

A Study of Participant Reference in Central Bontok

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In central Bontok narrative discourse, new participants may be introduced in background information, in new information in the discourse body, in a participant's own speech, or in another participant's speech. New participants are usually referred to by proper names or NPs. However, if there is little ambiguity, new participants can be referred to by pronouns. Major and minor participants are treated differently in the discourse plot structure. Usually, major participants have a speaking role, while minor participants do not as has been noted by Walrod (1979). Overspecifications of participant reference (full names or proper names plus description) have special functions. In an account containing a protagonist and an antagonist, the relative order in which these are referred to is significant. Besides these characteristics, the present study demonstrates the use of pronouns and NPs when the participants are reintroduced or have been mentioned in a series of sentences in the immediately preceding discourse.

1. Introduction

This paper is an analysis of narrative discourse in Central Bontok. Central Bontok is a member of the Central Cordilleran subgroup of the Northern Philippine languages. It is most closely related to Northern Kankanay, Kankanaey, Balangao, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Isinai (McFarland 1980:62). The language is spoken in the municipality of Bontoc and several nearby Bontoc villages in Mountain Province. The Central Bontok language group consists of approximately 35,000 speakers.

The present study describes how and where major and minor participants are introduced and reintroduced in Central Bontok narrative texts.

2. Data (Corpus)

To study Bontok narrative discourse, three personal narratives were collected--one oral (P3) and two written (P1, P2). In addition, one written traditional narrative (F1) was collected, three traditional narratives (F2, F3, F4) were selected from published books for children, and two (F5, F6) were taken from an unpublished dissertation.

Personal narratives¹

Text	Title		Author
P1 (31)	Nan inippengko id Mainit	'My experience at Mainit'	Mr. Eduardo Yango
P2 (82)	Nan nensolowak id Betwagan	'My teaching at Betwagan'	Mrs. Josefa Maskay
P3 (61)	Nan aliglowan nan iGolo ya iYangnen	'Peace pact between the Golo and Yangnen tribes'	Mr. Nomi Suo

(): number of sentences in the text

¹ To protect the privacy of people when necessary, pseudonyms are used in personal narrative texts.

Traditional Narratives

Text	Title		Author
F1(18)	Nan kosa ya nan otot	'The cat and the mouse	Mrs. Josefa Maskay
F2(88)	Nan og-okhod cha Ap-apatto ken Changchang-tayan	'Ap-apatto and Changchangtayan'	Mr. Anasor Wayyas
F3(54)	Nan am-ama ay nangasawa isnan talaw	'The man who married the star'	Mr. Anasor Wayyas
F4(15)	Nan chamon si tilin	'The beginning of the rice birds'	Mr. Apo Anchemang
F5(6)	No apay nga ad-i maligo nan Lanao	'Why Lanao is never flooded'	Mrs. Chopochopen Fakayan
F6(12)	Nan fafai ay iFontok ya nan falo	'The Bontok woman and the widower'	Mrs. Angelita Fagyan

(): number of sentences in the text

3. Findings and discussion

A. Participants in the plot structure

1. Places where participants are first introduced in the plot structure

Table 1. Where Participants Are First Mentioned in Each Narrative
(An unspecified group of people/children is considered as one participant.)

Plot structure Text	Setting	Inciting incident	Developing tension	Climax	Denouement	Conclu- sion	Total
P1	3	5	8	2	2	0	20
P2	3	3	8	2	3	1	20
P3	7	2	6	4	2	1	22
F1	2	1	1	0	---	---	4
F2	3	0	0	0	---	0	3
F3	3	2	1	0	0	1	7
F4	2	1	0	0	---	---	3
F5	3	1	---	0	---	2	6
F6	2	1	1	0	---	0	4
Total	28	16	25	8	7	5	89

The above table indicates the six stages of plot structure in Bontok narratives (setting, inciting incident, developing tension, climax, denouement, and conclusion); it can be seen that denouement and climax are optional.

More participants are introduced in the setting than in the other parts; fewer participants are introduced in the conclusion, denouement, and climax. This pattern is more distinctive in traditional narratives than in personal narratives. In comparing the stages of developing tension with the inciting incident, far more participants are

introduced in the former.

2. Major and minor participants

The major participants are whom the story is about and occur throughout the story (or at least throughout a large part of the story), whereas minor participants are not essential to the plot and appear momentarily (Pebley 1998:22). For the study of the contrast between major and minor participants, Text P3 “Peace pact between the Golo and Yangnen tribes” was chosen because it is thought by several Bontok persons to be the most well developed of all the narratives.

Table 2. How a Participant Is First Introduced In Text 3

Ref.no	Location	Participant	Form of initial reference	How introduced initially	Speech role	Major
1	sdC(13)	I (Nomi Suo)	pronoun/proper noun	self introduction	+	+
1	sdC(18)	Yangnen people	NP	background information	-	-
1	sdC(17)	Golo people	NP	background information	+	-
3	sidC(21)	we(Exclusive)	pronoun	background information	+	-
3	sd(4)	Iroda	proper noun	background information	+	+
6	sd(2)	Kano's younger sister	NP	background information	-	-
6	sdC(22)	Kano	proper noun	background information	+	+
8	idC(7)	Mayang	proper noun	with his direct speech	+	+
8	idC(12)	we (Inclusive)	Pronoun	in someone's speech	-	-
9	id(4)	Khayaman	proper noun	with his direct speech	+	+
11	idC(2)	Sechida	proper noun	new information	-	-
11	dc(4)	Gihong	proper noun	new information	-	-
13	dc(6)	officials	NP	new information	-	-
21	dc(5)	Lida	proper noun	with his direct speech	+	+
22	dcD (27)	Chong	Proper noun	in someone's speech	+	+
22	d(1)	Chong's children	NP	in someone's speech	-	-
30	c(6)	they	pronoun	with their direct speech	+	-
35	c(1)	PC	NP	new information	-	-
38	c(1)	Khoiron	proper noun	new information	-	-
38	c(3)	soldiers	NP	new information	-	-
39	c(8)	Golo woman	NP	new information	-	+
47	DC(2)	Tongan	proper noun	with his direct speech	+	-
50	D(2)	Golo old men	NP	with their direct speech	+	-
58	C(2)	Chakan people	NP	new information	-	-

s: setting, i: inciting incident, d: developing tension, c: climax, D: denouement C: conclusion. (): total occurrences in the narrative.

The author, Nomi Suo, as a person seen at each stage except during the inciting incident, is more than just one of the major participants. He actually leads the whole story, which may be described as his official adventure. The two opponents, Kano, a brother of the murdered woman, and Chong, the killer, are found most frequently throughout the story and are major participants. However, though first person plural pronouns (exclusive/inclusive) are found throughout the story, they are not prominent. In several places in the text, the identity of the antecedents of these first person pronouns is not clear. In terms of distinguishing major and minor participants, the residents of Golo and Yangnen are controversial; several Bontoc readers identify them as major participants, but it is questionable because the people of Golo and Yangnen in the text move as a crowd.

In the “Peace pact” text, many participants are introduced by means of proper names. Many of them are high-ranking government officials. Some of them make direct speeches in the text; others do not. According to Walrod (1979:48), in Ga’dang,² minor participants are those who do not have a speaking role. This appears to be the case in this “Peace pact” text. Though it is not always straightforward to determine whether a particular participant is a major or a minor one, a person who speaks a lot (major speech) is much more prominent than one who speaks very little or not at all. Governor Iroda and Governor Khayaman who have speaking roles are more prominent than Bishop Sechida or Captin Gihong. On the other hand, even if someone has a speech role, if it is nominal, s/he is not so prominent and thus is classified as a minor participant. Tongan is an example of such.

New participants are introduced in four different ways. Some are introduced by background information in the setting or by new information given by the narrator as the story proceeds. Others are introduced in another participant’s speech, or with his/her own speech. A participant who is introduced with his own speech tends to be more prominent than those introduced by other means. Most high officials who are introduced with their own speech are prominent. A new participant may be referred to by means of a proper noun, a full NP, or a pronoun. Roughly speaking, a participant who is introduced by means of a proper noun is more prominent than one whose first reference is by means of a full NP or pronoun. (However, the use of first person singular pronoun is an exception; such a referent tends to have high prominence.)

A participant who plays an important role around the time of the climax is more prominent than those whose role is primarily at other stages in the discourse. A Golo woman referred to by means of a full NP, and who did not speak, and who was seen for only a short time happens to play a key role in the climax as a major participant. An old Golo man has a major speech role, but it occurs only at the end of the denouement; he is locally prominent and classified as a minor participant.

Reading the texts with Bontoc persons to seek their impressions as to who are major and minor participants, occurrences, major speech roles, and place of participants’ role was very instructive.

3. An order of participants reintroduced

The word order of some collocational words like ‘butter and cheese’ or ‘the cat

²Both Ga’dang and Central Bontok belong to the Cordilleran language group.

and the mouse' is not important, but some other collocational words have a typical order. Regt (1988) stated, "The order of participants in one constituent can deviate from what is usual (e.g., mother and father < Lev 19:3>, concubines and wives <2Sam 5:13>)" and the relative order of such participants may mean something significant.

Table 3. Contrasting Internal Order between the Two Tribes in Text 3

Ref.no	Plot structure	Circumstance	Connotation	First	Second
2	Setting	Enmity	Negative	Yangnen	Golo
5	Inciting incident	Confrontation	Negative	Yangnen	Golo
6		Denial of crime	Negative	Yangnen	Golo
7		Negotiation	Positive	Golo	Yangnen
8	Developing tension	Geographic distance	Neutral	Golo	Yangnen
16/17		Position of sitting	Neutral	Golo	Yangnen
29		Celebration after making a peace pact	Positive	Yangnen	Golo

In narrating the Yangnen and Golo conflict, the author, who is from Bontoc, appears to be neutral at first glance. But on clear inspection of how the two parallel participants are introduced, it appears that he is more sympathetic to the Golo. When he refers to two people under negative circumstances, he mentions the Yangnen first and the Golo next. But in hopeful, positive, or neutral circumstances he mentions the Golo first and Yangnen second. The only exception is in ref. no. 29, where the Bontoc are mentioned preceding the two tribes.

B. The use of full noun phrase, pronoun and zero anaphor

1. General rules/ default encoding

1.1 Full NP at first mention, and next pronoun and zero anaphor

When a participant is first introduced, a full NP (or proper name) is usually used. If it is mentioned in the same sentence (or immediate sentence), a pronoun is used; if it is referred to again in the subsequent clause, a zero anaphor may occur.

- (1) Enliwid nan kosa ya nan otot issan chey.
 IMPFT.AG-friend TRM cat and TRM mouse OBL D3
 'Before the cat and the mouse were friends.'

Nenfinachang cha isnan am-in ay chonocha.
 PFT.AG-REC- help 3PL OBL all LK work-GEN.3PL
 'They helped each other in all their work.' (F4)

- (2) Isaa tako siya tay foweg tako.
 IMPFT.TH-take.home 1PL.IN 3SG because go.together 1PL.IN
 'We took him home because we were going together.'

Saet kanan Mayor Tongan en, “Siya man, khawis is
then say Mayor Tongan COMP yes please good OBL

isaa tako f et.”
IMPFT.TH-take.home 1PL.IN ??
‘Mayor Tongan said, “Yes, it is better if we take (him) home.”’ (P3)

Table 4. Full NP, Pronoun, and Zero Anaphor Comparison in Text F1

Ref.no.	Full NP		Pronoun		Zero		Plot structure
	Cat	Mouse	Cat	Mouse	Cat	Mouse	
1	+	+					Setting
2			they, their				
3a	+	+	my, we(ex)	you			Inciting incident
3b			I, their				
4		+					Developing tension
5	+	+	she	her			
6	+	+	you(pl), your(pl)				
7	+		her				
8					+		
9			they				
10	+	+	her				
11			she				
12		+	she, her		+		Climax
13			she	them	+		
14			she				
15			she				
16	+		her	your			
17		+					
18	+			they, them			
total	16		25		3		

+: check mark

Text F1 “The cat and the mouse” shows that the most common form of reference is by means of a pronoun, the next common form of reference is a full NP, and the least common form of reference is a zero anaphor. Though a full NP occurs much more often than is the case in other texts (because of the contrast of two major participants all through the text), a pronoun is still preferred to a full NP when there is no ambiguity of identity. In this text, a zero anaphor is found only at developing tension and climax in the plot structure.

1.1.1 The place of zero anaphors in the plot structure

Table5. The Place and Numbers of Occurrence of a Zero Anaphor in Each Text
(Zero anaphors in relative clauses are not counted.)

Text	Setting	Inciting incident	Developing tension	Climax	Denouement	Conclusion	Total
P1(31)					1	1	2
P2(82)	1	1	1				4
P3(61)	1			1	1		3
F1(18)			1	2			3
F2(88)			1	6		1	7
F3(54)	1	2	4	7		3	17
F4(15)		1					1
F5(6)							0
F6(12)	1						1
Total	4	4	7	16	2	5	38

(): length of text

According to Walrod (1979:25) maximum deletion marks the climactic part of a story, distinguishing it from the setting and development parts by deleting nonverbal elements of clauses. “Routine participant reference may be disturbed (Longacre 1983:25)” in the peak. As such, in the climax less direct referent marking is used (that is, not full NPs). Zero anaphors occur in the buildup of tension in the plot where the action moves quickly and is encoded by shorter clauses with zero anaphors. Some nouns and pronouns are used to distinguish which participant did what to which other participant, but the obvious references are zero anaphors (Pebley 1999:44).

Table 5 indicates that a zero anaphor is more often found in the climax and developing tension than in any other places in the plot structure. According to the table this phenomenon is distinctive in relatively long traditional narratives but not in personal narratives.

1.2 A zero anaphor to describe a vague circumstance

(3) Masapor ay ikatpe nan likhat.
must LK IMPFT.TH-endure TRM hardship
'(You) must endure the hardship.' (P2)

(4) Chalanen nan siyam ay kilometro ay omey
walk-IMPFT.TH TRM nine LK kilometer LK IMPFT.TH-go

ischi mo marpo ka id Betwagan.
L3 if IMPFT-come.from 2SG OBL Betwagan
'(You) have to walk nine kilometers to go there if you come from Betwagan.' (P2)

When a vague circumstance is described, a zero anaphor is used. In the above

examples, no overt referent is found.

1.3 A zero anaphor in a relative clause

If the head of a relative clause is co-referential with the participant of the relative clause, a zero anaphor occurs in the relative clause.

- (5) Wad-ay esang ay fafai ay ɸ kaki-imen.
EXT one LK woman LK give.birth
'There was a woman who had just given birth.' (F6)

2. Special rules/ marked encoding

2.1 Highlighted reference

Although a participant may have been mentioned in a previous clause, if it is highlighted, a full NP is used in the subsequent clause instead of a pronoun even in the same paragraph.

- (6) Saet kanan **Ot-otot** en, "....."³
and say mouse COMP
'And the **mouse** said, "....."'

Ngem si **Ot-otot** kananan, "....."⁴
but NM mouse say-3SG-COMP
'But the **mouse** thought, "....."' (F2)

- (7) Kanan cha en, "Yake ka kak-imen
say 3PL COMP then 2SG give.birth

ya cha ka kayet mamoknag?"
and CONT 2SG still IMPT.AG-work
'They asked, "Why are you working when you have just given birth?"'

Ikhegkhenek angkhay nan nay **anochicha.**
IMPFT.TH.CONT-be.quiet only TRM D1 sister-3PL.GEN
'**Their sister** just kept quiet.' (F6)

In the second clause, third person singular pronoun would normally be adequate because the referent is the addressee of the previous clause. However, a full NP ('their

³ In this particular context, there is nothing in the speech content of the first sentence that might cause ambiguity of referent in the next sentence (and would thus require a noun phrase to disambiguate the referents). That is, the use of a full NP in the second sentence is conditioned by something other than disambiguation.

⁴ As can be seen in the example above, left dislocation occurs in Bontok often for highlighting a referent.

youngest’) is used in order to suggest a close relationship between the participants.

2.2 Use of full name

A full name may be used in order to express intensification. In text P3, *Chong* (Ref. 022, 023) was initially introduced by means of his first name (as were other participants), but as the story climaxes, he is referred to as *Chong Misu* (Ref. 024, 032).

2.3 Overspecification

Usually in developing tension or in the climax, as the story peaks, a referent may be overspecified. This serves to heighten tension in the narration.

(8)

Ensafatcha		pay	ay	enlamano		ay
IMPFT.AG-meet-3PL		till	Lk	IMPFT.AG&TH-shake.hands		LK

chey ya	osto	ay	sisya	ay	egay	chomapos	nan
D3 and	when	LK	still	Lk	NEG	IMPFT.AG-reach	TRM

limacha		ay ensafat,		sanat	si	Kano	ay
hand-GEN.3PL		Lk IMPFT.AG-meet		then.he	ABS	Kano	Lk

etad	san fafai	ay natey,	oksotna	et	isnan
brothers	late woman	Lk PFT.dead	pull.out-3SG	PAUS	OBL

fadfadyokna		ya	fadkong	isnan
DIM-small.sword-GEN.3SG		and	stab	OBL

poon	nan	fakhang	Chong	is	ka	likod.
lower.part	GEN	neck	Chong	OBL	DEF	back

‘They met and prepared to shake hands, but before their hands reached each other, **Kano, the brother of the dead woman** suddenly appeared and took out his small sword and struck at the nape of Chong’s neck.’ (P3)

In the context, the long specification preceded by proper name ‘Kano’ is not strictly necessary because the audience already knows that he is the brother of the dead woman (by previous mention), but the author repeats it as overspecification.

2.4 First mentioned pronouns

Plural pronouns *kami* (first person exclusive) and *cha* (third person) are often used to introduce an unspecified referent. In the personal narratives, *kami* (including the narrator) is found at the early part of the narration. Eventually, the identity of *kami* is gradually made known from subsequent discourse.

When I was with Keith Benn, my job was to show the video to the fifteen villages that surround Bontoc and the eight villages that surround the municipality of Sadanga.

Now the time came for me to go to Mainit village. My baggage consisted of a generator, a beta and a player, two gallons of gasoline, ten books, and my backpack full of clothes. **We** had gone six kilometers from Bontoc when it began to rain.

When **we** were between Bontoc and Mainit, the tires of the truck got stuck because the road had become muddy and slippery. The children were crying because the rain was very strong. What I did was this: I borrowed the bolo of one of those who was riding, and I went to get a very long young pine tree, and then **we** raised up the tire. **We** did that for one hour till we got it out of the mud. All the men joined in pushing so that the truck could be lifted from the mud onto solid ground. (Translation of P1)

In the above text, ‘we’ is not clearly known as first introduced, but eventually it is found to be passengers including the author himself.

Speech margin

“The term *speech margin* is used to refer to the words that introduce actual speech (Levinsohn 92:128).” In Central Bontok, a speech margin usually occurs before the speech. However, when the conversation is highlighted, it occurs after the speech.⁵ The margin may be split by the speech or omitted.

Split speech margin

The motivation for a split speech margin in Bontok is not yet clear. Perhaps it occurs when the former and the latter speeches are somewhat loosely connected to each other.

(9) “Away inmey akhes nen-ani,” insongfat
maybe PFT.TH.go also PFT.AG-harvest PFT.TH.answer

nan esang ken chaicha.
TRM one OBL 3PL

“‘Maybe she went to harvest also,’ one of them answered.’

“Omey yo ilaen.”
IMPFT.TH-go 2PL see-IMPFT.TH
“‘You go and see.’” (P2)

Omitted speech margin

When speech is interchanged several times between two participants, the speech margin tends to be omitted; if the speech chain is interrupted by a certain event, the speech margin will reappear.

⁵ However, habitual speech margin after the speech that neutralizes highlighting is observed in text P2.

(10) “Ay ad-adchawi ngen nan Betwagan?” kasinko sinalodsod.
 ?? INTNS-far Q TRM Betwagan again-1SG PFT.TH-ask
 ‘“Is Betwagan very far?” I asked again.’

“Wen pay. Kaatna nan omayam?”
 yes still when TRM IMPFT.TH-go-NMR-2SG
 ‘(Mother answered,) “Yes, it is. When will you go?”’

Masapor ay wad-ay ak ischi is Chomingkho ta
 must LK EXT 1SG L3 OBL Sunday so.that

en-isolo ak isnan Lunes."
 IMPFT.AG-teach 1SG OBL Monday
 ‘(I replied,) “I must have to be there on Sunday so that I will teach on Monday.”’
 (P2)

2.5 Pronouns identified in wider context related with speech margin

Pronouns may be identified by a subsequent utterance. So if immediately following direct speech provides a clue for disambiguation between two different participants who have semantic competition in successive clauses, pronouns instead of NPs may be used.

(11) Fomoknag cha pen inamin
 IMPFT.TH-go.to.work 3PL ?? PFT.TH-consume

si tilin nan kowan san aloyosna.
 ABS rice.bird TRM possession GEN friend-3SG.GEN
 ‘When they both went to their fieldwork, the latter’s produce was all eaten up by the rice birds.’

Khinmakhawis san kowan san
 PFT.TH-good TRM possession TRM

aloyosna ay esa.
 friend-3SG.GEN LK one
 ‘But her friend’s was in good shape.’

Saet kanana en, “Ya ngag man nan
 then say-3SG COMP and what ?? TRM

teken mo? Enman khawis nan anyem?”
 different Q why good TRM harvest-2SG.GEN
 ‘Now the one (who went dancing) asked, “What is the difference? How come you have good produce to harvest?”’ (F4)

In the above text, participants are referred to as ‘two close friends’ and then differentiated by ‘one’ and ‘the other’. In considering only the two previous clauses, the pronoun referent in the third clause cannot be clearly identified. However, in this case the two pronouns are mutually exclusive, and subsequent reference in direct speech clarifies their identity.

3. Anonymous referents

“Some participants are introduced without immediately receiving a name (Regt 1988).” (e.g., a man <Gen 32:25-31>, youngest <1Sam 16:11-13>)

In text P2 “My teaching at Betwagan”, participants are mentioned in relation to the authors, and thus both major and minor participants are not referred to by proper names (except for one minor participant). It may be that proper names are not mentioned because the narration is a personal journal.⁶ This phenomenon is also seen in the text P1 “My experience at Mainit”. However, in text P3 “Peace pact”, a narration as a public and official journal, names of most major participants are clearly mentioned including the author’s own name.

In text F6 “The Bontoc woman and the widower”, major participants as well as minor ones are anonymous when the narration is about something derogated in Bontoc social value. Major participants are introduced vaguely and their names are not revealed until the end (e.g., *esang ay fafai* ‘one woman’, *chowa ay etadna ay lallaki* ‘two elder male siblings’, *esang ay am-ama ay falo* ‘one widower’). A similar phenomenon is observed in text F4 “The beginning of the rice birds”.

4. Summary

Bontok narratives have six stages (setting, inciting incident, developing tension, climax, denouement, and climax) of plot structure; of these six stages, denouement and climax are optional. More participants are introduced in the setting than in the other parts; fewer participants are introduced in the conclusion, denouement, and climax. This pattern is more distinctive in traditional narratives than in personal narratives.

Though the distinction between a major and a minor participant is not always obvious, a person who speaks a lot (major speech) is much more prominent than another who does not. A participant who plays an important role close to the time of the plot climax is more prominent than those who occur only in other areas of the discourse. Criteria for distinguishing major from minor participants include their total number of occurrences, relative importance of their speech roles, and the places where they occur in the discourse. A new participant may be introduced in one of four different ways. Some are introduced by background information in the setting, others by new information given by the narrator as the story proceeds. Others are introduced by means of their own

⁶ When the author of P2 was asked why most of the participants are mentioned anonymously, she said that it was for the respect of people older than her.

speech or in another participant's speech. A participant who is introduced by means of his own speech tends to be more prominent than those introduced by other means. In referring to two parallel participants, the protagonist is usually mentioned first in a positive or neutral circumstance, and later in a negative circumstance.

When a participant is first introduced, a full NP (or a proper name) is usually used. The narrator may choose to highlight the referent by means of a full NP in place of an expected pronoun. A referent's full proper name may occur (or recur) in order to express intensification of the narrator's emotion. Usually in developing tension or at the plot climax, a referent may be over-specified. This serves to heighten tension in the narration. Often proper names are not overtly mentioned when the narration is a personal journal and where the participants are mentioned in relation to the author(s). However, in a public or official discourse, the names of most major participants are clearly mentioned.

If the participant is referred to again in the same sentence (or an immediate next sentence), a pronoun is used. In the case of an immediately subsequent third or further reference, a pronoun or a zero anaphor may occur. Plural pronouns *kami* (first person exclusive) and *cha* (third person) are often used to introduce an unspecified referent. In the personal narratives, *kami* (often including the narrator) is found at the early part of the narration. Eventually, the identity of *kami* is gradually made known from subsequent discourse. Pronouns may be identified by a subsequent utterance. So if immediately following direct speech provides a clue for disambiguation between two different participants in semantic competition in successive clauses, pronouns instead of full NPs may be used.

In the discourse climax, less overt referent marking occurs. A zero anaphor is found more often in climax and developing tension than in other places in the plot structure. This phenomenon is more distinctive in relatively long traditional narratives. If the head of a relative clause is co-referential with the participant of the relative clause, a zero anaphor occurs in the relative clause.

Speech margins in Bontok usually occur before the speech. However, when the conversation is highlighted, the margin occurs after the speech. The margin may be split by the speech or omitted altogether. When speech is interchanged several times between two participants, the speech margin tends to be omitted; if the speech chain is interrupted by a certain event, the speech margin will reappear.

Appendix 1. My experience at Mainit (Translation of Text P1)

There was one time I traveled to Mainit, and this is about my experience there. When I was with Keith Benn, my job was to show the video to the fifteen villages that surround Bontoc and the eight villages that surround the municipality of Sadanga.

Now the time came for me to go to Mainit village. My baggage consisted of a generator, a beta and a player, two gallons of gasoline, ten books, and my backpack full of clothes. We had gone six kilometers from Bontoc when it began to rain.

When we were between Bontoc and Mainit, the tires of the truck got stuck because the road had become muddy and slippery. The children were crying because the rain was very strong. What I did was this: I borrowed the bolo of one of those who was riding, and I went to get a very long young pine tree, and then we raised up the tire. We did that for one hour till we got it out of the mud. All the men joined in pushing so that the truck could be lifted from the mud onto solid ground. We gave thanks because the rain had stopped, and then I said to those who were riding, "Let's pray to thank God for His help because without Him, we could not do anything."

When we reached Mainit, it was nearly evening, and there was still a kilometer and a half to travel before we reached the village. Because it was evening, I could not do anything about showing the video, so after we had finished eating at the house of the Barangay Captain, I went to the men's house to hear the stories of the old men. We were talking about God and Lomawig, but the story that they wanted was about Lomawig because he was the first they knew who was called a god, and it is only recently that Jesus Christ is called the true God in the church. Then I said to them, "Tomorrow evening you will see the true God in the video." Then an old man with white hair told a story about the teaching of Lomawig and the way to live here on this earth, and what to do so that the harvest would be good, and so the pigs and all the animals would be good and have good health.

The next day I went to visit officials and school teachers in the village. In the afternoon I showed the story about Jesus Christ in the school. The students were happy because they understood it and because Jesus Christ spoke in Bontoc.

When the show was finished, five books of Luke were sold. In the evening I showed the video at the Anglican Church. All the men, women, young people and children came to watch.

When the show started, I went outside to guard the generator. Then I saw ten monkeys (communists) looking over the window watching. I was very afraid, and so I prayed and I went to talk to them, and they told me not to be afraid. They commanded me not to tell any soldiers that there were monkeys who were always going to that village. If I told it, they said they would kill me; we shook hands and continued the show.

After the show, I slept alone at the church without fear. I praised God that night because those monkeys bought two books of Luke in the Bontoc language.

Appendix 2. My teaching at Betwagan (Translation of Text P2)

“The Superintendent of the school will send me to Betwagan,” I said to my mother on the seventh of June, 1967. “Really?” my mother responded. “Is Betwagan very far?” I asked. “Yes, it is. When will you go?” “I have to be there on Sunday so that I can teach on Monday.”

My companions who went to Betwagan were my mother and my cousin. We rode in the Dangwa bus that goes to Tabuk on that Sunday morning. We got off the bus in Tabrak, a place that is ten kilometers away from Bontoc. We fixed our baggage, and then we walked down until we reached the Chico River.

There was no bridge. The water was high because a typhoon had just gone by. “We must cross the river one by one. Let’s start upstream so that we swim downward,” my mother said. My mother was the first to swim. My cousin and I watched her until she reached the other side. Then I was next. Because the water was very deep, my cousin crossed the river with his hands holding the baggage up out of the water.

We sat down for a while on the riverbank. Then we started to go downstream. “Let’s walk slowly because the path is not good,” my mother said. We moved down until we reached the crossing of the Chico River and another river coming from Betwagan. “When will we get there?” I asked my mother again. “Let’s be patient. We will get there eventually,” answered my mother, smiling.

We followed the Betwagan River. Even though we were tired, we enjoyed the travel, because the air was cool. The water was very clear. There were lots of fish swimming together. When we went to the other side, we walked on the rice paddies. It was slippery because it was muddy. The grain of the rice we were passing by was ripe. It was full and golden. Many people were harvesting.

I asked them if Mrs. Chapasen, the head teacher was there. “Maybe she went to harvest also,” one of them said. “You go and see. Hopefully she went home to cook food for her harvesting companions.”

We reached the school. My mother went to see her. She really had gone home to cook. She invited us to eat with her and then she led us to the house that I would rent. My mother and my cousin returned to Bontoc on that same day. I went to teach the next day.

Our head teacher said, “You teach the fourth grade.” When I entered the room, only five pupils were there. “Are these my only pupils?” I asked. “There are twenty five but many did not come because it is harvest time; this is also true during rice planting season.” I still taught them even though there were only five. Then they all came when the harvest was finished.

My pupils were young men and young women. They were good. I did not have difficulty because no one troubled me. I gave my best to these pupils of mine. I always went to bed late because I prepared first what I was going to teach. I woke up at dawn and went to school early. I loved them.

But I was very sad because I did not have much time to teach. My pupils had a lot of work to do both at home and in the fields. That’s why I sent them home on time. Another thing that made me sad was that many did not attend school. They stayed at home, or they went to the fields. To make it possible for more to come, I permitted them

to bring the young ones they were taking care of to school. Some of them were even carrying babies on their backs to learn. Those who were able to walk could play outside.

It was hard to stay in Betwagan back then. You had to endure the hardship. We could not go home when the water in the river had risen. It was dangerous to cross. The road was difficult. We always stumbled on the stony pathway. And if there was a meeting or seminar, they went to Sadanga Poblacion. The poblacion is the center of all schools in the municipality of Sadanga. It is very far. You have to walk nine kilometers to go there if you start from Betwagan.

Even with these hardships, I still enjoyed the three years I stayed there. My pupils were all good. The villagers were also good.

Now, when I come across my pupils from Betwagan, I don't recognize them, but they are the first ones to talk. I am so happy to see them again. They tell me they all got married. Some have grandchildren. They also say they deeply regret that they did not finish their studies. I answer them, saying it's their fault.

Appendix 3. Peace pact between the Golo and Yangnen tribes (Translation of Text P3)

I am Nomi Suo from Chakan, Bontoc. During the tribal war between the Yangnen people and Golo people, the negotiation of the two tribes was brought to the government. In the beginning of the negotiation, we went to Eboli. I escorted former Governor Juno Iroda.

We went to Eboli with the Golo representatives, and the Yangnen people were already there. We went to the Provincial Capitol of Eboli to settle the case, but it was not continued because the Yangnen and the Golo tribes were confronting each other. The Yangnen tribe said they had not killed but the Golo insisted that they had killed the younger sister of Kano.

Since that negotiation had begun, there was no resolution between the Golo and Yangnen. Then Governor Mayang of Fuyo said, "Suppose we transfer the place to settle to Fuyo, my province where both the Golo and the Yangnen are all far away. Then Governor Khayaman of Eboli agreed and also Governor Iroda of Mt. Province saying "Yes, even in Limon, Fuyo."

When the scheduled date came, we waited again for the Golo tribe and escorted them to Limon. There was Bishop Sechida and Captain Gihong. I was the escort of Governor Iroda. We led forty people of Golo from Sonuk. Governor Khayaman also led the Yangnen people from Yangnen to Limon. When we met at the PC headquarters in Limon, the officials of Limon were already gathered.

This is what they did to put us in order. On one side of the table were those of us from Mt. Province. The Golo tribe sat behind us. And also the Yangnen tribe was behind Governor Khayaman. The officials were at the center around the table. The other officials of Limon were on the other side.

When ex-governor Mayang opened the meeting, he said, "Now because we gathered together here, we will settle the case." Mayor Lida of Golo said, "What shall we settle when the one who killed is not known yet? The Yangnen tribe told lies, saying they are not the ones who killed the woman, the sister of Kano, who was guarding their rice field from birds."

So there were many discussions in using all the old cultures in settling the case. Then Mayor Lida said, "Suppose you, Chong, take this sugar cane wine and say a vow, saying you will die and also your children if you are the one who killed her. Make a vow to this sugar cane wine." When Mayor Lida said those words, Governor Mayang and even Governor Khayaman of Eboli wanted Chong to make a vow if he was not the one who killed her. Chong Misu of Yangnen was afraid; he raised his right hand and said, "Truly, I am." He admitted that he was the one who killed her.

The Golo tribe said, "Things are going well for us for settlement because the killer is known." Afterward Governor Mayang said, "So now that the negotiation of this case has been made, let us drink. You shake hands and then we will make the arrangement. We will all sign. This coming week, I will butcher a cow, so you Bontok, Yangnen and Golo people, come again and we will celebrate.

And then when they were preparing the sugar cane wine to arrange the shaking of hands of Chong and Lida, Lida said, "Yes." Governor Mayang said, "Alright you meet so that we all see you two shaking hands. Have your swords meet each other so that we make a "Peace pact" between the Golo and Yangnen people. When Mayor Lida stood, Chong Misu stood also. They met and prepared to shake hands. But before their hands reached each other's, Kano, the brother of the dead woman, suddenly appeared and took out his small sword and struck at the nape of Chong's neck.

That made the people shout in confusion. The PC shot Kano. I saw the Golo tribes trying to leave, but I told them, "No one should go; otherwise you will be shot." When the crowd became more chaotic, the officials ran away. The only people left were Colonel Khoiron, Bishop Sechida and Captain Marcelo Gihong and Governor Mayang, who were shouting and trying to stop the soldiers from firing, but they could not stop because the people were in chaos.

When they were shooting over Kano who was laying down unconscious, a Golo woman went and stepped in the middle and put up her skirt. With her lower body naked, she shouted in the middle. That made the soldiers stop firing because she was there blocking the way with her upper legs open. Only when the fire stopped, the officials came out.

After that, I said to Marcelo Gihong, "Please Captain, we should bring Kano to the Hospital so that he will not die, because he keeps bleeding." Then we carried Kano. Those Yangnen who took their bolos jumped from the second floor to the first floor to confront us with their bolos but the PC surrounded them. They were very bloody. Finally the confusion stopped.

We took Kano to the Hospital. We did not have time to eat lunch because of the confusion. In the evening, I said to Governor Iroda, "We must take Kano to Sonuk. There might be another incident in the evening; they might pursue us again, so we would rather take him home because he is our companion." Mayor Tongan said, "Yes, it is better if we take him home."

We started there in the evening at 8:00. When we reached Mt. Polis, half way to Sonuk, I asked Kano, "Why did you stab Chong while the negotiation was going on in front of the officials and when he admitted that he had killed your sister?" Then Kano told me, "This is what you should remember. Old men of long ago said, "If they are making a 'Peace Pact', be sure to take revenge before they have the swords meet. Because if the swords meet and we (people) drink, nobody can take revenge because your

stomach will burst out if you take revenge after making a peace pact.” That’s why I took revenge for my sister, because the man was there, saying he was the one who had killed my sister. The old men said, “Before the swords meet and people drink, take revenge so it will be finished.”” That was Kano’s answer to me on the way.

When we arrived in Bontoc in the early morning after a long slow trip, we took him straight to the Hospital. We came to the Municipal Hall and smoked there until morning. When we went home, Mayor Tongan informed the Lanon and they celebrated. The Chakan members asked what had happened and I told them the story. Then they said, “The *ato* is ready to celebrate, so you bring out the pounding wood.” That was what happened. Then we Chakan members had a celebration.

Appendix 4. The cat and the mouse (Translation of Text F1)

Before the cat and the mouse were friends. They helped each other in all their works.

One day the cat said to the mouse, “Please, take care of my children so that I can go to find food for them and for me. Here, I will leave this food for them to eat while I’m gone.” “All right! This is really what a friend does,” the mouse replied.

When the cat left, the mouse fed to her children the food that the cat had left. “Do not tell your mother,” the mouse said to the cat’s children. When the cat came home, all of her children were crying. She asked what the reason was. They kept silent. Whenever the cat let the mouse take care of her children, the same thing happened. She wondered why it happened.

She let the mouse take care of her children again, and then she pretended to leave. She hid and looked at them secretly. She saw what was happening. She quickly went inside. “Really, this is what you have done,” the cat said with fierce anger. The mouse was very afraid. Quickly she and her children ran away, but the cat immediately caught them.

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The preceding document was presented at the Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (10-ICAL). To properly reference this work, please use the following format:

<LastName>, <FirstName>. 2006. <PaperTitle>. Paper presented at Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics. 17-20 January 2006. Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, Philippines.
<http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/ical/papers.html>

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