [our parents], we will become a financial burden to them and if they have nothing to butcher for us, they [the parents of the married couple] will be put to shame.

The pronominal reference for the minor personages *ama* 'father' and *ina* 'mother' carries across to 12.6. The personages are referred to again by the clitic pronoun *-da* attached to the verb *pinggik* 'to crush in the hand', which occurs in the prenuclear clause of the embedded sentence.

## 12.6

*(Lummawingan os ni angosta te) ibagada*  
 bad also G,S feeling/breath:II,1,DL because tell:II,3,PL

*kad in ingis-il kane "Awad kad in wot pinggikda*  
 when CERT joke say:LK there.is when CERT ADV crush.in.hand:II,3,PL

nuclear.clause

*kan dikayu?" nangdasanta ot atte lawinge somsomok.*

O III,2,PL find:II,1,DL ADV O,S bad:LK thought

(Our feelings will be hurt because) when they make a joke, saying "Did they really have something to butcher for you?", we will end up having hurt feelings.

[Literally: Our feelings will be hurt because when they make a joke, saying "Did they really have something to butcher for you?", there will be our (act of) finding (ourselves) with bad feelings.]

Since the scope of the pronominal reference does not extend across paragraph boundaries, minor personages must be reintroduced after their first introduction when they occur in another paragraph. An example of this is shown in 9.6 and 9.19. Sentence 9.6 introduces the minor personages *atta kasintatagu* 'fellow men', and when they reappear in 9.19, in a succeeding paragraph, they are reidentified by a nominal.

## 9.6

*Adina pun babaragon atta kasintataguna.*  
 not:II,3,S MOD careless O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S

He does not show disregard for his fellow man [in either word or deed].

## 9.19

*Adipun ampay maapos atta kasintataguna ya da kiiliyana.*

not:MOD EMPH jealous O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S and PL fellow.villager:II,3,S

He indeed does not act begrudgingly towards his fellow man and his fellow villagers.

A note of interest is that a pronoun can precede the personage to which it refers. When this happens, the pronouns operate cataphorically, pointing ahead to their referent. For example, in 12.13 the pronoun *-yu* 'your' occurs with the word *awayan* 'time of departure' in the prenuclear clause. The referent for the pronoun is *atta mangili* 'visitors' which follows the occurrence of the pronoun *-yu* in the same clause.

## 12.13

pre-nuclear.clause  
*(Onnu) kana kad in ele ang-imuse "Kam-an ni*  
 or say:II,3,S when CERT HORT:LK ask:LK INT G,S  
*awayanyu?"* *atta mangili ta kandose*  
 time.of.departure:II,2,PL O,PL visitor so.that say:II,3,PL:also:LK

nuclear.clause  
*"Pinoryaw dikani gay", (lawingan de kangngorana).*  
 send.away IV,I,PL,EXC EMPH bad N,S things.heard:II,3,S  
 (Or) when she asks the visitors, "When will you be leaving?", and they say, "[They] sent us away", (it hurts to hear such things said about us).

Another example of a pronoun preceding its referent is seen in 11.9 - 11.11. In the postnuclear clause of 11.9 the pronoun *-da* 'they' is attached to the negative particle *adi* 'not'. In the first nominal of 11.10 the pronoun *-da* 'their' refers to the same referent. The referent itself, *ansasap-uy* 'one who blows', is not named until 11.11, where it is presented in the first nominal.

## 11.9

nuclear.clause postnuclear.clause  
*Mikatoy nu adida sap-uyan.*  
 die if not:II,3,PL blow  
 It will eventually kill you if they do not blow on you.

## 11.10

nominal 1 nominal 2  
*Sa amug-uyda tubaku.*  
 T,S blow.tobacco.smoke:II,3,PL tobacco  
 The thing that they blow is tobacco smoke.

## 11.11

nominal 1 nominal 2  
*Sa tangdan kad ni anne ansasap-uy atte kukku simbotoke tubaku.*  
 T,S payment ADV G,S D1:LK one.who.blows O,S spirit.type one.bundle:LK tobacco  
 The pay for this person who blows on the *kukku* spirit is one bundle of tobacco.

In contrast to personages that must be introduced as nominals, there are other personages who are normally referred to only pronominally. These personages are participants who are always referred to by third person plural pronouns, or 'they'. These personages can be the unspecified 'they' in quotation formulas to whom a quote is attributed. In quotes, the person who is being quoted does not need to be named because the important element is not the source of the information but the information itself. As pointed out elsewhere, quotes validate theme propositions, or the results or reasons that support those propositions. When quotes are attributed to an unspecified 'they', the quotes usually express cultural values that are accepted norms within the culture, or opinions held by the general public.

The nuclear clause of 8.29 contains a quote which is preceded by the quotation formula *kanan* 'to say'. The pronoun *-da* 'they' which follows *kanan* has no antecedent. (In the sentence, the pronoun occurs as *-de*, a contraction of *-da* 'they' + *we* link.)

## 8.29

prenuclear.clause	nuclear.clause			
( <i>Oni.kade sadi</i> )	<i>pasig pagaye</i>	<i>kanande</i>		" <i>Siya</i>
later:LK D3	always EMPH:LK	say:II,3,PL:LK	III,3,S	

	postnuclear.clause
	<i>kammiin de tagu wendi</i> " ( <i>te ambaru de nataguwana</i> ).
EMPH N,S	person LK:D3 because good N,S lifetime:II,3,S
(Later on) they will always say, "That person lives properly", (because he has lived well his whole life).	

Other personages who are referred to pronominally without first being named are those minor personages who act as supporting cast. These personages perform actions that are necessary to the development of a theme proposition, but their actual identity as participants is immaterial. The personages are usually participants who would normally be present in a given situation. Consequently, they are available to the speaker for performing actions associated with that situation without having to be introduced. The important thing is not who these minor personages are, but what it is that they are doing.

The context of 12.7 is the burial of the parents of the young married man. The speaker argues that if a man marries outside the village, he might not be able to return in time to help bury his parents when they die. In nuclear clause 2, the speaker states that they will go ahead and bury his parents without him. The 'they' of the nuclear clause has no referent, but the speaker takes advantage of the common knowledge shared by the hearer that there are always people present at every funeral who help bury the body. The important point in the statement is that the man's parents will be buried without him, not the identity of the people who actually dig the grave.

## 12.7

prenuclear.clause 1				
( <i>Matoy kos</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>inata</i>	<i>ka amata,</i>	
die	when:also N,PL	mother:II,1,DL	and father:II,1,DL	
nuclear.clause 1	postnuclear.clause 1			
<i>ippunta</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>te annat</i>	<i>atta udume ili</i>	
none:MOD:I,1,DL	CERT	because D2	O,PL other:LK	place



prenuclear.clause 2

*ya umoy dita kad in guwaban ta makanuta,*  
and go IV,1,DL when CERT call.for.emergency and be.delayed:I,1,DL

nuclear.clause 2

*iggada in de natoy.*  
put:II,3,PL CERT N,S die

(When our mothers and fathers die, we will not be there because we will be in other places and when they call us to attend the funeral and we are delayed in coming,) they will bury the dead.

#### 5.4 MARKED PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

In expository discourse, there are two marked forms of participant reference. These marked forms foreground certain information as more important than other information of a similar kind. The first marked form occurs in the quotation formula *kanan* ‘to say’. Normally the source of the quote is simply referred to as *-da* ‘they’, as in *kananda* ‘they say’. In most cases, the referent ‘they’ is not identified, but there are three exceptions to this general rule. The referent of the unspecified ‘they’ is identified by a nominal when a quote presents or summarises a global theme proposition, when it states a lower-level theme proposition or when it is an evaluation that is related to the global theme. Even though the referent for the unspecified ‘they’ is presented as a nominal, it still retains its unspecified identity. In these cases, the referent is given a general designation, such as *da natagu* ‘those who lived’ or *da dadakkor* ‘the elders’. By identifying the referent of the unspecified ‘they’ in the quotation formula, the marked form foregrounds a theme proposition or an evaluation as more important than other theme propositions or evaluations in a text.

The next three sentences all contain quotes. In each sentence, the source of the quote is identified by a noun phrase. Sentence 12.1 presents a global theme proposition; the source of the quote is *da dadakkor* ‘the elders’. Sentence 8.37 presents a summary of a global theme; the source of the quote is identified as *da natagutte awi* ‘those who lived long ago’. The result stated in the sentence forms the peak of the paragraph in which it occurs. In 9.57 the source of the quote is identified as *losan ni tagu* ‘all the people’. The quote validates a key evaluation in the final paragraph of the text.

12.1

*Sa awi kan da dadakkore antuttudu we “Adita pun*  
T,S long.ago say G,PL elder:LK advise LK not:I,1,DL MOD

*mam pagay anagin-ili te buwatna”.*  
CERT EMPH marry.outsider because inappropriate:II,3,S

Long ago the old folk gave advice saying, “We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate”.

8.37

*Nu matagutaku, sadi kanan da natagutte awi*  
if live:I,1,PL,INC D3 say G,PL live:O,S long.ago

*ikataguyu mam pagay atte biyagyu de sane turu.*  
live.by.means.of:II,2,PL CERT EMPH O,S life:II,2,PL N,S D1:LK three

If we are going to live [righteously], what those who lived in the past said is you must live your life by these three [standards].

## 9.57

*Matoy kad, losan pay ni tagu, kanane* “*Siya sanat*  
die whenever all EMPH G,S person say:LK III,3,S D2

*pay ose pangat*”.

EMPH also:LK leader

When he dies, all the people, they will say, “That one, he was really one of the leaders”.

The second marked form concerns personages that have already been introduced as nominals and are now eligible for pronominal reference. The marked form occurs when the personages eligible for pronominal reference are referred to by nominals rather than pronouns. This marked form occurs in cleft sentences containing anaphoric reference pronouns and in other sentences found in summary paragraphs. In summary paragraphs, the marked form occurs in other sentence types besides cleft sentences. This happens because while some of the sentences in a summary paragraph (such as cleft sentences) indicate the conclusion of the paragraph itself, the paragraph as a whole indicates the conclusion of the entire text. The marked participant reference foregrounds the information contained in the sentence in which it occurs and signals the conclusion of the paragraph.

Paragraph 9.55 - 9.59 is an example of a summary paragraph that includes sentences with marked participant reference. The first thing that is notable about the paragraph is that there are almost no pronominal references in the five sentences that are contained in it. This is of interest because all the participants have already been introduced in previous paragraphs, and so at least the primary personage, a leader, would be eligible for pronominal reference, if not the minor personages. What one finds, however, is that the personages are identified by nominals nearly every time they are mentioned in the paragraph.

In 9.55, which opens the paragraph, the primary personages are identified by a nominal as *da nampangat atte dandani* ‘those who led in the old days’. Primary personages are optionally reidentified in the first sentence of a new paragraph so this is not a case of marked participant reference. The *-da* ‘they’ that occurs with the word *ikatagu* ‘to live by means of’ in 9.55 refers to the leaders. Sentence 9.56 states an evaluation that acts as a result. The mention of *pangat* ‘a leader’ is part of the evaluation and not eligible for pronominal reference. Sentence 9.57 presents a quote that validates the opinion expressed in 9.56. As noted earlier, the source of the quote is identified as *losan ni tagu* ‘all the people’ because 9.57 validates the key evaluation in the text. This is an example of marked participant reference in quotes, which has already been discussed. Sentence 9.58 presents a result which forms the peak of the paragraph, and the minor personages *da tagu* ‘the people’ are identified each time they are mentioned. This is an example of marked participant reference since the minor personages are eligible for pronominal reference both times they occur. Sentence 9.59 is a cleft sentence that concludes the paragraph and the text and the primary personages are identified once more as *da tagu we nampangat atte dandani* ‘the people who led in the old days’. This is another example of marked participant reference since the personages are eligible for pronominal reference.

## 9.55

*Sana de in-inon da nampangat atte dandani de*  
D1 N,S way G,PL lead O,S old.days N,S

*ikataguda ampay de sadi ye turu: biin, paniyaw kan ngilin.*  
 live.by.means.of:II,3,PL EMPH N,S D3 LK three respect taboo and taboo  
 This is how they became leaders in the past – by living in accordance with the three [standards]:  
*biin, paniyaw and ngilin.*

9.56

*Madagdaggup kade sadi, pangat kammos pagay.*  
 gather when:LK D3 leader EMPH EMPH  
 When it is all taken together, he is really a leader.

9.57

*Matoy kad, losan pay ni tagu, kanane “Siya sanat pay ose pangat”.*  
 die whenever all EMPH G,S person say:LK III,3,S D2 EMPH also:LK leader  
 When he dies, all the people, they will say, “That one, he was really one of the leaders”.

9.58

*Man-ugud kad atte dandanitta lintog, dongron da tagu*  
 talk whenever O,S old.days:O,PL law listen G,PL person  
*tenne niilam pay da tagu denne kinapangatna.*  
 because:D1:LK see:LK EMPH G,PL person N,S:D1:LK leadership:II,3,S  
 Whenever he spoke in the past about the law, the people would listen because they had seen his  
 leadership.

9.59

*Sana de in-inon da tagu we mampangat atte dandani.*  
 D1 N,S way G,PL person LK lead O,S old.days  
 This is how people became leaders in the past.

## 5.5 FIRST PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

The third approach to presenting and developing a theme proposition is quite different from the generic personage approach and the personified abstraction approach and involves the use of a first person plural pronoun. In this approach, the most common choice for developing a theme proposition is the first person dual pronoun *-ta* ‘we two’. Although the literal meaning of *-ta* is ‘we two’, in expository discourse the pronoun *-ta* has the more distant, impersonal orientation of the generic English pronoun ‘one’, as in ‘When one lives in another place and has problems, there will be no one to whom one can turn for help’. Although the pronoun *-ta* is translated as ‘we two’ or ‘one’, both the speaker and the hearer understand that the remark is actually directed to the hearer. The pronoun *-ta* is considered the indirect, and therefore polite, way of addressing the hearer. In expository discourse, then, the underlying meaning of the pronoun *-ta* is ‘you’. It should be noted that the first person plural approach, especially when it involves the pronoun *-ta* ‘we two’, occurs most often in texts that are mitigated exhortations.

In text 12 the first person plural approach is used to present and develop the global theme. The opening sentence states the global theme proposition using the first person dual pronoun *-ta* ‘we two’.

## 12.1

*Sa awi kan da dadakkore antuttudu we "Adita pun*  
T,S long.ago say G,PL elder:LK advise LK not:I,1,DL MOD

*mam pagay anagin-ili te buwatna".*

CERT EMPH marry.outsider because inappropriate:II,3,S

Long ago the old folk gave advice saying, "We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate".

The pronoun *-ta* 'we two' is also used in combination with the generic personage approach. In text 8 the speaker presents a generic personage who is a typical person and refers to him using third person pronouns. The speaker then goes on to list, in 8.12 - 8.13, specific behaviour that the typical person should avoid if he wants to live an honourable life. In every example stating what the typical person should not do, the participant reference is first person dual *-ta*. In both 8.12 and 8.13 the speaker uses the *-ta* 'we two' pronoun orientation. It should be noted that the sentences are actually disguised commands.

## 8.12

*Adita pun ela da inata malliwliw-an onnu*  
not:II,1,DL MOD HORT N,PL mother:II,1,DL trouble or

*katugangata upan subogon te mabiin.*

parent.in.law:II,1,DL HAB argue because respect

We should not cause our mothers trouble or constantly argue with our in-laws because it is shameful.

## 8.13

*Adita pun ele tagu upan mansamsamkuy te mabiin.*  
not:I,1,DL MOD HORT:LK person HAB despise because respect

We, people, should not despise others because it is shameful.

A less common choice for first person plural orientation is the pronoun *-taku* 'we plural, inclusive' and its counterpart *-kani* 'we plural, exclusive'. These pronouns are a speaker's indirect way of referring to himself and to others whom he considers the same as himself. Of the two pronouns, *-taku* is the more polite form because it includes the hearer as well as the speaker whereas *-kani* excludes the hearer. Once *-taku* has been used at the beginning of a talk to establish politeness, the speaker can revert to *-kani* with no risk of offending the hearer.

One text, 13 uses the first person plural pronouns. The first use occurs in 13.3, where the speaker uses *-taku* 'we plural, inclusive'. Since the explanation was given to someone who is not a Lubo, the statement could not possibly apply to the hearer, so *-taku* is used to indicate politeness.

## 13.3

*Nu da intaku tumotorbatta uma,*  
if T,PL go:I,1,PL,INC make.border.for.garden:O,PL garden

*nu angumataku, aditaku paniyawon nu*  
if make.garden:I,1,PL,INC not:II,1,PL,INC forbid if

*awad kasin tur-ukna te nagangput.*

there.is again first.thunder:II,3,S because finish

During the times when we go to mark out the borders for mountainside gardens, when we make a garden, we do not forbid work when there is another thunder because it [the year] is finished.

The next first person pronoun reference in text 13 occurs in 13.5. Having established a sense of politeness, the speaker reverts to the first person pronoun *-ni*, the genitive form of *-kani* 'we plural, exclusive'. The pronouns *-kani* and *-ni* refer to the speaker and all other Lubo, and excludes the hearer who is not a Lubo. The speaker continues to use the pronouns *-kani* and *-ni* to the end of the text.

13.5

*Ab-abus ni kidure ngannonni tur-uk.*

first G,S thunder:LK name:II,1,PL,EXC *tur-uk*.thunder

It is the very first thunder which we call the *tur-uk* thunder.

A point that needs to be made concerning the approach using a first person plural pronoun is that no introduction or identification of the referent is necessary before the pronouns can be used. Presumably this is because both the speaker and the hearer know that in expository discourse *-ta* 'we two' refers to the hearer and *-taku* 'we plural, inclusive' and *-kani* 'we plural, exclusive' refer to the speaker. Since the speaker and the hearer are part of the speech situation, they do not require introduction or identification. Looking back to 12.1 and 13.3, both sentences include the first occurrences of the first person plural pronouns (*-ta* and *-taku* respectively). Neither pronoun has an identified antecedent.

## 5.6 EXPOSITORY PARTICIPANTS AS NOMINALISATIONS

Within a text, there is a complex interaction between the theme proposition and the participants that are used to develop that theme. This is true whether the approach to participant orientation centres around generic personages or first person plural pronouns. In both cases, when information about the theme is foregrounded, the participants are backgrounded by the speaker, and vice versa, in order to present what he wants to say in the way that he wants it to be understood. For example, when a generic personage is identified by a relative clause, the relative clause contains information about the theme proposition. The personage has been foregrounded by making it the head of the relative clause. The thematic information has been backgrounded by placing it in the relative clause. The speaker does this in order to describe the theme in specific, concrete terms by means of the generic personage while still keeping the theme proposition on stage.

Subsequent sentences present a primary personage by identifying the personage in a relative clause. Thus in 8.16 the primary personage *tagu* 'a person' is presented in a noun phrase in the prenuclear clause; *tagu* is the head of the noun phrase. It is followed by a relative clause that states thematic information about the person living his whole life by the standards of righteousness which the speaker has already mentioned.

## 8.16

prenuclear.clause

noun.head relative.clause

*Nu sa tagu we mangikatagutte mataguanatta*  
 if T,S person LK live.by.means.of:O,S lifetime:II,3,S:O,PL

nuclear.clause

*sadi ye niibaga, manggodonge matagu.*

D3 LK tell straight:LK live

If a person lives by these standards throughout his whole life, he will live righteously.

[Literally: If a person lives his whole life according to those things that were said earlier, he will live righteously.]

In 10.5 again the primary personage (*anak* ‘child’) is identified in a noun phrase contained in the prenuclear clause. *Anak* is the head of the noun phrase. It is followed by a relative clause that restates part of the global theme saying a child is the fruit of love.

## 10.5

fronted.noun.phrase

prenuclear.clause

noun.head

*Sa kamat anangkonanda, matagu kad denne anake*  
 T,S EMPH care.for:II,3,PL live when N,S:D1:LK child:LK

nuclear.clause

relative.clause

*bungan di layad, sillelelayadda.*

fruit:LK G,S love happy:I,3,PL

As for the reason why they [the parents] should care for [their child], if this child who is the fruit of love turns out well, they will all be happy.

Thematic information, in turn, can be foregrounded by talking about a generic personage using nominalised clauses. This grammatical device can background a generic personage to such a degree that the personage is virtually eliminated from the text. In the end all that remains is what the speaker has said about the generic personage. The personage himself has all but disappeared. The speaker backgrounds the generic personage in order to turn the hearer’s attention to what he is really talking about, which is not a person but the theme proposition.<sup>21</sup>

For example, in 9.34 the speaker discusses the need for a leader to work hard because he needs to have something to feed his guests. In the postnuclear clause, the speaker refers to the visitors by using a nominalised clause, *atta mangiliyona* ‘those whom he will host’. The nominalised clause draws attention to the fact that the important idea in the paragraph is not the visitors, but the leader’s responsibility to provide for his visitors.

<sup>21</sup>In the same study of Bontoc expository discourse, Benn (1983:274-275) also comments upon the use of nominalised clauses in place of certain nouns. In the examples given in his study, the noun that is replaced is not a person but an animal, a pig to be exact. The examples are taken from the text that explains the Innana rituals, which are rituals that involve the butchering of pigs and the sharing of the butchered meat among the villagers. In the text, the pigs are the most important prop; however, the global theme of the text is not about pigs per se, but about the sharing of the butchered meat as a means of reinforcing the solidarity of the community. The nominalised clauses help highlight what is really important which is not the pigs but the activities centring around the pigs – the butchering of the animals and the distribution of the meat to all those who are part of the community.

9.34

nuclear.clause		postnuclear.clause
<i>Tur-ayanos</i>	<i>de pawot</i>	<i>te ngos ni</i>
excel:II,3,S:also	N,S industriousness	because INT:also G,S

*ipakannatta mangiliyona nu adina tur-ayan de pawot?*  
 feed:II,3,S:O,PL have.visitors:II,3,S if not:II,3,S excel N,S industriousness  
 He excels in industriousness because what will he feed his visitors if he does not excel in hard work?

In 12.24 the speaker makes the assertion that a married couple cannot live happily if their children are hungry. He refers to the children using a nominalised clause: *da angkodaw at tinggaroy* 'those who are begging for rice', which underlines the point that the speaker is not talking about children so much as the married couple's responsibility to care for their children.

12.24

<i>Te ngai inonte</i>	<i>allaylayade</i>	<i>anna da</i>	<i>angkodaw</i>	<i>at</i>
because INT:G,S	way:II,1,DL:LK	happy:LK	Dl	N,PL beg SM

*tinggaroy?*  
 ball.of.cooked.rice  
 For how can we be happy if there are those who are begging for rice?

In 12.26 the speaker continues the point he makes in 12.24, saying that if a married couple is at a loss as to how to care for their children, then they will constantly be fighting. The speaker refers to the children in a nominalised clause as *ak itor-unta* 'the one whom we raise as our child'. Again the nominalised clause indicates that the important issue is not the children, but the responsibility of the parents to raise their children well.

12.26

<i>Ya pasigta</i>	<i>kad in</i>	<i>ang-amuwong</i>	<i>ak</i>
and always:I,1,DL	when CERT	not.know.what.to.do	SM

*itor-unta,*                      *duknag piin de ambordakta*                      *suugan.*  
 raise.children:II,1,DL arrive ADV N,S boundary:II,1,DL drying.rack  
 And when we are always at a loss as to how to provide for our children's needs, it will come to the day when the drying rack over the fire will be the only thing that keeps us apart when we fight.

## 5.7 THE SPEAKER AND THE HEARER

Besides the participants within a text, expository discourse is concerned with the extralinguistic participants who exist outside the boundaries of the text itself, but who are involved in the speech situation. These participants are the speaker and the hearer. Usually neither is introduced or identified since each is known to be part of the speech situation. The speaker simply refers to himself as 'I'. The hearer is addressed either indirectly using one of the first person plural pronouns, such as





he identifies the hearer using a nominal and refers to the hearer indirectly in a third person form. As mentioned elsewhere, the indirect approach is considered the polite way to address the hearer and is used when a speaker wants to mitigate or soften what he says. The second nominal in 8.6 above shows the speaker addressing the hearer indirectly using the nominal form *awad anngor* 'whoever listens'. This is a covert way of saying 'you who are listening' or 'you, the hearer'.

Texts that have a persuasive intent as well as an explanatory intent usually have a persuasive climax. A persuasive climax consists of one or more sentences addressed to the hearer in which the speaker uses the direct singular or plural forms of the pronoun 'you'. (Pronoun forms in persuasive climaxes are discussed in detail in section 8.3.)

Sentences 17.9 and 17.10 form the persuasive climax of text 17. The general participant orientation of the text is third person, centring around the primary generic personages who are a man and his wife. In these sentences the speaker makes a sudden shift in participant orientation and addresses the hearer directly as *-m* 'you singular'.

17.9

*Wot nu sang-am de asawam, sinang-am de bungrum.*  
 so.then if scold:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage:II,2,S scold:II,2,S N,S body:II,2,S  
 Therefore if you scold your wife, you scold yourself.

17.10

*Nu bokbokom de asawam, binokboknos de bungrum.*  
 if beat:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage:II,2,S beat:II,2,S:also N,S body:II,2,S  
 If you beat your wife, you also beat yourself.

It should also be noted that when the hearer is addressed using the pronoun *-taku* 'we plural, inclusive', this also acts as a persuasive device. (The pronoun *-taku* is also discussed further in section 8.3.)

## CHAPTER 6

### RHETORICAL DEVICES

Rhetorical devices are grammatical forms that are used to highlight information for a particular reason. In expository discourse, the kind of information that is most often singled out for highlighting in this way is information that is associated with themes, results, and contrast. The three general rhetorical devices that are of particular interest in expository discourse are marked verbal aspect, deictics, and nominalisation using the suffix *-an*.

#### 6.1 MARKED ASPECT IN EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

There are three sets of aspect oppositions that perform discourse functions in expository discourse: perfectivity and imperfectivity; durativity and punctuality; intensity and non-intensity. Perfectivity indicates that an action has been completed; it is usually associated with past time. Imperfectivity indicates that an action has not been completed or has not yet been started; it is usually associated with non-past time which includes present and future time and also time as it is expressed in conditions and hypothetical situations. Durativity indicates that an action takes place over a period of time. It is associated with grammatical structures that show continuous, repetitive, and habitual action. Punctuality presents an action and makes no comment about its duration; it is non-committal on this point. Intensity indicates that an action occurs with greater force or concentration than normal. Non-intensity, on the other hand, makes no reference to the degree of force with which an action is performed.

For each of the three sets of aspects, one member is an unmarked or usual form, and the other is a marked or rare form. In expository discourse, for perfectivity and imperfectivity, the unmarked form is imperfectivity and the marked form is perfectivity; for durativity and punctuality, the unmarked form is punctuality and the marked form is durativity; for intensity and non-intensity, non-intensity is the unmarked form and intensity the marked form.

Normally the marked and unmarked forms are expressions of a typical aspectual category that governs the aspectual set. The typical aspectual category for perfectivity and imperfectivity is temporality. Temporality is also the typical category for durativity and punctuality. Intensity is the typical category for intensity and non-intensity. There are, however, occurrences of marked forms which cannot be explained in terms of their typical aspectual categories. In these cases, the marked forms have undergone what Bache (1986:88) calls category-suspension. The category of temporality or intensity has been suspended, and the marked aspectual forms have taken on other distinctions or contrasts.

In expository discourse, the functions of the perfective aspect is to foreground some information as more important than other information. The function of the durative and intensive aspects is to act

as a foreshadowing device, anticipating important information that the speaker is about to give the hearer.

Before describing in detail the functions of aspect, two general comments should be made concerning aspectual forms. The first comment concerns the relationship between discourse genre and marked aspectual forms. In Upper Tanudan Kalinga, the perfective/imperfective, the durative/punctual and the intensive/non-intensive aspects occur in several genre types. For each type, one member of each set of aspects is an unmarked form. The genre type itself determines which member is the unmarked and which the marked form.<sup>23</sup> For example, in narrative discourse the perfective is the unmarked form while the imperfective is the marked form. In expository discourse, the opposite is true: the imperfective is the unmarked and the perfective the marked form.

In respect to marked aspectual forms, some occurrences of these forms undergo category-suspension. Category-suspension accounts for marked features in discourse, such as the 'historical present' in which the present tense does not refer to present time but to past time. In Upper Tanudan Kalinga, category-suspension accounts for constructions in which perfectivity does not refer to the completion of action, durativity does not refer to the duration of an action, and intensity does not refer to the force of an action. In these constructions, the marked forms perform functions that are not associated with their typical categories. What those functions are depends upon the particular genre in which the constructions occur. So then the question of greatest interest concerning aspect is not 'Which aspectual form is the marked or unmarked form for a given genre?' but 'What does it mean when an unmarked form switches to a marked form?'

The second comment concerns identifying marked aspect in a discourse. To do this, several diagnostic steps must be followed. These steps are: (1) determine which aspectual form is the unmarked one; (2) distinguish which linguistic constructions take fixed aspectual forms and are therefore not eligible for a change in aspect; (3) identify the marked aspectual forms which are associated with their typical categories of aspectuality; and (4) describe the function of those marked forms that are not governed by their typical aspectuality, but which have undergone category-suspension.

In the following paragraphs, the unmarked forms of the three aspects occurring in expository discourse are discussed first. For each aspect, the following points are discussed: marked forms that are fixed constructions; marked forms that are governed by their typical categories; and marked forms that have undergone category suspension.

In expository discourse, the unmarked aspectual form is usually manifested in verbs that are found in the nuclear clauses that form the backbone of a discourse. Verbs in the nuclear clauses typically occur in the imperfective, punctual and non-intensive aspects. Since the backbone of an expository discourse is composed of abstract concepts which are related logically, rather than events which are related chronologically as in narrative discourse, the imperfective, punctual and non-intensive aspects seem suited to expository discourse where time and events are subordinate to abstract concepts.

It is interesting to note that when perfectivity, durativity and intensity occur and are expressions of their typical aspectual categories, they make an action more specific. For example, perfectivity signals the completion of an action. This places an action at a particular point on a time line, making it

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<sup>23</sup>Longacre (1982) in his analysis of verb ranking in relation to constituent analysis argues a similar case for the influence of genre types on the ranking of verbs in Biblical Hebrew. For four types of genre, Longacre ranks verbs on a scale of the most dynamic forms to the most static. He notes that the rank scheme for verbs in expository discourse is almost the complete inverse of the rank scheme found in narrative discourse.

a specific action. Durativity also places an action within a time frame, thereby making it more specific. Intensity makes an action specific by contrasting it with the usual manner in which the action occurs. Imperfectivity and punctuality, on the other hand, do not restrict an action to points on a time line, and non-intensity makes no distinction between different occurrences of the same kind of action. Since imperfectivity, punctuality and non-intensity do not restrict an action to a specific occurrence, they allow the action to retain a generic quality. In effect the imperfective, the punctual and the non-intensive aspects subordinate specificity and time as they relate to an action. This, in turn, allows the abstract concept contained in the meaning of the action to be the important element under consideration.

Perfectivity is the most complex of the marked forms in expository discourse for two reasons. Firstly, perfectivity occurs both as an expression of its typical aspectual category, temporality, and as an expression of category-suspension. (Neither durativity nor intensity are expressions of their typical aspectual categories in expository discourse.) Secondly, some grammatical constructions in expository discourse take an obligatory perfective or imperfective aspect, and therefore are fixed constructions that are not eligible for change. Consequently, in order to understand the function of perfectivity in expository discourse, it is first necessary to determine which verbal constructions are fixed constructions and which ones are not.

There are three fixed constructions in expository discourse that are not eligible for change in the perfective/imperfective aspect. The first construction is a verb in a non-nuclear clause that is introduced by *nu* ‘if’ or ‘when’. In this construction, the verb always occurs in the unmarked imperfective aspect. Clauses of this sort present conditions upon which a proposition in the nuclear clause is dependent, or situations that will take place at a future time or that are hypothetical and therefore do not take place in real time at all. For example, in 11.19 the prenuclear clause is expounded by a *nu* ‘if’ dependent clause which presents a condition upon which the result given in the nuclear clause is dependent. The verb *lugaman* ‘to weed’, which expounds the predicate of the *nu* dependent clause, occurs in the imperfective aspect. (See Appendix D for a list of perfective and imperfective aspectual forms.)

## 11.19

prenuclear.clause	nuclear.clause
<i>Nu adi ditos</i>	<i>lugaman atta singkuwatte sane talligan, matoyta.</i>
if not IV,1,DL:also	weed O,PL owner:O,S D1:LK spirit.type die:I,1,DL
If the owner of this <i>talligan</i> spirit does not place an herb on us, we will die.	

The second fixed construction is a verbal clause that is expounded by the verb *kanan* ‘to say’ which only occurs in the imperfective aspect. The nuclear clause of 9.26 contains a quote. The quote is introduced by *kanane* ‘he says’ (*kanana* + *we*).

## 9.26

prenuclear.clause	nuclear.clause
<i>Sorsagana kad da mangili, kanane</i>	<i>“Na,</i>
invite.to.eat when N,PL visitor	say:II,3,S:LK hey
<i>awwayyu ta inkayu mangan atte boroyni”.</i>	
come.here:II,2,PL so.that go:I,2,PL eat	O,S house:II,1,PL,EXC
When he invites the visitors to eat, he says, “Hey, come and eat at our house”.	

The third fixed construction is a verbal clause stated in the subjunctive mode and marked by the particles *daw kad ya*. (Subjunctivity in Upper Tanudan Kalinga denotes possibility.) Taken together the particles *daw kad ya* are generally translated as 'might'. The particles often contract to the short forms *dokadya* or *dokayya*. The verb that expounds the predicate of a subjunctive construction always occurs in the perfective aspect. In 16.8 the postnuclear clause is stated in the subjunctive mode. The clause begins with *dokayya* 'might', and the verb *nansogob* 'to burn' occurs in the perfective aspect.

16.8

nuclear.clause

*Dikayu kad Raol, adikayu upan ang-isna kan da ang-apuy*  
 III,2,PL ADV Raol not:I,2,PL HAB cook.rice and PL make.fire

postnuclear.clause

*te dokayya nansogobkayu.*

because might burn:I,2,PL

Now you, Raol, don't you cook the rice and make the fire because you might burn down the house.

Constructions that are not fixed and are therefore eligible for change in the perfective/imperfective aspect fall into two groups: those in which perfectivity is associated with its typical category, temporality; and those in which perfectivity has undergone category-suspension. There are three cases in which the marked perfective aspect is a manifestation of temporality.<sup>24</sup>

Firstly, real events that have already taken place can be expressed in the perfective aspect. Sentence 13.1 begins the text by referring to a real event: 'it thundered for the first time yesterday'. The verb that manifests the predicate of the sentence, *nanur-uk* 'to thunder for the first time', occurs in the perfective aspect, indicating that the action has been completed.

13.1

*Nanur-uk ag gorbiyan.*

thunder.for.first.time TI yesterday

It thundered for the first time yesterday.

Secondly, information that the speaker has previously stated in a discourse can be referred to using the perfective aspect. The spoken utterance to which the speaker refers is a verbal action that has taken place within the actual time frame of the speech situation. For example, in 8.16 the prenuclear

<sup>24</sup>It should be noted that past time can be indicated by a time phrase with no obligatory agreement of the perfective aspect. In 9.48, the reason is an embedded sentence that begins with the prenuclear clause *nu man-ugud de pangat atte dandani* 'when a leader spoke in the old days'. The prenuclear clause is introduced by the marker *nu* 'if' or 'when'. This marker requires that the verb expounding the predicate of the prenuclear clause, *man-ugud* 'to talk', occur in the imperfective aspect. Furthermore, every other verbal clause in the sentence also occurs in the imperfective. Nevertheless, the time phrase *attedandani* 'in the old days' sets the action in past time.

9.48

*(Sana de angon-onanda pagay atte pangat atte dandani*  
 DI N,S agree:II,3,PL EMPH O,S leader O,S old.days

prenuclear.clause

*te) nu man-ugud de pangat atte dandani, tenne*

because if talk N,S leader O,S old.days because:D1:LK

*migammu we adina pun iyapos de somsomokna, dongronda.*

know LK not:II,3,S MOD jealous N,S thought:II,3,S hear:II,3,PL

(This is how they agreed upon a leader in the past because) if a leader spoke in the past, because it will be known that he is not self-seeking in his judgments, they will listen.

clause contains the noun phrase *atta sadi ye niibaga* ‘those things that were said earlier’. The phrase refers to information that the speaker mentioned earlier in the same text. The verb *niibaga* ‘to tell’ occurs in the perfective aspect, indicating that the action has been completed.

## 8.16

prenuclear.clause

*Nu sa tagu we mangikatagutte mataguanatta*  
if T,S person LK live.by.means.of:O,S lifetime:II,3,S:O,PL

nuclear.clause

*sadi ye niibaga, manggodonge matagu.*

D3 LK tell straight:LK live

If a person lives by these standards throughout his whole life, he will live righteously.

[Literally: If a person lives his whole life according to those things that were said earlier, he will live righteously.]

Thirdly, quoted events can be referred to in the perfective aspect when they are events that have already taken place from the perspective of the person who is being quoted. Sentence 9.38 consists of two conjoined sentences. The nuclear clause of the second conjoined sentence is expounded by a quote. Within the quote, the verbs *ininggaw* ‘to stay’ and *linintogan* ‘to mediate’ occur in the perfective aspect. They indicate that from the perspective of the person who is quoted the actions have already been completed.

## 9.38

sentence 1

*(Awag gad da kasus, nu makasusan de ose*  
there.is whenever N,PL case if have.a.case N,S one:LK

*boryan, ose tagu, igagayamna ya)*  
family one:LK person stay.home:II,3,S and

sentence 2

prenuclear.clause

*ilintogna kad de guru kan da kasus, kanande*  
mediate:II,3,S whenever N,S trouble and PL case say:II,3,PL:LK

nuclear.clause

*“A, gappiya kan anuka ta ininggaw ta linintogana”.*  
ah thank.heavens O what's.his.name LK stay and mediate:II,3,S

(When there are cases, if a family or a person is involved in a case, he will stay home from work and) when he settles the trouble and the cases, they will say, “Ah, thank heavens what's-his-name was here so that he could settle the case”.

Having peeled away every occurrence of the perfective aspect that can be accounted for as a fixed grammatical form or as a manifestation of the category typically associated with the perfective/imperfective aspect, what is left are a few occurrences of the perfective aspect that have undergone category-suspension. These occurrences are found in both nuclear and non-nuclear clauses. They occur in verbal clauses and nominalisations of verbal clauses. In all cases, the function of the perfective aspect is to foreground certain information as more important than other information in the discourse. The question then is: which information is foregrounded, and why?



action performed by the married couple. In the text, it is this action that forms the basis of the marriage relationship in which two separate people, a man and a woman, become one flesh.

## 17.3

*Sa asawa, da duwe tagu we antokone laraki*  
T,S spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person LK different:LK man

pre-nuclear.clause nuclear.clause  
*ya bobai, antipunda kad ya nang-amungda, sadi kanande 'asawa'.*  
and woman join:I,3,PL whenever and join:I,3,PL D3 say:II,3,PL:LK spouse/marriage  
In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman, when they live together,  
that is what they call 'marriage'.

In regard to information given as proof, the perfective aspect foregrounds a particular reason or result as more important than other information given in the paragraph by presenting it as a strong assertion, as in 9.54 and 12.5.

Sentence 9.54 presents a result in the nuclear clause and forms the peak of the paragraph in which it occurs. The verb that expounds the nuclear clause, *dingngor* 'to hear', occurs in the perfective aspect. The perfective aspect singles out this particular result as more important than any other piece of information in the paragraph. After all, a man is not a leader if no one listens to him.

## 9.54

pre-nuclear.clause nuclear.clause  
*Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dingngor*  
later:LK D3 not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

post-nuclear.clause  
*te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*  
because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader  
Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

Sentence 12.5 states a result that forms the peak of the paragraph. This particular sentence includes several verbs that occur in the perfective aspect: in pre-nuclear clause 1b *ummali* 'to come'; in nuclear clause 1 *ummoy* 'to go' and *insopsop* 'to be a financial burden', which expound a verb phrase; and a nominalised verb *nampabiinan* 'shame' which expounds nuclear clause 2. All these occurrences of the perfective aspect present the sentence as a strong assertion and foreground it as the peak of the paragraph. The result stated in the sentence is associated with the value of *biin* 'shame' or 'respect', which is one of the most emotive and highly esteemed cultural values in Philippine society.

## 12.5

sentence 1

pre-nuclear.clause 1a  
*Ina kos ilan da amata ka inata*  
go:II,1,DL whenever:also see N,PL father:II,1,DL and mother:II,1,DL

pre-nuclear.clause 1b  
*onnu umanakta kad ya ummalitatte ilita*  
or have.children:I,1,DL whenever and come:I,1,DL:O,S place:II,1,DL





durative and intensive aspects are found most often in sentences that contain information of low thematic importance, such as specific illustrations of a theme proposition or expanded restatements of a theme proposition. There is, however, one example in which foreshadowing occurs in the first sentence of a paragraph which presents a lower-level theme proposition. Within a paragraph, the durative and intensive aspects can occur once (as in a single sentence) or several times (as in a string of consecutive sentences). By sheer force of numbers, several consecutive sentences with durative or intensive aspect give a greater build-up to the upcoming information than a single sentence with similar marked aspect. The information anticipated by foreshadowing can be anything from a single sentence (three occurrences) to one or two paragraphs (six occurrences).

When the durative and intensive aspects are present, they point ahead to information that is important in terms of the speaker's overall intent to explain and especially to prove. Of the nine groups of sentences in which the durative or intensive forms foreshadow information, two groups contain information that is primarily thematic, one contains information that is both thematic and persuasive, and six contain information that is mainly persuasive. It is noteworthy that three of these last six groups of sentences contain a persuasive climax.

The foreshadowed information also manifests one or more features that indicate that it is more important than other information in a paragraph. These features can be semantic, such as the statement of a result or an evaluation. They can also be grammatical, such as the use of 'you' pronoun forms rather than the polite 'we two' pronoun form or the use of the perfective aspect as a foregrounding device. In one case, the durative and intensive aspects foreshadow an embedded hortatory discourse. Hortatory discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga is overtly persuasive in its intent.

Sentences 10.4 - 10.6, which begin a non-initial paragraph, illustrate the use of aspect as a foreshadowing device. The nuclear clause of 10.4 presents the lower-level theme proposition of the paragraph: parents should raise their children with love. Sentence 10.5 forms the peak of the paragraph and states a result for the theme proposition: the parents and their children will all be happy. The verb that expounds the predicate of the nuclear clause occurs in the intensive aspect: *sillelelayad* 'to be happy'. This aspect foreshadows the persuasive intent of the following sentence. In pre-nuclear clause 1 of 10.6 the speaker addresses the hearer directly using a 'you singular' pronoun: *tangkonom* 'you take care of [your child]'. This pronominal form signals that the sentence is a persuasive climax for the whole text. This sentence conveys the most persuasive force of all the sentences in the text.

## 10.4

fronted.noun.phrase	nuclear.clause
<i>Sa anne anak da man-asawa,</i>	<i>masapur pagay ye</i>
T,S D1:LK child G,PL spouse/marriage	necessary EMPH LK

*tangkonda gos atte layad atte mataguwanda.*  
 care.for:II,3,PL also O,S love O,S lifetime:II,3,PL

This child of the married couple, it is necessary that they raise it with love during their lifetime.

## 10.5

fronted.noun.phrase	pre-nuclear.clause
<i>Sa kamat anangkonda, matagu kad denne anake</i>	
T,S EMPH care.for:II,3,PL live	when N,S:D1:LK child:LK

nuclear.clause

*bungan di layad, sillelelayadda.*

fruit:LK G,S love happy:I,3,PL

As for the reason why they [the parents] should care for [their child], if this child who is the fruit of love turns out well, they will all be happy.

10.6

prenuclear.clause 1

prenuclear.clause 2

*Nu tangkonam de anak attenne layad, dumakor kap*

if care.for:II,2,S N,S child O,S:D1:LK love grow.up when

nuclear.clause

*pagay de anak, mikagasmokna kane "Bungaak pun*

EMPH N,S child remember:II,3,S say:LK fruit:I,1,S since

*atte layad, allelayadak ose matagu".*

O,S love happy:I,1,S also:LK live

If you raise a child with this particular kind of love, when the child grows up, he will remember it and say, "Since I am the fruit of love, I will live happily".

Sentences 9.50 - 9.54 provide another example of aspect as a foreshadowing device. In this paragraph, the speaker points out that today's elected officials are not real leaders because they are only concerned with their own interests, not with the interests of the community. The first conjoined clause in the nuclear position of 9.53 contains a verb in the intensive aspect: *ad-aduwan* 'to be first to do something'. The intensive aspect anticipates the content presented in 9.54, which states a result that forms the peak of the paragraph: people will not listen to that kind of a leader. In the postnuclear clause of 9.54 the speaker addresses the hearer directly using a 'you singular' pronoun: *dongrom* 'you listen'. Again the 'you' pronominal form signals that the sentence is the persuasive climax of the text. It should be noted that the postnuclear clause is expounded by a rhetorical question that presents a negative opinion. As mentioned elsewhere, a rhetorical question is a means of stating a strong assertion.

9.50

*Sa sana kad attenne mabutusan ela da pangat.*

T,S now ADV O,S:D1:LK vote HORT G,PL leader

Today the leaders are only voted in.

[Literally: Today there is only the voting in of the leaders.]

9.51

*Isunan in-inope poyaaw.*

same:II,3,S dream:LK breeze

It is like a dream in the air.

9.52

*Adida pun milasin ya angwa kad da sane*

not:I,3,PL MOD recognise and do/make when N,PL D1:LK

*mabutusan, kanande "Dikani pangat" yakon*

be.elected say:II,3,PL:LK III,1,PL,EXC leader but

*abus ak ipapuutda boryanda.*

only SM diligent:II,3,PL family:II,3,PL

They [the elected officials] are not recognised [as leaders] and as for what the elected officials do, they say, “We are leaders”, but they are only devoted to their families.

## 9.53

prenuclear.position

*Awak kos da koonde bumaruwan*

there.is whenever:also N,PL do/make:II,3,PL:LK benefit

nuclear.position

nuclear.clause 1

*ni ili, ad-aduwandos ak angaratta pilak ya*  
G,S place do.first:II,3,PL:also SM get:O,PL money and

nuclear.clause 2

*sadi kanande ‘igab’.*

D3 say:II,3,PL:LK corruption.

Whenever they have a project for the benefit of the community, they are the first to do something in order to get the money and that's what they call ‘corruption’.

## 9.54

prenuclear.clause nuclear.clause

*Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dingngor*

later:LK D3 not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

postnuclear.clause

*te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*

because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader

Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

Another example of aspect as a foreshadowing device is seen in paragraph 9.30 - 9.34. The lower-level theme of the paragraph is presented in 9.30: a leader is hardworking. Sentences 9.31 and 9.33 contain verbs that occur in the intensive aspect: *anggaggagayam* ‘to stay home’ and *angipappangat* ‘to lead’ respectively. Sentence 9.34 contains a result that forms the peak of the paragraph; however, since the lower-level theme of the paragraph is a relatively minor one, the intensive aspect in 9.31 and 9.33 does not appear to foreshadow the result of the theme that is presented in 9.34. Rather the intensive aspect appears to point forward to the immediately following paragraph in which the lower-level theme states that a leader must be capable of mediating disputes – the most important role that a leader performs. In this example, then, the intensive aspect foreshadows information that occurs in a succeeding paragraph and that is primarily thematic.

## 9.30

*Duknag kos atte kinapawot, mampawot o.*

arrive when:also O,S industriousness industrious also

When it comes to hard work, he [the leader] is really industrious.

9.31

*Dakompose upan ela anggaggagayam.*

not:MOD:also:LK HAB HORT stay.home

He also does not tend to stay home from work.

9.32

*Dakompuk baduure tagu.*

not:MOD:SM lazy:LK person

He is not a lazy person.

9.33

*Siyos de pupan angipappangat atta ambarutte kinapawotna.*

III,3,S:also N,S HAB lead O,PL good:O,S industriousness:II,3,S

He also leads others [in doing what is] for the good of all by his industriousness.

9.34

*Tur-ayanos de pawot te ngos ni ipakannatta*

excel:II,3,S:also N,S industriousness because INT:also G,S feed:II,3,S:O,PL

*mangilyona nu adina tur-ayan de pawot?*

have.visitors:II,3,S if not:II,3,S excel N,S industriousness

He excels in industriousness because what will he feed his visitors if he does not excel in hard work?

The last example of aspect as a foreshadowing device consists of two consecutive partial paragraphs. The first consists of the last four sentences of one paragraph: 9.41 - 9.44. The second consists of the first two sentences of the following paragraph: 9.45 - 9.46.

The lower-level theme of the first partial paragraph is that a leader is capable of mediating disputes. Sentence 9.41 restates the theme and points out that a leader selflessly donates his time and effort to see that a dispute is resolved satisfactorily. Sentences 9.42 and 9.44 contain support information that repeats old information. Both sentences contain the word *koon* 'to do/make' which functions as an aspectual auxiliary indicating continuous, durative action. The durative aspect foreshadows the information contained in the paragraph that immediately follows.

The second partial paragraph is concerned with the final stage of achieving full leadership status: when a leader is old enough to have grandchildren. The durative aspect foreshadows this last stage of the process of becoming a leader and signals that this stage is more important than any other stage in acquiring a position of leadership. In this case, the durative aspect is foreshadowing thematic information. Sentence 9.45 contains both the word *koon* 'to do/make', which again acts as an aspectual auxiliary indicating continuous action, and *upan*, which is an aspectual auxiliary that indicates habitual action. The durative aspect signalled by both auxiliaries foreshadows the information contained in 9.46, which presents an evaluation in the nuclear clause that functions as a result. The result forms both the peak of the paragraph and the peak of the whole discourse, making it the most important peak in the text.

9.41

*Duknag gad atte linnintogan ni ili ya kinabagaang,*  
arrive when O,S mediation G,S place and relations.between.villages

*ittona pay de long-agna ka amine orgawne*  
give:II,3,S EMPH N,S body:II,3,S and all:LK day:II,3,S:LK

*mataktak ta pione malintogan.*  
delay because like/want:II,3,S:LK mediate

When it comes to settling disputes in the village or when there is trouble between villages, he will offer himself and his time because he wants the case to be settled.

9.42

*Adina pun pay tawiliyon de boryanna ya siya*  
not:II,3,S MOD EMPH look.back N,S family:II,3,S and III,3,S

*pay koone umoy mangipapuut atte malintogan ni duwe ili.*  
EMPH do/make:LK go diligent O,S mediate G,S two:LK place

He does not look back to his family affairs and he will continue devoting himself to the settling of the case between the two communities.

9.43

*Sadi ose mangor-ana gos atte kinapangatna te*  
D3 other:LK get:II,3,S also O,S leadership:II,3,S because

*niipun ampay aposna.*  
none:MOD EMPH jealous:II,3,S

That is another way in which he gains his leadership because he does not show any partiality for his own interests.

9.44

*Siya pay koone mangipapuut atte malintogan*  
III,3,S EMPH do/make:LK diligent O,S mediate

*ya bumaruan da matagu.*  
and benefit G,PL live

He works for the settlement of cases and for the benefit of the living.

9.45

*Sana kad da madagdaggup, nu dumakore sadi ya naapuwan,*  
D1 when N,PL gather if grow.up:LK D3 and become.grandparent

*siyos koone upan antudtudu atte in-inon pagay da matagu.*  
III,3,S:also do/make:LK HAB advise O,S way EMPH G,PL live

When this is all taken together, if he grows up in that way and has grandchildren, he will give advice about how to live.

9.46

prenuclear.clause      nuclear.clause  
*Maapuwan kad, asida kane "A, pangat"*  
 be.a.grandparent when will:II,3,PL say:LK ah leader

postnuclear.clause 1  
*tenne miigammum pagay da tagu de in-inone mangipangat*  
 because:D1:LK know:LK EMPH G,PL person N,S way:LK lead

postnuclear.clause 2  
*atta losane mipangatan ni bumaruwan ni ili te adipun*  
 O,PL all:LK lead G,S benefit G,S place because not:MOD

*makwe mampangat nu abus ak pangatana boryanna.*  
 possible:LK lead if only SM lead:II,3,S family:II,3,S

When he has grandchildren, they will say, "Ah, he's a leader", because the people will know how he leads in all the things that require leading for the good of the community because he cannot possibly be a leader if he only leads his family.

## 6.2 THE FUNCTIONS OF DEICTICS

There are two deictic systems operating in expository discourse: an exophoric reference system and an endophoric reference system. The exophoric system refers to things within the situation in which a speech event occurs. The endophoric system refers to things within the text. An endophoric deictic can be cataphoric, pointing forward to something coming in the text, or it can be anaphoric, looking back to something already mentioned in the text.

The typical categories that govern the exophoric system are location and temporality. Exophoric deictics locate something in time and space and, in certain cases, undergo category-suspension. When this occurs, the deictics take on other distinctions that function on the discourse level. Halliday and Hasan (1976:59) note that categories that typically govern exophoric, or situational, deictics help explain the functions of endophoric, or discourse, deictics. Those categories also help explain the discourse functions that are performed by exophoric deictics when they undergo category-suspension.

In the exophoric system, deictics act as determiners, free-standing nominals and aspectual auxiliaries. When exophoric deictics act as determiners or free-standing nominals, they are governed by location as their typical category. Location in these cases is relative rather than absolute.

Figure 3 shows three sets of exophoric deictics that typically indicate location. Set 1 is composed of four deictics: *anna* 'here' or 'this' indicates a position near the speaker; *sanat* 'there' or 'that' indicates a position near the hearer; *annat* 'there' or 'that' indicates a position that is removed from both the speaker and the hearer, but within sight; and *andi* 'there' or 'that' indicates a position that is removed from both the speaker and the hearer and which may or may not be within sight. Set 2 consists of three deictics: *annaya* 'here it is', *annayat* 'there it is' and *andiya* 'there it is'. These three deictics are the exclamatory counterparts of *anna*, *annat* and *andi* in set 1 (Behrens & Hale 1986:95). Set 3 consists of *as sina* 'here' and *as sidi* 'there' which refer to general locations. These deictics contrast with those in sets 1 and 2 which refer to specific locations.

Location	Set 1 Specific location or referent	Set 2 Exclamatory counter- parts of set 1	Set 3 General location only
close to speaker	<i>anna</i> 'here/this'	<i>annaya</i> 'here it is'	<i>as sina</i> 'here'
close to hearer	<i>sanat</i> 'there/that'		
removed from both speaker and hearer, within sight	<i>annat</i> 'there/that'	<i>annayat</i> 'there it is'	
removed from both speaker and hearer, within sight or out of sight	<i>andi</i> 'there/that'	<i>andiya</i> 'there it is'	<i>as sidi</i> 'there'

FIGURE 3: EXOPHORIC DEICTICS

When the exophoric deictics *anna*, *annat* and *andi* function as aspectual auxiliaries, they are typically governed by temporality. It should be noted that temporality is normally shown in the morphology of the verbal affix. When exophoric deictics occur as aspectual auxiliaries signalling temporality, they draw attention to the temporal aspects that they represent. As aspectual auxiliaries, they occur clause initially and are followed by the link *we*. Figure 4 shows the set of deictics that function as aspectual auxiliaries. It should be noted that the deictic *annat* can indicate location, in the sense of approaching action, as well as temporality.

imperfective	<i>anna</i> 'now'
perfective	<i>andi</i> 'then'
near distance or near completion of an action	<i>annat</i> 'nearly'

FIGURE 4: EXOPHORIC DEICTICS AS ASPECTUAL AUXILIARIES

In the case of *anna* and *andi*, temporality is expressed as imperfectivity and perfectivity. There is also agreement between the deictic and the aspectual forms of the verb. *Anna* 'now' indicates that an action is currently taking place, and the verb occurs in the imperfective form. *Andi* 'there' indicates that an action has been completed, and the verb occurs in the perfective form.

Examples of *anna* and *andi* as aspectual auxiliaries are given below in (a) and (b). In (a) *anna* indicates that an action is taking place. The verb *iyyakon* 'to go' occurs in the imperfective form which agrees with the aspectuality of the deictic *anna*. In (b) *andi* indicates that an action has been completed. The verb *ummag-agaw* 'to become afternoon' occurs in the perfective form which agrees with the aspectuality of the deictic *andi*.

(a)

*Anne iyyakon.*  
D1:LK go:I,1,S  
I am going now.

(b)

*Andi ye ummag-agaw.*  
D3 LK late.afternoon  
Then it was late afternoon.



The deictic *annat* is less straightforward in that it can signal location as well as temporality. When *annat* occurs with the imperfective form of a verb, it functions as a spatial deictic. It indicates the location of an ongoing action that is removed from the speaker, but within sight. When *annat* indicates location, there is also the implication that the action is moving towards the speaker and the hearer as illustrated in (c) and (d).

In (c) the meaning of the verb *umali* 'to come' has a semantic component of direction, and so the implication of direction in the deictic *annat* is obscured. In (d), however, the verb *umudan* 'to rain' does not have a semantic component indicating direction, but the statement is given as a mild warning. The implied meaning is that those hearers in the vicinity of the speaker are going to get wet unless they take cover. The verbs in both (c) and (d) occur in their imperfective forms.

(c)

*Annate umalida.*

D2:LK come:I,3,PL

They [who are within sight] are coming.

(d)

*Annate umudan.*

D2:LK rain

Here comes the rain.

[Literally: There is the rain [which is in sight].]

When *annat* occurs with the perfective form of a verb, it acts as a temporal auxiliary. In this form, it indicates that an ongoing action is close to completion. In (e) the verb *gumminok* 'to stop' occurs in the perfective form. Without the aspectual deictic *annat* the sentence would read: 'The bleeding has stopped'. The presence of the deictic *annat* qualifies the statement and indicates that the bleeding has almost, but not completely, stopped.

(e)

*Annate gumminok de darana.*

D2:LK stop N,S blood:II,3,S

The bleeding has nearly stopped.

The endophoric system consists of four deictics: *annaya* 'here is', *anna* 'this', *sana* 'this' and *sadi* 'that' as shown in Figure 5. *Annaya* and *anna* are cataphoric deictics that point forward to upcoming information that is yet to be mentioned in a text. *Sana* and *sadi* are anaphoric deictics that point back to something that has already been talked about in a text and can function as both determiners and as free-standing nominals.

cataphoric	<i>anna</i> 'this' (determiner)	<i>annaya</i> 'here is' (free-standing nominal)
anaphoric	<i>sana</i> 'this' <i>sadi</i> 'that'	

FIGURE 5: ENDOPHORIC DEICTICS

*Annaya* 'here is' is a free-standing presentation nominal. It occurs in the first sentence of a paragraph and introduces a theme proposition. It can also be repeated in succeeding sentences when

those sentences paraphrase, expand or illustrate a theme proposition that has already been stated. Its counterpart *anna* 'this' acts as a presentation determiner in noun phrases that occur in paragraph-initial sentences that introduce theme propositions. When *anna* functions as a presentation form, it never occurs as an independent nominal.

Sentence 9.1 contains an example of *annaya* 'here is' as a presentation form; it expounds the first half of the sentence as a free-standing nominal. A noun phrase stating the global theme expounds the second half of the sentence.

## 9.1

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Annaya in-inon da tagutte awi ye anginap atte pangatda.*  
 here.is way G,PL person:O,S long.ago LK look.for O,S leader:II,3,PL  
 Here is how people who lived long ago recognised their leader.

The prenuclear clause of 10.5 contains an example of *anna* 'this' as a presentation form. Sentence 10.5 is the first sentence of a non-initial paragraph. In the prenuclear clause, *anna* occurs as a determiner in the noun phrase. It occurs in the form of *denne*, a contraction of *de + anna + we*. *Anna* presents the participant *anak* 'child', a primary participant that also functions as the theme of the text. *Anak* has already been introduced in the first sentence of the text (see 10.1 below) and is reintroduced in 10.5 as a primary participant in the new paragraph.

## 10.5

fronted.noun.phrase                      prenuclear.clause  
*Sa kamat anangkonanda, matagu kad denne anake*  
 T,S EMPH care.for:II,3,PL live when N,S:D1:LK child:LK

nuclear.clause  
*bungan di layad, sillelelayadda.*  
 fruit:LK G,S love happy:I,3,PL

As for the reason why they [the parents] should care for [their child], if this child who is the fruit of love turns out well, they will all be happy.

The fronted noun phrase in 10.1 contains the deictic *anna* 'this' which functions as a determiner in the noun phrase. The deictic points forward to the partial global theme that is presented in the nuclear clause.

## 10.1

fronted.noun.phrase                      nuclear.clause  
*Sa anna gose miibagak, mipuun atte anak.*  
 T,S D1 also:LK tell:II,1,S concerned O,S child  
 This which I am going to talk about, it concerns the child.

*Sana* 'this' and *sadi* 'that' act as both determiners and free-standing nominals. Once something is mentioned in a text, it can be referred to again using *sana* or *sadi*.<sup>27</sup> In summary paragraphs or

<sup>27</sup>There is one occurrence in which *sadi* 'that' refers to something mentioned outside the text in which the deictic occurs. In this case, a speaker gave two texts which were tape-recorded during the same sitting. While giving the second text, the speaker mentioned an explanation that he had made in the first text. He referred to this explanation using the anaphoric deictic *sadi*. The explanation itself had not been restated earlier within the linguistic boundaries of the second text. It had, however, been mentioned within the boundaries of the speech situation that included the two texts and so, from the speaker's perspective, it was eligible for anaphoric reference. It is interesting to note that the speaker immediately

concluding paragraphs, *sana* can also occur in the first sentence as a determiner in a noun phrase or as a free-standing nominal in the first half of a cleft sentence. In these constructions, *sana* refers to something already mentioned, but at the same time it also acts as a presentation form in the paragraph in which it occurs. *Sadi*, however, never occurs in the first sentence of a paragraph and so never functions as a presentation form.

Sentence 11.4 is a cleft sentence, the final sentence of a paragraph. Here the deictic *sana* 'this' is a free-standing nominal that expounds the first half of the sentence. A noun phrase that summarises the theme of the paragraph expounds the second half of the paragraph.

11.4

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sana da aggasang da udume tagus sinaoy.*

D1 N,PL spirit.that.causes.illness G,PL other:LK person:L D1

This is the *aggasang* of some people here.

Sentence 17.8 is the first sentence in the final paragraph of text 17. Here *sana* 'this' occurs as a determiner in a fronted noun phrase. It acts as a presentation form for *asawa* 'marriage' which is the main argument of the global theme proposition.

17.8

fronted.noun.phrase

left-dis.noun.phrase

nuclear.clause

*Sa sane asawa, da duwe tagu, nambalindak ossaan.*

T,S D1:LK spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person become:I,3,PL:SM one

In this marriage, the two people, they become one.

Sentence 17.4 is a cleft sentence that restates the global theme of the text. The first half of the sentence is manifested by *sadi* which acts as a free-standing nominal and refers back to *asawa* 'marriage' which has already been mentioned. The second half of the clause is expounded by a nominalised verbal clause which summarises the global theme of the text.

17.4

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sadi umpay de tenan ay ni laraki de inana kan*

D3 EMPH N,S leave EMPH G,S man N,S mother:II,3,S and

*amana ya niitipun atte asawane bobai.*

father:II,3,S and join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK woman

That [marriage] is when the man leaves his mother and father and lives together with his wife.

It should be noted that *sana* 'this' and *sadi* 'that' also have a temporal function in expository discourse. In respect to time, *sana* acts as a generic term for present time. It can be translated as 'today' or 'now' and generally means 'these current times'. *Sadi* occurs in the frozen time phrase *oni kade sadi* which means 'later on' or 'later on after that'. Since time settings and sequences of events

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followed the anaphoric reference with a full restatement of the explanation on from the first text. Apparently the speaker also felt that the first occurrence of the explanation might be too remote to ensure that the hearer would know what he was talking about, so he paraphrased the information in the second text.

are not of particular importance in expository discourse, these phrases are about as specific as time orientation gets in expository texts.<sup>28</sup>

The next two sentences contain examples of *sana* and *sadi* as they occur in time phrases. Sentence 9.50 begins with the time phrase *sa sana* 'today'. Sentence 9.54 begins with the time phrase *oni kade sadi* 'later on'.

9.50

*Sa sana kad attenne mabutusan ela da pangat.*

T,S now ADV O,S:D1:LK vote HORT G,PL leader

Today the leaders are only voted in.

[Literally: Today there is only the voting in of the leaders.]

9.54

*Oni.kade sadi adim pun pay da tagu dingngor*

later:LK D3 not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

*te ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*

because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader

Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

Time in expository discourse is usually present time or hypothetical time. Past events are normally described only when a speaker appeals to tradition and to the authority of those who are older than him or who lived in the past. For this purpose, the speaker may recall an event that took place in the past or words spoken by someone in the past. These past events and utterances, however, are not specific events and utterances that have actually occurred, but ones that are similar to events and utterances that have taken place in the past. In a similar way, settings and locations are also general. In 12.1 the global theme is stated in a quote that is attributed to elders who lived long ago. The time phrase *sa awi* 'long ago' which begins the sentence is a general temporal designation.

12.1

*Sa awi kan da dadakkore antuttudu we "Adita pun*

T,S long.ago say G,PL elder:LK advise LK not:I,1,DL MOD

*mam pagay anagin-ili te buwatna".*

CERT EMPH marry.outsider because inappropriate:II,3,S

Long ago the old folk gave advice saying, "We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate".

Since location and temporal settings are few and indefinite, there is little opportunity for exophoric deictics to function according to the typical categories of time and location. One might assume, then, that they would be rare in expository discourse. What one finds, however, is that exophoric deictics do occur in expository discourse and in greater numbers than one would expect. The question then is when do these deictics occur and what function do they perform.

As mentioned, exophoric deictics function according to their typical categories of time and place on the few occasions when a speaker refers to past events. These statements are often direct or indirect quotes, or comments that refer to the content of direct and indirect quotes. More often, though,

<sup>28</sup>Past time phrases are equally as general as non-past time phrases. The usual phrases for past time in expository discourse are *sa awi* 'long ago' and *sa dandani* 'in the old days'.

exophoric deictics undergo category-suspension and function as foregrounding devices. When deictics act as foregrounding devices, they call the hearer's attention to certain information which the speaker considers important.<sup>29</sup>

While various kinds of information can be foregrounded by exophoric deictics, the deictics usually highlight information that proves what the speaker wants to say. Foregrounded information can be illustrations or other specific information that help explain a theme proposition (four examples). Usually the foregrounded information consists of reasons, results, evaluations, and adversative information, all of which function to prove what the speaker wants to say (seventeen examples). It is interesting to note that, of three expository texts that are descriptions with no persuasive intent, two have no occurrences of exophoric deictics as foregrounding devices. The third text has only one example, which supplies additional information that further explains the theme proposition of the paragraph in which it occurs. The example has no persuasive function. The lack of exophoric deictics as foregrounding devices in expository texts that are mainly descriptive, rather than persuasive, suggests that foregrounding deictics are part of the persuasive strategy that overlays an expository discourse when the intent of the speaker is to prove and persuade as well as to explain.

Not all syntactic constructions are eligible for exophoric deictics as foregrounding devices. Specifically there are five eligible constructions. Two involve the substitution of an exophoric deictic, *anna* or *andi*, for the existential *awad* 'there is'.<sup>30</sup> In these cases *anna* conveys a sense of imperfectivity and is associated with non-past time; *andi*, on the other hand, conveys a sense of perfectivity and is associated with past time. Two other constructions are forms to which exophoric deictics can be added as optional elements, and the last one involves the substitution of an expected deictic by another member of its set.

The first construction in which the existential *awad* can be replaced is an equational clause that indicates the possession of a physical object, a quality or a trait.<sup>31</sup> The first half of the clause is expounded by the deictic *anna* or *andi* which replaces the existential *awad*. The second half of the clause is expounded by a noun phrase.

The next three sentences all contain equational possession clauses in which the existential *awad* 'there is' is replaced by the deictic *anna* or *andi*. Sentence 12.25 presents an evaluation that functions as a prescription – a strong persuasive device.

12.25

equational.clause  
nominal 1    nominal 2

(*Angwaniyam    atte*) *anna pagay amborbalita*.

it.is.fitting:II,2,S O,S D1 EMPH appease:II,1,DL

(It is more fitting that) we should have something to appease [our children] with.

<sup>29</sup>R. Hohulin and Hale (1977), Gault (1986), and Behrens and Hale (1986) all note the use of marked deictics in Philippine languages. Hohulin and Hale base their findings on examples taken from narrative and expository discourse. Gault and Behrens and Hale confine their analysis to narrative discourse. Depending on the particular language described, the marked deictics function as foregrounding or foreshadowing devices.

<sup>30</sup>It should be noted that the negated existential *ippun* 'nothing' or 'none' cannot be replaced by a deictic. This agrees with Prince's (1981:236) argument in her discussion of *inferencing* of indefinite *-this* noun phrases that specific indefinites lose or blur their specificity when they undergo negation.

<sup>31</sup>For the purpose of this discussion, existential clauses are grouped with equational clauses. Elsewhere in the study, existential clauses are distinguished from equational clauses.

Sentence 9.5 contains three equational clauses that indicate possession. The first occurs with the existential *awad*, but in the second and third equational clauses, the existential *awad* is replaced by the deictic *anna*. The sentence presents an indirect quote that validates the theme of the paragraph.

## 9.5

		equational.clause 1		equational.clause 2
		nominal 1	nominal 2	nominal 1 nominal 2
(Kanan da matagu we)	awad de	paniyawna,	anna	ngilinna,
say G,PL live	LK there.is	N,S taboo:II,3,S	D1	taboo:II,3,S
equational.clause 3				
nominal 1 nominal 2				
anna	biinna	(ya ambaru de	kopyanatta	kadogwatana).
D1	respect:II,3,S	and good	N,S action:II,3,S:O,PL	age.group:II,3,S

(Those who live said) he has *paniyaw*, he has *ngilin*, he has *biin* (and he has good relations with his peers).

In 12.20 the existential *awad* 'there is' is replaced by the deictic *andi* and conveys a sense of past time. The sentence functions as support information in an adversative paragraph. It is a positive assertion of the point that the speaker is arguing.

## 12.20

nominal 1	nominal 2
<i>Andi</i>	<i>akite ansordande mabiyag.</i>
D3	few:LK starter:II,3,PL:LK live

They had a little something to start their [married] life with.

The second construction in which a deictic can replace the existential *awad* is another kind of equational sentence, in which the first half of the sentence is expounded by the existential *awad* and the second half of the sentence is expounded by a nominalised verbal clause. The existential in the first half of the sentence is a dummy element. It represents the focused element that is missing from the nominalised clause in the second half of the sentence. The existential acts like an indefinite pronoun such as 'something' or 'someone'. Either *anna* or *andi* can replace the existential *awad* in this kind of construction.

Sentence 3.29 contains two examples of this kind of equational construction. In both equational clauses the existential *awad* is replaced by the deictic *anna*. In equational clause 1, the deictic *anna* represents the missing focused element of the nominalised clause that expounds the second half of the equational clause. *Anna* represents the people whom the leader will entertain as his guests. In equational clause 2, the deictic *anna* also represents the missing focused element of the nominalised clause that manifests the second half of the equational clause. In this clause, *anna* stands for the people whom the leader feeds in his home. The sentence presents a result for the lower-level theme of the paragraph.

9.29

equational.clause 1  
nominal 1 nominal 2

(*Oni.kade sadi ta miigammu,*) *anna da mangiliyona,*  
later:LK D3 and know D1 N,PL host:II,3,S

equational.clause 2

nominal 1 nominal 2  
*anna pay da pupana pakanan atte boroyna.*  
D1 EMPH N,PL HAB:II,3,S feed O,S house:II,3,S  
(Later on when he is known,) he will have visitors, he will feed them at his house.

Sentence 12.19 contains an equational clause in which the existential *awad* is replaced by the deictic *andi*, which gives a sense of past time. Here again the deictic represents the missing focused element of the nominalised clause that manifests the second half of the equational clause. It stands for the rice field that the young man tills in order to feed his family. The sentence functions as support information in an adversative paragraph.

12.19

(*Antuttudu kad da iyawi, kanda e angibage*  
advise when N,PL person.of.long.ago say:II,3,PL LK tell:LK

*“Na, ingka kan nuka te awad de*  
hey go:I,2,S O what's.his.name because there.is N,S

*simpukunge bagliwna” onnu “Awad de*  
small.amount.of.water:LK small.rice.field:II,3,S or there.is N,S

equational.clause  
nominal 1

*binalikawogna” ya dumngor kad in ta umoy,) andi kammos*  
round.thing:II,3,S and obey when CERT and go D3 EMPH

nominal 2  
*in de lung-udone ikataguna.*  
CERT N,S go.to.work:LK live.by.means.of:II,3,S

(When those who lived in the past gave advice, they said, “Hey, you go marry her because she has a little rice field” or “She has gold bracelets”, and when he obeyed and did it,) he had something with which to make a living.

The third construction in which an exophoric deictic can occur as a foregrounding device is a common, ‘garden-variety’ descriptive noun phrase. Unlike the above constructions in which the presence of a deictic is an unusual occurrence, a descriptive noun phrase is the kind of construction in which one would expect to find a deictic. Once information has been presented in a text, it is normally referred to by the endophoric deictics *sana* ‘this – previously mentioned’ and *sadi* ‘that – previously mentioned’. The presence of the exophoric deictic *anna* ‘this’ with information that has already been introduced in a text is a marked use of the deictic.

In 11.11 the deictic *anna* occurs as a determiner in the noun phrase that expounds the first half of the sentence. (Its actual form in the sentence is *anne*, a contraction of *anna* + *we*.) The participant

*ansasap-uy* 'one who blows' has already been mentioned in the preceding sentences. The use of the deictic *anna* foregrounds the support information contained in the sentence, highlighting it briefly.

11.11

nominal 1						nominal 2
<i>Sa tangdan kad ni anne ansasap-uy atte kukku simbotoke tubaku.</i>						
T,S	payment	ADV	G,S	D1:LK	one.who.blows	O,S
					spirit.type	one.bundle:LK
						tobacco

The pay for this person who blows on the *kukku* spirit is one bundle of tobacco.

In 8.38 the deictic *anna* occurs as a determiner in a noun phrase in a relative clause. Here it briefly foregrounds the adversative information contained in the sentence concerning the arrival of Christianity. The adversative information creates a contrast between the days before and the days following the arrival of Christianity.

8.38

						relative.clause
<i>(Sana de in-inon da natagutte dandani ye) daampun ni</i>						
D1	N,S	way	G,PL	live:O,S	old.days	LK
						not.yet:MOD
						G,S

*anne kananda e 'kinakristiyanu' duknagan.*  
 D1:LK say:II,3,PL LK Christianity time.of.arrival  
 (This is how people lived in the past) before what they call 'Christianity' arrived.

The fourth construction that takes a foregrounding deictic is a sentence in which a verbal or equational clause is introduced by the deictic *anna* followed by the link *we*. The form of this construction is similar to the construction discussed earlier in which an exophoric deictic acts as an aspectual auxiliary. All four examples of this construction come from text 9, and in each case the deictic foregrounds a reason. In 9.21 and 9.58 the deictic *anna* occurs in the postnuclear clauses as *tenna* (a contraction of *te + anna*) and *tenne* (a contraction of *te + anna + we*) respectively.

9.21

pre-nuclear.clause						nuclear.clause
<i>Lumnok kad atte baruknit, ibilangna pagaye</i>						
enter	whenever	O,S	planned.battle	count:II,3,S	EMPH:LK	

postnuclear.clause  
*matoy tenna ine siya de kamak mangipangapangat.*  
 die because:D1 CERT:LK III,3,S N,S EMPH lead  
 Whenever he [a leader] enters a battle, he counts himself as dead because he will surely lead the others.

9.58

pre-nuclear.clause						nuclear.clause
<i>Man-ugud kad atte dandanitta lintog, dongron da tagu</i>						
talk	whenever	O,S	old.days:O,PL	law	listen	G,PL
						person



postnuclear.clause

*tenne niilam pay da tagu denne kinapangatna.*  
because:D1:LK see:LK EMPH G,PL person N,S:D1:LK leadership:II,3,S

Whenever he [a leader] spoke in the past about the law, the people would listen because they had seen his leadership.

Finally, deictics also act as foregrounding devices when an expected, typical deictic is replaced by another member of its set. Examples of this use of the deictic are quite rare; there are only two occurrences in the texts. In both cases the speaker is the same person, which suggests that this foregrounding device, like others, is a matter of speaker preference. The first example of the substitution of one member of a deictic set by another member of its set is found in a direct quote, in 9.57. Normally *andi* ‘that – remote distance’ is used to refer to a person who is mentioned in a quote when that person is someone other than the speaker or the hearer. In the quote in the nuclear clause of 9.57, however, *andi* ‘that – remote distance’ has been replaced by *sanat* ‘that – near the hearer’. Sentence 9.57 occurs in the last paragraph of the text and is a final, culminating evaluation.

9.57

prenuclear.clause left-dis.noun.phrase nuclear.clause  
*Matoy kad, losan pay ni tagu, kanane “Siya sanat pay ose pangat”.*  
die whenever all EMPH G,S person say:LK III,3,S D2 EMPH also:LK leader  
When he dies, all the people, they will say, “That one, he was really one of the leaders”.

The second example involves the deictic pair *katti* ‘like this’ and *katnat* ‘like that’. These deictics are the only two members of the set. Normally a speaker uses *katti* ‘like this’. A possible explanation for this choice is the concept of cognitive location which is discussed by R. Hohulin and Hale (1977:212-213). In their treatment of Keley-i demonstratives, they point out that deictics can be used to indicate the source of information. If the speaker himself is the source of information, then he refers to the information using a deictic that means close to the speaker. If a second person is the source of information, as in a conversation, then the speaker refers to the information using a deictic that means close to the hearer, who in this situation is the second person engaged in the conversation.

In a monologue, the speaker is usually the only source of information since the hearer normally does not respond verbally to what the speaker says. Consequently, one would not expect the deictic *katnat* ‘like that’ to occur since it would imply that the hearer has said something to which the speaker is now responding. (In the sentences in which *katti* ‘like this’ is used, the speaker is always the source of information, which supports the hypothesis that *katti* and *katnat* signal cognitive location.) However, in 8.36 the speaker is still the source of information, but he uses *katnat* ‘like that’ rather than *katti* ‘like this’.

8.36

*Dinos ela tagu we katnate ippos ela gudas*  
INT:also HORT person LK like.that:LK none:MOD:also HORT any

*ngilinna kan da biinna kan da paniyawna?*  
taboo:II,3,S and PL respect:II,3,S and PL taboo:II,3,S

Where can you find a person like that who has no *ngilin* and no *biin* and no *paniyaw*?

The use of *katnat* ‘like that’ in 8.36 could be explained by Lakoff’s concept of emotional deixis. Lakoff (1974:347-349) notes that deictics are sometimes used to promote emotional closeness between the speaker and the hearer. By using *katnat* ‘like that’ to place the disreputable person in



Sentence 12.6 contains two clauses that are nominalised by the addition of *-an*. Sentence 12.6 immediately follows a sentence that forms the peak of the paragraph in which 12.6 is found. The result stated in the paragraph peak is that the young person's parents will be shamed. Again the cultural value of *bin* 'shame' or 'respect' is the issue of concern. The first clause that is nominalised by *-an* is nuclear clause 1: *lummawingan os ni angosta* 'our feelings will be hurt'. Nuclear clause 1 presents an expanded explanation of the result given in the peak of the paragraph and states that because a young person has caused his parents to be shamed his feelings will surely be hurt. The second clause that is nominalised by *-an* is nuclear clause 2: *nangdasanta ot atte lawinge somsomok* 'we will end up having hurt feelings', which restates the first result in more specific terms: because people will make insulting jokes, the young person will surely end up with hurt feelings.

It should be noted that the English free translation for 12.6 presents the verbs of both clauses in the imperfective aspect. In the actual language examples, however, both verbs occur in the perfective aspect. (The affixes *-umm-* in *lummawingan* and *nang-* in *nangdasanta* are perfective forms.) In this sentence, nominalisation combines with the use of the perfective as a marked aspect in order to foreground a result and present it as a strong assertion.

12.6

nuclear.clause 1

*Lummawingan os ni angosta*

bad also G,S feeling/breath:II,1,DL

postnuclear.clause 1

prenuclear.clause 2

*te ibagada kad in ingis-il kane "Awad kad in*  
because tell:II,3,PL when CERT joke say:LK there.is when CERT

nuclear.clause 2

*wot pinggikda kan dikayu?" nangdasanta ot*  
ADV crush.in.hand:II,3,PL O III,2,PL find:II,1,DL ADV

*atte lawinge somsomok.*

O,S bad:LK thought

Our feelings will be hurt because when they make a joke, saying "Did they really have something to butcher for you?", we will end up having hurt feelings.

[Literally: Our feelings will be hurt because when they make a joke, saying "Did they really have something to butcher for you?", there will be our (act of) finding (ourselves) with bad feelings.]

## CHAPTER 7

### COHESION

Cohesion is defined as the system by which new information is connected to old information. It links information that is currently under discussion with what has already gone before it in the text (Grimes 1975:272; Halliday & Hasan 1976:10). In looking at cohesion in expository discourse, the first question that comes to mind is: what information needs to be tracked throughout the text? This question is based on the supposition that not all information presented in a text is equally important in achieving a speaker's purpose. Consequently, it is supposed that cohesion is selective in the sense that it keeps track only of that information which is most pertinent to the speaker's purpose. It has already been noted that the key elements in an expository text are theme, contrast and result. The expectation, then, is that cohesion is likely to be most concerned with keeping track of and connecting information that has to do with these three elements.<sup>32</sup>

In expository discourse, there are two general cohesive strategies. The first strategy deals with lexical and grammatical cohesion. It is concerned with keeping track of information that applies to the key elements of expository discourse – theme, result and contrast, and also participants. This strategy includes cohesive devices that are usually associated with the linking of new information with old information, namely, reference, conjunction and lexical cohesion.

The second cohesive strategy is parallelism (Gutwinski 1976:75; de Beaugrande 1980:289). Parallelism in expository discourse includes both syntactic and semantic parallelism. Semantic parallelism is based upon word associations. Consequently, it overlaps with collocation which falls within the domain of lexical cohesion. The distinctive feature of parallelism is the way it uses similarities in syntactic structure to connect a series of sentences that contains information that is

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<sup>32</sup> It is suggested that different information is important in different types of discourse genre. The information that is important in a narrative discourse differs from the information that is important in an expository discourse. Information that is most central to a discourse type is directly related to the rhetorical elements that form the underlying structure of that discourse genre. The rhetorical structure of a genre type determines what kind of information is important for successfully achieving the communication purpose of the speaker. It also affects the surface features that present and connect that information.

In their discussion of conjunctive cohesion in four English genres, Smith and Frawley (1983) also note the relationship between the underlying semantic or rhetorical structure of a genre and the surface features that are manifested in that genre type. In an effort to understand the function of conjunctions as a means of connecting sentences in a discourse, they examine the use of conjunctions in four genres. What they find is that different types of conjunctions occur in different genres, and that those conjunctions occur with different frequencies according to the genre type in which they are found. They state the following conclusion:

...it is...clear from the present study that there are differences in the amount and type of conjunctive cohesion used by the four genres investigated, and that the kinds of conjunctive cohesion used in the various genre types is significant...

The kinds of conjunctive cohesion used in the various genre types is of extreme importance...because its semantics give us an excellent insight into the argument or narrative structure of each text type. (Smith & Frawley 1983:371)

These findings support the assertion made here that key underlying rhetorical elements determine the kind of information that is important in an expository discourse, and significantly influence the features that are manifested in the surface structure of the genre type.

semantically related. Structural parallelism in effect draws a frame around the information that the speaker wants to link together and underlines the various semantic relationships that exist between the different pieces of information.

## 7.1 LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL COHESION

There are three kinds of lexical and grammatical cohesion that are found in expository discourse: reference, conjunction and lexical cohesion. Reference and conjunction are grammatical forms of cohesion while lexical cohesion, as its name implies, is a lexical form. Reference and conjunction usually link only information that refers to the key elements – theme, result and contrast, and primary participants. Lexical cohesion, on the other hand, keeps track of a wider variety of information. In addition to connecting information about themes, results, contrasts and participants, it seems to be the preferred way of keeping track of less important information and minor participants. Consequently, lexical cohesion is the most prevalent of the three types of cohesion.

### 7.1.1 REFERENCE

Reference is a sort of retrieval system by which the identity of an element can be recovered with each subsequent mention of the element. Reference allows something to be referred to a second time without resorting to the same words that were used the first time. As Grimes (1975:316) points out, a non-initial reference to an element usually occurs in a more condensed linguistic form than the initial reference since the non-initial reference does not need to go into the same amount of detail as the initial reference. In expository discourse, there are two kinds of reference: deictic and personal. Deictic and personal reference are discussed here only in terms of their cohesive function since their other functions are described elsewhere (section 6.2 and Chapter 5 respectively).

Deictic reference involves the use of endophoric deictics. These deictics refer to things within a text, and contrast with exophoric deictics which refer to things outside a text. There are four endophoric deictics in expository discourse: *anna* 'this' and *annaya* 'here is' are cataphoric deictics that point forward to something that is coming in the text, but which has not yet been mentioned; *sana* 'this' and *sadi* 'that' are anaphoric deictics that point backward to something that has already been said.

In expository discourse, endophoric deictics function mainly to introduce and keep track of thematic information. The cataphoric deictics *anna* 'this' and *annaya* 'here is' are presentation forms that introduce theme propositions. The anaphoric deictics *sana* 'this' and *sadi* 'that' are often found in cleft sentences that restate theme propositions. In these cleft sentences, the referent for the anaphoric deictic is the thematic information that has already been stated in the text. Halliday and Hasan (1976:66) note that endophoric deictics have extended scope. When an endophoric deictic refers to a lower-level theme proposition, it can include everything in a paragraph that is going to be said or that has been said about the theme. In the same way, when an endophoric deictic refers to a global theme proposition, it can include everything in the entire text that will be or has been said about the global theme.

In 17.1 the deictic *anna* occurs in a fronted noun phrase and functions as a determiner in the noun phrase. The deictic presents the partial global theme which is stated in the nuclear clause.

## 17.1

fronted.noun.phrase    nuclear.clause  
*Sa anne ugudok, miipun atte asawa.*  
 T,S D1:LK talk:II,1,S concern O,S marriage  
 This which I will discuss, it concerns marriage.

Sentence 9.1 is a cleft sentence in which the first half of the sentence is expounded by *annaya* 'here is', which functions as a presentation form. The deictic introduces the global theme of the text which is stated in the second half of the sentence.

## 9.1

nominal 1    nominal 2  
*Annaya in-inon da tagutte awi ye anginap atte pangatda.*  
 here.is way G,PL person:O,S long.ago LK look.for O,S leader:II,3,PL  
 Here is how people who lived long ago recognised their leader.

Sentence 11.4 is the final sentence in a paragraph. It is a cleft sentence in which the first half of the sentence is expounded by the anaphoric deictic *sana* 'this', which points back to the lower-level theme of the paragraph. The theme is the *luum* snake, a particular type of *aggasang* spirit. The second half of the sentence is expounded by a noun phrase that adds a piece of information that summarises the paragraph.

## 11.4

nominal 1    nominal 2  
*Sana da aggasang da udume tagus sinaoy.*  
 D1 N,PL spirit.that.causes.illness G,PL other:LK person:L D1  
 This is the *aggasang* of some people here.

Sentence 9.24 is also a cleft sentence that concludes a paragraph. The first half of the sentence is expounded by the anaphoric deictic *sadi* 'that' which refers back to all that has been said about the lower-level theme of the paragraph. The theme states that a leader is brave. The second half of the sentence is expounded by a noun phrase that summarises the paragraph and connects the lower-level theme with the global theme of the text.

## 9.24

nominal 1    nominal 2  
*Sadi kamak ose mangor-anatte kinapangatna.*  
 D3 EMPH also:LK get:II,3,S:O,S leadership:II,3,S  
 That is one instance in which he will gain his leadership.

Endophoric deictics can also refer to primary participants although this is a less common occurrence. When they refer to participants, their function is not far removed from the one they perform when they connect thematic information. As has been noted elsewhere, there is a very close relationship between the primary participant and the global theme proposition of a discourse. At times the relationship is so close that it is impossible to separate the two, as in the case of text 10, where 'child' is both the main argument of the global theme and the primary participant. Consequently, it seems fitting that the very deictics that keep track of thematic information should also be the ones that keep track of primary participants. When endophoric deictics refer to primary participants, they appear to refer to the participant, not because it is a particular person, but because it

is a representation of the theme. It should also be noted that when an endophoric deictic refers to a participant it has only local scope, not extended scope as is the case when a deictic refers to thematic information.

The next two sentences give examples of endophoric deictics that refer to primary participants. In 10.2 'child' (the primary participant of the text) is mentioned by name in a left-dislocated noun phrase which begins the sentence. The child is referred to again by the anaphoric deictic *sana* 'this' in the nuclear clause.

## 10.2

left-dis.noun.phrase nuclear.clause

*Sa anak, sana de mantipunan ni layad da*  
T,S child D1 N,S join G,S love G,PL

*duwe man-asawa.*

two:LK spouse/marriage

A child, this is the union of the love of the two who are married.

The primary participant in text 9 is a man who would be a leader. In prenuclear clause 1 of 9.16 the anaphoric deictic *sadi* 'that' occurs with the noun *tagu* 'person' which refers to the primary participant.

## 9.16

prenuclear.clause 1

*Angasawa kad de sadi ye tagu we ambaru somsomokna*  
spouse/marriage when N,S D3 LK person LK good thought:II,3,S

prenuclear.clause 2

*ya siya inasawana isuna, bumoroyda*  
and III,3,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S same:II,3,S dwell:I,3,PL

nuclear.clause

*kade sadi, adida pun maapose angipakan ka mangatod*  
when:LK D3 not:I,3,PL MOD jealous:LK feed and give

*atta kiiliyanda.*

O,PL fellow.villager:II,3,PL

When that person who has good thoughts marries and he marries one like himself, when they live together as a married couple, they do not begrudge feeding or giving to their fellow villagers.

Personal reference is the second kind of reference in expository discourse. It provides continuity in the identification of participants. Participants in expository discourse form two groups. The first group is composed of the speaker and the hearer; they are the extralinguistic participants who are part of the speech situation. The second group consists of the participants who are found within the linguistic boundaries of a text. Both groups are referred to by pronominal forms, specifically personal and possessive pronouns. To a certain extent the pronominal forms themselves help to identify the participants. For example, in expository discourse the speaker is referred to either in the first person singular form 'I' or in the first person plural exclusive form 'we, but not you'. The hearer is referred to in several ways: first person dual 'we two', first person plural inclusive 'we all' and second person singular or plural 'you'. As is noted elsewhere, the first person address forms for the hearer are mitigated or polite forms. Because the extralinguistic participants are known from the

speech situation in the sense that every speech situation has a speaker and a hearer, neither the speaker nor the hearer requires identification. Their identification is sufficiently well known so that pronominal reference alone is adequate to distinguish between the two.

Sentence 17.13 contains examples of pronominal reference for the speaker and the hearer and occurs near the end of the text. In the second half of the sentence, the speaker refers to himself as *-k* 'I' and to the hearers as *dikayu* 'you plural'.

## 17.13

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sadi miibagak kan dikayu.*

D3 tell:II,1,S O III,2,PL

That is what I have to say to you.

In 8.12 the speaker refers to the hearer using *-ta*, the first person dual pronoun. This softens the statement, which is a disguised command.

## 8.12

*Adita pun ela da inata malliwliw-an onnu*  
not:II,1,DL MOD HORT N,PL mother:II,1,DL trouble or

*katugangata upan subogon te mabiin.*  
parent.in.law:II,1,DL HAB argue because respect

We should not cause our mothers trouble or constantly argue with our in-laws because it is shameful.

The use of third person pronoun forms indicates that the referents are the participants who are found within the boundaries of a text. Participants in the text are identified according to how well known they are and how important they are to the development of a theme. For example, the source of a quote is rarely identified, because any quoted statement is understood to be one that was uttered by an accepted authority or one that is likely to have been uttered by such an authority or a statement that is so well accepted by the community that it does not matter who actually said it. It is the quote, not the source, that is important. This is illustrated in 8.25, where the nuclear clause contains a quote that is introduced by *kananda* 'they say'. The pronoun 'they' has no antecedent. The quote presents and validates an evaluation.

## 8.25

*Sa anne biin, sa kanandatte dandani*  
T,S D1:LK respect T,S say:II,3,PL:O, old.days

*"Taguka pun, mabiinka".*  
person:I,2,S since respect:I,2,S

This respect, what they said in the past is, "Since you are a person, you have respect for others".

Other participants that are not usually identified are minor participants that one would expect to find in a particular situation. In these cases, the actual identity of the participant is not important to the speaker's purpose. It is what the participant does that is significant rather than who he is. Consequently, the identification of the participant is not necessary; pronominal reference is sufficient. The one available example of this is seen in 12.7; in nuclear clause 2 the speaker states that they will bury the dead person. The 'they' of that clause has no antecedent; however, the situation described in



the sentence is a funeral, and at every funeral there are those who help dig the grave. The important idea in the sentence is that the person will not be present at his parent's funeral, not the identity of the people who dig the grave.

## 12.7

prenuclear.clause 1

*Matoy kos da inata ka amata,*  
die when:also N,PL mother:II,1,DL and father:II,1,DL

nuclear.clause 1

*ippunta in te annat atta udume ili*  
none:MOD:I,1,DL CERT because D2 O,PL other:LK place

prenuclear.clause 2

*ya umoy dita kad in guwaban ta makanuta,*  
and go IV,1,DL when CERT call.for.emergency and be.delayed:I,1,DL

nuclear.clause 2

*iggada in de natoy.*  
put:II,3,PL CERT N,S die

When our mothers and fathers die, we will not be there because we will be in other places and when they call us to attend the funeral and we are delayed in coming, they will bury the dead.

Primary participants, on the other hand, do require identification. Once they have been identified, however, they can be referred to pronominally. As is noted elsewhere, the scope of pronominal reference for primary participants extends across sentence boundaries, and in some cases across paragraph boundaries. Pronominal reference for a primary participant provides cohesion between sentences within a paragraph, drawing the paragraph together into a single unit. When that pronominal reference continues across paragraph boundaries, it also provides cohesion between the paragraphs.<sup>33</sup> (Examples in which pronominal reference binds together several paragraphs are seen in 9.16 - 9.29 in section 3.8 and 11.17 - 11.22 in section 5.3.)

Sentences 17.3 - 17.7 illustrate the use of pronominal reference to connect successive sentences that have the same participants into a single cohesive paragraph. The primary participants of the text are a man and a woman who represent a married couple. The man and the woman are introduced by a nominal in the left-dislocated noun phrase in 17.3, the opening sentence of the paragraph, and the primary participants are referred to pronominally as *-da* 'they' in the prenuclear clause of 17.3. In the second half of 17.4 the primary participant *laraki* 'man' is reidentified and then referred to by the pronoun *-na* 'his'. The second primary participant *bobai* 'woman' is reidentified indirectly in the phrase *asawane bobai* 'his wife'. The woman is specifically reidentified in 17.5 and referred to only pronominally as *-na* 'she' or 'her' in 17.6. In this case, the pronominal reference crosses sentence boundaries. In nuclear clause 2 in 17.6, the participant *laraki* 'man' is named again, and both the man and the woman are referred to pronominally as *-da* 'they' in the third nuclear clause. The

<sup>33</sup>It is interesting to note the similarity between the function of primary participants in expository discourse and the function of what van Dijk and Kintsch (1983:169-170) call a sequential topic, defined as a semantic representation (as opposed to a proposition), such as a participant, that functions as the topic for a sequence of sentences. They point out that these sentences can be discontinuous. They also note that sequential topics are often assigned to participants that are represented in the macroproposition that states a discourse topic or theme. Primary participants in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga operate much like the sequential topic described by van Dijk and Kintsch in that the primary participant is closely associated with the global theme and occurs in sequences of sentences throughout a text. The sentences can also be discontinuous.

pronominal reference for the two people continues across to 17.7 where the man and the woman are referred to once more as *-da* 'they'.

## 17.3

fronted.noun.phrase left-dis.noun.phrase

*Sa asawa, da duwe tagu we antokone laraki*

T,S spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person LK different:LK man

prenuclear.clause

*ya bobai, antipunda kad ya nang-amungda,*

and woman join:I,3,PL whenever and join:I,3,PL

nuclear.clause

*sadi kanande 'asawa'.*

D3 say:II,3,PL:LK spouse/marriage

In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman, when they live together, that is what they call 'marriage'.

## 17.4

nominal 1 nominal 2

*Sadi umpay de tenan ay ni laraki de inana kan*

D3 EMPH N,S leave EMPH G,S man N,S mother:II,3,S and

*amana ya niitipun atte asawane bobai.*

father:II,3,S and join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK woman

That [marriage] is when the man leaves his mother and father and lives together with his wife.

## 17.5

*Kama gos atte bobai.*

same also O,S woman

It is the same for a woman.

## 17.6

nuclear.clause 1

*Tenana de inana kan amana ya*

leave:II,3,S N,S mother:II,3,S and father:II,3,S and

nuclear.clause 2

*niitipun atte asawane*

join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK man and become:I,3,PL:SM

nuclear.clause 3

*laraki ya nambalindak*

*os-ossaane bungru, os-ossaane long-ag.*

one:LK body one:LK body

She leaves her mother and father and lives together with her husband and they become one body.

## 17.7

*Dakonda puk orgon duwa.*

not:I,3,PL MOD:SM able two

They are no longer two.

### 7.1.2 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions indicate how pieces of information within a text are related to each other (Halliday & Hasan 1976:227; de Beaugrande 1980:289). This discussion is concerned only with those conjunctions that connect sentences or paragraphs, not with conjunctions that link clauses within a sentence. Conjunctions that connect sentences and paragraphs occur in two forms: sentence introducers and prenuclear dependent constructions. Prenuclear dependent constructions act as sentence conjunctions only when they occur in sentence-initial (as opposed to clause-initial) positions. Sentence introducers and prenuclear dependent constructions that act as conjunctions are very rare in expository discourse (only twenty-one occurrences in the data). Conjunctions occur most often as connectors between clauses within a sentence. Since it is unusual for a conjunction to act as a link between sentences or paragraphs, its very presence as a sentence or paragraph conjunction indicates that the relationship between the sentences is significant. This significance is supported by the fact that sentence and paragraph conjunctions most often connect results and adversative information with theme propositions. As has already been mentioned, these are the key elements in expository discourse. Conjunctions usually have extended scope and can link together anything from two sentences to several paragraphs. They frequently signal that the information that follows them is more closely related to the global theme of the text than to the lower-level theme of the paragraph in which they occur.

Sentence introducers are single-word conjunctions, such as *wot* 'therefore', *ya* 'and', *onnu* 'or', *te* 'for' and *yakon* 'but'. The conjunctions *wot*, *ya* and *onnu* introduce sentences that contain results that are related either to the lower-level theme proposition of the paragraph in which they are found or to the global theme proposition of the text.<sup>34</sup> Of the three conjunctions, *wot* has the greatest scope, which is seen in the fact that it introduces sentences that form the persuasive climax of a text. A persuasive climax is usually related to the global theme of a text although there are a few exceptions; however, when *wot* introduces a persuasive climax (see section 8.3) the climax refers to the global theme (in both occurrences).

The persuasive climax of 17.9 - 17.10 is marked by the use of 'you singular' pronoun forms when addressing the hearer. Sentence 17.9 is introduced by *wot* 'therefore' which includes within its scope both 17.9 and 17.10. The persuasive climax refers to the global theme of the text.

17.9

*Wot nu sang-am de asawam,*  
so.then if scold:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage:II,2,S

*sinang-am de bungrum.*  
scold:II,2,S N,S body:II,2,S

Therefore if you scold your wife, you scold yourself.

17.10

*Nu bokbokom de asawam, binokboknos de bungrum.*  
if beat:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage:II,2,S beat:II,2,S:also N,S body:II,2,S  
If you beat your wife, you also beat yourself.

<sup>34</sup>There are only three examples of sentences introduced by *ya* 'and' and all of the examples contain results. Although three examples are not enough data upon which to form a conclusive statement, it is hypothesised that the sentence introducer *ya* only occurs with information that includes a result, and that information that does not contain a result is not eligible to be introduced by it.

The other conjunctions, *ya* 'and' and *onnu* 'or', have less extended scope and express several different kinds of relationships between sentences. Following Halliday and Hasan's (1976) classification of cohesive devices, these relationships can generally be labelled 'additive'. *Ya* can introduce a sentence that presents the theme proposition for a paragraph. The conjunction signals that the new paragraph has a coordinate relationship with the paragraph that immediately precedes it. *Ya* can also introduce a sentence that performs an additive function in that it amplifies the preceding sentence. It is important to note that all three of the available examples introduced by *ya* also include results.<sup>35</sup>

Sentences 12.9 and 12.10 both begin with the conjunction *ya* 'and' and contain results. Sentence 12.9 begins the paragraph, and the conjunction *ya* indicates that the new paragraph has a coordinate relationship with the preceding one. The result given in 12.9 forms the peak of the paragraph. The result stated in 12.10 is a further development of the situation described in 12.9. Consequently, the sentence introducer *ya* in 12.10 signals that 12.10 is related to 12.9 as an additional result.

## 12.9

*Ya miid kos maborbalinta e man-asawa ta*  
and none when:also have.valuables:II,1,DL LK spouse/marriage and

*miid koonta, samkuyta gos.*  
none do/make:II,1,DL despise:II,1,DL also

And if we who are a married couple have no money and if we do not do what is required of us, we will be despised as well.

## 12.10

*Ya adita kad in makaattom atte ngis-il da tagu,*  
and not:I,1,DL whenever CERT endure O,S joke G,PL person

*nangdasanta gelak makapatoyanta.*  
find:II,1,DL HORT:SM fight:II,1,DL

And if we cannot stand the jokes people make about us, we might end up fighting with them.

There is only one example, 12.13, in which *onnu* 'or' occurs as a sentence introducer. It signals that the information that follows is additive. In 12.13 the information is additive in that it amplifies an immediately preceding statement. Sentence 12.13 also contains a result that is a further consequence of the situation stated in the preceding sentence.

## 12.13

*Onnu kana kad in ele ang-imuse "Kam-an ni*  
or say:II,3,S when CERT HORT:LK ask:LK INT G,S

*awayanyu?"* *atta mangili ta kandose*  
time.of.departure:II,2,PL O,PL visitor so.that say:II,3,PL:also:LK

<sup>35</sup>Attention should be called to the similarity in the use of *ya* 'and' as a sentence and a paragraph conjunction, and the use of *ya* 'and' as a clause conjunction. In section 3.2 describing the expository sentence, it is noted that the nuclear position in an expository sentence can be expounded by a string of conjoined independent clauses linked by *ya*. It is pointed out that the clauses in the string contain results. This suggests that the important feature of *ya* in expository discourse is not so much that it signals an additive relationship between two pieces of information, but that it relates certain information as a result to other preceding information.

*"Pinoryaw dikani gay", lawingan de kangngorana.*

send.away IV,I,PL,EXC EMPH bad N,S things.heard:II,3,S

Or when she asks the visitors, "When will you be leaving?", and they say, "[They] sent us away", it hurts to hear such things said about us.

The sentence introducers *te* 'for' and *yakon* 'but' occur with adversative information and indicate that the relationship between the adversative information and the preceding information is one of contrast. As mentioned elsewhere, adversative information is information that is contrary to what the speaker wants to assert. It can be expressed in a variety of ways, such as a counter-expectation, an extended counter-argument or a negative consequence. Of the two conjunctions, *te* is more common in expository discourse (two occurrences of *yakon* and five of *te*). Also *te* usually has greater scope than *yakon*.<sup>36</sup> Both conjunctions can introduce adversative information that relates either to a lower-level or to a global theme proposition. The relationship between the conjunctions *te* and *yakon* and their function in a text can be seen in the extended counter-argument in 12.1 - 12.3.

Sentence 12.1 presents the global theme proposition. Sentence 12.2 is introduced by the conjunction *te* 'for' which indicates that 12.2 and 12.3 contain adversative information that contrasts with the theme presented in 12.1. Sentence 12.3 is introduced by the conjunction *yakon* 'but', which is subordinate to *te* when the conjunctions function as sentence introducers. In 12.3 *yakon* signals that information contained in 12.3 contrasts with information given in 12.2. The overall effect of placing one contrast within another is that the final contrast stated in 12.3, which functions as a result, supports the theme proposition given in 12.1.

#### 12.1

*Sa awi kan da dadakkore antuttudu we "Adita pun*  
T,S long.ago say G,PL elder:LK advise LK not:I,1,DL MOD

*mam pagay anagin-ili te buwatna".*

CERT EMPH marry.outsider because inappropriate:II,3,S

Long ago the old folk gave advice saying, "We should not marry someone who is not from our village because it is not appropriate".

#### 12.2

*Te siya buwatana silayun ay atte*  
because III,3,S inappropriate:II,3,S all.right EMPH O,S

*ambaru mataguwanta te ippun kanana.*

good lifetime:II,1,DL because none:MOD say:II,3,S

The reason why it is not right is that things will be fine when everything goes well and there is nothing to say about the situation.

#### 12.3

*Yakon awad kad idangdangkasta, angkuwata*  
but there.is whenever have.misfortune:II,1,DL own:II,1,DL

<sup>36</sup>In his study of cohesion in literary texts, Gutwinski (1976:156) also notes that different adversative conjunctions have different scopes of connection. He points out that in English the conjunction 'however' has greater scope than the conjunction 'but'.

*pagay lawinge angos te ippun katukutukunta.*  
 EMPH bad:LK breath/feeling because none:MOD confidant:II,1,DL  
 But if we have problems, we will have bad feelings because we will have no one to confide in.

Prenuclear dependent constructions that function as conjunctions are less common than sentence introducers. (There are thirteen occurrences of sentence introducers and eight of pre-nuclear dependent constructions as conjunctions.) Prenuclear constructions acting as conjunctions introduce new theme propositions or results. In rare cases they introduce sentences that amplify theme propositions. In the data there are four kinds of pre-nuclear constructions that link sentences or paragraphs: *duknag kad* 'when it comes to', *madagdaggup kad* 'when it is all taken together', *nu aligna* 'if for example', and *oni kad* 'later on'. *Duknag kad* and *madagdaggup kad* are dependent clauses;<sup>37</sup> *nu aligna* and *oni kad* are phrases.

The clause *duknag kad* 'when it comes to' occurs twice in the data and signals a change in theme. This clause indicates that the new theme has a coordinate relationship with the theme that immediately precedes it. Sentence 9.30, the first sentence of a paragraph, begins with *duknag kad*. The lower-level theme proposition is stated in the nuclear clause.

## 9.30

prenuclear.clause		nuclear.clause
<i>Duknag kos</i>	<i>atte kinapawot,</i>	<i>mampawot o.</i>
arrive when:also O,S	industriousness	industrious also
When it comes to hard work, he [the leader] is really industrious.		

The clause *madagdaggup kad* 'when it is all taken together' also occurs twice in the data. It signals that certain information in the paragraph in which it occurs has a conclusive relationship with information in other paragraphs that precede it. The conclusive relationship can be classified as 'culminative summary' according to Halliday and Hasan's (1976:267) list of conjunctive relations. It marks the final stage of a process. Sentence 9.45 begins with a variation of the clause *madagdaggup kad* and states the lower-level theme of a paragraph which describes the final step in the process of becoming a leader. This step coincides with one of the final stages in a man's life.

## 9.45

prenuclear.clause 1		prenuclear.clause 2
<i>Sana kad da madagdaggup, nu dumakore sadi ya naapuwan,</i>		
D1 when N,PL gather	if grow.up:LK D3	and become.grandparent
nuclear.clause		
<i>siyos koone upan antudtudu atte in-inon pagay da matagu.</i>		
III,3,S:also do/make:LK HAB	advise O,S way	EMPH G,PL live
When this is all taken together, if he grows up in that way and has grandchildren, he will give advice about how to live.		

Sentence 9.56 begins with the clause *madagdaggup kad* and announces a man's final attainment of a position of leadership.

<sup>37</sup>The dependent clauses *duknag kad* 'when it comes to' and *madagdaggup kad* 'when it is all taken together' are further examples of lexical elements that are undergoing grammaticalisation. The literal meaning of *duknag kad* is 'whenever he arrives', and the literal meaning of *madagdaggup kad* is 'whenever it is all gathered together (bit by bit)'. Both dependent clauses occur as frozen forms when they act as conjunctions. They are frozen in as much as the verbs occur only in the imperfective aspectual form, and the actor is stated only in the third person singular form.

## 9.56

prenuclear.clause                      nuclear.clause  
*Madagdaggap kade                      sadi, pangat kammos pagay.*  
 gather                      when:LK D3 leader EMPH EMPH  
 When it is all taken together, he is really a leader.

There is one occurrence, 9.17, of a sentence beginning with the phrase *nu aligna* 'if for example'. The sentence amplifies a lower-level theme proposition which states that a leader feeds his neighbours and visitors.

## 9.17

prenuclear.clause 1    prenuclear.clause 2  
*Nu aligna,                      awak kad da kabkabiin da*  
 if    example:II,3,S    there.is when N,PL child.betrothal T,PL

nuclear.clause  
*anne makwe andunuwan ni tagu ta matoy, adipun maapos.*  
 D1:LK possible:LK butcher.animal G,S person because die    not:MOD jealous  
 For example, when there is a celebration of the betrothal of two children or an occasion at which an animal is butchered because someone has died, he does not begrudge helping.

There are three occurrences of *oni kad* 'later on'. In each case the phrase introduces a sentence that states a result in the nuclear clause. The result is related to the theme proposition of the paragraph in which it is found and is usually a long-range development. Both 8.29 and 9.54 state a result in the nuclear clause.

## 8.29

prenuclear.clause    nuclear.clause  
*Oni.kade sadi                      pasig pagaye                      kanande                      "Siya*  
 later:LK D3                      always EMPH:LK say:II,3,PL:LK III,3,S

postnuclear.clause  
*kammiin de tagu wendi" te                      ambaru de nataguwana.*  
 EMPH N,S person LK:D3 because good N,S lifetime:II,3,S  
 Later on they will always say, "That person lives properly", because he has lived well his whole life.

## 9.54

prenuclear.clause    nuclear.clause  
*Oni.kade sadi                      adim pun pay da tagu dingngor*  
 later:LK D3                      not:LK MOD EMPH G,PL person hear

postnuclear.clause  
*te                      ngon ta dongrom os de katti ye pangat?*  
 because INT LK hear:II,2,S also N,S like.this LK leader  
 Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

### 7.1.3 LEXICAL COHESION

Lexical cohesion is the most pervasive of all the types of cohesion that occur in expository discourse. It provides cohesion for themes, results and adversative information. It also helps keep track of participants. In addition, it is the primary means of providing cohesion for minor participants and for information that is only of momentary importance. Generally speaking, lexical cohesion functions mainly to keep important information such as theme, result, contrast and participants at the forefront of the hearer's attention. In most cases lexical cohesion remains non-committal about the way in which these pieces of information are related to each other. This contrasts with conjunctions which function as explicit indicators of how different information in a text is related.

There are two basic types of lexical cohesion: reiteration and collocation. Reiteration involves the repetition of a piece of information. Collocation has to do with semantic associations between words. The two types of lexical cohesion exist on a continuum, with reiteration at one end and collocation at the opposite end. Because lexical cohesion forms a continuum, it is not always easy to distinguish whether a lexical item is an example of reiteration or collocation. Some lexical items are clearly examples of reiteration, as in the case of a word that is repeated exactly. Other lexical items are more clearly examples of collocation, as in the relationship between the words *battle*, *fighting* and *bravery*. On the other hand, there is a large area of overlap between the two kinds of lexical cohesion in which case a lexical item can just as easily be labelled reiteration as collocation.

With reiteration there are many ways in which a lexical item can be repeated: by using the same word each time; as a synonym; and as a general term that replaces a more specific member of a lexical class.<sup>38</sup> Reiteration can also occur as a grammatical or morphological variation of the original lexical item (Halliday & Hasan 1976:291). Several occurrences of a word in a sentence can be affixed differently in order to indicate that a different noun phrase is in focus. For example, the root *ara* 'to get' can be affixed to indicate that the actor is the focused element, as in *mangara* (*maN-* + *ara*) 'to get', or it can be affixed to show that the direct object is the focused element, as in *aran* (*ara* + *-on*) 'to get [something]'. A word can also be affixed in order to change its grammatical class or part of speech; for example, the verb *mangara* 'to get' can be changed to a nominal by adding the suffix *-an*, to become *mangor-an* (*mangara* + *-an*) 'the act of getting'. Each of these types of reiteration is found in paragraph 17.3 - 17.7 below.

Firstly, the paragraph contains several examples of reiteration using synonyms. In 17.3 the primary participants are identified in a left-dislocated noun phrase as *da duwe tagu we antokon* 'the two people who are different'. A relative clause that is part of the same noun phrase further identifies the two people using a synonymous phrase: *we laraki ya bobai* 'who are a man and a woman'. Another pair of synonyms is found in the prenuclear clause of the same sentence: *antipun* 'to join' and *nang-amung* 'to join'. A third pair of synonyms occurs as two phrases in the nuclear clause in 17.6: *os-ossaane bungru* 'one body' and *os-ossaane long-ag* 'one body'.

Secondly, the paragraph contains examples of reiteration that involve the repetition of a lexical item using the same form each time. For example, the main argument of the theme proposition, *asawa*

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<sup>38</sup>In this discussion, the label 'general term' is a cover term for both general nouns and superordinates. Halliday and Hasan (1976:280) distinguish between a superordinate and a general noun in their classification of types of lexical cohesion. Both a general noun and a superordinate are generic terms for a class of related items. For example, they cite (p.278) the word 'car' as a superordinate of 'Jaguar', 'spoon' as a superordinate of 'teaspoon', and 'cut' as a superordinate of 'pare'. General nouns, on the other hand, are a more restricted set of nouns that have generalised reference, such as 'people', 'thing', 'move', 'place', 'idea' (p.274). They point out that the only difference between a superordinate and a general noun is the level of generality. A general noun is more general in reference than a superordinate.



'marriage', is first mentioned in the fronted noun phrase and repeated in the nuclear clause of 17.3. *Asawa* is again repeated in 17.4 and 17.6, but in these sentences the word means 'spouse'. It should also be noted that several clauses in 17.4 are repeated nearly word for word in 17.6. The primary participants *laraki* 'man' and *bobai* 'woman' are also mentioned several times. The two participants are first named in the left-dislocated noun phrase in 17.3. They are mentioned again using a nominal in the second half of 17.4. *Bobai* 'woman' occurs again in 17.5 and *laraki* 'man' is named again in the second nuclear clause of 17.6.

Finally, the paragraph includes one example of reiteration in which a lexical item is repeated, but in a different morphological form. The lexical item *antipun* 'to join' first appears in the prenuclear clause of 17.3. It is repeated in the second half of 17.4 in the form *niitipun* 'to join' (see Appendix D 8 for a discussion of the affix *mi-/ni-*).

## 17.3

fronted.noun.phrase left-dis.noun.phrase  
*Sa asawa, da duwe tagu we antokone laraki*  
 T,S spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK person LK different:LK man

prenuclear.clause  
*ya bobai, antipunda kad ya nang-amungda,*  
 and woman join:I,3,PL whenever and join:I,3,PL

nuclear.clause  
*sadi kanande 'asawa'.*  
 D3 say:II,3,PL:LK spouse/marriage  
 In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman, when they live together, that is what they call 'marriage'.

## 17.4

nominal 1 nominal 2  
*Sadi umpay de tenan ay ni laraki de inana kan*  
 D3 EMPH N,S leave EMPH G,S man N,S mother:II,3,S and

*amana ya niitipun atte asawane bobai.*  
 father:II,3,S and join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK woman

That [marriage] is when the man leaves his mother and father and lives together with his wife.

## 17.5

*Kama gos atte bobai.*  
 same also O,S woman  
 It is the same for a woman.

## 17.6

nuclear.clause 1  
*Tenana de inana kan amana ya*  
 leave:II,3,S N,S mother:II,3,S and father:II,3,S and

nuclear.clause 2 nuclear.clause 3  
*niitipun atte asawane laraki ya nambalindak*  
 join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK man and become:I,3,PL:SM

*os-ossaane bungru, os-ossaane long-ag.*

one:LK body one:LK body

She leaves her mother and father and lives together with her husband and they become one body.

17.7

*Dakonda puk orgon duwa.*

not:I,3,PL MOD:SM able two

They are no longer two.

Collocation is the association of a common meaning between lexical items. Cohesion is maintained through some shared semantic component in the lexical items, or through the tendency of the items to occur in the same context (Halliday & Hasan 1976:286). This semantic association can occur in different forms such as synonyms, antonyms, or a pair of lexical items, such as man and woman, child and adult, now and then.

The cohesive function of collocation is illustrated by paragraph 9.20 - 9.24 below, the theme of which is: a leader must be brave when facing physical danger. The theme is maintained by a chain of lexical items that begins with the phrase *barbaruknite pinnatoy* 'battles' in the fronted noun phrase in 9.20 and is followed by *saraknib* 'protection' in the nuclear clause of the same sentence. The lexical chain is continued in the nuclear clause of 9.21 with the use of *matoy* 'to die'. It extends to 9.22 with the items *aniwat* 'to behead' and *anorna* 'to be the first to shoot' in the first prenuclear clause, *matagu* 'to live' in the second prenuclear clause and *sokar* 'bravery' in the nuclear clause. Note should be made of the repetitions of *baruknit* 'battle', *saraknib* 'protection' and *sokar* 'bravery' in 9.20 - 9.23.

9.20

fronted.noun.phrase

*Sa awi ye dummatngan ni anne barbaruknite pinnatoy,*  
T,S long.ago LK time.of.arrival G,S D1:LK battles:LK killing

left-dis.noun.phrase nuclear.clause

*sadi kanande isubuna de long-agnatte saraknib ni ili.*  
D3 say:II,3,PL:LK offer:II,3,S N,S body:II,3,S:O,S protection G,S place

Long ago when there came these battles for killing, they said he would offer his body for the protection of the community.

9.21

prenuclear.clause

*Lumnok kad atte baruknit, ibilangna pagaye*  
enter whenever O,S planned.battle count:II,3,S EMPH:LK

postnuclear.clause

*matoy tenna ine siya de kamak mangipangapangat.*  
die because:D1 CERT:LK III,3,S N,S EMPH lead

Whenever he enters a battle, he counts himself as dead because he will surely lead the others.

9.22

prenuclear.clause 1

*Aniwat kad ya anorna, nu gasatne matagu,*  
behead whenever and first.to.shoot if lucky:II,3,S:LK live

prenuclear.clause 2

nuclear.clause

*sadi ose midayawana yakon asina de katti ye*  
D3 one:LK be.praised:II,3,S but only:II,3,S N,S like.this LK

*sokarna iggatte saraknib ni ili.*  
bravery:II,3,S put:O,S protection G,S place

When he takes a head or is the first one to hit someone, if he is lucky enough to live, that is one of the instances in which he will be praised but he will show his bravery only in protecting the community.

9.23

*Dakompuk sokarne ossaan.*  
not:MOD:SM brave:II,3,S:LK one  
His bravery is not just for himself alone.

9.24

*Sadi kamak ose mangor-anatte kinapangatna.*  
D3 EMPH also:LK get:II,3,S:O,S leadership:II,3,S  
That is one instance in which he will gain his leadership.

While collocation functions as cohesion, it is important to note the contrastive function that is performed by paired lexical items. In the light of the importance of contrast in expository discourse, it is interesting to note that there are very few lexical items in Upper Tanudan Kalinga that exist as true antonyms. To satisfy the requirement for contrast, speakers are particularly adept at taking whatever pairs of lexical items are at hand and placing them in opposition to one another in order to supply the contrast that is essential for proving what they want to say. The contrastive function of paired lexical items seems to be at least as important as their cohesive function.

In 9.20 - 9.24 above, the contrastive function is expressed by two pairs of lexical items. The first contrast is expressed by the pair of items *matagu* 'to live' (9.22) and *matoy* 'to die' (9.21). The second contrast has to do with the leader using his bravery only for his own protection or glory (9.23), as opposed to using his bravery (offering his body - 9.20) for the protection of others (9.20 and 9.22). The implication is that a leader does not fight just to gain recognition for himself.

Looking back further to 17.3 - 17.7, contrast can be seen in a number of paired lexical items. First, there is the opposition expressed throughout the paragraph by the lexical pair *laraki* 'man' and *bobai* 'woman'. A second opposition occurs between *laraki* 'man' and *bobai* 'woman', and their parents *ina* 'mother' and *ama* 'father'. There is a third opposition between the items *antipun* 'to join' and *nang-amung* 'to join' in 17.3, 17.4 and 17.6, and the item *tenan* 'to leave' (in the sense of parting from) in 17.4 and 17.6. *Antipun* and *nang-amung* describe the uniting of a married couple while *tenan* 'to leave' describes the separation of the married couple from their parents. Finally, there is the opposition of the lexical pair *ossaan* 'one' and *duwa* 'two' in 17.6 and 17.7. The items elegantly underline the contrast in the relationship between a man and woman before marriage with their relationship during marriage.

## 7.2 PARALLELISM

Parallelism, the second cohesive strategy, is found in sentences that act as illustrations or collateral statements. These sentences exhibit syntactic and semantic parallelism. Syntactic parallelism consists

of a series of sentences that share a common grammatical structure. Sentences that have syntactic parallelism also exhibit semantic parallelism.

Semantic parallelism in expository discourse is an associative relationship. In his study of Western Subanon formal speech, Hall (1987:57) defines associative parallelism:

The associative parallel is one where an associative relationship exists between two or more statements comprising the parallel. The statements themselves are not synonyms nor are they analogues but they are closely connected in function with each other. The associative relationship often is one of being the components or attributes or activities making up or expounding a particular context.

In expository discourse, the associative relationship reflects the fact that the statements are illustrations of a theme proposition. Each illustration is different from the next, but all the illustrations are tied to the theme proposition by a generic-specific relationship. A shared syntactic structure identifies the illustrations as forming a unit. A change in syntactic structure marks the end of a unit.

Syntactic parallelism is not a tight match between the grammatical constituents of one sentence and the constituents of another. Nouns, verbs and adjectives do not necessarily correlate exactly in each parallel sentence; instead a more general common structure prevails. This shared structure extends to the general grammatical form of the clauses and to the actor referents. It usually extends to the coreferential focused elements as well. For the purpose of syntactic parallelism, focused elements are divided into two groups: actor as focused element, and non-actor participant as focused element. An actor is defined as the participant who effects the action of the verb.

Parallelism performs two functions in expository discourse. It promotes understanding, and it adds force when used with persuasive devices. Parallel illustrations promote understanding on the basis that the more illustrations there are for a theme proposition, the better it will be understood. Several illustrations provide more information about a theme than just one. The statement that parallelism promotes understanding is also supported by the fact that parallel units occur most often towards the beginning of a text. A speaker tends to spend the most time amplifying and illustrating his theme proposition at the beginning of his talk. Once he is fairly certain that the hearer understands the crucial elements of what he wants to say, he goes on to present other theme propositions. For these additional propositions, he usually states only the information that is essential for explaining his theme. He relies on the details given at the beginning of his talk to carry the briefer explanations.

Sentences 8.8 - 8.10 are a set of parallel constructions that form a single unit. The theme proposition of the paragraph in which they occur is that an honourable person observes *paniyaw* taboos. The sentences shown are three specific illustrations of *paniyaw* taboos. By illustrating the general theme of the paragraph, the sentences promote the hearer's understanding of the theme.

All three sentences have the same general syntactic construction. Each consists of a nucleus expounded by an equational clause. The nucleus is followed by a dependent reason clause introduced by *te* 'because'. The first half of each equational clause is expounded by the free-standing nominal *paniyaw* 'it is forbidden [as a *paniyaw* taboo]'. The second half of each equational clause is expounded by a nominalised verbal clause in which the coreferential actor is *-ta* 'we two' and the coreferential focused element is a non-actor participant. The *te* dependent clause is expounded by either an adjective or a verbal clause. It should be noted that although the coreferential focused element of the second half of each equational clause is the same (a non-actor participant) the actual

referents that function as the non-actor participants (rice, banana, stones) are different in each sentence. On the other hand, the referents all belong to the class of things that it is forbidden to steal.

8.8

nuclear.clause

nominal 1 nominal 2

*"Paniyaw de akawonta de pagoy*

taboo N,S steal:II,1,DL N,S unhusked.rice

postnuclear.clause

*te bumtak atte buwang."*

because burst O,S stomach

"It is forbidden for us to steal unhusked rice because it will burst the stomach."

8.9

nuclear.clause

postnuclear.clause

nominal 1 nominal 2

*"Paniyaw akawonta barat te andagson."*

taboo steal:II,1,DL banana because heavy

"It is forbidden for us to steal a banana because it is heavy [and we will become ill and our bodies will feel heavy]."

8.10

nuclear.clause

nominal 1 nominal 2

*"Paniyaw ela aranta de daddat da*

taboo HORT get:II,1,DL N,S large.flat.stone G,PL

postnuclear.clause

*payaw da kasintataguta te mandagson."*

rice.field G,PL fellow.man:II,1,DL because heavy

"It is forbidden for us to get the stones from the rice fields of our fellow man because they are heavy [and we will become ill and our bodies will feel heavy]."

Parallel sentences can form complex patterns in which parallel units occur within parallel units. They become in Hall's (1987:133) words like "wheels within wheels". In the text about leadership, there are two sets of sentences that have parallels within themselves and with each other. These parallel units occur in a paragraph in which the theme proposition states that a leader has good relations with his peers. The first unit includes 9.6 - 9.8 below. Sentences 9.6 and 9.7 are negated verbal clauses that act as collateral information for the theme of the paragraph. They share the same actor *-na* 'he' which refers to the leader, the primary participant of the text. They also share the same focused element, the non-actor participants 'them', which refers to the leader's peers. These two sentences form a nucleus to which an affirmative response, 9.8, is attached.

Sentences 9.6 - 9.8 are immediately followed by a parallel unit which includes 9.9 - 9.11. Sentences 9.9 and 9.10 are also negated verbal clauses that act as collateral information. They have the same actor 'he' which again refers to the leader. (As noted elsewhere, there is no pronominal form for a third person singular actor when it is a focused element.) Once again the negated sentences form a nucleus to which an affirmative response, 9.11, is attached.

When the two parallel units of negated sentences and affirmative responses are compared, it is noted that the two affirmative responses, 9.8 and 9.11, also share a common syntactic structure. Each affirmative response is composed of a sentence that begins with the pronoun *siya*. The remainder of the sentence is expounded by a verbal complement sentence that begins with *koone* 'to continue to do [something]'. In both sentences the verbal complements have the same coreferential focused element, an actor, which again is the leader.

## 9.6

*Adina pun babarangon atta kasintataguna.*

not:II,3,S MOD careless O,PL fellow.man:II,3,S

He does not show disregard for his fellow men [in either word or deed].

## 9.7

*Adina pun dida upan subosubogon.*

not:II,3,S MOD III,3,PL HAB argue

He does not constantly get into heated arguments with them.

## 9.8

*Siya pay koone mangipapuut atte ambaruwan da kadogwatana.*

III,3,S EMPH do/make:LK diligent O,S common.good G,PL age.group:II,3,S

He continues to work with dedication for the good of his peers.

## 9.9

*Adipun os pupan makasubog.*

not:MOD also HAB argue

He does not keep on getting into arguments.

## 9.10

*Adipun os pupan makarawrawing.*

not:MOD also HAB make.trouble

He does not keep on getting into trouble.

## 9.11

*Siya pay koone mangur-urnus atta sadi ye dogwatna.*

III,3,S EMPH do/make:LK unify O,PL D3 LK age.group:II,3,S

He is the one who works for the unity of his peer group.

The two units reveal still more parallels as seen in Figure 6. Within each unit, the negated sentences form one parallel. The first pair of negated sentences forms another parallel with the negated sentences of the second unit. The affirmative responses in each unit form a third parallel. Finally, the two units themselves form a double parallel in that they both are composed of two negated verbal clauses followed by an equational clause, or two collateral statements followed by an affirmative response. The complexity and elegance of the parallel patterns gives a richness to the speaker's words.



FIGURE 6: PARALLEL PATTERNS IN SENTENCES 9.6 - 9.11

When parallel sentences occur with persuasive devices, they increase the persuasive force of the devices. As has been pointed out, some expository texts are skewed in that the surface form is expository, but the speaker's underlying intent is actually hortatory. In texts such as these, illustrations and collateral statements can act as disguised commands. Although the sentences can still be interpreted as illustrations or collateral statements, they also perform a persuasive function. Because they are disguised commands, the force of the parallel unit increases with each sentence since the impact of two or three commands is greater than that of just one. Parallel sentences are also found in persuasive climaxes. Once again the repetition of parallel sentences adds force to the persuasive device itself.

Sentences 8.11 - 8.13 occur in a skewed expository text in which the underlying intent is exhortation. The theme proposition of the paragraph in which they occur is that an honourable person obeys the *paniyaw* taboos. The speaker presents the three sentences as illustrations of kinds of behaviour that are forbidden by the *paniyaw* taboo. Although the illustrations are given as declarative sentences, they are actually disguised commands. Their syntactic form is about as close as a speaker can get to giving a command without switching to an imperative sentence, which is the usual form for commands.

These sentences share a structure that has a minimal number of common syntactic features. The shared structure consists of a nucleus expounded by a negated verbal clause which is followed by a dependent reason clause introduced by *te*. In all three sentences the actor of the nucleus is *-ta* 'we two'. All three nuclei have the same coreferential actor, *-ta*; however, the sentences do not have the same coreferential focused element. In 8.11 and 8.13 the actor *-ta* is the focused element, but in 8.12 *da inata* 'our mothers' and *da katugangata* 'our in-laws' are the focused elements. The nucleus of 8.12 is actually expounded by two conjoined clauses, and the coreferential actor has been deleted from the second. The nuclei of 8.11 and 8.12 are expounded by single clauses. This makes the clause structure of 8.12 quite different from that of 8.11 and 8.13. The main grammatical features that tie the three sentences together are the coreferential actor in the nucleus of each sentence, the negated verbal clause that expounds each nucleus, and the dependent reason clause which follows each nucleus.

8.11

nuclear.clause		postnuclear.clause
<i>Adita</i>	<i>pune tagu allanggit</i>	<i>te paniyaw.</i>
not:I,1,DL	MOD:LK person do.social.wrongs	because taboo
We, people, should not commit wrongs that show a complete disregard for others because it is forbidden.		

8.12

nuclear.clause	
<i>Adita</i>	<i>pun ela da inata malliwliw-an onnu</i>
not:II,1,DL	MOD HORT N,PL mother:II,1,DL trouble or

postnuclear.clause

*katugangata upan subogon te mabiin.*  
 parent.in.law:II,1,DL HAB argue because respect  
 We should not cause our mothers trouble or constantly argue with our in-laws because it is shameful.

8.13

nuclear.clause postnuclear.clause  
*Adita pun ele tagu upan mansamsamkuy te mabiin.*  
 not:I,1,DL MOD HORT:LK person HAB despise because respect  
 We, people, should not despise others because it is shameful.

Sentences 17.9 and 17.10 occur at the persuasive climax of the text. The theme of the paragraph in which the sentences occur is that in marriage a man and a woman become one. In the persuasive climax (which is marked by the use of 'you singular' pronouns), the speaker warns the hearer about the implications of marriage, namely, that if a man abuses his wife he in essence abuses himself. By giving two warnings, the parallel sentences double the force of the persuasive climax.

In these sentences the shared syntactic structure consists of a sentence with a conditional dependent clause introduced by *nu* 'if'. The conditional clause is followed by a nucleus expounded by a verbal clause. (The sentence introducer *wot* 'therefore' is controlled by features above the sentence level; consequently, it is not considered part of the shared structure.) Both the *nu* dependent clause and the nuclear clause of each sentence have the same actor, 'you singular', and the same coreferential focused element, 'your wife', which is a non-actor participant.

17.9

prenuclear.clause

*(Wot) nu sang-am de asawam,*  
 so.then if scold:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage:II,2,S

nuclear.clause  
*sinang-am de bungrum.*  
 scold:II,2,S N,S body:II,2,S  
 (Therefore) if you scold your wife, you scold yourself.

17.10

prenuclear.clause nuclear.clause

*Nu bokbokom de asawam, binokboknos de bungrum.*  
 if beat:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage:II,2,S beat:II,2,S:also N,S body:II,2,S  
 If you beat your wife, you also beat yourself.



## CHAPTER 8

### PERSUASIVE OVERLAY

Expository discourse both explains and proves. Although there are a few texts in which the speaker's intent is exclusively to explain, there are more texts in which there is also a clear intention on the part of the speaker to prove what he is explaining. There is at least one and possibly two reasons for this. The secondary reason may be that generally speaking the Lubo do not explain something just to pass along information. Rather they explain something because they want to prove something. The principal reason has to do with hortatory discourse. In hortatory discourse, the speaker's purpose is to influence or change the hearer's behaviour or beliefs. Because the backbone of hortatory discourse consists of direct commands, not everyone is free to deliver a direct exhortation. It is a genre that can be used only by a qualified few; consequently, hortatory discourse is frequently subject to mitigation by those speakers who want to affect the hearer's behaviour or beliefs, but who are not qualified to give a direct exhortation.<sup>39</sup> One way of mitigating or softening a hortatory discourse is to deliver it in the form of an expository discourse. This results in a skewed discourse in which the surface form is expository, but the underlying intent is hortatory. In order to carry out the speaker's intent to exhort, an overlay of persuasive strategies is placed on top of the expository form.

The persuasive overlay consists of a set of persuasive strategies that the speaker employs according to the degree of persuasive influence he wants to exert. The persuasive overlay is not a fixed element that either is or is not present, but a continuum. At one end of the continuum, there is a low degree of persuasive intent in which only a few persuasive strategies are used. In this case the speaker wants to prove something but does not have a major interest in influencing the behaviour or beliefs of the hearer. At the other end of the continuum, there is a high degree of persuasive intent. In this case, the expository text is usually a mitigated exhortation in which the speaker's primary intent *is* to influence the hearer's behavior or beliefs, not to explain. The greater the persuasive intent, the greater the number of persuasive strategies used.

So then expository discourse has several purposes. These purposes range from providing simple explanations, as in the text about the *tur-uk* thunder, to giving mitigated exhortations, as in the texts about righteous living and about not marrying outsiders, where the thinly disguised exhortations break out into full-fledged hortatory discourse at different points in the texts.<sup>40</sup>

The usual reasons given for mitigating an exhortation in a Philippine social context are age, deference and social standing. These social constraints reflect the cultural values of the society in

<sup>39</sup>Longacre (1982:193) notes that of all the discourse genres hortatory discourse is the one most responsive to the social context in which it occurs.

<sup>40</sup>Shetler (in Shetler & Walrod 1983), Errington (1984), Doty (1984) and Walrod (1988) note the presence of mitigation in hortatory texts in Philippine languages. Shetler (in Shetler & Walrod 1983:64) in particular comments on the

which the speech events occur. In Philippine culture, age is esteemed over youth. A younger person is expected to show deference to those who are older. Consequently, he has little chance of being heard by those older than himself if he presents what he wants to say as an exhortation. If he alters his talk and states what he wants to say in the form of an expository discourse, he increases his chances of being heard. Philippine culture is also keenly sensitive to distinctions in social standing and political power so that deference is shown to those of higher social standing and political position. Consequently, a person of lower social standing and political power avoids giving a direct exhortation when speaking to those of higher social standing and greater political influence. The Philippine value of smooth interpersonal relations encourages a person to show deference to his peers as well as to those who are his superiors. In their remarks about mitigation, Walrod (pers. comm.) and Shetler (in Shetler & Walrod 1983:64) both note that a speaker does not exhort his peers, because he wants to show deference to them. All this means that direct exhortations are only given when a speaker is talking to those who are younger or lower in social standing and political power than himself. Anyone who violates these cultural values finds himself ignored or worse yet subjected to subtle but effective levelling by others, which soon puts the offender back in his proper place.<sup>41</sup>

### 8.1 GENERAL PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES

The persuasive overlay consists of two general persuasive strategies, several specific persuasive devices and a persuasive climax. The two strategies consist of invoking a cultural theme and making a contrast. The specific persuasive devices include prescriptions and the use of two persuasive lexical items. The persuasive climax consists of one or more sentences marked by a change in the address form for the hearer.

One of the most flexible and useful elements of the persuasive overlay is the strategy of invoking a cultural value. Walrod (1988:113-119) notes that an effective strategy for gaining the hearer's acceptance of what is being said is for a speaker to associate what he is saying with a cultural value that is high in emotive content and widely held within the society. Since Filipinos value conformity for the sake of social cohesion, there is considerable pressure for an individual to adhere to the cultural values that are held by his village. Walrod (1988:78) defines cultural values, or 'norms' as he calls them, as "*standards* by which things can be graded (good or bad) or ranked (better or worse), or they may be *rules* by which the evaluata are judged to be right or wrong, correct or incorrect". He points out that these values are not a universal set. Instead, they are the values that are unique to a given society and can differ from one society to another.

As has been pointed out elsewhere, in expository discourse evaluations often express cultural values and are frequently used as results for theme propositions. Such an evaluation is actually the statement of an important emotive value within the culture; consequently, it is nearly irrefutable. This makes invoking a cultural value a very effective way of supporting a theme proposition. Once again

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occurrence of texts in Balangao in which there is a skewing between the expository surface form and the underlying hortatory intent.

<sup>41</sup> Age, deference and social standing are probably only a few of the factors that decide whether or not an exhortation is delivered in a direct form or a mitigated form. There are likely to be many other factors influencing the form and degree of mitigation that a speaker uses when his purpose is to exhort. The following are some questions relating to the mitigation of exhortations that need further research. Is there a difference in the degree of mitigation between an exhortation that is an encouragement to continue positive behaviour, and an exhortation that is a warning to stop negative behaviour? Is there a difference in the degree of mitigation when the exhortation refers to an issue in which there is general agreement about what is right and wrong behaviour, compared to a less clear-cut issue in which there is a lack of agreement about what is appropriate behaviour? Is there a difference in the degree of mitigation when the speaker expects some opposition to what he wants to say compared to when he is sure of agreement? Answers to these questions will help define more clearly the function of mitigation in the Philippine social context.

the relationship between the proposition and the cultural value that acts as its reason or result does not need to be logical in a formal sense. It needs only to be expressed in the form of a reason or a result in order to be effective.

Cultural values found in the Upper Tanudan Kalinga expository texts are age, shame and respect, familial obligations, and solidarity and social cohesion. Concerning the cultural value of age, the relationship between youth and age is relative. A person never arrives at an age when he is no longer young. As long as he is younger than the person to whom he is relating, he is expected to defer to the older person. Consequently fifty-year-old men are seen giving way out of deference to men who are sixty or seventy years old. The cultural value of age is invoked by words such as *anak* 'child', *kaddadakkor* 'one who has just become an adult' and *dadakkor* 'elder'.

Shame and respect are the strongest moral values in Philippine culture. They are two sides of the same value. If a person has respect, he also has shame, which means he has a sense of decency and behaves appropriately. If he has no shame, he has no sense of respect. In the eyes of the Lubo, such a person is not even a human being. The cultural value of shame and respect is invoked by words such as *biin* 'shame' or 'respect', *dayaw* 'honour', *mansamkuy* 'despise' and *muugudan* 'to be talked about behind one's back'.

The cultural value of familial obligations is closely tied to shame since to fail to fulfill one's obligations to one's family would be a source of great shame. This theme is invoked in part by kinship terms such as *anak* 'child', *ina* 'mother', *ama* 'father' and *nangiyanak* 'those who have had children'.

Solidarity and social cohesion are also important cultural values. These values can be invoked by the term *urnus* 'unity' and by phrases like *ambaru de kopyanatta kadogwatna* 'his actions towards his peer group are good'. The texts about righteous living, leadership and not marrying outsiders make heavy use of cultural values as they explain and prove their theme propositions. It is interesting to note that each of these texts has a strong underlying hortatory intent.

The second persuasive strategy, the use of contrast, is one of the distinctive features of the persuasive overlay. Essentially nothing is proven in expository discourse until it is placed in contrast with something else. Contrast is used to prove both lower-level themes and global themes. With a lower-level theme, contrast occurs as negated sentences that act as collateral information for the theme proposition.<sup>42</sup> A speaker presents a theme proposition and then makes a contrastive statement, saying what the theme is not and thus proving what it is. This results in pairs of positive-negative statements (or their reverse, negative-positive statements). Parallel units (see section 7.2) are often examples of this positive-negative pattern.

The following sentences form pairs of contrastive statements. The first pair, 9.14 - 9.15, refer to a leader in the old days. Sentence 9.14 presents a positive statement concerning the leader; 9.15 gives a negative statement which acts as collateral information for 9.14.

9.14

*Da tagu kade angila, da sin-anak, da tagu we udum, kananda*  
T,PL person when:LK see T,PL parent T,PL person LK other say:II,3,PL

<sup>42</sup>Benn (1979:5) and E ington (1984:180-182) note the use of contrastive statements in hortatory discourse, particularly in the form of negative-positive statements. E ington's analysis is based upon what he calls mitigated hortatory discourse, defined here as a skewed expository discourse with a persuasive overlay.

*“Siya pos in dendi te siya pagay ipangpangatna de ambaru”.*  
 III,3,S HORT CERT N,S:D3 because III,3,S EMPH lead:II,3,S N,S good  
 Then the people who watch, parents, the rest of the people, they say, “He really does it well because he indeed leads for the good [of the community]”.

9.15

*“Dakompuk ipangatna de lawing.”*  
 not:MOD:SM lead:II,3,S N,S bad  
 “He does not lead [the community in doing] wrong.”

Sentence 17.6 gives a positive statement about the primary participants, a man and a woman; 17.7 gives a negative statement about them which again acts as collateral information.

17.6

*Tenana de inana kan amana ya*  
 leave:II,3,S N,S mother:II,3,S and father:II,3,S and  
*niitipun atte asawane laraki ya nambalindak*  
 join O,S spouse/marriage:II,3,S:LK man and become:I,3,PL:SM  
*os-ossaane bungru, os-ossaane long-ag.*  
 one:LK body one:LK body  
 She leaves her mother and father and she lives together with her husband and they become one body.

17.7

*Dakonda puk orgon duwa.*  
 not:I,3,PL MOD:SM able two  
 They are no longer two.

When proving a global theme, contrast usually occurs as adversative information. The adversative information can be a single sentence or a separate counter-argument composed of one or more paragraphs. The adversative information contrasts with some element associated with the global theme, such as a time setting like ‘now’ versus ‘then’, or one of the primary participants. In a counter-argument, the speaker describes an anticipated argument, then refutes it himself in order to prove the validity of his own argument. Counter-arguments that consist of several sentences or several paragraphs exert more force than single sentences because the contrast is expanded and developed. The sentences that follow provide several examples of adversative information that acts as contrast for global themes.

Sentence 8.38 contrasts the old days, the setting of the text, with the arrival of Christianity. This is the only mention of Christianity in the whole text. The sole purpose of the remark appears to be to provide contrast for the global theme of the text, oblique as it is. Sentence 8.38 is an example of adversative information that consists of a single sentence.

8.38

*Sana de in-inon da natagutte dandani ye daampun ni*  
 DI N,S way G,PL lived:O,S old.days LK not.yet:MOD G,S

*anne kananda 'kinakrisitiyanu' duknagan.*

D1:LK say:II,3,PL Christianity time.of.arrival

This is how people lived in the past before what they call 'Christianity' arrived.

Sentence 11.21 presents a negative statement, pointing out that not everybody can cure an illness caused by an *aggasang* spirit. Sentence 11.22 gives an affirmative response, stating that they (those people who are indwelt by *aggasang* spirits) are the only ones who can cure such an illness. Again it should be noted that the contrast is oblique in that it is not aimed directly at the global theme proposition, the *aggasang* spirits, but at those who cure the illnesses that the spirits cause.

11.21

*Adipun makwe sap-uyan ka lugaman da udume tagu.*

not:MOD possible:LK blow and weed G,PL other:LK person

It is not possible for other people to blow [on the sick person] and to place herbs on him.

11.22

*Dida pagay!*

III,3,PL EMPH

They are the only ones!

Sentences 9.50 - 9.54 form a paragraph that functions as a counter-argument to the global theme. In the paragraph, the speaker describes the leaders of today who are merely voted into office. He contrasts these leaders with the leaders of the past who spent a whole lifetime earning their position of authority. In this case, the counter-argument provides direct contrast with the global theme.

9.50

*Sa sana kad attenne mabutusan ela da pangat.*

T,S now ADV O,S:D1:LK vote HORT G,PL leader

Today the leaders are only voted in.

[Literally: Today there is only the voting in of the leaders.]

9.51

*Isunan in-inope poyaaw.*

same:II,3,S dream:LK breeze

It is like a dream in the air.

9.52

*Adida pun milasin ya angwa kad da sane*

not:I,3,PL MOD recognise and do/make when N,PL D1:LK

*mabutusan, kanande "Dikani pangat" yakon*

be.elected say:II,3,PL:LK III,1,PL,EXC leader but

*abus ak ipapuutda boryanda.*

only SM diligent:II,3,PL family:II,3,PL

They [the elected officials] are not recognised [as leaders] and as for what the elected officials do, they say, "We are leaders", but they are only devoted to their families.



## 8.33

prenuclear.clause nuclear.clause  
*Wot nu mataguka, masapur otyan pagay ye ikatagum*  
 so.then when live:I,2,S need OPT EMPH LK live.by.means.of:II,2,S  
*atte mataguwam denne turu.*  
 O,S lifetime:II,2,S N,S:D1:LK three  
 So then as you live, it is necessary that you live by these three [standards].

There are two lexical items that are associated with the persuasive overlay: the particle *otyan* 'should, ought, wish', and the noun *tagu* 'a person' and its nominalised counterpart *matagu* 'one who lives'. The lexical items occur in sentences addressed to the hearer, and their presence signals persuasive intent. The particle *otyan* has a prescriptive function in that it urges the hearer to do or believe something. There are two occurrences of *otyan* in the texts; these are seen in 8.33 above and 8.6 below, both from a text which has an underlying hortatory intent. In 8.33 the particle *otyan* occurs in the nuclear clause. In 8.6 the particle *otyan* (as *otyatte*, a contracted form of *otyan* + *atte*) is found in the nuclear clause that occurs in the second half of the sentence.

## 8.6

nominal 1 nominal 2  
 prenuclear.clause  
*Sa angur-ullitak attenna de awag gad anngor*  
 T,S tell.story:II,1,S O,S:D1 N,S there.is whenever hear  
 nuclear.clause postnuclear.clause  
*ibaruna otyatte mataguwana ta.oni.pay manggodonge matagu.*  
 improve:II,3,S OPT:O,S lifetime:II,3,S so.that straight:LK live  
 The reason I am telling you this is so that whoever listens will be able to improve his life by these standards so that he will live righteously.

*Tagu* 'person' and *matagu* 'one who lives' exert persuasive force by promoting group solidarity. When a speaker uses *tagu* or *matagu*, he implies that he and the hearer share a common identity, and that they should therefore be alike in their thinking. Walrod (1988:125) reports a similar use of the word *allay* 'man' or 'friend' in Ga'dang. Walrod regards the use of *allay* as a mitigating device in behavioural discourse; however, the use of *tagu* and *matagu* has a stronger persuasive function in Upper Tanudan Kalinga expository discourse. Since *tagu* and *matagu* only occur as persuasive devices, the fact that they are present at all in expository discourse signals a persuasive intent. These lexical items, however, can also mitigate the force of a persuasive climax to make it more acceptable to the hearer.

Sentences 8.11 - 8.13 are negative statements that function as disguised commands. The presence of *tagu* 'person' in 8.11 and 8.13 helps soften the impact of the commands.

## 8.11

*Adita pune tagu allanggit te paniyaw.*  
 not:I,1,DL MOD:LK person do.social.wrongs because taboo  
 We, people, should not commit wrongs that show a complete disregard for others because it is forbidden.

## 8.12

*Adita pun ela da inata malliwliw-an onnu*  
 not:II,1,DL MOD HORT N,PL mother:II,1,DL trouble or

*katugangata upan subogon te mabiin.*  
 parent.in.law:II,1,DL HAB argue because respect

We should not cause our mothers trouble or constantly argue with our in-laws because it is shameful.

## 8.13

*Adita pun ele tagu upan mansamsamkuy te mabiin.*  
 not:I,1,DL MOD HORT:LK person HAB despise because respect

We, people, should not despise others because it is shameful.

Sentence 17.11 is the last of the three sentences that form the persuasive climax of text 17. It includes the lexical item *matagu* 'one who lives', which softens the harshness of the climax.

## 17.11

*Igamuwonyu we matagu de anne kapooyan ni asawa*  
 know:II,2,PL LK live N,S D1:LK meaning G,S spouse/marriage

*oni.pay matagukayu kad andonoy pagay de layadyu*  
 so.that live:I,2,PL when last.long EMPH N,S love:II,2,PL

*te ibilangyu pay ak bungruyu gos de*  
 because count:II,2,PL EMPH SM body:II,2,PL also N,S

*bungrun ni asawayu.*

body:LK G,S spouse/marriage:II,2,PL

You who are living know this meaning of marriage so as you live your love will last forever because you consider your wife's body as your own body.

A comment should also be made about the presence of embedded hortatory discourse in expository texts. There are two texts that contain embedded hortatory discourses. Both are skewed expository discourses in which the surface form is expository, but the underlying intent of the speaker is predominantly exhortation. In the first text (text 8) the speaker is an acknowledged leader in the community. He has both the social standing and the age to deliver a direct exhortation. The speaker chooses, however, to begin his talk about righteous living as an expository discourse, and then shifts into a full-fledged exhortation in the middle of his talk. Towards the end of his speech, he returns once again to the expository form which mitigates the directness of what he is saying.

The second text (text 12) the speaker is a relatively young man (in his thirties). He has neither the social standing nor the age that entitles him to make a direct exhortation; however, he circumvents this limitation by starting his talk as an expository discourse. Later he gives a direct exhortation at two different points in the talk. The first embedded exhortation begins without any mitigating device and is a skillful imitation of what a qualified speaker would say in a hortatory discourse. The second embedded exhortation is contained in 12.19 - 12.26 below, which is the last paragraph in the text. The speaker mitigates the exhortation by presenting it in the guise of a quoted discourse. He prefaces this exhortation with: 'When those who lived long ago gave advice, they said...' (12.19). What follows (12.21 - 12.23) is a quoted hortatory discourse which is similar to what parents in Lubo have



probably been telling their children about marriage for generations. As the speaker concludes his talk, he returns to the expository form (12.24 - 12.26), which softens his final remarks. The shift in discourse types is signalled by the pronouns used to address the hearer. The expository discourse sections use *-ta* 'we two', and the embedded hortatory discourse section uses 'you' pronouns.

## 12.19

*Antuttudu kad da iyawi, kanda e angibage*  
advise when N,PL person.of.long.ago say:II,3,PL LK tell:LK

"*Na, ingka kan nuka te awad de*  
hey go:I,2,S O what's.his.name because there.is N,S

*simpukunge bagliwna" onnu "Awad de*  
small.amount.of.water:LK small.rice.field:II,3,S or there.is N,S

*binalikawogna" ya dumngor kad in ta umoy,) andi kammos*  
round.thing:II,3,S and obey when CERT and go D3 EMPH

*in de lung-udone ikataguna.*  
CERT N,S go.to.work:LK live.by.means.of:II,3,S

When those who lived in the past gave advice, they said, "Hey, you go marry her because she has a little rice field" or "She has gold bracelets", and when he obeyed and did it, he had something with which to make a living.

## 12.20

*Andi akite ansordande mabiyag.*

D3 few:LK starter:II,3,PL:LK live

They had a little something to start their [married] life with.

## 12.21

*Te iillanni kad dikayu we kaddadakkor, dam-onyu*  
because see:II,1,PL,EXC when III,2,PL LK adult sometimes:II,2,PL

*gela kane "Iyyak ii-iila te isunak Laggunawa".*  
EMPH:HORT say:LK go:I,1,S see because same:II,3,S:N,S Laggunawa

For we see that you who are just now adults, sometimes you say, "I will go show off [my wife] because she is like Laggunawa".

## 12.22

*Yakon piyanu kanom de kinosdor – kinaporkas!*

but not eat:II,2,S N,S handsomeness beauty

But you can't eat handsomeness – beauty!

## 12.23

*Maduras de binaru.*

fade N,S beauty

Beauty fades.

12.24

*Te ngai inonte allaylayade anna da angkodaw at tingngaroy?*  
 because INT:G,S way:II,1,DL:LK happy:LK DI N,PL beg SM ball.of.cooked.rice  
 For how can we be happy if there are those who are begging for rice?

12.25

*Angwaniyam atte anna pagay amborbalita.*  
 it.is.fitting:II,2,S O,S DI EMPH appease:II,1,DL  
 It is more fitting that we should have something to appease [our children] with.

12.26

*Ya pasigta kad in ang-amuwong ak*  
 and always:I,1,DL when CERT not.know.what.to.do SM  
*itor-unta, duknag piin de ambordakta suugan.*  
 raise.children:II,1,DL arrive ADV N,S boundary:II,1,DL drying.rack  
 And when we are always at a loss as to how to provide for our children's needs, it will come to the day when the drying rack over the fire will be the only thing that keeps us apart when we fight.

### 8.3 PERSUASIVE CLIMAX

In every persuasive overlay there is a persuasive climax. Persuasive climaxes are distinct from paragraph peaks, which are signalled by the first occurrence of a result or a reason that supports a theme proposition. Persuasive climaxes are signalled by a pronoun shift.<sup>43</sup> Normally each text has just one climax, but there is one text that has four climaxes. One of the four, however, ranks higher than the others in that the context of the sentence in which the climax occurs relates to a global theme proposition. The other three relate to lower-level theme propositions.

Persuasive climaxes are signalled by the use of second person pronouns for addressing the hearer. This is the only time in an expository text that the speaker addresses the hearer directly (unless the expository text contains an embedded hortatory discourse).<sup>44</sup> When the inclusive first person plural pronoun *-taku* is used as an address form for the hearer, it also signals a persuasive climax, but it is a secondary, not a primary climax. Following Walrod's (1988:100) ranking of pronouns, second person pronouns rank higher in persuasive force than first person pronouns. Of the second person pronouns, the singular form ranks higher in persuasive force than the plural form, the specific being more pointed and having greater impact than the generic. The first person dual pronoun *-ta* and third

<sup>43</sup>The pronoun shift in a persuasive climax agrees with Longacre's (1981:350-351) observation that in some languages peaks are signalled by a shift to a higher person-number category on the agency hierarchy, such as a shift from third person singular to first person plural (from 'he' or 'she' to 'we'). In Wrigglesworth's (1980:64) discussion of Ilianen Manobo narrative discourse, she also comments on shifts in person orientation. (Ilianen Manobo is a member of the Manobo subfamily of Philippine languages.) She notes that a speaker shifts from third person to second person orientation (from 'he' or 'she' to 'you') in order to heighten the vividness of actions in a story. The speaker can also shift from second person to first person dual orientation (from 'you' to 'we two') when addressing the hearer in order to heighten the effect of the story. These observations suggest that pronoun shifts mark certain kinds of peaks in discourse. The kind of peak and the exact function of the pronoun shift within that peak depend upon the particular language and the discourse type in which the pronoun shift occurs.

<sup>44</sup>An exception to this rule is the single occasion (17.13) when a speaker addressed the hearer directly in a cleft sentence that was the terminating sentence of a discourse. In this case, though, the speaker used only the plural form of the second person pronouns, not the singular form. This sentence is not considered a persuasive climax.

person pronouns, plural or singular, have little or no persuasive force. Figure 7 shows the ranking of pronoun forms used to address a hearer in expository discourse. The pronouns are ranked so that those with the greatest degree of persuasive force are at the top of the scale and those with the least degree of force are at the bottom.

Persuasive Force		
greatest	you singular	-ka, -m, -nu
	you plural	-kayu, -yu
	we inclusive	-taku
	we dual	-ta
least	he, she	-O, -na
	they	-da

FIGURE 7: RANKING OF PRONOUNS ACCORDING TO PERSUASIVE FORCE

Since the use of second person pronouns for addressing the hearer is the crucial feature of a persuasive climax, almost any sentence that permits the hearer to be addressed in this way is eligible to be a persuasive climax. Persuasive climaxes can occur as support information, such as sentences that illustrate theme propositions, sentences that act as collateral information for theme propositions, sentences that summarise theme propositions or quotes that validate theme propositions. In addition, persuasive climaxes can occur as rhetorical questions which are also support information; however, rhetorical questions differ from the other kinds of support information previously listed in that they are strong assertions and exert a rhetorical force of their own. Persuasive climaxes can also occur as statements of theme propositions and paragraph peaks. Here again paragraph peaks, like rhetorical questions, have their own rhetorical force. It should be noted, however, that out of the seven available examples of persuasive climaxes, five contain a result. Of the two exceptions, one is a negative statement that contains adversative information, the other states a reason. Consequently, sentences that contain results appear to be the preferred kind of information in which to express persuasive climaxes. A persuasive climax usually occurs as a single sentence although it can also consist of several sentences.

The following are three examples of persuasive climaxes. The postnuclear clause of 9.54 is manifested by a rhetorical question in which the speaker addresses the hearer directly using the 'you singular' form.

9.54

prenuclear.clause    nuclear.clause

*Oni.kade sadi    adim    pun    pay    da    tagu    dingngor*

later:LK    D3    not:LK    MOD    EMPH    G,PL    person    hear

postnuclear.clause

*te    ngon    ta    dongrom    os    de    katti    ye    pangat?*

because INT    LK    hear:II,2,S    also N,S    like.this    LK    leader

Later on the people will not listen because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

17.13

*Sadi miibagak kan dikayu.*

D3    tell:II,1,S    O    III,2,PL

That is what I have to say to you.

Sentence 8.17 forms the peak of the paragraph in which it is found as well as the persuasive climax of the text. The speaker addresses the hearer indirectly as *-ta* 'we two' in the first prenuclear clause. Then he switches to the direct 'you singular' pronoun forms for the rest of the sentence.

## 8.17

fronted.noun.phrase    prenuclear.clause 1

*Sa anne paniyaw, te kopyan ni mataguta,*  
T,S D1:LK taboo    because action:LK G,S live:II,1,DL

prenuclear.clause 2

*nu ikatagum,*  
if live.by.means.of:II,2,S

prenuclear.clause 3

*tuttuwe mataguka kap pagay,*  
true:LK live:I,2,S when EMPH

nuclear.clause

*ambaruka ya idayaw dikatta kasintatagum.*  
good:I,2,S and praise IV,2,S:O,PL fellow.man:II,2,S

This *paniyaw*, during the stages of our lives, if you live according to it [the *paniyaw* taboo], if you really live according to it, you will be honourable and your fellow man will praise you.

Sentences 17.9 - 17.11 form the persuasive climax of text 17. All three contain results and address the hearer using second person pronoun forms. Sentences 17.9 and 17.10 carry more persuasive impact because the speaker addresses the hearer using the 'you singular' forms *-m* and *-nu* rather than the 'you plural' form *-yu*. In 17.11 the persuasive impact is slightly lessened by the use of the 'you plural' forms *-yu* and *-kayu* for the hearer.

## 17.9

*Wot nu sang-am de asawam,*  
so.then if scold:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage:II,2,S

*sinang-am de bungrum.*  
scold:II,2,S N,S body:II,2,S

Therefore if you scold your wife, you scold yourself.

## 17.10

*Nu bokbokom de asawam, binokboknos de bungrum.*  
if beat:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage:II,2,S beat:II,2,S:also N,S body:II,2,S  
If you beat your wife, you also beat yourself.

## 17.11

*Igamuwonyu we matagu de anne kapooyan ni asawa oni.pay*  
know:II,2,PL LK live N,S D1:LK meaning G,S spouse/marriage so.that

*matagukayu kad andonoy pagay de layadyu te*  
live:I,2,PL when last.long EMPH N,S love:II,2,PL because

*ibilangyu pay ak bungruyu gos de bungrun ni asawayu.*  
count:II,2,PL EMPH SM body:II,2,PL also N,S body:LK G,S spouse/marriage:II,2,PL  
You who are living know this meaning of marriage so as you live your love will last forever because you consider your wife's body as your own body.

APPENDIX A

TEXT 17

The following additional abbreviations and symbols are used in this text:

AB	abstract
ACCF	accessory focus
AF	actor focus
AJR	adjectiviser
CIRC	circumstantial
GF	goal focus
IMP	imperfect aspect
INS	intensity
NR	nominaliser
P	perfective aspect
RF	referent focus
[_] _	discontinuous morpheme (gloss)
=	morpheme boundary in morpheme-by-morpheme gloss

17. *NGAI ASAWA* By Alfredo Tombali

INT:G,S spouse/marriage  
WHAT IS MARRIAGE?

1. *Sa anne ugud=ok, mii=punun atte asawa.*  
T,S D1:LK talk=GF,IMP:II,1,S CIRC,IMP=concern O,S spouse/marriage  
This which I will discuss, it concerns marriage.
2. *Da ka=adu=wan=e tagu, ip=pun igammu=da*  
T,PL [AB]=many=\_\_=LK live/person none=MOD ACCF,IMP:know=II,3,PL  
*nu ngi na=kristiyanu=wan=e asawa.*  
LK INT:G,S [RF,P]=Christian=\_\_=LK spouse/marriage  
The majority of people, they do not know anything about Christian marriage.
3. *Sa asawa, da duwe tagu we an=tokon=e*  
T,S spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK live/person LK AF,IMP=different=LK  
*laraki ya bobai, an=tipun=da kad ya nang=-amung=da,*  
man and woman AF,IMP=join=I,3,PL whenever and AF,P=join=I,3,PL

- sadi kan=an=de* 'asawa'.  
D3 say=RF,IMP=II,3,PL:LK spouse/marriage  
In marriage, two people who are different who are a man and a woman, when they live together, that is what they call 'marriage'.
4. *Sadi umpay de ten=an ay ni laraki de ina=na*  
D3 EMPH N,S leave=RF,IMP EMPH G,S man N,S mother=II,3,S  
*kan ama=na ya nii=tipun atte asawa=ne bobai.*  
and father=II,3,S and CIRC,P=join O,S spouse/marriage=II,3,S:LK woman  
That is when the man leaves his mother and father and lives together with his wife.
5. *Kama gos atte bobai.*  
same also O,S woman  
It is the same for a woman.
6. *Ten=ana de ina=na kan ama=na ya nii=tipun*  
leave=RF,IMP:II,3,S N,S mother=II,3,S and father=II,3,S and CIRC,P=join  
*atte asawa=ne laraki ya nam=balin=dak*  
O,S spouse/marriage=II,3,S:LK man and AF,P=become=I,3,PL:SM  
*os=-ossa=an=e bungru, os=-ossa=an=e long-ag.*  
INS=one=NR=LK body INS=one=NR=LK body  
She leaves her mother and father and she lives together with her husband and they become one body.
7. *Dakon=da puk org=on duwa.*  
not=I,3,PL MOD:SM able=GF,IMP two  
They are no longer two.
8. *Sa sane asawa, da duwe tagu,*  
T,S D1:LK spouse/marriage T,PL two:LK live/person  
*nam=balin=dak ossa=an.*  
AF,P=become=I,3,PL:SM one=NR  
In this marriage, the two people, they become one.
9. *Wot nu sang=-am de asawa=m,*  
so.then if scold=RF,IMP:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage=II,2,S  
*s=in=ang=-am de bungru=m.*  
[scold]=P=\_\_=RF:II,2,S, N,S body=II,2,S  
Therefore if you scold your wife, you scold yourself.
10. *Nu bokbok=om de asawa=m,*  
if beat=GF,IMP:II,2,S N,S spouse/marriage=II,2,S  
*b=in=okbok=nos de bungru=m.*  
[beat]=P=\_\_ (GF)=II,2,S:also N,S body=II,2,S  
If you beat your wife, you also beat yourself.
11. *Igammu=won=yu we ma=tagu de anne ka=pooy=an*  
know=GF,IMP=II,2,PL LK AF,IMP=live/person N,S D1:LK [AB]=meaning=\_\_

*ni asawa oni.pay ma=tagu=kayu kad an=donoy*  
 G,S spouse/marriage so.that AF,IMP=live/person=I,2,PL when AJR=last.long

*pagay de layad=yu te i=bilang=yu*  
 EMPH N,S love=II,2,PL because ACCF,IMP=count=II,2,PL

*pay ak bungru=yu gos de bungru=n ni asawa=yu.*  
 EMPH SM body=II,2,PL also N,S body=LK G,S spouse/marriage=II,2,PL  
 You who are living know this meaning of marriage so as you live your love will last forever because you consider your wife's body as your own body.

12. *Kamos atte bobai.*  
 same:also O,S woman  
 It is the same, too, for the woman.
13. *Sadi mii=baga=k kan dikayu.*  
 D3 CIRC,IMP=tell=II,1,S O III,2,PL  
 That is what I have to say to you.
14. *Abus de sadik ugud=ok.*  
 finish N,S D3:SM talk=GF,IMP:II,1,S  
 That is the end of what I have to say.

APPENDIX B  
PHONOLOGY

1. GENERAL SKETCH

There are nineteen phonemes in Upper Tanudan Kalinga: fourteen consonants and five vowels. The consonants are /p,t,b,d,g,m,n,ng,s,l,w,y/ and glottal stops /k/ and /-/. The vowels are /i,u,o,e,a/. Word stress and consonant length are also phonemic. There are two syllable patterns: CV and CVC.

2. CONCERNING /r/

/r/ is an allophone of /l/. It occurs intervocally, syllable initially and syllable finally. It never occurs word initially or as the geminate consonant cluster /rr/. It is represented as 'r' in this paper when it occurs as such phonetically since it figures prominently in certain morphophonemic processes.

3. CONCERNING THE GLOTTAL STOP

There are two glottal stops: a fortis one and a lenis one. The fortis glottal stop can be replaced by /k/ and occurs word initially, medially and finally. It is represented by 'k' in this paper. The lenis glottal occurs intervocally and word initially, but not word finally. It cannot be replaced by /k/ and is only represented (by hyphen '-') when it follows a consonant or when it geminates. Otherwise it is unmarked. It should be noted that when the lenis glottal stop geminates, it takes on a fortis quality.



## APPENDIX C

### MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

#### 1. LINK *we*

When a consonant-final word precedes the link *we*, the initial *w* of *we* often optionally assimilates to the final consonant of the preceding word. This morphophonemic change is represented orthographically as the enclitic *-e* following consonant-final words.

When a vowel-final word precedes *we*, the initial *w* of *we* also undergoes morphophonemic changes, depending on the final vowel. If the final vowel is *i*, then the initial *w* of *we* can be replaced by *y*. If the final vowel is *u*, then the initial *w* does not change since *w* is a transition consonant that often occurs between a word-final *u* and a succeeding vowel. If the final vowel is *a*, then the initial *w* optionally becomes a glottal stop. It should be noted that *we* can also become the enclitic *-e* following vowel-final words. Loss of the word-final vowel must take place before the enclitic *-e* attaches to the word.

#### 2. LINK *-n*

The link *-n* attaches to the end of a vowel-final word in several constructions. Firstly, the link *-n* occurs in genitive noun phrases in which the genitive marker *ni* may or may not connect the head noun with the other nouns that follow in the phrase. Secondly, the link *-n* occurs preceding noun phrases introduced by the genitive nominal marker *ni*. There is one example where *-n* attaches to the vowel-final negative particle *adi* 'not' when it is followed by the genitive nominal marker *ni*-, even though *adi* and *ni* are separated by two particles (see 9.54). Thirdly, the link *-n* occurs in certain number phrases, such as those that follow:

*duwa=n supa*  
two=LK *chupa*.measure  
two *chupa* measures

*turu=l labi*  
three=LK night  
three nights

The link *-n* assimilates to the same point of articulation as the initial consonant of the following word. For a few consonants, such as *l*, *-n* assimilates completely to the initial consonant of the following word. These assimilation changes are optional but common.

### 3. SEQUENTIAL CONJUNCTION *wot*

Following words ending in *i*, the initial *w* of *wot* can be replaced by *y*. Following words ending in *u*, the initial *w* of *wot* usually does not change, but when *wot* follows any other vowel-final word, the initial *w* of *wot* optionally becomes a glottal stop.

### 4. PERSONAL CASE MARKER *ak*

The final *k* of the personal case marker *ak* frequently assimilates completely to the initial consonant of the following word, as with the name of the person *al Laggunawa*. *k* does not assimilate before words beginning with glottal stop.

### 5. SUBSTITUTE MARKER *ak*

The final *k* of substitute marker *ak* usually assimilates to *p* before words beginning with *b*, and *b* in turn assimilates to the preceding *p*. For example, *ak boroy* 'house' becomes *ap poroy*.

### 6. MARKER *ad*

The final *d* of the marker *ad* commonly assimilates completely to the initial consonant of the word which follows it, for example *ad ganad* 'today' can become *ag ganad*. No assimilation occurs before a glottal-initial word.

### 7. CONTRACTION OF THE PRONOUN SET II

When *-ku*, *-nu* or *-na* are added to verbs ending with suffixes *-on* or *-an*, the *n* of the suffix is lost, and the alternate forms *-k*, *-m* and *-na* are added respectively. For example:

<i>kanon</i>	+	----->	<i>kanok</i>	I eat it
<i>kanon</i>	+	----->	<i>kanom</i>	you eat it
<i>kanon</i>	+	----->	<i>kanona</i>	he eats it

## APPENDIX D

### GRAMMATICAL NOTES

#### 1. PRONOUN CHART

Person/Number	I	II	III	IV
singular				
1	-ak	-ku/-k	<i>sakon</i>	-ak
2	-ka	-nu/-m	<i>sika</i>	<i>dika</i>
3	-o	-na	<i>siya</i>	---
plural				
1-dual	-ta	-ta	<i>dita</i>	<i>dita</i>
1-inclusive	-taku	-taku	<i>ditaku</i>	<i>ditaku</i>
1-exclusive	-kani	-ni	<i>dikani</i>	<i>dikani</i>
2	-kayu	-yu	<i>dikayu</i>	<i>dikayu</i>
3	-da	-da	<i>dida</i>	---

Notes:

- a. Pronoun Set I are nominative enclitic pronouns which attach to actor-focus verbs.
- b. Pronoun Set II are genitive enclitic pronouns which attach to non-actor-focus verbs. Pronoun Set II are also possessor pronouns. The alternate forms *-k* and *-m* of Pronoun Set II attach to words ending in vowels. Forms *-ku* and *-nu* attach to words ending in consonants. (See Appendix C 7 for the morphophonemic rule about the addition of Pronoun Set II to verbs with *-on* and *-an* suffixes.)
- c. Pronoun Set III are nominative free-standing pronouns that replace focus noun phrases. Set III is the unmarked set of free-standing pronouns.
- d. Pronoun Set IV are nominative free-standing pronouns that also replace focused noun phrases. Set IV is the marked set of free-standing pronouns. They occur in the marked non-actor-focus clause construction which is discussed in Appendix D 10.
- e. A set of oblique pronouns can be formed by placing the oblique personal marker *kan* before the pronouns listed in Set III, as in *kan sakon*.

## 2. CHART OF CASE MARKERS

## Personal Case Markers

Number	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
singular	<i>ak</i>	<i>(-n) 0</i>	<i>kan</i>
plural	<i>da</i>	<i>(-n) da</i>	<i>kan da</i>

## Non-personal Case Markers

Number	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
singular	<i>de</i>	<i>(-n) ni</i>	<i>atte</i>
plural	<i>da</i>	<i>(-n) da</i>	<i>atta</i>
? <sup>1</sup>	<i>ak</i>	<i>(-n) di<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>sin<sup>3</sup></i>

## Notes:

1. These markers are all substitute markers for the typical set. Their functions have not yet been fully analysed, and they do not indicate number.
2. The exact meaning of genitive marker *di* is unknown at this time. In some occurrences, it indicates that the noun following it is being used in a generic sense. In other occurrences, it seems to indicate specificity or definiteness.
3. Only one example of *sin* has been found to date. Its meaning is unknown at this time.

3. LOCATION MARKER *ad*

Location marker *ad* occurs with place names or common nouns acting as place names.

## 4. TEMPORAL MARKERS

Temporal markers *ak* and *ad* occur with time words and time phrases. *ak* indicates future time, and *ad* indicates past time.

5. TOPIC PROCLITIC *sa*

The topic proclitic *sa* (plural *da*) is controlled by discourse features operating above the phrase level. It introduces fronted noun phrases, which contain thematic information or, more rarely, setting information. It also introduces left-dislocated noun phrases, which identify participants. It also marks certain nominals and clause constructions as significant to the development of a theme. (See section 4.3 for a more detailed discussion of *sa*.)

6. SUBSTITUTE MARKER *ak*

The substitute marker *ak* can replace the oblique marker *atte* (or *atta*) in verbal clauses. It can also replace the link *we* in equational clauses. Although the functions of this marker have not been fully analysed, its most common functions are noted here. Firstly, *ak* can replace *atte* or *we* when the nominal normally introduced by *atte* or *we* is a generic, or typical, representation of a whole class.

Secondly, *ak* can occur when the nominal normally introduced by *atte* or *we* is a definite, or known, nominal which for some reason is not eligible as the focused element. Thirdly, *ak* can occur when the nominal normally introduced by *atte* or *we* is not definite, but a particular subtype within a general class.

## 7. MODAL PARTICLE *pun*

The modal particle *pun* occurs following negative particles in all constructions except in negative imperatives and clauses introduced by *nu* 'if' or 'when', or *kad* 'when' or 'whenever', when *nu* and *kad* introduce conditions or hypothetical situations.

## 8. CIRCUMSTANTIAL MODAL AFFIXES *mi-* AND *mii-*

The affixes *mi-/ini-*, and *mii-/nii-* are circumstantial modal affixes. They indicate that an event is brought about by circumstances rather than by the purposeful intent of an actor. The affixes can also be used as a hedge by a speaker, particularly when the speaker wants to mitigate a hortatory statement.

## 9. VERBAL AFFIX CHART

The following chart lists the basic verbal affixes. There are also sets of stative and causative verbal affixes which are not listed. The basic affixes are grouped into two categories: those affixes signalling that an actor is the focused element of the clause, and those affixes signalling that a non-actor constituent is the focused element. In the actor-focus category, only the actor is the focused element. In the non-actor-focus category, however, several clause constituents are eligible for focus: an instrument or an accessory, a goal, a location or a referent and a beneficiary. Each non-actor-focus affix identifies which non-actor-focus constituent is the focused element in the clause. Both the imperfective and perfective forms of each affix are included in the chart.

Focused Element	Imperfective Form	Perfective Form
actor	<i>-um-</i> <i>man-/an-</i> <i>maN-/aN-</i> <i>mangi-/angi-</i>	<i>-umm-/inum-</i> <i>nan-</i> <i>naN-</i> <i>nangi-</i>
non-actor		
instrument/accessory	<i>i-</i>	<i>in-</i>
goal	<i>-on</i>	<i>-in-</i>
location/referent	<i>-an</i>	<i>-in--an</i>
beneficiary	<i>i--an</i>	<i>in--an</i>

## 10. MARKED NON-ACTOR-FOCUS CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

A rare marked non-actor-focus clause construction occurs in a few paragraph peaks. The normal non-actor-focus clause consists of a verb with a non-actor-focus affix which signals that a non-actor participant is the focused element. (A non-actor-focus affix can be *-on*, *i-* or *-an*.) The verb is followed by a noun phrase introduced by the genitive nominal marker *ni* (plural *da*) that functions as an actor. This noun phrase is followed by another noun phrase introduced by the focus nominative marker *de* (plural *da*) that acts as a goal, an accessory or a referent. This noun phrase is the focused element of the clause. An optional noun phrase introduced by the oblique marker *atte* (plural *atta*) acts as a non-focused referent. When the focused noun phrase acting as a goal, an accessory or a referent is expounded by a pronoun, the pronoun is a member of Pronoun Set III, the unmarked free-standing pronoun set. Optional postpredicate particles are attracted to the verb. The normal non-actor-focus clause is represented in Figure D1 and is followed by a language example.

predicate		actor	focused non-actor participant	referent
+ verb with non-actor-focus	± particles	+ noun phrase introduced by <i>ni</i>	+ noun phrase introduced by <i>de</i> or unmarked free-standing focus pronoun	± noun phrase introduced by <i>atte</i>

FIGURE D1: VERBAL CLAUSE WITH NON-ACTOR PARTICIPANT AS FOCUSED NOUN PHRASE – UNMARKED CONSTRUCTION

	predicate	actor	non-actor.participant	(predicate)
(Nu) if	<i>pion</i> want:GF	<i>ni</i> G,S	<i>aggasang sika</i> spirit.type III,2,S	<i>tipakon</i> , afflict:GF

(*maaggasanganka*).

afflicted.by.an.*aggasang*.spirit:I,2,S

(If) the *aggasang* spirit wants to afflict you, (you will get an *aggasang* illness).

In this example, the dependent clause introduced by *nu* is an unmarked non-actor-focus clause construction. The verbs of the predicate *pion* 'to want' and *tipakon* 'to afflict' are affixed with the goal-focus suffix *-on* which indicates that the goal is the focused element in the clause. The actor of the clause is expounded by *aggasang* 'the *aggasang* spirit'. The noun phrase is introduced by the genitive marker *ni*. The unmarked free-standing focus pronoun *sika* 'you singular' is the goal of the clause.

The rare marked non-actor-focus construction differs from the unmarked construction in four ways. Firstly, when the goal, accessory or referent of a marked construction is the focused element and is expounded by a pronoun, the focused element is represented by Pronoun Set IV, a set of marked free-standing focus pronouns which are listed in Figure D2.

	Marked free-standing pronoun set	Unmarked free-standing pronoun set
singular		
I	<i>-ak</i>	<i>sakon</i>
you singular	<i>dika</i>	<i>sika</i>
he, she, it	---	<i>siya</i>
plural		
we dual	<i>dita</i>	<i>dita</i>
we inclusive	<i>ditaku</i>	<i>ditaku</i>
we exclusive	<i>dikani</i>	<i>dikani</i>
you plural	<i>dikayu</i>	<i>dikayu</i>
they	---	<i>dida</i>

FIGURE D2: FREE-STANDING PRONOUN SETS – MARKED AND UNMARKED

The enclitic pronoun *-ak* 'I' is an irregular member of the marked pronoun set in that it is a clitic pronoun rather than a free-standing pronoun. Note that *-ak* differs from *sakon*, the unmarked focus pronoun. *Dika*, the marked focus pronoun for 'you singular', differs from *sika*, the unmarked focus pronoun. The plural forms *dita*, *ditaku*, *dikani* and *dikayu* are the same in both the marked and unmarked focus pronoun sets. Note also that there are no third person pronominal forms in the marked set.

A second way in which the marked and unmarked constructions differ is that in the marked construction the noun phrase functioning as the actor is introduced by the oblique marker *atte* instead of the normal genitive marker *ni*. If the actor is never expressed as a noun phrase, it is obligatorily absent. In other words, the actor cannot be expressed as a pronoun. In the three examples in which no actor is explicitly named, the obligatorily absent actor is always understood to be a third person form, 'he, she, it' or 'they'. The context makes it clear which referent is intended. It should be pointed out that an obligatorily absent actor is not always assigned a third person form. Person assignment for the absent actor depends upon the type of genre in which it occurs. In expository discourse, the person assignment is third person, but for requests in informal conversations or commands in hortatory discourse the absent actor is always assigned a second person 'you' form which can be either singular or plural. Noun phrases introduced by the genitive marker *ni* are obligatorily absent.

A third way in which the constructions differ is that in the marked construction the noun phrase that acts as the focused non-actor participant always precedes the noun phrase that functions as the actor when both are present. This word order differs from the order found in unmarked non-actor-focus constructions. In an unmarked construction, the word order is: predicate + actor + focused non-actor participant. In a marked construction, the order is: predicate + focused non-actor participant + actor.

A fourth way in which the constructions differ is that in a marked construction postpredicate particles follow the non-actor participant rather than the verb. Figure D3 represents the marked non-actor-focus clause construction.

predicate	focused non-actor participant		actor
+ verb with non-actor-focus affix	+ noun phrase introduced by <i>de</i> or marked free-standing focus pronoun	± particles	± noun phrase introduced by <i>atte</i>

FIGURE D3: VERBAL CLAUSE WITH NON-ACTOR PARTICIPANT AS FOCUSED NOUN PHRASE – MARKED CONSTRUCTION

The marked construction brings the focused non-actor participant into greater prominence than the normal unmarked construction does by demoting the actor from its usual sentence position which is core and obligatory to a sentence position that is peripheral and optional. When the actor is deleted in marked constructions, the focused non-actor participant is the only noun phrase left in the sentence, which again gives it greater prominence. The prominence of the focused non-actor participant in a marked construction is further supported by the fact that postpredicate particles which are normally attracted to the verb are now attracted to the focused non-actor participant. The following examples illustrate the marked non-actor-focus construction.

In 11.14 the dependent clause introduced by *nu* is expounded by a marked non-actor-focus clause construction. Again the verbs of the predicate *pion* ‘to want’ and *tipakon* ‘to afflict’ are affixed with the goal-focus suffix *-on*. The goal, or the non-actor participant, is the focused element and is expounded by the marked focus pronoun *dika* ‘you singular’. The noun phrase that functions as actor is introduced by the oblique marker *atte*.

11.14

	predicate	non-actor.participant	actor		(predicate)
(Nu)	<i>pion</i>	<i>dika</i>	<i>atte</i>	<i>aggasang</i>	<i>tipakon</i> ,
if	want:GF	IV,2,S	O,S	spirit.type	afflict:GF

(*maaggasanganka*).

afflicted.by.an.*aggasang*.spirit:I,2,S

(If) the *aggasang* spirit wants to afflict you, (you will get an *aggasang* illness).

In 12.13 the marked construction occurs in a quote. The verb *pinoryaw* ‘to send away’ occurs with the infix *-in-* which indicates that the verb is marked for goal focus and is in the perfective aspect (completed action). The goal or non-actor participant is the focused element and is expounded by the marked focus pronoun *dikani* ‘we exclusive’. The actor is absent; however, the context indicates that the pronoun ‘they’ is the implied actor.

12.13

	prenuclear.clause					
(Onnu)	<i>kana</i>	<i>kad</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>ele</i>	<i>ang-imuse</i>	“ <i>Kam-an ni</i>
or	say:II,3,S	when	CERT	HORT	ask:LK	INT G,S
	<i>awayanyu?”</i>					
		<i>atta</i>	<i>mangili ta</i>	<i>kandose</i>		
time.of.departure:II,2,PL	O,PL	visitor	so.that	say:II,3,PL:also:LK		



## nuclear.clause

predicate non-actor.participant

“*Pinoryaw dikani gay*”, (*lawingan de kanggorana*).

send.away:GF IV,I,PL,EXC EMPH bad N,S things.heard:II,3,S

(Or when she asks the visitors, “When will you be leaving?”, and they say,) “[They] sent us away”, (it hurts to hear such things said about us).

It seems appropriate that marked non-actor-focus constructions should be associated with paragraph peaks since paragraph peaks highlight selected information within a text. When a marked non-actor-focus construction occurs in a paragraph peak, the marked construction gives additional prominence to the peak. The result, which is the selected information highlighted in the peak, does not necessarily occur in the marked clause construction itself, but may occur in another clause in the sentence. For example, in four out of the five occurrences, the marked clause construction occurs in a dependent clause signalled by *nu* ‘if’ or *kad* ‘whenever’ and gives a condition for the result stated in the nuclear clause which follows. In the fifth example, the marked clause construction occurs in the nuclear clause and also states a result.

In 11.14 above, the marked construction occurs in a dependent clause introduced by *nu* ‘if’. In 12.13 above, the marked construction occurs in a prenuclear clause signalled by *kad* ‘whenever’. In 8.17 the marked construction expounds the nuclear clause of the sentence and contains a result.

## 8.17

(*Sa anne paniyaw, te kopyan ni mataguta, nu*  
T,S D1:LK taboo because action:LK G,S live:II,1,DL if

*ikatagum, tuttuwe mataguka kap pagay,*)  
live.by.means.of:II,2,S true:LK live:I,2,S when EMPH

nuclear.clause

*ambaruka ya idayaw dikatta kasintatagum.*  
good:I,2,S and praise IV,2,S:O,PL fellow.man:II,2,S

(This *paniyaw*, during the stages of our lives, if you live according to it [the *paniyaw* taboo], if you really live according to it,) you will be honourable and your fellow man will praise you.

In expository discourse, then, a marked non-actor-focus clause construction does not give prominence to the information that is stated in the clause itself so much as it gives prominence to the whole sentence in which it occurs. It draws attention to the sentence so that the result which is the important information in the peak will be noticed. An exception is when the marked construction occurs in a nuclear clause that states a result. In this case, the marked construction and the most important information in the paragraph coincide. It should be noted that while this marked construction is found most often in paragraph peaks, it is not restricted to paragraph peaks. It can occur in other non-peak sentences that also contain results.

It should be pointed out that this marked construction has been noted in four other Kalinga dialects: Lower Tanudan Kalinga, Limos Kalinga, Guinaang Kalinga and Madukayang Kalinga. This suggests that the construction may be a feature common to Kalinga dialects in general. Further analysis needs to be done to determine if the construction has the same function in each of the Kalinga dialects. Also, Joanne Shetler reports in private communication that a similar marked non-actor-focus construction occurs in Balangao which is another Central Cordilleran language. It may be that the

marked construction is common to other languages that belong to the Central Cordilleran subgroup as well.

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